KNOLLES'
HISTORIE
OF THE TURKES

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THE GENERALL HISTORIE of the Turkes, from The first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian Princes against them.

Together with

THE LIVES AND CONQVESTS OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS and Emperours

Written by Richard Knolles, sometime fellowe of Lincolne College in Oxford.

With a new continuation, from ỹ yeare of our Lord 1629 vnto the yeare 1638 faithfully collected.

The ~~Fift~~ edition. printed by ADAM ISLIP. 1638 *

Laurence Johnson. Sculpsit.

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY Prince IAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; *Defendor of the Faith, &c.*

IT may of ſome, and not without juſt cauſe (moſt gracious and dread Souereigne) be imputed vnto me for no ſmall preſumption, to preſent vnto your royall Majeſty (a Prince of ſo great learning and judgement) theſe homely fruits of mine endeuors and paines, taken in the Generall Hiſtory of the Turks, and ſtrange ſucceſſe of their great and mighty *Othoman* Empire. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie joyned vnto many other the great and moſt reſplendent vertues of your heroicall minde; the leaſt whereof is ſufficient to haue cheared vp my weake and feeble ſpirits; but alſo by the encouragement of the right Worſhipfull my moſt eſpeciall good friend Sir *Peter Manwood* Knight of the Bath, the firſt mouer of me to take this great worke in hand, and my continuall and onely comfort, ſtay, and helper therein. Which to do, I was alſo the more deſirous, ſeeing diuers little volumes, and ſmall parts of the Hiſtory preſented vnto the greateſt Princes: as the little Treatiſe of *Paulus Jou. de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mighty Emperour *Charles* the fifth; and the ſmall Hiſtory of *Cœlius Secundus, de Bello Melitenſi*, vnto her late ſacred Majeſty, of moſt happy and bleſſed memory, the rare Phœnix of her ſex, who now reſteth in glory: with diuers others of like ſort by the learned Authours thereof ſtill commended, ſome to one great Prince of their times, ſome to others: all filling me with good hope that this whole and continuate Hiſtory of that Northerne and warlike Nation (which in ſhort time by God his appointment hath brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon a great part of the World, as former times haue ſeldome or neuer ſeene) drawne euen from the firſt beginning therof (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) ſhould with your moſt noble Majeſty find no leſſe grace and fauour, than hath almoſt euery part thereof with other the aforeſaid and ſuch like moſt mighty and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Majeſty hath not diſdained in your *Lepanto* or *Heroicall Song*, with your learned Muſe to adore and ſet forth the greateſt and moſt glorious victory that euer

was by any the Chriſtian confederate Princes obtained againſt theſe the *Othoman* Kings or Emperors. Beſides that, the matter and argument of this Hiſtory and ſuch like (ſo much concerning the ſtate and good of the Chriſtian Commonweale in generall, neuer by any ſo much impugned or indangered, as by theſe the naturall and capitall enemies thereof) of right vnto none ſo properly belongeth, as vnto your moſt excellent Majeſty, with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, ſitting at the helme of your eſtates; who onely by your vnited forces) the barbarous enemies greateſt terror) are able to giue remedy thereunto: in the chiefeſt ranke of whom, your ſacred Majeſty, for glory, honour, ſtrength, and power (God long preſerue the ſame) is now ſecond vnto none. Thus perſuaded and encouraged, I in all humble and dutifull manner do preſent vnto your Majeſty theſe my weake endeauors, according to my ability and meanes continued for ſome few yeares more: which how vnworthy ſoeuer they be of ſo great and Princely fauour, as well for the meanneſſe of me the Author, as for the plainneſſe of the ſtile; yet if for the worthineſſe of the matter, or of your own great and infinit clemency, you vouchſafe them your Majeſties fauourable regard, they ſhall no doubt liue no leſſe fortunate, than if they had beene more happily borne or brought to light: ſeruing (if to no other vſe) yet as faire warnings vnto ſuch great ones as God hath here vpon earth exalted aboue the reſt vnto the higheſt degrees of power and of ſtate, for the good gouernment and defence of his church and people. Accept them, I beſeech you, moſt mighty Monarch, into your gratious protection, ſo ſhall I (if God ſpare life) be comforted and encouraged vnder ſo mighty a fauour to proceed to amend what ſhall be found amiſſe, and adde what future times and better helpe ſhall diſcouer and miniſter vnto m for the perfection of this Hiſtory: and according to my bounden duty inceſſantly in all humility pray vnto the great God of all might and power (by whom all Kings and Princes reigne) to his glory long to preſerue your moſt royall Majeſty in bleſſed health and peace, to rule and reigne ouer vs and theſe your great kingdomes, ſo happily by you vnited: and ſo likewiſe (his will ſo being) your moſt noble poſterity after you, euen to the worlds end.

Your Majeſties moſt

humble and obedient ſubject,

Richard Knolles.

The Authors induction to the Christian Reader, vnto the Historie following.

THe long and still declining state of the Christian Commonweale, with the vtter ruine and subuersion of the Empire of the East, and many other most glorious Kingdomes and Prouinces of the Christians, neuer to be sufficiently lamented, might with the due consideration thereof worthily moone euen a right stony heart to ruth: but therwith also to call to remembrance the dishonour done vnto the blessed name of our Sauiour Christ Iesus, the desolation of his Church here militant vpon earth, the dreadfull danger dayly threatned vnto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of soules cast headlong into eternall destruction, the infinite number of wofull Christians (whose grieuous groanings vnder the heauy yoke of infidelity no tongue is able to expresse) with the carelesnesse of the Great for the redresse thereof, might giue just cause to any good Christian to sit downe, and with the heauy Prophet to say as he did of Ierusalem: O how hath the Lord darkned the daughter of Sion in his wrath! and cast downe from heauen vnto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembred not his foot-stoole in the day of his wrath! All which miseries (with many others so great as greater can none be) the Prince of darkenesse and author of all mischiefe hath by the persecuting Princes of all ages, and antient hereticks his ministers, labored from time to time to bring vpon the Church of God, to the obscuring of his blessed name, and vtter subuersion of his most sacred word; but yet by none, no not by them all together so much preuailed as by the false Prophet Mahomet, borne in an vnhappy houre, to the great destruction of mankind: whose most grosse and blasphemous doctrine first fantasied by himselfe in Arabia, and so by him obtruded vnto the World, and afterwards by the Saracin Caliphes (his seduced successors) with greater forces maintained, was by them, together with their Empire, dispersed ouer a great part of the face of the earth, to the vnspeakeable ruine and destruction of the Christian Religion and State: especially in Asia and Africke, with some good part of Europe also. But the vnity of this great Mahometan Monarchy being once dissolued, and it diuided into many Kingdomes, and so after the manner of worldly things drawing onto the fatall period of it selfe, in processe of time became of farre lesse force than before, and so lesse dreadfull vnto the Christian Princes of the West, by whom these Saracins were againe expulsed out of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spaine, which they yet held within the remembrance of our fathers, vntill that by their victorious forces, they were thence at length happily remoued also, after that they had possessed the same aboue the space of 700 yeares. In this declination of the Saracins, the first Champions of the Mahometan superstition (who though they had lost much, yet held they many kingdomes both in Asia and Africke, taken for the most part from the Christians) arise the Turks, an obscure and base people, before scarce knowne vnto the World, yet fierce and couragious, who by their valour first aspired vnto the Kingdome of Persia, with diuers other large prouinces: from whence they were about 170 yeares after againe expulsed by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themselues into the lesser Asia: where taking the benefit of the discord of the Christian Princes of the East, and the carelesnesse of the Christians in generall they in some good measure repaired their former losses againe, and maintained the state of a kingdome at Iconium in Cilicia (now of them called Caramania) holding in their subjection the greatest part of that fruitfull country, still seeking to gaine from the Christians what they had before lost vnto the Tartars. But this kingdome of the Turks declining also, by the dismembring of the same, there stept vp among the Turks in Bythinia, one Osman or Othoman, of the Oguzian tribe or family, a man of great spirit and valor, who by little and little growing vp amongst the rest of his countrymen, and other the effeminat Christians on that side of Asia, at last like another Romulus, tooke vpon him the name

Lamen. Ieremy, cap. 13.

Granado in Spain was recouered from the Saracins by King Ferdinand in the yeare, 1491.

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of a Sultan or King, and is right worthily accounted the first founder of the mighty Empire of the Turks: which continued by many discents directly in the line of himselfe, euen vnto Achmat, who now reigneth, is from a small beginning become the greatest terrour of the World; and holding in subiection many great and mighty Kingdomes in Asia, Europe, and Africke, is growne to that height of pride, as that it threatneth destruction vnto the rest of the Kingdomes of the earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it selfe. In the greatnesse whereof is swallowed vp both the name and Empire of the Sarasins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned Kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponesus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Seauia, Bosna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Ægypt, Iudea, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Mesopotamia, with a great part of Hungary, as also of the Persian Kingdome, and all those churches and places so much spoken of in holy Scripture (the Romans only excepted;) and in briefe so much of Christendome as farre exceedeth that which is at this day left. So that at this present if you consider the beginning, progresse and perpetuall felicity of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this World nothing more admirable and strange; if the greatnesse and lustre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious, if the power and strength thereof, nothing more dreadfull or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beauty of it selfe, and drunke with the pleasant wine of perpetuall felicity, holdeth all the rest of the World in scorne, thundring out nothing but still bloud and war, with a full persuasion in time to rule ouer all, prefining vnto it selfe no other limits than the vttermost bounds of the earth, from the rising of the Sun vnto the going downe of the same. The causes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the most part so shut vp in the counsels of the great, as that for me to seeke after them, were great folly: yet amongst the rest, some others there be, so pregnant and manifest, as that the blinde World taketh thereof as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiser sort (as I hope) euen in these our nice daies be lightly touched. Whereof the first and greatest, is the just and secret iudgement of the Almighty, who in justice deliuereth into the hands of these mercilesse miscreants, nation after nation, and Kingdome vpon Kingdome, as vnto the most terrible executioner of his dreadfull wrath, to be punished for their sins: others in the meane while, no lesse sinfull than they, in his mercy enioying the benefit of a longer time, calling them vnto repentance. Then, the vncertainety of Worldly things, which subiect to perpetuall change, cannot long stay in one state, but as the sea is with the wind, so are they in like sort tossed vp and downe with the continuall surges and waues of alteration and change; so that being once growne to their height, they there stay not long; but fall againe as fast as euer they rise, and so in time come to nothing: as we see the greatest monarchies that euer yet were vpon earth haue done, their course being run; ouer whom Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it shall ouer this so great a Monarchy also, when it shall but then liue by fame, as the others now do. Next to these causes from aboue (without offence be it said) is the small care the Christian Princes, especially those that dwelt further off, haue had of the common state of the Christian common weale, whereof euen the very greatest are to account themselues but as the principall members of one and the same body, and haue, or ought to haue, as sharpe a feeling one of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themselues: in stead of which Christian compassion and vnity, they haue euer, and euen yet at this time are so diuided among themselues with endlesse quarrels, partly for questions of Religion (neuer by the sword to be determined) partly for matters touching their owne proper state and souereignty, and that with such distrust and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it hath beene long wished) ioyne their common forces against the common enemy: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to be lamented) haue from time to time weakned themselues, and opened a way for him to deuoure them one after another: whereas with their combined forces (the greedy enemies greatest terrour) they might long since not only haue represt his fury, and abated his pride, but with small danger, and much glory (God fauouring their so honourable attempts) haue againe recouered from him most of those famous Christian Kingdomes, which he by force against all right holdeth at this day in most miserable subiection and thraldome: many millions of the poore oppressed Christians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation, in the anguish of their soules crying in vaine vnto their Christian brethren for reliefe. By ciuill discord the noble country of Græcia perished, when as the father rising against the son, and the son against the father, and brother against brother, they to the mutuall destruction of themselues called in the Turke, who like a greedy Lyon lurking in his den, lay in wait for them all. So perished the Kingdomes of Bulgaria, Seruia, Bosna, and Epyrus, with the famous Islands of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betraied as it were by the Christian Princes their neighbours, by whom they might haue easily beene relieued. So the most flourishing and strong Kingdome of Hungary (in the reliques whereof the fortune of the Turkish Empire hath longer stucke, than in the conquest of any other Kingdome, by it attempted whatsoeuer) diuided in it selfe by the ambition of Princes, and ciuile discord, the weaker still calling vnto

The causes of the greatnesse and encrease of the Turkish Empire.

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his aid the mighty power of the Turke, is long since for the most part become vnto him a prey; the poore remainders therof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Christian Emperour, and of the Princes his Confederats, seldome times meeting together with such cheerfulnesse or expedition as the necessitie of so great a matter requireth. Vnto which so great a cause of the Common decay, may bee added the euill choice of our soldiers employed in those wars; who taken vp hand ouer head, out of the promiscuous common people, are for most part vntrained men, seruing rather for shew and the filling vp of number, than for vse; and in no respect to be compared with the Turks Ianizaries, and other his most expert souldiers, continually euen from their youth exercised in feats of Armes. Not to speake in the meane time of the want of the antient Martiall discipline, the wholesome preseruation of most puissant Armies: which breedeth in the proud Enemy a contempt of the Christian forces, with a full persuasion of himselfe, That he is not by such disordered and weake means to be withstood. But to come neerer vnto the causes of the Turks greatnesse, and more proper vnto themselues, as not depending of the improuident carelessnesse, weakenesse, discord, and imperfections of others: First, In them is to be noted an ardent and infinite desire of soueraignty, wherewith they haue long since promised vnto themselues the Monarchie of the whole world, a quicke motiue to their haughty designes. Then, such a rare vnitie and agreement among st them, as well in the manner of their Religion (if it be so to bee called) as in matters concerning their State (especially in all their enterprises to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that therof they call themselues Islami, that is to say, Men of one minde, or at peace among st themselues; so that it is not to bee maruelled, if thereby they grow strong themselues, and dreadfull vnto others. Ioyne vnto this their courage, conceiued by the wonderfull successe of their perpetuall fortune; Their notable vigilancie, in taking the aduantage of euery occasion for the inlarging of their Monarchie; Their frugalitie and temperatenesse in their dyet and other manner of liuing; their carefull obseruing of their antient Military Discipline, their cheerefull and almost incredible obedience vnto their Princes and Sultans; such, as in that point no Nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them. All great causes why their Empire hath so mightily increased, and so long continued. Whereunto may bee added the two strongest sinewes of euery well gouerned Commonwealth; Reward propounded to the good, and Punishment threatned vnto the offender; where the prize is for vertue and valour set vp, and the way layd open for euery common person, be he neuer so meanly borne, to aspire vnto the greatest honours and preferments both of the Court and of the Field; yea euen vnto the neerest affinitie of the great Sultan himselfe, if his valor or other worth shall so deserue: when as on the contrary part the disloyall or cowardly is to expect from the same soueraign power nothing but disgrace, death, and torture. And yet these great ones, not contented by such commendable and lawfull means still to extend or establish their far spreading Empire, if that point once come in question, they sticke not in their deuillish policie to breake and infringe the Lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues, grounded vpon the Law of Nations, be they with neuer so strong capitulations concluded, or solemnity of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than standeth with their owne profit, seruing indeed but as snares to intangle other Princes in, vntil they haue singled out him whom they purpose to deuoure; the rest fast bound by their leagues, still looking on, as if their owne turne should neuer come, yet with no more assurance of their safety by their leagues, than had the other whom they see perish before their faces. As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the father most vnnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his own children? and the brother to become the bloudy executioner of his owne brother? a common matter among the Othoman Emperours. All which most execrable and inhumane murthers, they couer with the pretended safety of their State, as thereby freed from the feare of all aspiring competitors (the greatest torment of the mighty) and by the preseruation of the integritie of their Empire, which they thereby keep whole and entire vnto themselues, and so deliuer it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part dismembred or impaired. By these and such like means is this barbarous Empire (of almost nothing) growne to that height of maiesty and power, as that it hath in contempt all the rest, being it selfe not inferiour in greatnesse and strength vnto the greatest Monarchies that euer yet were vpon the face of the earth, the Romane Empire only excepted. Which how farre it shall yet further spread none knoweth, but hee that holdeth in his hand all the Kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging of the sea, so that it cannot further passe. Moued with the greatnesse and glory of this so mighty and dreadfull an Empire, growne for the most part out of the ruine of the Christian Commonweale, with the vtter subuersion of many great and flourishing Kingdomes, and wofull fall of many no right puissant and mighty Princes, not without griefe to be remembred; I long since (as many others haue) entred into the heauy consideration thereof, purposing so to haue contented my selfe with a light view

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of that which might well bee for euer of all good Christians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied; vntill that afterwards led with a more earnest desire to know the strange and fatall mutations by this barbarous nation in former time brought vpon a great part af the world, as also so much as I might to see so great a terror of the present time, and in what terms it standeth with the rest, I had with long search and much labor, mixt with some pleasure and myne own reasonable contentment, passed through the whole melancholy course of their tragicall history: yet without purpose euer to haue commended the same, or any part therof to the remembrance of posteritie; as deeming it an argument of too high a reach, and fitter for some more happy wit, better furnished with such helps both of nature and art as are requisit for the vndertaking of so great a charge, than was my selfe, of many thousands the meanest. Being not vnmindefull also of that which the Poet (keeping Decorum) saith in the like case, though farre lesse matter, of himselfe.

Cum canerem Reges & prælia, *Cynthius* aurem
Velit, & admonuit: Pastorem *Tityre* pingues
Pascere oportet oues, deductum dicere carmen.

When I did sing of mighty Kings, or else of bloudy War,
Apollo *pluckt me by the eare, and said I went too far:*
Beseems a Shepheard Titterus, *his fatlings for to feed,*
And for to fit his rurall song vnto his slender reed.

Besides that, so many difficulties euen at the first presented themselues vnto my view, as to ouercome the same, if I should take the labour in hand, seemed to mee almost impossible: for beside the sea and world of matter I was to passe through (requiring both great labor and time) full of the most rare example both of the better and worse fortune in men of all sort & condition, yeelding more pleasure vnto the reader, than facilitie to the writer; I saw not any among so many as had had taken this argument in hand, whome I might as assure guid or Load star long follow in the course of this so great an history (many right worthy and learned men (whose memory my soul honoureth) contenting themselues to haue with their learned pens inrolled in the records of neuer-dying fame, some, one great expedition or action, some another, as in their time it fell out: yea, the Turkish histories and Chronicles themselues (from whom the greatest light for the continuation of the History was in reason to haue bin expected) being in the declaration of their own affairs (according to their barbarous maner) so sparing and short, that they may of right be accounted rather short rude notes, than iust Histories; rather pointing things out, than declaring the same, and that with such obscuritie, by changing the antient and vsuall names, as well of whole Kingdoms, Countries and Prouinces, as of Cities, Townes, Riuers, Mountaines, and other places, yea and oftentimes Men themselues, into other strange and barbarous names of their owne deuising; in such sort as might well stay an intentiue Reader, and depriue him of the pleasure, together with the profit he might otherwise expect by the reading therof; whereunto to giue order, perspicuitie, and light, would require no small trauaile and paine: (Not to speake in the meane time of the diuersitie of reports in the course of the whole History, such as is oftentimes most hard, if not altogether impossible to reconcile.) Notwithstanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my selfe, hauing with long labour and diligent search passed through the course of the whole History, and so in some reasonable sort satisfied my selfe therein, I thought it not amisse, as well for the worthinesse of the matter, as for the zeale I beare vnto the Christian Commonwealth, and for the satisfying also of some others my good Friends very desirous of the same, to make proofe if out of the dispersed Workes of many right worthy men, I could set downe one orderly and continuate History of this so mighty an Empire; with the great and fatall mutation, or rather subuersion of many right strong and flouri∫hing Kingdomes and States (the proper worke of all mighty Empires, still encreasing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud Monarchy hath already daunted a great part of the world, being so many and so strange, as that moe, or more wonderfull were not euer to be seene in any of the greatest Monarchies of antient time or memory; and so together, and as it were vnder one view, and at one shew, to lay open vnto the Christian Reader what I was glad to seeke for out of the confused Labours of many. A Worke so long and laborious, as might well haue deterred a right resolute and constant minde from the vndertaking thereof; beeing as yet to my knowledge not vndergone or performed by any. Wherein, amongst such varietie, or more truly to say, contrarietie of Writers, I did not content my selfe (as a blinde man led by his Guide happely hauing no better sight than himselfe) to tread the steppes of this or that one man going for a while before mee, and by and by leauing

uing me againe ſtumbling in the darke: but out of the learned and faithfull works of many, according to my ſimple iudgement to make choice of that was moſt probable, ſtill ſupplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defectiue in the weaker, propounding vnto my ſelfe no other marke to aime at, than the very truth of the Hiſtory; as that which is it ſelfe of power to giue life vnto the dead letter, and to couer the faults eſcaped in the homely penning or compiling thereof. Which the better to performe, I collected ſo much of the Hiſtory as poſsibly I could, out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues preſent, and as it were eie-witneſſes of the greateſt part of that they writ, and ſo as of all others beſt able, moſt like alſo to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greateſt part of ſo much of the Hiſtory of the Greeke Empire as I haue (for the better vnderſtanding of the riſing of the Turks in this Hiſtory) ſet downe, gathered out of the doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus, Gregoras, *and* Laonicus Chalcocondiles, *all writing ſuch things as they themſelues ſaw, or were for moſt part in their time, and neere vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almoſt incredible wars betwixt old* Amurath *the ſecond, and his foſter childe the fortunat Prince of Epirus, of the Turks commonly called* Scanderbeg, *and by that waiward tyrant at his death, together with his kingdome deliuered as it were by inheritance, vnto his ſon the great and cruell Sultan* Mahomet: *all written by* Marinus Barletius, *himſelfe an Epirot, and in all thoſe troubleſome times then liuing in Scodra, a city of the Venetians ioyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captiuity of the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, with the miſerable death of the Greek Emperour* Conſtantinus Palæologus, *and the fatall ruine of the Greeke Empire, written by* Leonardus Chienſis, *Archbiſhop of Mytilene, being himſelfe then preſent, and there taken priſoner. Such is the lamentable Hiſtory of the Rhodes, taken for moſt part out of* Ia. Fontanus *his three bookes* de bello Rhodio, *a learned man then preſent, and in great credit with* Villerius *the Great Maſter, at ſuch time as that famous Iſland, after it had by him and the other worthy Knights of the Order, bin moſt wonderfully long defended, was to the great ruth of Chriſtendome taken by the Great Sultan* Solyman. *Such is the moſt tragicall Hiſtory of* Bajazet, Solymans *youngeſt ſon, collected out of the notable Epiſtles of* Augerius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicæ, *he himſelfe then lying Embaſſador for the Emperour* Ferdinand *at Conſtantinople, and preſent in* Solymans *campe, at ſuch time as he himſelfe in perſon went ouer with his army into Aſia, to countenance his eldeſt ſon* Selymus, *who ſucceeded him in the Empire, againſt his valiant younger brother* Bajazet, *and beſide well acquainted with the great Baſſaes,* Achmet, Ruſtan, Haly, *and others, oftentimes mentioned in the Hiſtory following. Such is alſo the Hiſtory of the taking of the antient city of Tripolis in Barbary from the Knights of Malta by* Sinan *the proud Baſſa, written by* Nicholas Nicholay *Lord of Arfeuile, preſent at the ſame time with the Lord of Aramont, then Embaſſador for the French King vnto* Solyman. *So might I ſay alſo of the miſerable ſpoile of the fruitfull and pleaſant Iſlands of the Mediterranian, made by* Lutzis Baſſa, Solyman *his brother in law, and great Admirall; with the ſubmitting of the Iſland of Naxos to the Turks obeiſance, written by* Iohn Criſpe, *at that time Duke of the ſame Iſland. And ſo likewiſe of diuers other parts of the Hiſtory, too long to rehearſe. But foraſmuch as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a* Cæſar, *ſuch as both could and would commend vnto poſterity by writing that whereof they might truly ſay, They were themſelues a great part, many right excellent Generals contenting themſelues with the honour of the field, and their glory therewoon, leauing the honourable fame thereof to be by others reported, for lacke of ſuch moſt certaine Authors, or rather (as I before ſaid) eie witneſſes, I gathered ſo much as I could of that remained, out of the workes of ſuch, as being themſelues men of great place, and well acquainted with the great and worthy perſonages of their time, might from their mouthes, as from certaine Oracles, report the vndoubted truth of many moſt famous exploits done both by themſelues and others: as might* Pau. Iouius *from the mouth of* Muleaſſes *King of Tunes, from* Vaſtius *the great Generall, from* Auria *the Prince of Melphis,* Charles *the Emperour his Admirall, and ſuch others: or els out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues great trauellers into the Turks dominions, and withall, diligent obſeruers of their affaires and ſtate, as were the Phyſitions* Pantaleon, Minadoie, *and* Leunclauius *(of all others a moſt curious ſearcher of their Antiquities and Hiſtories) vnto which great clerkes, and ſome others of that learned profeſſion, we may worthily attribute the greateſt light and certainty of that is reported of a great part of the Turkiſh affaires. But theſe in the courſe of ſo long an Hiſtory failing alſo (as by conferring that which is hereafter written, together with their Hiſtories, is eaſily to be perceiued) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of ſuch other learned and credible Authors, as of whoſe integrity and faithfulneſſe the World hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted: yea, for theſe few late yeares I was glad out of the German and Italian Writers in their owne language in part to borrow the knowledge of theſe late affaires: as alſo from the credible*

The order of the Authors proceeding in the writing of this Hiſtory.

and

and certaine report of some such honourable minded gentlemen of our owne country, as haue either for their honors sake serued in these late wars in Hungary, or vpon some other occasion spent some good times in trauelling into the Turks dominions, but especially vnto the Imperiall city of Constantinople, the chiefe seat of the Turkish Empire, and place of the Great Turks abode: amongst whom I cannot but deseruedly remember my kind friend and cousin Master Rog. Howe, *vnto whose discreet and curious obseruations during the time of his late abode at Constantinople, I justly account my selfe for many things beholden. In which course of my proceeding, if the Reader find not himselfe so fully satisfied as he could desire, I would be glad by him my selfe to be better informed, as being no lesse desirous to learn the truth of that I know not, than willing to impart to others that little which I know.*

Thus much I thought good to set downe, to persuade the Christian Reader of the truth of the History following, wherein he shall find matter enough to wonder at, and no lesse strange than that, what soeuer it is that is written of the greatest Monarchies of antient time, vnto whom for power and Majesty it yeeldeth little: but so much the more worthy our consideration than they, for that their periods already run, and so their fury ouer past, this in our time so flourisheth, and at this present so mightily swelleth, as if it would ouerflow all, were it not for the mercy of God first, and then by the force of some few of the Christian Princes neerest vnto so great a danger, with their so great charge, to their immortall glory, and benefit of the Christian Commonweale, mightily checked and kept within some bounds and compasse. This History for the most part thus, as is aforesaid passed through, and brought to some good perfection, was yet by me againe laied aside, and like enough euen as an abortiue fruit to haue perished in the birth before it was growne to perfection, had I not, many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my especiall good and honourable friend, Sir Peter Manwood *of Saint* Stephens *in the County of Kent, Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath, a great louer and fauourer of learning (and in whose keeping it so for the most part many yeares in safety rested) been still comforted, and as it were againe reuiued, and finally encouraged to take it in hand, and as at first to perfect it; so now againe to continue it: vnto whom (being the only furtherer, stay, and helpe of those my labours) thou art for such pleasure as thou findest therein in courtesie beholden, and I for euer bounden. Now, what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good discretion to consider, contenting my selfe in so great matter to haue been willing to haue done somthing; wishing no longer to liue, than in some measure to be profitable to the Christian Commonweale, which long since in my nursing mothers house Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was sometime fellow, I did purpose to performe, as it should please God in time to giue me meanes and occasion: in which minde I hope by the goodnesse and mercy of Christ my Sauiour so long as I liue to continue. Only this fauour (to conclude with) I request of thee, that if in this so long and perplexed an History (by piece-meale of so many diuersly handled) written by me in a World of troubles and cares, in a place that offoorded no meanes of comfort to proceed in so great a worke, thou chance to light vpon some things otherwise reported than thou hast elsewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maiest) not therefore forthwith to condemne what thou here findest, being haply taken from a more certaine reporter than was that whereunto thou giuest more credit, or at leastwise not written by me, as meaning in any thing to prejudice the better judgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in such diuersity of reports to follow that which may seeme vnto thee most true. By which courtesie thou hast already encouraged me to joyne vnto my former History a Continuation for some few yeares, in this Edition, and yet maiest (God giue me life and health) hereafter incourage me to performe some other Worke to thy no lesse contentment. So wishing thee all happinesse, I bid thee farewell. From Sandwich the last of March, 1610.*

Thine in all dutifull kindenesse,

RIC. KNOLLES.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TVRKES, BEFORE THE RISING OF THE OTHOMAN FAMILIE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.

THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the preſent terrour of the world, hath amongſt other things nothing in it more wonderful or ſtrange, than the poore beginning of it ſelfe, ſo ſmall and obſcure, as that it is not well known vnto themſelues, or agreed vpon euen among the beſt writers of their Hiſtories, from whence this barbarous nation, that now ſo triumpheth ouer the beſt part of the world, firſt crept out or tooke their beginning. Some (after the manner of moſt nations) deriue them from the Trojans, led thereunto by the affinitie of the words *Turci* and *Teucri*, ſuppoſing (but with what probabilitie I know not) the word *Turci* or Turks to haue bin made of the corruption of the word *Teucri*, the common name of the Trojans: as alſo for that the Turks haue of long moſt inhabited the leſſer Aſia, wherein the ancient & moſt famous city of Troy ſomtime ſtood. No great reaſon in my deeming; yet giue the authors thereof leaue therwith to pleaſe themſelues, as well as ſome others, which dwelling much further off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probabilitie at al; and that with ſuch earneſtnes, as if they could not elſewhere haue found any ſo honorable anceſtors. Other-ſome report them to haue firſt come out of Perſia, and of I wot not what city there to haue taken their name: neither want their ſome which affirme them to haue taken their beginning out of Arabia, yea and ſome out of Syria, with many other far fet deuices concerning the beginning and name of this people: all ſeruing to no better purpoſe, than to ſhew the vncertainty therof. Among others, *Philip* of Mornay the noble & learned Frenchman, in his worthy work concerning the trunes of the Chriſtian religion, ſeemeth (and that not without good reaſon) to deriue the Turks, together with the Tartars, from the Iewes, namely from the ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanaſer* King of Aſſiria, in the time of *Oſeas* king of Iſrael, carried away into captiuitie, and by him confined into Media, and the other vnpeopled countries of the North, whoſe going thither is not vnaptly deſcribed by *Eſdras*, where among the great Lords of the Tartars, in the fartheſt part of the world Northward, euen at this day are found ſome, that ſtil retaine the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthaly*, a certain argument of their diſcent: wherunto alſo the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, ſignifying in the Syrian tongue, remnants or leauings, and the word *Turke*, a word of diſgrace, ſignifying in Hebrew, baniſhed men, ſeemeth right well to agree. Beſides that, in the Northern countries of Ruſſia, Sarmatia, and Lythuania, are found greater ſtore of the Iewiſh nation, than elſewhere, & ſo neerer vnto the Tartarians ſtil the moe: wherunto *Io. Leunclauius* the moſt curious ſearcher out of the Turks antiquities and monuments, addeth as a farther conjecture of the diſcent of thoſe barbarous Northern people from the Iewes, That in his trauel through Liuonia, into Lythuania in the country neere vnto the metropolitan city of Riga, he

Diuers opinions concerning the beginning of the Turks.

2. King cap. 17. 4. Eſd. cap. 13.

Io. Leunclauius Pandect. cap. 22.

found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in language from the other country people of the Curons and Eſtons, no leſſe barbarous than themſelues: who had alwaies in their mouthes as a perpetuall lamentation, which they with doleſull moans dayly repeated abroad in the fields, *Ieru, Ieru, Maſco Lon*: whereby they were thought to lament ouer Ieruſalem and Damaſco, as forgetfull of all other things in their ancient country, after ſo many worlds of yeres, and in a deſolate place ſo far diſtant thence. And *Munſter* in his deſcription of Livonia, repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude people being demanded what they meant by theſe words ſo often and ſo lamentably by them without cauſe vttered: anſwered, That they knew no more, than that they had been ſo of long taught by their anceſtors. But to leaue theſe opinions concerning their beginning, ſo diuers and vncertain, & to follow greater probabilities: as concerning the place from whence they came, it is vpon better ground thought by diuers others, and thoſe of the beſt Hiſtorians, That this barbarous nation which hath of late brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon ſo great a part, not of Chriſtendome only, but euen of the whole world, tooke their firſt beginning out of the bare and cold country of Scythia: induced thereunto both by the authoritie of the greateſt Coſmographers, as by moſt apparant reaſons. *Pomponius Mela* the deſcriber of the world, reckning vp the people neere vnto the great riuer Tanais (the bounder of Europe from Aſia Eaſtward) amongſt others maketh mention of the Turks, in theſe words, *Geloni vrbem ligneam habitant. Iuxta Thyrſagetæ Turcęq; vaſtas ſyluas occupant aluntur q; venando. Tum continuis rupibus late aſpera & deſerta regio ad Arympheos vſque permittitur*: The Geloni inhabit a city of wood, and faſt by, the Thyrſagets and Turks poſſeſſe the vaſt forreſts, and liue by hunting. Then, a rough and deſart country, with continuall rocks, is ſpaciouſly extended euen as far as vnto the Arympheians. *Pliny* alſo in like manner reckning vp the Nations about the fennes of Mæotis, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, ſaith, *Deinde, Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, Tuſſagetæ, Turcæ, vſque ad ſolitudines ſaltuoſis conuallibus aſperas, vltra quos Arymphei qui ad Riphæos pertinent montes*: Next vnto them, are the Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, the Thuſſagets and Turks, vnto the deſarts rough with wooddy valleys: beyond whom are the Arympheians, which border vpon the Riphean mountaines. And *Ptolomie* in the deſcription of Sarmatia Aſiatica, maketh mention of the Tuſci, whom many learned men ſuppoſe to haue bin the ſame nation with the Turks. Vnto which antient teſtimonies of reuerend antiquitie, adde the maners & conditions of the Turks, their antient attire, their geſture, their gate, their weapons, and manner of riding and fight, their language and dialect, ſo wel agreeing with the Scythians; and a man ſhall find matter enough ſufficient to perſuade him in reaſon, that the Turks haue vndoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes: whom they in ſo many things reſemble and with whom of all other nations they beſt agree.

Now it hath bin no leſſe doubted alſo, among the writers of the Turks hiſtories, at what time, and for what cauſes the Turks (to the trouble of the world) left their naturall ſeats in the cold country of Scythia, to ſeek themſelues others in more pleaſant & temperat countries more Southerly, than it had bin of their originall beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina* report them, enforced with a generall want, to haue forſaken their natiue Country, and followed their better fortune, in the yere of our Lord 755: with whom alſo *Segonius* agrees in the cauſe of their departure, but not in the time or place when or wherby they departed: for they (as he ſaith) iſſued out of their dwelling places in the yere of Grace 844, by the ſtraits of the mountaine Caucaſus: whereas the other with greater probabilitie ſuppoſe them to haue come forth by the Caſpian ſtraits, which the Turks alſo (as ſaith *Sabellicus*) affirme of themſelues, their anceſtors, as they ſay, being by their neighbors driuen out of the Caſpian mountains. Some others there be that report them to haue forſaken their natiue country, neither inforced therto by neceſſity, or the power of others, but for their valor ſent for by the *Sultan* of Perſia, to aid him in his wars: vnaduiſedly ſuppoſing that to haue bin the cauſe of their firſt comming out, which indeed hapned long time after, as in the proces of this hiſtory ſhal appear. But whatſoeuer the aforeſaid cauſes of want, or of the enemies power, might inforce them vnto, a greater power no doubt it was that ſtir'd them vp, euen the hand of the Almightie, who being the author of al kingdoms vpon earth, as wel thoſe which he hath appointed as ſcourges wherewith to puniſh the world, as others more bleſſed, will haue his worke and purpoſe

Sebaſt. Münſter Vniuerſalis Coſmograph. lib. 3.

Scythia the natiue country of the Turkes.

Pomp. Mela, lib. 1. cap. vlt.

Plin. ſecundus, lib. 6. cap. 7.

The great agreement betwixt the Turks and Scythians.

When and for what cauſes the Turks left their antient and naturall ſeats in Scythia, to ſeek others in the countries more Southerly.

755

844

Sabellicus, Enead. 9. lib. 2.

A purpoſe ful of Diuine maieſty,to appeare in the ſtirring of them vp from right ſmal beginnings, in the increaſing and eſtabliſhing of their greatnes and power, to the aſtoniſhment of the world;and in the ruine and deſtruction of them again, the courſe of their appointed time once run. As for the difference of the time of their comming forth,before remembred, it may reaſonably be referd to the diuers emotions of that people,who being not vnder the command of any one,but of their diuers gouernors, as the maner of that people was,are not to be thought to haue come forth all at once,either for one cauſe;but at diuers times, ſome ſooner,ſome later,and that for diuers cauſes. This people thus ſtirred vp,and by the caſpian ports paſſing through the Georgian countrey,then called Iberia,neer vnto the Caſpian ſea, firſt ſeiſed vpon a part of the greater Armenia, and that with ſo ſtrong hand, that it is by
B their poſterity yet holden at this day,and of them called Turcomania;of all other the moſt true progeny of the antient Turks. In which great countrey they of long vnder their diuers leaders,in the manner of their liuing moſt reſembling their anceſtors,roame d vp and down with their families and heards of cattell, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades their countrey men, without any certaine places of abode, yet at great vnitie among themſelues, as not hauing much to loſe or wherefore to ſtriue.

Armenia,now called Turcomania,the firſt ſeat of the Turks after their firſt comming out of Scythia.

C

The firſt kingdome of the Turks erected in PERSIA, by *Tangrolipix*, Chiefetaine of the Selzuccian Familie: *with the ſucceſſe thereof.*

D THis wandring & vnregarded people,but now the terror of the world,thus firſt ſeated in Armenia,long time there liued in that wide country,after their rude and wonted maner, (from which the Turcoman nation their poſterity in that place,euen at this day, as we ſaid,much differeth not) and not onely notably defended the countrey,thus by them at the firſt poſſeſſed,but ſtill incroching farther and farther, and gaining by other mens harms,became at length dreadfull vnto their neighbours, and of ſome fame alſo farther off;wherunto the effœminate cowardiſe of thoſe delicate people of Aſia,with whom they had to do,gaue no leſſe furtherance than their own valor,being neuertheleſſe an hardie rough people, though not much skilfull or trained vp in the feats of war.

The fame of theſe Turks,together with their fortune,thus daily increaſing,& the mighty
E empire of the Saraſins as faſt declining, which vnder their Chaliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, hauing in leſſe than the ſpace of 200 yeres ouerſpread not only the greateſt part of Aſia & Africk, euen vnto Gades and the pillers of *Hercules*;but alſo paſſing ouer that ſtreit,had ouerwhelmed almoſt all Spain;& not there ſtaying,but paſſing the Pireni,had pierced euen into the heart of France, and diuers other parts of Chriſtendome, as namely Italy,Sicily, the famous Iſland of the Rhodes,with many others of the Mediterranean: now diuided in it ſelfe,and rent into many Kingdomes,turned their victorious arms from the Chriſtians, vpon one another, to the mutuall deſtruction of themſelues and their empire. Among other the Saraſin Sultans,which forgetting their obedience to their great Caliph,took vpon them the ſoueraignty of gouernment(which admits no partner)was one
F *Mahomet* Sultan of Perſia,a right great prince,who hardly beſet on the one ſide with the Indians,& on the other with the chaliph of Babylon his mortal enemy,pray'd aid of the turks his neighbors, who were now come euen to the ſide of Araxis, the bounds of his Empire: vnto which his requeſt the Turks eaſily granted, in hope therby to finde a way for them afterwards to enter into Perſia,& ſo ſent him 3000 hardy men vnder the leading of one *Togra Mucalet*, the ſonne of *Mikeel* a valiant captain,and chiefe of the Selzuccian tribe or family;

Togra, otherwiſe called Tangrolipix, ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan.

whom the Greekes commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and ſome others, *Selduck*, or *Sadock*, names (as I ſuppoſe) corrupted of the great familie whereof he was deſcended. By the aid of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we will ſo call him, as by the name moſt vſed) *Mahomet* the Perſian Sultan ouercame *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of Babylon, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkiſh archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turks deſiring to returne home, requeſted of the Sultan leaue to depart, and with a ſafe conuoy to be conducted vnto the riuer Araxis, and there to haue the paſſage of that ſwift riuer opened vnto them, which was by the Perſians ſtrongly kept by two Caſtles built vpon each end of the bridge, wherby the riuer was to be paſſed. But *Mahomet* loth to forgoe ſuch neceſſarie men, by whom he had obtained ſo great a victory, and purpoſing to imploy them further in his ſeruice againſt the Indians, would by no means hearken vnto their requeſt; but ſeeming therwith to be diſcontented, commanded them to ſpeake no more thereof, threatning them violence if they ſhould more preſume to talke of their departure. The Turks therfore doubtfull of their eſtate, and fearing further danger, ſecretly withdrew themſelues into the deſart of Carauonitis: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field againſt ſo many millions of the Saraſins, liued as they might, by continuall incurſions and roads which they made out of the deſart forreſt into the countries adjoyning: wherwith *Mahomet* greatly inſenced, ſent out an army of 20000 men, vnder the conduct of ten of his beſt Captaines, againſt them: who for want of water & other neceſſaries, doubting to enter the deſart, encamped themſelues in the ſide of the forreſt, there to conſult what courſe to take. But *Tangrolipix*, who with his Turks lay a great way off in the couert of the woods and mountains, vnderſtanding of the comming of his enemies, and of the maner of their lying, thought it beſt vpon the ſudden by night to ſet vpon the Saraſins and Perſians, if ſo happily he might ouerthrow them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battel. Vpon which reſolution hauing trauelled 2 daies long march in the deſart, the third day at night he ſuddenly ſet vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, and by his vnexpected comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they without longer ſtay betooke themſelues to flight, euery man ſhifting for himſelf without regard of others. This victory ſo happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furniſhed with armor, horſes, and abundance of all things needful for the wars, kept the woods & forreſts no longer as a theef or out-law, but ſhewed himſelf in the open field, where dayly repaired vnto him numbers of rogues and vagabonds ſeeking after ſpoile; with many other deſperate villains, who for feare of puniſhment were glad of ſuch a refuge: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace his army was growne to be 50000 ſtrong; and ſo much the ſtronger, for that they had nothing to truſt vnto more than the valor of themſelues. Whileſt *Tangrolipix* thus increaſeth, *Mahomet* inraged with the ouerthrow of his army, in his fury cauſed all thoſe ten captains which had the leading therof, to haue their eies pluckt out; threatning alſo to attire al the ſoldiers that fled out of the battel, in womans apparel, and ſo diſgraced to carry them about as cowards; and withall raiſed a great army for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. All things being now in readineſſe, he ſet forward; when by the way the ſouldiers whom he had ſo threatned to diſgrace, ſuddenly fled to the enemy: with whoſe comming *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and ſtrengthned, reſolued to giue the Sultan battell. And ſo boldly comming on, met with him at Iſpahan a city of Perſia, where was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible battel, with wonderfull ſlaughter on both ſides. In the heat of which battell, *Mahomet* vnaduiſedly riding to and fro to encourage his ſoldiers, falling with his horſe, brake his necke: vpon which miſchance both the armies comming to agreement, by common conſent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his ſtead, and ſo made him King and Perſia, and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdome belonging.

G H I K L M

Mahomet the Perſian Sultan goeth himſelfe with an armie againſt Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by conſent of the ſouldiers made Sultan of Perſia.

Tangrolipix firſt Sultan of the Turks.

This was the firſt kingdom of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 yeres after their comming out of Scythia, in the yere alſo of our Lord, 1030; *Conſtantinus Monomachus* then reigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the raign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Conſtantine* his predeceſſor. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune, thus of a meane captain become King of Perſia, forthwith commanded the garriſon which kept the bridge ouer the riuer Araxis, to be remooued, and ſo free paſſage to be giuen to the Turks his countrymen, at their pleaſure to come ouer: who in great multitudes repaired into Perſia, where they were by the new Sultan well prouided for, and by little and little promoted vnto the greateſt

greateſt dignities of that kingdome; the Perſians and Saraſins, the antient inhabitants therof being by theſe new come gueſts now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdom, the Turks receiued the Mahometane ſuperſtition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vſing circumciſion: So that hard it is to ſay whether Nation loſt more; the Perſians and Saraſins by the loſſe of ſo great a kingdome; or the Turks; imbracing ſo great a vanitie.

When the Turks firſt receiued the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Tangrolipix with his Turkes thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Perſia, held not himſelfe therewith long content; but made war vpon his neighbor princes, eſpecially againſt *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of Babylon, whom he in diuers battels ouerthrew; and hauing at length ſlaine him, ioyned his kingdome vnto his owne. After that, he ſent *Cutlu-Muſes* his couſin, with an armie againſt the Arabians, by whom he was ouerthrowne and put to flight. But returning by Media, he requeſted of *Stephan* the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant, leaue to paſſe with his armie by the confines of his countrie: which his requeſt *Stephan* not onely reiected, but alſo by ſtrong hand ſought to ſtop his paſſage; but ioyning battell with him, was by the Turks eaſily ouerthrowne, & himſelfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muſes* returning to *Tangrolipix*, and recounting vnto him the ſucceſſe of his warres, perſuaded him to turne his forces into Media, as a moſt fruitfull country and eaſie to be ſubdued. But he highly offended with the ouerthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vno him, but raiſing a new armie in hope of better fortune, went againſt the Arabians in perſon himſelfe. *Cutlu-Muſes* in the meane time fearing the Sultans diſpleaſure, fled with his followers and fauorites; and taking for his refuge Paſar a ſtrong citie of the Choraſmians, reuolted from him: which the Sultan ſeeming not to regard, held on his intended iourny againſt the Arabians, by whom he was alſo put to the worſt, and enforced with diſhonour to returne. After that, he with part of his army beſieged *Cutlu-Muſes*, who by the ſtrength of the place, and valour of the people, for a great while notably defended himſelfe. in the meane time *Tangrolipix*, not vnmindefull what *Cutlu-Muſes* had before ſaid vnto him, concerning the eaſines of the conqueſt of Media (a countrey, as he ſayd, defended but by women) ſent *Aſan* his brothers ſon, ſirnamed the deafe, with a conuenient armie to inuade the ſame: who entring into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the Emperours lieutenant ouerthrown, & himſelfe with the greateſt part of his army ſlain: with which loſſe the Sultan rather inraged than diſcouraged, ſent *Habramy Alim* his brother again, with an army of an hundred thouſand fighting men: with which ſo great a power the Emperours lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill hee had procured further ayd from the Emperour, eſpecially out of Iberia; and therefore kept himſelfe with ſuch power as he had, within his ſtrong and fenced places. Which *Alim* perceiuing, & out of hope to draw him vnto battel, roaming vp and downe the Country, at laſt beſieged Arzen, an open town, but ful of rich merchants, by whom it was (contrarie to his expectation) notably defended for the ſpace of ſix dayes; vntil that at length the Turks ſeeing no other way to win it, ſet fire vpon it in diuers places; by force whereof the inhabitans were enforced for ſafeguard of their liues to flie & to leaue the towne with an infinite wealth to the ſpoile of the enemy. By this time was *Liparites* Gouernor of Iberia, come with a great power to the ayd of the Emperors Lieutenant in Media: whereof *Alim* hauing intelligence, without delay haſted with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruell fight; wherein the victorie fel vnto the Chriſtians, who had the Turks in chaſe a great part of the night: neuertheles *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battell, was there taken, & ſo carried away priſoner: for whoſe ranſome the Emperor ſent a great ſum of mony, with certain preſents to the Sultan: all which he ſent back againe, & frankly ſet *Liparites* at libertie, wiſhing him neuer to beare armes more againſt the Turks. And with him ſent the Seriph, a man of great place among the Mahumetans, his Embaſſador vnto the Emperour. Who comming to Conſtantinople, amongſt other things, proudly demanded of the Emperor, to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and ſo to bee at peace with him for euer: Which his vnreaſonable demaund was by the Emperor with no leſſe diſdaine ſcornefully reiected, & the Seriph ſo diſmiſſed. Which contempt of his Embaſſador the Sultan taking in euill part, as alſo not a little mooued with the death of his nephew, and loſſe of his armie, with all his power inuaded the Romane prouinces; but being come as far as Coime without any notable harme doing, for that the countrie people hearing before of his comming, had in time conueighed themſelues with their ſubſtance into their ſtrong houlds, whereof there

Cutlu-Muſes ſent by Tangrolipix againſt the Turks.

Cutlu-Muſes rebelleth againſt Tangrolipix.

The Turks Embaſſador contemned of the Emperor.

Tangrolipix inuadeth the Emperors dominions.

was great ſtore in thoſe countries; and hearing alſo that the Greeke Emperour was raiſing a G
great power to come againſt him at Cæſarea; not daring to proceed any further, leauing ſo
many enemies behind him, he fretting in himſelfe, returned into Media, where finding the
people all fled into their ſtrong townes, hee layd ſiege vnto Mantzichiert, a Citie ſtanding
in a plaine champian Countrey, but ſtrongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches.
This Citie hee furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſpace of thirtie daies without intermiſſion, but all
in vaine, the ſame being ſtill notably defended by *Baſilius* Gouernour thereof, and the other
Chriſtians therein. The Sultan wearie of this ſiege, and about to haue riſen, was by *Alcan* one
of his chiefe Captaines, perſuaded yet to ſtay one day, for him to make proofe in, what hee
were able to doe for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelded, committing the
whole charge of the aſſault vnto him. *Alcan* the next day diuiding the armie into two parts, H
and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpoſe with the multitude of their ſhot
to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the armie, furniſhed with all
things needfull for the aſſault, approached to the walls: the Sultan in the meane time with
certaine of the chiefe Turkes, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this ſo for-
ward a Captaine in the middeſt of his endeauor loſt himſelfe, being ſlaine with a great num-
ber of his followers in approching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beauty of his ar-
mour, was by two valiant young men that ſallyed out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his
head into the Citie, and his head being forthwith cut off, was caſt ouer the wall among the
Turkes: wherewith the Sultan diſcouraged, and out of hope of gaining the Citie, roſe with
his army, pretending himſelfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatning I
withall, the next ſpring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long
after, great diſcord aroſe betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, inſomuch that
the Sultan ſought by diuers means to haue taken him out of the way: which *Habramy* percei-
uing, fled to his Nephew *Cutlu-Muſes*, and ioyning his forces with his, denounced war vnto the
Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from Paſar, ouercame them in plain bat-
tell, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and preſently by the commandement of his brother put to
death. But *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his couſin *Melech*, and ſix thouſand Turks, fled into Armenia;
and by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, requeſted of the Emperor *Conſtantinus Monomachus*, to be
receiued into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heels, they
for their more ſafetie were glad to flye into Arabia. The Sultan afterwards turning into Ibe- K
ria, did there great harme, ſpoyling the countrey before him: againſt whom the Emperour
ſent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine. Of whoſe approch the Sultan hearing, and that hee
would vndoubtedly ere long giue him battell, (deeming it no great honour vnto him to ouer-
come the Emperours ſeruant, but an eternall diſhonor to be of him ouerthrown) retired with
his army back again to Tauris, leauing behind him one *Samuch* with three thouſand Turkes,
to infeſt the frontiers of the Emperors territories: which both he and other the Turks Cap-
taines afterward more eaſily did, for that *Monomachus* the Emperour hauing prodigally ſpent
the treaſures of the Empire, to increaſe his reuenue, had impoſed a tribute vpon the frontier
countries of his empire, which were wont before to be free from all exactions; in lieu whereof
they were bound to defend the paſſages from all incurſions of the enemy: but now preſſed L
with new impoſitions, had diſſolued their wonted garriſons, and left an eaſie entrance for the
barbarous enemies into the prouinces confining vpon them. Beſides that, the Emperours im-
mediately following, and eſpecially *Conſtantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen alto-
gether to the hoording of treaſure, gaue little countenance, and leſſe maintenance, vnto men
of ſeruice, which in ſhort time turned to the great weakening, and in fine to the vtter ruine of
the Conſtantinopolitan empire. At the ſame time alſo the gouernment of the Conſtantino-
politan empire, by the death of *Conſtantinus Ducas* the late Emperor, came to his wife *Eudocia*
with her three ſons, *Michael*, *Andronicus* and *Conſtantinus*, all very young: whoſe ſex and tender
yeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleaſure grieuouſly ſpoyled the pro-
uinces of the empire, namely Meſopotamia, Cilicia, Capadocia, yea and ſometimes as farre M
as Cœleſiria. The report whereof much troubled the Empreſſe, and gaue occaſion for many
that loued her not, to ſay, That ſo troubled an eſtate required the gouernment of ſome wor-
thie man. Wherfore ſhe fearing leſt that the Senat making choice of ſome other, ſhe and her
children ſhould be remoued from the gouernment, thought it beſt for the preſeruation of her
ſtate and her childrens, to make choice of ſome notable and valiant man for her husband, that

for

Diſſention betwixt Tangrolipix and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu-Muſes flyeth into Arabia.

Couetouſneſſe and lacke of reward the decay of the Conſtantinopolitan empire.

Eudocia the Empreſſe contrary to her oath deſirous to marrie.

A for her andhers, ſhould take vpon him the managing of ſo weightie affaires. But to check this her purpoſe (the only remedy of her troubled thoughts) ſhe had at the death of the late Emperor *Conſtantine* her husband, at ſuch time as the Soueraignty was by the Senat confirmed to her and her ſons, ſolemnly ſworne neuer more to marry; which her oath was for the more aſſurance conceiued into writing, and ſo deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled her more, than to find out the man whom ſhe could thinke worthy of her ſelfe, with ſo great honor. She held then in priſon one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renowne, and honorably diſcended; whoſe father hauing married the neece of the Emperor *Romanus Argirus*, and aſpiring to the empire, being conuicted thereof, ſlew himſelfe for feare to bee inforced by torments, to bewray his confederates. This *Diogenes* was by the late Emperor *Conſtantine*, for his
B good ſeruice againſt the Scythes (who then much troubled the empire) highly promoted, with moſt honourable teſtimony in the charters of his promotions, That ſuch honours were beſtowed vpon him, not of the Emperors meere bounty, but as the due rewards of his worthy deſerts. Notwithſtanding after the death of the Emperor, he ſick of his fathers diſeaſe, and ſwelling with the pride of ambition, ſought by ſecret means to haue aſpired vnto the empire: wherof the empreſſe hauing intelligence, cauſed him to be apprehended & brought in bonds to Conſtantinople, where being found guilty of the foule treaſon, and ſo committed to ſafe keeping, was ſhortly after brought forth to the iudgement ſeat againe, to receiue the heauie ſentence of death. In which wofull plight, ſtanding as a man out of hope, and now vtterly forlorn, he mooued all the beholders with a ſorrowfull compaſſion: for beſide that he was a man
C of exceeding ſtrength, ſo was he of incomparable feature & beauty, adorned with many other rare qualities and vertues anſwerable thereunto: wherewith the Empreſſe mooued with the reſt, or pierced with ſome ſecret good liking, is hard to ſay, reuoked the ſentence of condemnation ready to haue bin pronounced vpon him, and giue him pardon. And ſhortly after hauing ſet him at libertie, ſent for him as he was going into Capadocia his natiue country, and made him Generall of all her forces, with a full reſolution in her ſelfe to marry him, and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarchs hand, wherein her oath for neuer marrying againe was compriſed. For the compaſſing whereof, ſhe entred into a deep deuice full of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches, whom ſhe purpoſed to vſe as her pander for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This crafty Eunuch in-
D ſtructed by his miſtres, comming to the patriarch *Ioannes Xiliphilines*, a man both for his place and integritie of life much honored, told him in great ſecret, that the Empreſſe had ſo far ſet her good liking vpon a young gentleman, a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the court) as that ſhe could be content to take him to her husband, and to make him Emperor, if ſhe might by his holines be perſuaded, that ſhe might with with ſafe conſcience do it, and by him be diſcharged of the raſh oath ſhe had vnaduiſedly taken, neuer to marry again, wherof he had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwiſe a contemner of wordly honours, yet mooued with ſo great a preferment of his nephew, promiſed the eunuch to do therein whatſoeuer the Empreſſe had deſired, which he accordingly performed. And ſo ſending for the Senators one by one, in whoſe good liking the matter chiefly reſted, he with much grauity propounded to
E them the dangerous eſtate of the common-weale, with the troubles daily increaſing, and the continual fear of forrein enemies, not to be repreſſed by the weak hand of a woman, or the authority of yong children, but requiring (as he ſaid) the valiant courage of ſome worthie man. After that, he began to find great fault with the raſh oath which the Empreſſe had taken a little before the death of her husband, neuer to marry; and vtterly condemning the ſame, as contrary to the word of God, & vniuſtly exacted of her, rather to ſatisfy the jealous humor of the Emperor her late husband, than for any good of the common-weale: he in fine perſuaded them, that the vnlawful oath might be reuoked, and the Empres ſet at libertie at her pleaſure, by their good liking to make choice of ſuch a man for her husband, as might better vndertake ſo weighty affaires of the empire, more fit for a man, than for ſo tender a Lady and 3 young
F children. The greater part of the ſenat thus perſuaded by the Patriarch, and the reſt with gifts and promiſes ouercome by the Empreſſe, the patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing ſhe ſo much deſired, & diſcharged her of her oath: wherupon ſhe forthwith calling vnto her certain of her ſecret friends, married *Diogenes*, whom ſhe cauſed to be proclaimed Emperour. Now thought *Eudocia* after the manner of a woman, to haue had her husband (whom ſhe euen from the

Diogines Romanus of a priſoner by the Empreſſe made Generall of her armie.

Eudoclamarieth Diogenes Romanus, and proclaimes him Emperour.

the bottom of deſpaire had exalted to the higheſt type of honor) in all things loyall & pli- G
ant: whereunto he for a while at the firſt forced himſelfe, but afterwards (beeing a man of a proud nature,and haughty ſpirit)became wearie of ſuch obſeruance, and began by little and little to take euery day more and more vpon him. And for that the imperiall prouinces in the Eaſt,were in ſome part loſt,& the reſt in no ſmall danger;he, as well for the redreſſe ther-of,as for his owne honour, and to ſhew himſelfe an Emperour indeed, and not the ſeruant of the Empreſſe,left the court,and paſſed ouer into Aſia,although it were with a ſmal army and euill appointed:for why,it was no eaſie matter for him to furniſh out the army with al things neceſſarie,which by the ſloth and ſparing of the late Emperours,had,to the great danger and diſhonor of the empire,bin vtterly neglected. Neuertheleſſe the Turkiſh Sultan,who at the ſame time with a great power inuaded the prouinces of the empire,hearing of his comming, H
and that he was a man of great valour,and doubting what power he might bring with him,re-tired himſelfe; and diuiding his army, ſent the one part thereof into the South part of Aſia,
The prouinces of the empire ſpoiled by the Turks. and the other into the North, which ſpoiled all the countrey before them as they went, and ſuddenly ſurpriſing the city of Neo-Cæſaria,ſacked it, and ſo laded with the ſpoile thereof departed. But the Emperor vnderſtanding thereof,and not a little grieued therwith, drawing out certain bands and companies of the beſt and moſt readieſt ſouldiers in his army,and with them coaſting the countrey to get betwixt the Turks and home,vſed therein ſuch expedition,
The Turks diſcomfited by Diogenes the Emperour. that he was vpon them before they were aware,and ſo ſuddenly charging them, brought ſuch a feare vpon them,that they betook themſelues to their heeles, leauing behind them for haſt, I
their baggage and carriages,with all their priſoners & bootie they had before taken at Neo-Cæſaria,and in their late expedition: yet was there no great number of them ſlaine, for that the Chriſtians fore-wearied with long trauell, were not able far to follow the chaſe. From thence tooke his way into Siria, he ſent part of his army to Melitena, and carried himſelfe from Aleppoa great booty both of men and cattel. At which time alſo the city of Hierapolis was yeelded to him,where ſhortly after he built a ſtrong caſtle. But whilſt he there ſtaid,news was brought to him,that the other part of his army which he had ſent away, was ouerthrown by the Turkes; for the reliefe of whom, he roſe with all haſt and marched towards them: but being in number far inferiour to his enemies, hee was by them as he lay encamped, incloſed round in ſuch ſort,as it was thought almoſt impoſſible for him to haue eſcaped:at which time K
alſo the Gouernor of Aleppo traiterouſly reuolted from him, and ioined his forces with the enemy,making now no other reckoning,but aſſuredly to haue taken him:but whilſt the turks thus dream of nothing,but of a moſt glorious victorie,and were in mind diuiding the ſpoile, the Emperor without ſo much as the ſounding of a trumpet,ſuddenly iſſuing out of his tren-ches,when they leaſt thought he durſt ſo haue done, and reſolutely charging them home,put them to flight,and had of them a notable victory,had he throughly proſecuted the ſame:after that,hauing taken diuers towns,he came to Alexandria,in Cilicia,and there all about in the country bilited his army,becauſe of the approch of winter,and ſo returned himſelfe to Con-ſtantinople. The next Spring the Turks, according to their vſuall manner inuading the fron-tiers of the empire,did much harme about Neo-Cæſaria: whereof the Emperor aduertiſed, L
went thither with his army,and quickely repreſſing their fury, tooke his journey to the riuer Euphrates,where leauing part of his army with *Philaretus* for the keeping of thoſe frontiers, he himſelfe retired Northward into Capadocia. But after his departure,the Turkes ſetting vpon *Philaretus*,put him to flight with his garriſons:and taking the ſpoile of the frontiers, en-tred into Capadocia, waſting all as they went:and afterwards turning into Cilicia,ſacked I-conium,a rich populous city. Wherof the Emperor vnderſtanding at Sebaſtia,made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ranſackt the city, and were for feare of his com-ming already retired,he ſent *Chatagurio* gouernor of Antioch, with part of his army to Mop-ſipheſtia, to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But they in the plains of Tharſus were before di-ſtreſſed by the Armenians,and ſtript of al their rich prey:and hearing farther of the approch of the Emperours power,fled by night and ſo eſcaped:which the Emperor vnderſtanding,and M
hauing now well quieted thoſe prouinces,and the yere far ſpent, returned again to Conſtan-tinople. But after his departure,the Turks again inuading the frontier prouinces,he ſent *Ma-nuel Comnenus*,a valiant young man,Generall againſt them; who ſo preuailed,that the Empe-ror enuying at his honour,tooke from him a great part of his army,and ſent him with a ſmall

power

A power into Syria. But as he was vpon the way, he was by the Turks entrapped neere vnto Sebastia, and there taken, most part of his armie being at the same time ouerthrown and slaine: with which losse, the Emperour being troubled, made great preparation to go himselfe in person against his enemies; who encouraged with the former victorie, ceased not to infest his territories. In the meane time by great fortune came *Manuel Comnenus* home, together with the Turke that tooke him; who being fallen into the displeasure of the Sultan, fled vnto the Emperour with his prisoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in a readines, for so great an expedition as the Emperour had in person purposed, he set forward: and after long trauell hauing passed Cesarea, he incamped at a place called Cryapega: where for seuere execution done vpon certaine mutinous souldiers, one of the legions of his army rose
B in mutinie against him: whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with the terror of the rest of his army, which he threatned to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their duty: after that, remouing to Theodosopolis, he diuided his army, and sent *Ruselius* one of his best captains, with one part thereof against *Chliat*, and another part he sent to besiege Mantzicierts, retaining with himselfe the rest, being of no strength. The Turkes in Mantzicierts, finding themselues not able long to hold out, fell to composition, and yeelded the citie. But shortly after, the souldiers left there in garrison for the keeping thereof, going out to seek for forrage, were by the Turks suddenly oppressed: which the Emperour vnderstanding, sent thither one *Nicephorus Bryennius*, with certaine companies to releeue the citie; who encountring with the Turks, and finding himselfe too weak, sent vnto the Emperour for aide: who not knowing the
C strength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardise, yet sent vnto him *Nicephorus Basilaceus* with part of his armie; who ioining his forces with *Briennius*, and giuing the Turkes battell, put them to flight. But following too fast vpon them vnto their trenches, and *Bryennius* making no great hast after, he had his horse slaine vnder him, and so on foot heauily laden with armour, and not able to shift for himselfe, was there taken and brought to the Sultan: who honorably entreated him, and oftentimes questioned with him concerning the Emperour, and shewing him his owne power, examined him also of the Emperours.

Diogenes getth with a great army against the Turks.

Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field against the Emperour, was *Axan* his son, a man of great wisedome & discretion; who considering the doubtful euent of battel, sent embassadors vnto the Emperor to intreat with him of peace. But hee (perswaded by some of
D his captains, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meere feare and distrust he had in his own power, or els to gain time vntill some greater strength came) had small regard of the embassadors or their message, but proudly willed them to tell their master, That if he were desirous of peace, he should get him farther off, and leaue the place wherin he lay incamped, for him to lodge in: and so without other answer, commanded them away. Now had the Emperor (as is before said) sent away part of his army by *Ruselius* against *Chliat*, whom he sent now for in haste again: but he hearing of the approch of the Sultan, by the perswasion of *Tarchomiates*, one of his captains, was retired for his more safety back into the Romane frontiers, leauing the Emperor destitute of his help. At which time also a company of the Scythians which serued in the Emperors camp, reuolted to the Turks; not without
E some suspition, that the rest of their fellows, which remained would ere long do the like: neuertheles the Emperor presuming of such strength as he had, or carried headlong with his owne fortune, resolued to giue the Turks battell, and therefore putting his men in order set vpon them. Who somwhat troubled with the Emperors so sudden a resolution, as being yet in some hope of peace, yet hauing put themselues in order of battell, receiued the enemies charge; still giuing a little ground, as men not greatly desirous either to fight or flie. This fight continuing long, & the day now declining, the emperor doubting lest the Sultan should send part of his army to assault his camp (from which he was now drawne somewhat far, and had left the same but weakly manned) caused a retreat to be sounded, & so began orderly to retire himself with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding,
F and supposing him to haue fled, began themselues to flie amain. Of which so shameful flight and sudden feare *Andronicus* (the son of *Iohn Ducas*, the late emperor *Constantine* his brother, and by him created *Cæsar*, who with his sonnes secretly enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*) was the cause: for he commanding a great part of the army, gaue it first out to such as were about him, that the emperor fled: and to increase the feare, turning his horse about, fled towards the campe

Axan the Sultan sendeth embassadors vnto Diogenes for peace.

Iohn Ducas a notable traytor cause of the flight of the emperors army.

camp as faſt as he could: after whom al the reſt moſt diſorderly followed: which the emperor beholding, and therewith not a little troubled, made a ſtand, labouring in vaine to haue ſtaid the reſt: for now the turks incouraged with the ſudden flight of the Chriſtians, began hardly to purſue them, as men already ouerthrown by the hand of God; whom for all that the emperor with ſuch as yet ſtood with him, for a ſpace notably reſiſted. But being forſaken by the greater part of his army, & oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, being wounded him ſelfe, and his horſe ſlain vnder him, he was taken all imbrued with his own bloud, & the bloud of his enemies, of whom he had wounded & ſlain many. The Sultan aduertiſed of his taking, at the firſt beleeued it not, ſuppoſing it rather to haue been ſome other great man: vntil that he was both by them, whom he had but a little before ſent embaſſadour vnto him, & by *Baſilacius* one of his captaines then priſoner with him, aſſured that it was vndoubtedly he, which *Baſilacius* brought before him, to ſee if he knew him, fell downe proſtrate at his feet, as before his dread Lord & Soueraigne. The Emperor brought before the Sultan, and humbling himſelfe in ſuch ſort as beſt beſeemed his heauy fortune, the Sultan preſently tooke him vp, and thus cheerefully ſpoke vnto him: *Grieue not noble Emperour* (ſaid he) *at thy miſhap, for ſuch is the chance of war, ouerwhelming ſometimes one ſometimes another: neither feare thou any harme, for, I will vſe thee not as my priſoner, but as an Emperour*: which he accordingly did, preſently appointing him a princely pauilion, with all things anſwerable to his eſtate, ſetting him oftentimes at his own boord, and for his ſake enlarging ſuch priſoners as he required. And after he had thus for certain daies honorably vſed him, and diſcourſed with him of many things, he concluded a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promiſe of a marriage to be made betwixt their children; and ſo with a ſafe conuoy ſent him away with greater honor than was at an enemies hand to haue been expected. The Emperour in Turkiſh attire, which the Sultan had beſtowed vpon him, comming to Theodoſopolis, there ſtaid the curing of his wounds, & afterwards accompanied with the Sultans embaſſadors, ſet forward toward Conſtantinople. But all was now there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuitie, *Iohn* the *Cæſar* with *Pſellus* one of the chiefe Senators, & others of the ſame faction, which alwaies enuied at the honor of *Diogenes*, preſently tooke the imperial gouernment from *Eudocia* the Empreſſe, and thruſting her into a monaſterie which ſhe had built neere to Propontis, ſet vp *Michael Ducas* her eldeſt ſonne, Emperour, in ſtead of *Diogenes*: whoſe ſimplicitie *Cæſar* his vncle abuſing with the reſt, did, now what they liſt. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now (contrary to their expectation) ſet at libertie by the Sultan, and comming towards the emperiall city, ſent out letters euery way in the new Emperors name, to all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby he was to paſſe, not to receiue him as Emperour, or to do him any honour: which *Diogenes* vnderſtanding, ſtaid at the caſtle of Docia, whether ſome of his friends with ſuch power as they were able to make, reſorted vnto him. Againſt whom, *Cæſar* with the contrary faction firſt ſent his ſonne *Conſtantine*, and after that *Andronicus* his eldeſt ſon, both *Diogenes* his mortall enemies, with a great army: by whom *Diogenes*, with his friends and followers, were ouerthrowne and diſcomfited. *Diogenes* himſelfe flying to the citie of Adana, was there hardly beſieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yeeld himſelfe, vpon condition, that he ſhould reſigne the empire, and ſo for euer after to lead a priuate life. For whoſe ſafetie, certaine of the chiefe of the clergie ſent of purpoſe from *Michael* the Emperor, gaue their faith: ſo *Diogenes* all attyred in black, yeelded himſelfe to *Andronicus*; by whom he was brought to Cotai, then the metropoliticall citie of Phrygia, there to expect what further order ſhould be taken for him from the court: during which time he fell ſicke, being (as many ſuppoſed) ſecretly poiſoned. But whilſt he there lay languiſhing, an heauier doome came from the young Emperour, That he ſhould haue his eies put out: which was forthwith in moſt cruell manner done; the clergie men that had before for his ſafety gaged their faith, crying out in vaine againſt ſo horrible a crueltie. Thus depriued of his ſight, he was conueyed into the Iſland of Prota, where his eies for lack of looking to, putryfying, and worms breeding in them, with ſuch an odious ſmell, as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in ſhort time after died, when he had raigned three yeares, eight moneths. All which miſerie was thought to haue happened vnto him through the malice of *Cæſar*, without the knowledge of the young Emperour his nephew.

Axan hearing of the miſerable end of the late emperor *Diogenes*, was therwith much grieued and the more, for that the league which he had to his good content ſo lately made with him, was

Diogenes the Emperor taken by the Turks.

Eudocia the Empreſſe depoſed by the traitor Ioh. Ducas, Pſellus, and others.

Diogines the Emperor taken priſoner by Andronicus.

The miſerable death of Diogenes the Emperor

Axan the Sultan ſeeketh to reuenge the death of Diogenes.

A was thereby come to nought: wherfore in reuenge thereof, he with great power inuaded the imperiall prouinces; not for ſpoile and booty only, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the ſame. Againſt whom, *Michael* the Emperor ſent *Iſaac Comnenus* his Lieutenant, with a great army: who meeting with the Turks, & joyning battell, was by them ouerthrown with all his army, and taken priſoner; and glad afterwards for a great ſumme of mony to redeeme himſelfe. After which ouerthrow, the Emperor ſent his vncle *Cæſar* with another army againſt them, who was by *Ruſelius*, that had before reuolted from the Emperour, ouerthrowne at the riuer Sangarius, and taken priſoner; whom he for all that ſhortly after ſet at libertie againe, and joyning with him againſt the Turks, were both together by them diſcomfited and taken priſoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cæſar* by the Emperour, and *Ruſelius*
B by his wife. This *Ruſelius* was a notable traitour, who joyning with the Turks, did what he liſt in the prouinces of the Empire in the leſſer Aſia: for the repreſſing of whom, the Emperor ſent *Alexius Comnenus*, a young man, but very politick and couragious; who ſecretly practiſing with the Turks that were great with *Ruſelius*, had him at laſt by them for a ſum of mony betraied into his power: who forthwith ſent him to Conſtantinople to the Emperor, by whom he was impriſoned, but afterwards ſet at liberty and imploied againſt *Bryennius* and his brother, then vp in rebellion againſt the Emperour.

But to come neerer to the Turkiſh affaires. *Cutlu-Muſes*, who with his couſin *Melech* and others, were for feare of *Tangrolipix* their couſin fled into Arabia, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the reigne of *Axan*, returned: and as the enuious competitors of his king-
C dom, hauing raiſed a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried the matter with him by plain battel. Againſt whom alſo, the Sultan on the other ſide had brought into the field his whole forces, & was now likewiſe ready to haue incountred them neere vnto the city of Eres. But whilſt the Turks thus diuided, ſtood ready to deſtroy themſelues, the Caliph of Babilon (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporall ſoueraignetie, yet in matters of religion ſtil held him in great reuerence and eſteem, as their chiefe Biſhop, & the ſucceſſor of their great Prophet) conſidering that nothing could be more dangerous to his ſect and religion, than that ciuil diſcention, the late confuſion and vtter ruine of the Saraſin empire, and authority of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in theſe new Saraſins, now the chief ſtay of the Mahometan ſuperſtition: ſetting aſide all pontificall for-
D mality wherby he was bound not to go out of his own houſe, came with all ſpeed euen as the armies were now ready to joyn battel, & thruſting himſelfe into the middeſt betwixt them, what with the reuerence of his perſon, what with his effectuall perſuaſion, wrought ſo much and preuailed ſo far with both parties, that they were content to lay down their weapons, and to ſtand to his order and judgment: which was, That *Axan* the Sultan ſhould ſtill injoy his kingdom and territories, whole and entire vnto himſelfe as he did: and that *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons, aided by him, and ſo inuading the prouinces of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, ſhould therof ſubdue ſo much as they could vnto themſelues, & to be thereof accounted the only Lords and gouernors: which order as it was vnto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometan ſuperſtition, very wholſome and commodious, ſo was it vnto the Chriſtian
E commonweale and religion moſt dangerous and hurtfull, as in proceſſe of time by proofe it appeared. For by this mean in ſhort time after, *Cutlu-Muſes* with his couſins and ſons ſubdued all Media, with a great part of Armenia, Capadocia, Pontus, and Bythinia, and ſo a great part of the leſſer Aſia. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muſes*, and the fauor of the ſoldiers, *Nicephorus Botoniates* aſpiring to the Empire of Conſtantinople, diſplaced his maſter the Emperor, *Michael Ducas*, after he had raigned ſix yeres & ſix moneths, and in the habit of a Monke thruſt him into an Abbey: which vſurper by the juſt judgement of God, was at length requited euen with the ſame meaſure, and in like manner ſerued by *Comnenus*; who thruſting him out, ſucceeded himſelfe in the empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his ſons and kinſ-
F men did for the inlarging of the Turkiſh empire, by the helpe of the great Perſian Sultan: whoſe forces together with their own, in diuers countries conducted by theſe worthy leaders his nigh kinſmen, and doing great matters, gaue occaſion for themſelues to be accounted Sultans, though indeed they were none, neither their names ſuch, as are by ſome antient writers, & others of later time alſo reported; but vnto the Turks themſelues by thoſe names, either for Sultans, vnknowne. Out of theſe great commanders, all borne of the Selzuccian familie,

Cutlu-Muſes with his ſonnes and kinſmen take vp armes againſt Axan the Sultan.

A moſt hurtfull order for the Chriſtian common-weale.

The ground of the errour of diuers writers about the ſucceſſors of Tangrolipix, otherwiſe of them called Sadoch.

family,hath *Aithonus*,and others following his report,deriued their *Dogrisla*, *Aspasalemus*, *Meleclas*, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they suppose to haue orderly succeeded *Zadoc*, otherwise called *Tangrolipix*, in the Turkish empire,and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turks themselues,and the relation of the Greeks,it appears plainly, *Axan* (more truly called *Ax-han*, that is to say, the White king) to haue bin the son of *Tangrolipix*, and to haue succeeded him in the empire: and that by him the emperor *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Aspasalemus* as they vainely imagine. As for *Aspasalemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not either any thing of his doings, it seemeth to haue been a name corrupted of *Aspam Sallarius*, the brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his sonnes son, as they would haue it. In like manner *Meleclas* also seemeth to haue been forged of *Melech* the son of *Habrami*, *Tangrolipix* his brother, and not of *Aspasalemus*, as some without any good ground report. Whom they finding to haue been all great men in the Selzuccian family, with some others also, haue both corrupted their names, and giuen vnto them an imaginarie soueraignetie and succession in the Turks first empire, such as beside that the Turks themselues acknowledge not, is easile to be reselled out of the histories of the Greeks, who had with them still much to do. Wherefore leauing those supposed princes of the Turks, with their imaginarie succession, and doings, vnto the authors thereof, following more certainties, to return againe to the course of our history. *Axan* the Sultan at the same time that he had by the mediation of the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his cousin *Cutlu-Muses*; to increase the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of his nigh kinsmen, the gouernement of Damasco and Aleppo, with that part of Syria which joyneth vnto them, of purpose that way to incroch vpon the Ægyptian Chaliph, who then had vnder his jurisdiction, all, as far as Laodicea in Syria; yet not with so large priuiledge as had *Cutlu-Muses*, vnto whom and his posteritie he had yeelded the absolute honour of a Sultan or King, ouer such countries and prouinces as he should win from the Christians: but vnto these others his kinsmen, he gaue the gouernement of the aforesaid cities of Damasco and Aleppo, in the frontiers of his dominion in Syria, conditionally, that they should still remaine his vassals, and hold of him as of their soueraigne, whatsoeuer they had, who neuertheless in short time mightily preuailed vpon the Ægyptian, still increasing the Turkish territorie with the losse of the Sarasins, whose name together with their Empire, was now by the Turks almost quite driuen out of Asia.

But these proud branches of the Turkish Empire, thus ouerspreading the lesser Asia, with the greatest part of Syria, were in short time after by the mercy of God, and the valour of the most Christian and most religious princes of the West, cut shorter, and brought againe into some better order. The full discourse whereof, worthy eternall memory, by others inrolled in the antient records of fame, I purpose not at large to follow, but in briefe to touch, for the orderly continuation of the present historie, hasting to the doings of this victorious nation of latter times, wherein we are to make a longer stay, as more pertinent vnto the dangerous estate of the present time.

Peter a French Hermit goeth on pilgrimage to Ierusalem.

It fortuned that whilst *Cutlu-Muses* and his sons, supported by the Sultan *Axan* their kinsman, thus mightily preuailed against the Christians in the lesser Asia on the one side, and *Melech* with his cousin against the Egyptian Caliph in Syria on the other: that one *Peter* a French Hermite mooued with a deuout zeale, according to the manner of that time, went to visit the sepulchre of our Sauior, with the other holy places at Ierusalem: who comming into Syria, then for the most part possessed by the Turks & Sarasins, diligently noted by the way as he trauelled, the maners and fashions of these barbarous nations, their gouernment, their cities, their power and strength; but aboue all, the grieuous miseries of the poore oppressed Christians, that there liv'd in most miserable thraldom among them, without hope of releas: al which, he in the habit of a poore pilgrim, at liberty safely viewed, in the midst of these miscreants, being withal a little low hard fauoured fellow, and therfore in shew more to be contemnd than feared: yet vnder such simple & homly feature lay vnregarded a most subtil sharp and pearching wit, fraught with discretion & sound judgment, still applying to som good vse what he had in his long and painful trauel most curiously obserued. He commeth to Ierusalem, and performing his devotions there, saw the grieuous misery of the poore deuout Christians, so great and heauy, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: wherwith not a little

The description of Peter the Hermit.

A little grieued, he entred into a deepe discourse thereof with *Simon* the Patriarke and Abbot of the monasterie of the Christians (there before built by certaine Italian Merchants) and with the master of the Hospitalers, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatsoeuer else he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongst them, that the Patriarke and the grand Master, should in their own, and the names of the other oppressed Christians, write their letters vnto the Pope and the other Christian Princes, concerning their miseries; and to craue their aid for the recouery of those holy places out of the hands of those cruell Infidels: of which letters the deuout Hermit promised himself to be the trustie carrier, and of their petitions the most carefull soliciter. Whereupon the Patriarke and grand Master, in the name of the poore oppressed Christians wrote their letters vnto this effect:

B

We the citisens of the holy Citie, and countreymen of Christ Iesus, dayly suffer those things which Christ our King suffered but once, in the last daies of his mortalitie. We are dayly buffeted, scourged, and pierced: euery day some of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flie from citie to citie, vnto the remotest parts of the earth, and remooue out of the middle of that land where Christ our Sauior wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vagrant life; were it not impietie to leaue the Land (sacred with the birth, doctrine, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Sauiour) without inhabitants and Priests; and that there should first lacke such as would indure death and martyrdome, than such as would inflict the same; and that there should not be which would willingly die for Christ, as in battell, so long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly we most miserably suffer: C *yet was there a time when as our ancestors feared no such thing, either to themselues or their posteritie. And now perhaps the Christian kingdomes of the West liue likewise without the least suspicion of feare: but let them be moued by our example and testimony. The strength of the Turks is dayly increased and ours diminished: The continuall gaining of new kingdomes giueth them courage: They haue already deuoured the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the Sarasins, their policies deeper, their attempts more desperat, their endeauors greater, and their successe fortunater. Yet haue the Sarasins attempted both Romes: they haue besieged Constantinople, and haue wasted not onely the sea coasts of Italy, but euen the heart of the land also. Then why should the kingdomes of the West presume themselues to stand in safety and out of all perill, when as the chiefe fortresses of the world haue beene so indangered? what may the rest of Christendome promise vnto it selfe, seeing that* D *Ierusalem (the seat and spectacle of the Christian Religion) hath beene besieged, taken, sacked, rased, and triumphed vpon? seeing that of the Christian profession remaine but the poore and weake reliques, in comparison of the antient whole entire body? This land, which is dayly besprinkled with our bloud, yea the bloud it selfe cryeth out for reuenge. And we your most humble suppliants, prostrate at your feet, call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith, and religion, of you most blessed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates; Christians not in name and profession onely, but in heart, soule, and spirit. Before the tempest thunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the storme hanging ouer your heads: defend vs your poore suppliants, deliuer your religion from most wicked and accursed slauerie. You shall in so doing deserue immortall fame, and God shall requite your so great valour in this world with terrestriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall blisse, whose sacred inheritance* E *you shall haue defended from the rage of hell.*

The Letters of Simon, Patriarke of Ierusalem, and of the grand Master of the Hospitalers, vnto the Pope and other Christian Princes, in the behalfe of the oppressed Christians in Ierusalem.

Rome and Constantinople, which was also called Noua Roma, or new Rome.

With these letters, and plenty of other secret instructions, the deuout hermit returning into Italie, and comming to Rome, deliuered his letters vnto *Vrban* the second of that name, then Pope, with a ful discourse of the miseries of the Christians vnder the Turkish thraldom, which he had seene at Ierusalem and other places as he trauelled; requesting his holy care for the redresse thereof: with whom he so preuailed, that shortly after, he calling a Councell at Claremont in France, among other things, propounded the miserie of the poore oppressed Christians at Ierusalem, as an especiall matter to be considered of. And hauing caused the aforesaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Christian Princes, to be openly read in the F Councell, whereunto three hundred and ten Bishops were then out of diuers parts of Christendom assembled, with the Embassadors of all countries, much moued the whole assembly to compassion: at which time also the hermit (whose flowing eloquence fully counteruailed what wanted in his feature, standing vp in the midst of the Councell, deliuered his message in the name of the afflicted Christians, with their heauie groanings and teares: which as they

The Councell of Claremont in France.

could not be in letters expreſſed, ſo were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him G
who hauing both lately ſeene both the miſerie of the men, and deſolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the griefe thereof) ſo liuely repreſented, as that it moued the whole aſſembly with the like ſimpathy of heauineſſe and griefe. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke thereupon occaſion to enter into a large diſcourſe concerning that matter, with many effectuall reaſons perſuading the Fathers and Princes there preſent, of the neceſſitie of ſo religious a Warre to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppreſſed brethren out of the thraldome of the Infidels; and now as well as with their preſent Decree, as afterwards at their returne home into their Countries, by all meanes to further the ſame. Which notable perſuaſion, with the heauie complaint of the Hermit, and the equitie of the Cauſe, ſo much moued the whole Councell, and the reſt there preſent, that they all as men inſpired with one H
An expedition agreed vpon by the Councel, for the relief of the Chriſtians oppreſſed in the Holy-Land. Spirit, declared their conſent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, God willeth it, God willeth it: which words ſo then vttered by way of applauſe, were in the great and moſt ſacred expedition following, much vſed of the deuout Chriſtians, as the fortunate ſignall of their cheerefull forwardneſſe, euen in their moſt dangerous enterpriſes. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be beleeued (but that the antient Hiſtories beare witneſſe of the like) how farre in one daies ſpace the report of this religious decreed warre was by flying fame diſperſed.

The Councell diſſolued, and the reuerend Fathers returning euerie man home into his owne countrey, it pleaſed God by their effectuall perſuaſions ſo to worke with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and prouinces in Chriſtendom, I
were ſhortly to be ſeene men of all ſorts in great number, with red Croſſes on their breſts (the cogniſance of that ſacred expedition) readie of themſelues to ſpend both life and goods for the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and recouerie of the Holy-Land. The number of whom is of diuers diuerſly reported; but of moſt ſuppoſed to haue beene three hundred thou-
The chiefe commanders of the Chriſtians in their expedition into the Holy-Land. ſand fighting men: Of whom the chiefe Commanders were, *Godfrey* Duke of Lorraine, with his two brethren, *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable houſe of Buillon; *Hugh* ſyrnamed the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymond* and *Robert* Earles of Flanders; *Robert* Duke of Normandie, *William* the Conquerors ſonne; *Stephen de Valoys* Earle of Chartiers; *Ademar* Biſhop of Podie, the popes Legat; and *Peter* the Hermit, not to be numbred amongſt the leaſt, as chiefe author of this moſt famous expedition: vnto whom many K
other honourable Princes joyned themſelues, as partakers of their trauels, though not with like charge.

The firſt that ſet forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senſauier* a noble Gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter* the Hermit, with fortie thouſand moe; who both trauelling thorow Germany, Hungaria, and Bulgaria, were glad oftentimes, eſpecially in the further part of Hungarie and Bulgaria, to open themſelues a way with the ſword; and ſo with much labor, and no leſſe loſſe came at length to Conſtantinople: where they were not greatly welcome vnto the Emperour *Alexius Comnenus*; who guiltie vnto himſelfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus* his predeceſſour, had that expedition of the Chriſtians into the Eaſt, in diſtruſt, as purpoſed againſt himſelfe: vntill that fully reſolued to the contrarie, by the Hermit and others; L
and that a farre greater power was comming after, for the inuaſion of the Turks, and recouerie of the Holy-Land; he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: and afterward to make roome for them that were to come, ſhipped them ouer the ſtrait of Boſphorus into Aſia; who marching forward into Bithynia, encamped their Army in the countrey not farre from the Citie of Nice. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers other Princes that had joyned themſelues vnto him, with the Germanes and Lorranois, and the greateſt part of the Armie, followed the ſame way that the Hermit had taken before him. At which time alſo *Hugh* the French Kings brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts* (the one Duke of Normandie, and the other Earle of Flanders) and the reſt of the French M
Commanders, paſſing ouer the Mountaines into Italie, came to Rome, with a wonderfull great Armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, becauſe they would be leſſe troubleſome vnto the Cities and Countreys whereby they were to paſſe, they diuided their great Armie into three parts; whereof the one part went to Brunduſium, and the other to Bary, and the

third

A third to Hydruntum, vnto whom also *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of Apulia, joyned himselfe with twelue thousand good souldiers that followed him. From these three ports the Christian army departing, and crossing the Adriaticke, arriued in safety at Dirrachium, and nigh thereabout vpon the coast of Dalmatia: from whence they trauelled by land thorow Macedonia, to Constantinople; were they met with the Duke *Godfrey* and the rest of the Armie: whom also at the first, *Alexius* the Emperour is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as jealous of his owne estate; vntill that better persuaded of their designements and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich presents sent vnto him by these strange Princes, he joyned with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the Emperor during the time of this expedition should furnish them with new supplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatsoeuer else they should want: in regard whereof, the Princes on the other side promised to restore again vnto the empire, what prouinces, countries, or cities they should happily gain out of the hands of the Turks and Sarasins, the City of Ierusalem only excepted: which agreement was afterward on the suspicious Emperors part but slenderly performed. Neuertheless, this league so made, hee granted them passage, and so transported them ouer the strait into Asia: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the Emperour *Alexius* and his father, would not come to Constantinople, but marching with his army thorow the vpper Mysia and Thracia, came sooner than any man had thought, vnto the strait of Hellespontus, and so passed.

Godfrey duke of Buillon, and the other Christian Princes, meet together at Constantinople.

Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their Army, lien two moneths in the countrey about Nice, expecting the comming of the rest of the Christian Princes: for why, they thought it not good before their comming to attempt any thing against the enemie, whom they knew to lie not farre off very strong. But the common souldiers wearie of so long lying, and nought doing, and pinched with some wants, and withall disliking of *Gualter* their chiefe Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whose integritie and holinesse they had a greater opinion, than of his prowesse and direction) rose vp in mutinie, and displacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymund* a valiant Germane Captaine, for their Generall: by whose conduct they tooke Exorgum, a Towne of purpose forsaken of the Turks. For they long before vnderstanding what a tempest of warre was growing vpon them out of Europe, sought by all means to cut off these that were already come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater Army following; and therefore had left them this Towne, as a bait to traine them out of their trenches. And after that the Christians were thus possessed of the Towne, hauing layd certaine strong ambushes, they droue out certaine heards of cattell the more to allure them: all which certaine companies of the Christians brought in without any losse, the Turks still winking thereat. With which bootie the Christians encouraged, went out three thousand of them to take in a little towne not farre off; who were by Turks cut off and slaine euery mothers sonne, as they were about to haue diuided the spoile. Which ouerthrow reported into the Towne, discouraged euen the chiefe Commanders of the army, so that they resolued no more to try the fortune of the field, before the comming of their friends. Neuertheless the common souldiers condemning them of cowardise, chose them a new Generall, one *Godfrey Burel*, whom they now requested not, but enforced to goe out to reuenge the death of their fellowes. Which their rashnesse not long after turned to their own destruction: for ten thousand of them going out of Exorgum, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turkes entrapped, and almost all slaine, except some few, which by speedy flight escaped. The Turks prosecuting their victorie, layd hard siege to them in the Towne also, vntill they had partly with famine, and partly with the sword consumed the most part of them. The Hermit with the poore remainder of his army tooke his refuge to Cinite, a Towne not farre off, before abandoned by the Turks; where with much adoe he defended himselfe vntill the comming of Duke *Godfrey* and the rest of the Princes.

Cutlu-Muses the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his son Sultan *Solyman* many large countries & prouinces, altogether gained from the Christians in Asia, whom he held in great subjection and thraldome. This warre-like Prince hauing discomfited and almost brought to nought the hermits forces, was no lesse carefull for the withstanding of the great army following: which now being come into Bithynia, & lying before Nicomedia, remouing thence, laid siege to the city of Nice, called in antient time Antigonia, of *Antigonus*, the son of *Philip* that built it; and afterwards Nicea, of *Nicea* the wife of King *Lysimachus*. In this city dwelt many deuout

Nice besieged by the Christians.

deuout Greeks, Chriſtians;but in ſuch thraldome vnto the Turks, that they could not do any G
thing for the deliuerie of themſelues. This ſiege indured longer than the Chriſtian Princes had at the firſt ſuppoſed: who although they to the vttermoſt of their power forced the citie on three ſides,yet was it ſtil notably defended,new ſupplies ſtill comming from the Turks by the lake of Aſcanius joyning vpon the other ſide of the Citie. But after that the Chriſtians, poſſeſſed of the lake, began on that ſide alſo to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turks diſcouraged,and ſeeing themſelues beſet round with their enemies,yeelded vp the city the fifth of Iu-
1097 ly,in the yeare 1097,after it had been fifty daies beſieged. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege, the Turks aſſailed the quarter of the camp where the Legat lay; by whom they were notably repulſed,and with great loſſe inforced to retyre vnto the mountains. In this city,amongſt the reſt of the Turks,was taken *Solymans* wife,with two of her children, whom the H
Princes ſent priſoners to Conſtantinople. This City ſo woon, was according to the agreement before made, reſtored vnto *Alexius* the Emperour, whoſe fleet had in that ſiege done good ſeruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

The city of Nice thus woon,the Chriſtian Princes remouing thence with their army, and marching thorow the country,came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watred many rich paſtures;where as they were about to haue incamped, for the commodiouſneſſe of the place, and refreſhing of the army, ſuddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay, now buſie in caſting vp his trenches, That the Turks with a great Army were ready euen at hand to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raiſed a great power of his owne, and aided by the Sultan of Perſia his kinſman,was now come with an army of 60000 ſtrong to giue the Chri- I
ſtians battell: of whoſe approch *Bohemund* aduertiſed,left the fortifying of his trenches, and putting his ſoldiers in array,ſet forward to meet him;ſending word to the reſt of the Princes
A cruell battell fought betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians. that lay a far off,to be ready as occaſion ſhould require,to relieue him. Theſe two armies conducted by their moſt reſolute chiefetains,meeting together,joyned a moſt fierce and terrible battell,where in a ſhort ſpace the Turks lay ſlain vpon heaps,in ſuch ſort that they ſerued the Chriſtians in ſtead of bulwarks. But whileſt *Bohemund* thus preuailed in the battell,certain of the Turks horſemen wheeling about,brake into *Bohemunds* camp(not as then altogether fortified, and but ſlenderly manned) where among the women,and other weake perſons there left, they raiſed a great tumult and outcry,to the great appaling of them that were fighting in the battel:which *Bohemund* perceiuing,withdrew himſelf with certain companies vnto the camp, K
from whence he with great ſlaughter repulſed the enemy. But returning againe into the battel, he found there a great alteration: for his ſoldiers whom before he had left as it were in poſſeſſion of a moſt glorious victory, were now ſo hardly laid vnto by the Turks, as that they were ready to haue turned their backes and fled. Neuertheleſſe,by his comming in,the battell was notably reſtored,and again made doubtful:when the enemy perceiuing how much the aſſaulting of the camp had troubled the Chriſtians in battell, ſent out certaine troups of horſemen again to aſſault the ſame;and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforeſaid not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings brother come in good time to the reſcue: who comming in with 30000 horſemen,after he had relieued the camp,entring directly into the battell, was notably encountred with a ſquadron of freſh ſouldiers of the Turks, by them L
of purpoſe reſerued for ſuch euent. There began a battell more terrible than the firſt, with moſt doubtfull victorie: but at the length the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and ſeeing moſt of their fellowes ſlaine,began by little and little to giue ground,and ſo retired into the mountains,which were not far off. In this battell, which continued a great part of the day,were ſlaine of the Turks 40000,and of the Chriſtians about 2000. The next morning *Bohemund*, with the French Kings brother, came againe into the field, in ſuch order as if they ſhould preſently haue giuen or receiued battell: where after they had ſtayd a great while,and ſaw no enemy to appear,they fell to the honeſt buriall of their dead;which were eaſily known from the Turks, by the red croſſes vpon their garments, the cogniſance of their ſacred warre-
Solyman flyeth. fare. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his army,notably diſſembled his loſſe,giuing it out M
that he had gotten the victorie:yet by the way as he went he burnt vp the coutry villages,and deſtroied or carried away whatſoeuer els he thought might ſtand the Chriſtians in any ſtead, if they ſhould further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victorie, *Bohemund* and the Chriſtian Princes, without reſiſtance marching thorow

A through the hot and dry countries of the leſſer Aſia, came to Antiochia a Citie of Piſidia, which they took with ſmall labour: and ſo marching vnto Iconium the principall city of Cilicia, neere vnto the mountaine Taurus, were there alſo of the citiſens courteouſly receiued, where they ſtaied certaine daies for the refreſhing of the Armie. From thence they ſet forward toward Heraclea, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be aſſembled. But they, together with the garriſon ſouldiers, vpon the approch of the victorious Army of the Chriſtians, forſook the city and fled: the citiſens being Chriſtians (as they were yet generally in all the Prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, but in great ſubjection to the Turkes) and now rid of their cruel maſters the Turkiſh garriſons, came forth, and meeting the Princes, gladly yeelded themſelues with their city vnto them, as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Chriſtian Princes fully inſtructed of the great feare and deſperation of the Turks, who now in no place durſt abide their comming; for the more ſpeedy taking in of thoſe countries but lately oppreſſed by the Turks, diuided their army into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in Cilicia, for the full ſubduing thereof, (who in ſhort time tooke the cities of Tarſus, Edeſſa, and Manuſſa; with all the reſt of the country, the Turks daring not any where to abide their comming:) the other part of the army in the mean time entring into the leſſer Armenia; tooke the ſame from the Turks, which the Princes gaue to one *Palmurus* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great ſeruice. From thence they tooke their way into Capadocia, which they alſo ſubdued, driuing out the Turks in euery place, and tooke the Cities of Cæſarea and Socor, where they ſtaied a few daies for the refreſhing of the army: with
B like ſucceſſe they paſſed thorow the reſt of the Prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, of late poſſeſſed by the Turks, ſtill chaſing them out before them, and ſetting at libertie the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians of thoſe countries. Whereof *Solyman* (crauing aid of *Axan* the Perſian Sultan his couſin) grieuouſly complained, by his letters to him directed in this ſort: *The famous Citie of Nice, with the country of Romania, which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the Greeks, and of your bounty poſſeſſed, the Chriſtians of the kingdome of France haue againe taken from vs.* Thus was the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, by theſe valiant Chriſtian champions againe brought low, and they glad to retyre themſelues further off into the mountains and more Eaſterne countries, vntill this heat was ouerpaſt; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled ſtate of the Greeke Empire (afterwards rent in ſunder by ambition and
D ciuill diſcord, the ruine of the greateſt monarchies) recouered not only their former ſtate, but became alſo dreadfull vnto the Greeke Emperors themſelues: vpon whom they dayly gained in one corner or other, ſtill maintaining the honour of their eſtate vntill the riſing of the *Othoman* Familie, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall God willing be declared.

Antioch in Piſidia taken by the Chriſtians.

Heraclea yeelded.

Sultan Solyman his letters vnto the Perſian Sultan Axan.

Theſe victorious princes (then, and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their immortall praiſe to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the leſſer Aſia, and recouered ſo many countries; bound themſelues, as well the Princes as the common ſoldiers, by ſolemne oath, neuer to returne againe into their countries, vntill they had accompliſhed that ſacred war with the conqueſt of the Holy city. So mounting together the high mountain Taurus, and deſcending thence as into another world, they came to the city Mareſia, which they tooke without
E reſiſtance, the Turks there in garriſon being by night before for feare fled: where the Chriſtians for the refreſhing of themſelues certain daies ſtaid. In the mean time *Robert* Earle of Flanders with 1000 men at armes, was ſent out to giue ſummons vnto a city called Artaſia, about 15 miles diſtant from Antioch: when as the citiſens beholding the enſignes of the Chriſtians, ſuddenly tooke vp armes againſt the Turks there in garriſon, which had of long holden them in ſubjection, and preuailing vpon them, ſlew them euery mothers ſon: whoſe heads they preſented vnto the Earle, and receiued him into their Citie. The Turks to reuenge the death of their friends, and to recouer againe the citie before the comming of the reſt of the armie, ſent out about 10000 men out of Antioch; for thither was aſſembled a great power of them to haue hindred the further proceedings of the Chriſtians: and being come neer to Artaſia, they
F ſent before certaine ſtragling companies, of purpoſe to draw the new come Chriſtians out of the city, lying in the mean time in ambuſh with the reſt, of purpoſe to entrap them: with theſe ſtragling companies the Flemmings ſallying out luſtily, encountred, and eaſily put them to flight; the Turks indeed flying of purpoſe to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in ambuſh. After whom the Flemmings eagerly following, were before they were aware en-

The Chriſtians bind themſelues by Oath, neuer to return vntill they had woon the Holy-Citie.

cloſed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly periſhed, had not the Citiſens (being Chriſtians) preſently ſallied out and right worthily relieued them. G

Shortly after, the Chriſtian Princes marching forward with their army, were encountred by the Turks at the riuer Orontes, who had there thought to haue ſtayd their further paſſage: with whom *Robert* Duke of Normandie, who had the leading of the vantgard, had a hard conflict, vntill that the Turks, diſcouraged with the ſight of the armie ſtill comming on, forſooke the bridge, and betook themſelues to flight. So the Chriſtians paſſing the riuer, came and incamped with their army before the famous City of Antioch, the one and twentieth day of October, in the yere 1097: the gouernor whereof vnder the Perſian Sultan was one *Caſſianus*, (of ſome alſo honoured with the name of a King) who at the comming of the Chriſtians, had with him in the city ſeuen thouſand horſemen, and twentie thouſand foot of the Turks, with great ſtore of victuals, and all manner of other prouiſions neceſſary for the defence thereof. H

Antioch in Syria beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The deſcription of the famous citie of Antioch.

This citie, called in antient time Epidaphane, or Epiphane, and of the Hebrewes, Reblatha, ſometime the ſeat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the motropoliticall city of Syria, hauing vnder it an hundred and fifty Biſhops, (famous for many things, and amongſt others, for that it was the ſeat of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Peter*, and firſt place whereas the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion tooke the name of Chriſtians) is ſcituate vpon the riuer Orontes, about twelue miles from the ſea, and was then ſtrongly fortified both by Nature and Art, being compaſſed about with a double wall; the vttermoſt wherof was of hard ſtone, and the other of bricke, with 460 towers in the ſame, and an impregnable caſtle at the Eaſt end thereof, whereunto was joyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuer, which watered the South ſide of the citie. I Round about this ſtrong citie (one of the moſt aſſured refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Chriſtian Princes encamped, except on that ſide which being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be beſieged. Vpon whom the Turks out of the citie, during the time of the ſiege made many a fierce and deſperat ſally, being ſtil by the Chriſtians moſt valiantly repulſed: eſpecially at the bridge which the Chriſtians had made of boats for their more commodious paſſage to and fro ouer the riuer. In this ſort was the ſiege continued vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloudy skirmiſh. At which time ſuch abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie dry in; and the ſcarcitie of victuall grew ſo great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to ſay) to aſſuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late ſlaine enemies. In theſe extremities many died of hunger and cold; yea, their horſes alſo periſhed for want of meat, ſo that in the whole campe were ſcarely left two thouſand horſes fit for ſeruice, the reſt being either all dead, or brought ſo low, as that they were altogether vnſeruiceable. K Theſe miſeries dayly increaſing, diuers men of great account, whom no terror of the enemie could haue diſmaid, began ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of the camp, with purpoſe to haue ſtolne home; among whom were *Peter* the hermit author of this war, and *Tancred* the nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the reſt as fugitiues, were ſharply reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren and fellow ſoldiers, and ſo inforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perſeuerance. *Bohemund* in the meane time going to Arthuſia a towne not far off, by good fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in garriſon: who after their vſuall manner ſallying out to haue cut off the forragers of the Chriſtians, were now themſelues caught tardy: wherby the country for a time was more open for the diſtreſſed Chriſtian ſoldiers to ſeeke abroad for reliefe. But this libertie ſo lately gained laſted not long, when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the Turks in great number, out of the prouinces about Aleppo and Damaſco, were comming vnto the reliefe of their beſieged friends in Antioch. Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians truſting to their own ſtrength & the ſtrength of the place wherin they were incamped, lay ſtil, & at their comming ſo incountred them, that they ſlew 2000 of them, & put the reſt to flight. In which conflict the Chriſtians got great ſtore of prouiſion and victuals which the Turks had thought to haue put into the city. The heads of the ſlain Turks the Chriſtians ſet vpon ſtakes before the city, to the more terror of the defendants. This ouerthrow of the Turks, wherein *Caſſianus* had loſt his eldeſt ſon, with others of his beſt captains, ſo daunted the beſieged, that they requeſted a truce for a time of the Chriſtian Princes: which granted, they of the city came oftentimes into the campe, and they of the campe likewiſe into the city: *Caſſianus* ſtil expecting reliefe L M

A liefe from the Persian Sultan. Whileſt the Christian Princes were thus buſie in Asia, the Venetians with a great fleet of two hundred gallies ſcowring the ſeas, vnder the conduct of *Henry Contarenus* the Biſhop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes ſon, meeting with the gallies of *Piſa* at the Rhodes, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherin the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eighteene of their gallies, and in them fiue thouſand ſouldiers: whom they ſeeing to be marked with the red croſſe, the cogniſance of the ſacred war, they preſently ſet at liberty, together with the gallies, detaining onely thirty of the better ſort as hoſtages. After that, the Venetians ſailing into Ionia, tooke the city of Smyrna, and ſpoiled all along the coaſts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

The truce before taken between the Turks and the Chriſtians at the ſiege of Antioch, being
B in ſhort time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a Frenchman, ſlaine by the Turks; the war was again begun, and the city more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernor, who in the time of this long ſiege, which had now continued nine moneths, had loſt moſt part of his beſt ſoldiers, was glad for the defence of ſo great a City, to vſe the ſeruice of diuers Chriſtians, then dwelling in the city. Among whom was one *Pyrrhus*, a citiſen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Siſters; but afterwards S. *Georges* tower. This *Pirrhus* had ſecret intelligence with *Bohemund* Prince of *Antioch betrai-ed to the Chri-ſtians.*
Tarentum, with whom he agreed to giue him there enterance into the city, vpon condition,
C that he ſhould of the other Chriſtian Princes procure the gouerment of the city to himſelf; and that he, with the reſt of the Chriſtian citiſens in the city, might be at his hands well vſed: which thing being eaſily obtained, all things agreed vpon, *Bohemund* with his ſouldiers were by night by *Pyrrhus* let into the city, who made way for the reſt of the army to enter. The city thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the caſtle, the reſt were put to the ſword, man, woman and child; and among them alſo many of the Chriſtians, the furious ſouldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but ſmall ſtore of victuals. *Caſſianus* the *Caſſianus gouernour of Antioch in flying ſlaine.*
late gouernor flying out of the city to ſaue himſelf, in wandring thorow the mountains, fel into the hands of the Chriſtian Armenians, who lately thruſt out of Ieruſalem, were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there ſlaine. In the city were ſlaine about ten thouſand perſons. Thus was the famous city of Antioch, which the Turks had long before by famin taken from the Chriſtians, againe recouered the third day of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1098. 1098
D The poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in Ieruſalem hearing of this ſo notable a victory, gaue ſecret thanks vnto God therfore, and began to lift vp their heads, in hope that their deliuery was now at hand. Of this victory, the Princes of the army by ſpeedy meſſengers and letters, certified their friends in all countries, ſo that in ſhort time, the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Among others, *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, vnto whom the city was deliuered, ſent the joyfull newes thereof vnto *Roger* his brother Prince of Apulia: whoſe letters as the moſt certain witneſſes of the hiſtory before reported, I thought it not amiſſe here to ſet down:

The letters of Bohemund Prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

I ſuppoſe you to haue vnderſtood by the letters of your ſonne Tancred, *both of the great feare of ſome of vs, and the battels which we haue of late with our great glory fought. But concerning the truce, and*
E *the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you ſhould be certified by my letters, than the letters of others. King* Caſſianus *had required a time of truce: during which, our ſouldiers had free recourſe into the Citie without danger, vntill that by the death of* Vollo *a Frenchman, ſlaine by the enemie, the truce was broken. But whileſt it yet ſeemed a hard matter to winne the Citie, one* Pyrrhus *a Citiſen of Antioch, of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto me, had conference with me concerning the yeelding vp of the Citie; yet vpon condition, that the gouernement thereof ſhould be committed to me, in whom he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great Commanders of the armie, and eaſily obtained that the gouernement of the Citie was by their generall conſent allotted vnto me. So our armie entring by a gate opened by* Pyrrhus, *tooke the citie. Within a few daies after, the towne Aretum was by vs aſſaulted, but not without ſome loſſe and danger to our per-*
F *ſon, by reaſon of a wound I there receiued. I aſſure you much of the valor of your ſon* Tancred, *of whom I and the whole armie make ſuch account and reckoning, as is to be made of a moſt valiant and reſolute Generall. Farewell. From Antioch.*

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Antioch, *Corbanus* (the Perſian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edeſſa in vain beſieged by the Turks.

lieutenant) with a great army beſieged Edeſſa, with purpoſe after the taking thereof, to haue G
relieued the citie of Antioch. But this being notably defended by *Baldwin*, left there of purpoſe with a ſtrong garriſon for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to loſe Antioch, the ſafeſt refuge of the Turks in all thoſe parts, roſe with his armie, and ſet forward againſt the Chriſtians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sanſadolus*, *Ceſſianus* his ſon, but lately fled from Antioch, by whom he vnderſtood of the loſſe of the city, and by what means the ſame was moſt like again to be recouered: vpon which hope, *Corbanas* with his mightie army kept on his way, with a full reſolution to ſet all vpon the fortune of a battell. Whoſe comming much troubled the Chriſtians: for that although they were poſſeſſed of the citie, yet was the Caſtle ſtill holden by the Turks. Neuertheleſſe leauing the Earle of Tholous in the city, with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the caſtle, they H
tooke the field with the whole ſtrength of the armie, and ſo in order of battell, expected the comming of their enemies: who couragiouſly comming on, as men before reſolued to fight, ioyned with them a moſt terrible and bloudie battell. Neither were they in the meane time idle; for that the Turks hauing in the caſtle receiued in vnto them certain ſupplies from *Corbanas*, ſallied out vpon them that were left for the ſafegard of the citie, and had with them a cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without, was to be ſeen a moſt dreadful fight of reſolute men, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: yet after long fight and much effuſion of bloud, the fortune of the Chriſtians preuailing, the Turkes began to giue ground, and afterwards betook themſelues to plain flight, whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, made of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. In this battell were ſlaine of the Turkes aboue an hundred thouſand, I
and of the Chriſtians about foure thouſand two hundred. There was alſo taken a great prey; for beſides horſes & other beaſts for burden, were taken alſo fiue thouſand camels with their lading. The next day, being the 28 of Iune, the caſtle was by the Turks (now diſpairing of releefe) yeelded vp vnto the Chriſtians.

Corbanas the Sultans lieutenant, with a great army commeth to recouer again the city of Antioch

Antioch thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, ſirnamed the Great, was ſent from the reſt of the Princes to Conſtantinople, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guilty in conſcience of his owne foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had ſent no releefe at all during the long and hard ſiege of Antioch; neither performed any thing of that he had further promiſed, and therefore knowing himſelfe hated of them; had in diſtruſt ſo great an offer of the princes, ſo euill deſerued, and K
therefore refuſed to accept thereof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the generall conſent of the whole armie was choſen Prince, or (as ſome call him) King of Antioch.

Bohemund choſen Prince of Antioch.

After this long ſiege and want of victuals, enſued a great plague in the armie of the Chriſtians, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fifty thouſand men to haue died, and among them many of great account. But the mortalitie ceaſing, the Chriſtians in Nouember following, by force tooke Rugia, and Albaria, two cities, about two daies journey from Antioch: where diſſention aroſe betwixt *Bohemund* and *Raimund*, who of all others only enuied at his preferment vnto the principalitie of Antioch: *Bohemund* for the common cauſes ſake, gaue way vnto his aduerſarie, and retired with his ſouldiers backe againe to Antioch; after whom followed the Duke *Godfrey*, and the Earle of Flanders with their regiments. The reſt L
of the Princes wintred ſome at Rugia, ſome at Albaria, from whence *Raimund* made ſundrie light expeditions further into the enemies countrey: but the ſpring approching, the Chriſtian Princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with him, departing from Antioch, beſieged Tortoſa. *Raimund* in the meane time with the reſt, beſieging the citie of Tripolis: who become much more inſolent than before, by reaſon of ſome fortunate roades he had made vpon the enemies the laſt winter, ceaſed not ſtill to maligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the Chriſtians, and to haue turned their weapons vpon themſelues: which *Bohemund* well conſidering, roſe with his armie; and becauſe he would not with his preſence trouble the proceeding of the religious warre, retired himſelfe to Antioch. After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* and the M
Earle of Flanders, took Gabella, a citie about twelue miles from Laodicea, and from thence returned againe to the ſiege of Tortoſa, whither *Raimund* came alſo with his armie, hauing before driuen the Gouernour of Tripolis to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed himſelfe, and to furniſh him with ſuch things as he wanted. Thus was Tortoſa hardly on three ſides beſieged

Diſcord ariſing vpon emulation betwixt Bohemund and Raimund.

by

A by the Christians, but so notably defended by the Turks, that after three months hard siege, the Christians were glad to depart thence: and marching long the sea side, spoiled the countrey about Sidon. But forasmuch as that city was not easily to be won, they left it, and encamted before Ptolemais, which they also passed by: the gouernour thereof sending them out victuals, with such other things as they wanted; and vpon summons giuen, promising to yeeld the city after they had once won the city of Ierusalem. From thence they came to Cæsarea in Palestine, where they solemnly kept the feast of Whitsontide; and so to Rama, which they found for feare forsaken of the Infidels. Marching from Rama, and drawing neere to Ierusalem, they in the vantgard of the army, vpon the first descrying of the Holy citiy, gaue for ioy diuers great shouts and outcries, which with the like applause of the whole army was so doubled and redoubled, as if therewith they would haue rent the very mountaines, and pierced the highest heauens. There might a man haue seen the deuout passions of these most worthie and zealous Christians, vttered in right diuers manners: some, with their eies and hands cast vp towards heauen, called aloud vpon the name and help of Christ Iesus; some, prostrat vpon their faces, kissed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world sometime walked: others, ioyfully saluted those holy places which they had heard so much of, and then first beheld: in briefe, euery man in some sort expressed the ioy he had conceiued of the sight of the Holy city, as the end of their long trauell.

The exteeding ioy of the Christians vpon the first descrying of the holy city.

This most antient and famous city, so much renowned in holy Writ, is scituate in an hilly countrey; not watred with any riuer or fresh springs, as other famous cities for most part be; neither yet was it well seated for wood, or pasture ground: but what wanted in these, and such other benefits of nature, was by the extraordinary blessings of the most Highest so supplied, as that the Iewes there dwelling, so long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of all other people in the world iustly accounted the most happy & fortunate. Yet in those so blessed times, was this city for the sin of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand, and the glory thereof defaced; as well appeareth by the whole course of the historie of holy scripture, as also by the antient and approued histories, as well of the Iewes themselues, as others. Neuertheless it still rose againe (though not in like glory as before in the time of king *Dauid*, *Solomon*, and the other next succeeding kings) and so was still repeopled by the Iews, til that at last according to the foretelling of our Sauiour Christ, it was with a great and of all others most lamentable destruction, vtterly rased and destroied by the Romans, vnder the leading of *Vespasian* the emperor, and his noble son *Titus*, 40 yeres after our Sauior his precious death and passion. Since which time, it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired, or yet well inhabited by the Iews; but lying buried in the ruins of it selfe, all the reigne of *Domitian*, *Nerua*, and *Trajan*, untill the time of the great Emperour *Ælius Adrianus*, it was again by him re-edified about the yeare 136, and after the name of him called Ælia; who together with the name changed also in some part the antient scituation of the city. For whereas before it was seated vpon the steep rising of an hill, in such sort that towards the East and the South, it ouerlooked the whole ground, hauing only the Temple and the castle called Antonia, in the highest part of the city; *Adrian* translated the whole city vnto the very top of the hill, so that the place where our blessed Sauior suffred his most bitter passion, with the Sepulchre wherin he was also laid, and from whence he in glory rose againe, before without the city, were then inclosed within the wals thereof, as they are at this day to be seen. Yet for all that, the Emperor being dead, in processe of time this new built city recouered again the antient name of Ierusalem, wherby it hath euer since, and is at this day yet known. This city so re-edified, the Emperor first gaue to the Iews, whom he afterwards thrust out againe for their rebellion, and gaue it to the Christians to inhabit; ouer whom, one *Marke* first Bishop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But forasmuch as the Roman Emperours were at that time altogether Idolaters and persecutors of the poore Christians, the Church also at Ierusalem, with others, endured sundry and many grieuous persecutions, vnder the Emperors *Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Diocleſianus*, & *Maxentius*, till that at length *Constantine* the Great, conuerted vnto the faith of Christ about the yeare of Grace 320, suppressing the Pagan Idolatry, gaue generall peace to the afflicted Church: whereby the Christian Church at Ierusalem for the space of three hundred yeres after, happily flourished vnder the Greek emperors, vntill the time of the Emperor *Phocas*; who hauing most cruelly slain the good Empe-

Ierusalem re-edified by the great Emperor Ælius Adrianus.

A briefe discourse of the state and fortune of the holy city of Ierusalem, from the destruction thereof, vnder Vespasianus the Emperor, and Titus his sonne, vntill it was now again recouered out of the hands of the Infidels by Godfry of Buillon and the other Christian Princes of the west.

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rour *Maurice* with his children, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelfe of the empire, gaue occaſion there- G
by vnto *Choſroe* the Perſian King, in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law, with all his power to inuade Syria: who as a tempeſt bearing downe all before him, tooke alſo by force the city of Ieruſalem, hauing that yere, which was about the yere ſix hundred and ten, ſlain almoſt an hundred thouſand Chriſtians. But *Phocas* the vſurper beeing by them of his guard moſt cruelly ſlaine, and *Heraclius* ſucceeding in his ſtead, *Choſroe* was by him againe driuen out of Syria, and the holy city againe recouered, about the yere 624. In theſe great wars againſt the Perſians, *Heraclius* had vſed the help of the Arabians, called Scenite, a warlike people of Arabia Deſerta, altogether giuen to the ſpoile: who the wars now ended, expecting to haue receiued their pay, were contrary to their expectation, and without all reaſon rejected by them that ſhould haue paid them, with very foule and contumelious words; as, that there was H
not mony enough to pay the Chriſtian ſoldiers of the Latines & the Greeks, much leſſe thoſe vile dogs (whom they ſo called, for that they had but a little before receiued the damnable doctrine of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, the great ſeducer of the world, who euen in that time flouriſhed.) Vpon which diſcontentment they at their returne reuolted from the Empire, and joined themſelues vnto their great Prophet, and ſo afterwards vnto the Caliphs his ſucceſſors, extending his doctrine, together with his ſoueraigntie, to the vtmoſt of their power: and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in ſhort time they had ouerrun all Ægypt, Syria, the land of Promiſe, and taken the holy city. With theſe (the diſciples of *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the Saraſins, for ſo now they would be called) the Greeke Emperours inſuing had for certaine yeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the poſſeſſion of Syria. But at length wearied I
out, and by them ouercome, they left the aforeſaid countries wholly to their deuotion. Hereby it came to paſſe, that the Saraſins for the ſpace of 370 yeres following held theſe countries, with many others in great ſubjection, oppreſſing ſtill the poore Chriſtians in Ieruſalem with moſt grieuous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the city for them to dwell in, with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, and mount Sion; not for any deuotion, either vnto them, or thoſe places, but for that it yeelded them a great profit by the recourſe of deuout Chriſtians trauelling thither: reſeruing in the meane time vnto themſelues, the other two parts of the city, with the Temple of *Solomon*, before re-edified by the Chriſtians. Now whileſt the Saraſins thus triumph it in the Eaſt, and not in the Eaſt only, but ouer a great part of the Weſt alſo; contenting themſelues with ſuch tributes as they had im- K
poſed vpon the ſubdued nations and countries; vp ſtart the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruell people; who firſt breaking into Aſia (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aſpiring vnto the kingdome of Perſia, ſubdued the countries of Meſopotamia, Syria, with the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia and Iudæa, together with the Holy City: who both there and in all other places, held the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in ſuch ſubjection and thraldome, as that the former gouernment of the Saraſins ſeemed in compariſon of this to haue been but light and eaſie. Neither was there any end or releaſe of theſe ſo great miſeries to haue been expected, had not God in mercy by the weake meanes of a poore hermit, ſtirred vp theſe moſt worthy Princes of the Weſt to take vp arms in their defence, who hauing with their victorious armies recouered the leſſer Aſia, with a great part of Syria, were now come vnto this Holy City. L

Ieruſalem beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The gouernor of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding by his eſpials, of the proceedings of the Chriſtians, had before their approch, got into the city a very ſtrong garriſon of right valiant ſouldiers, with good ſtore of all things neceſſarie for the holding out of a long ſiege. The Chriſtians with their army approching the city, encamped before it on the North; for that toward the Eaſt and the South, it was not wel to be beſieged, by reaſon of the broken rocks and mountaines. Next vnto the city lay *Godfrey* the Duke, with the Germains and Loranois: neere vnto him lay the Earle of Flanders, and *Robert* the Norman: before the Weſt gate lay *Tancred* and the Earle of Tholous: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both abſent; the one at Antioch, the other at Edeſſa. The Chriſtians thus ſtrongly encamped, the fifth day after gaue vnto the city a fierce aſſault, with ſuch cheerefulneſſe, as that it was verily ſuppoſed, it might haue beene euen then M
woon, had they been ſufficiently furniſhed with ſcaling ladders: for want whereof, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault and retire. But within a few daies after, hauing ſupplied that defect, and prouided all things neceſſarie, they came on againe afreſh, and with all their power gaue vnto the City a moſt terrible aſſault, wherein was on both ſides ſeene great valour, policie

A licie,and cunning,with much ſlaughter,vntill that at length the Chriſtians weary of the long fight,and in that hot countrey,and moſt feruent time of the yeare, fainting for lacke of water were glad againe to forſake the aſſault,and to retire into their trenches: only the well of *Siloe* yeelded them water, and, that not ſufficient for the whole campe: the reſt of the wels which were but few,being before by the enemie either filled vp or elſe poyſoned.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ieruſalem,a fleet of the Genowaies arriued at Ioppa; at which time alſo a great fleet of the Ægyptian Sultans lay at Aſcalon, to haue brought reliefe to the beſieged Turkes in Ieruſalem, whereof the Genowaies vnderſtanding, and knowing themſelues to weake to encounter them at ſea,tooke all ſuch things out of their ſhips as they thought good,and ſo ſinking them,marched by land vnto the campe. There was B amongſt theſe Genowaies diuers engineers,men(after the manner of that time)cunning in making of all manner of engines fit for the beſieging of cities: by whoſe deuice,a great mouing tower was framed of timber and thick plancks,couered ouer with raw hides, to ſaue the ſame from fire:out of which the Chriſtians might in ſafety greatly annoy the defendants. This tower being by night brought cloſe to the wall, ſerued the Chriſtians in ſtead of a moſt ſure fortres in the aſſault the next day:where whilſt they ſtriue with warlike valor & doubtful victory on both ſides,from morning vntil mid-day, by chance the wind fauoring the Chriſtians,caried the flame of the fire into the faces of the Turks,wherwith they had thought to haue burnt the Tower,with ſuch violence,that the Chriſtians taking the benefit therof,and holpen by the tower,gained the top of the wall:which was firſt footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, and his brother C *Euſtace*, with their followers, and the enſignes of the Duke there firſt ſet vp, to the great encouraging of the Chriſtians, who now preſſing in on euery ſide, like a violent riuer that had broken ouer the banks, bare downe all before them. All were ſlain that came to hand,men,women and children,without reſpect of age,ſex,or condition:the ſlaughter was great,&the ſight lamentable,all the ſtreets were filled with bloud,and the bodies of the dead,death triumphing in euery place. Yet in this confuſion, a wonderfull number of the better ſort of Turks, retiring to *Solomons* temple,there to do their laſt deuoire,made there a great and terrible fight, armed with deſpaire to endure any thing;& the victorious Chriſtians no leſſe diſdaining,after the winning of the city,to find there ſo great reſiſtance. In this deſperat conflict,fought with wonderful obſtinacie of mind,many fel on both ſides:but the Chriſtians came on ſo fiercely, D with deſire of bloud,that breaking into the temple,the formoſt of them were by the preſſe of them that followed after,violently thruſt vpon the weapons of their enemies,& ſo miſerably ſlaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppreſſed,giue it ouer,but as men reſolued to die,deſperatly fought it out with inuincible courage,not at the gates of the Temple only,but euen in the midſt thereof alſo,where was to be ſeene great heaps,both of the victors and the vanquiſhed; ſlaine indifferently together. All the pauement of the Temple ſwam with bloud,in ſuch ſort, that a man could not ſet his foot,but either vpon ſome dead man,or ouer the ſhooes in bloud. Yet for all that, the obſtinate enemy ſtill held the vaults and top of the Temple, when as the darkeneſſe of the night came ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians were glad to make an end of the ſlaughter,and to ſound a retreat. The next day(for that proclamation was made,for mercy to E be ſhewed vnto all ſuch as ſhould lay down their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper part of the Temple,came downe and yeelded themſelues. Thus was the famous City of Ieruſalem with great bloudſhed, but far greater honor, recouered by theſe worthy Chriſtians, in the yeare 1099, after it had beene in the hands of the Infidels aboue foure hundred yeares. 1099

The Genowaies come to the ſiege.

A moſt cruell and bloudie fight,betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes, euen in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

The next day after,hauing buried the dead,and cleanſed the city,they gaue thanks to God with publike praiers and great rejoycing. The poore Chriſtians before oppreſſed,now ouercome with vnexpected joy,welcommed their victorious brethren with great joy & praiſe;and the ſoldiers embracing one another,ſparing to ſpeake of themſelues,freely commended each others valour. Eight daies after, the Princes of the army meeting together, began to conſult about the choice of their king:among whom was no ſuch difference,as might wel ſhew which F was to be preferred before the others. And although euery one of them for proweſſe & deſert, ſeemed worthy of ſo great an honor,yet by the generall conſent of all, it was giuen to *Robert* Duke of Normandie: who about the ſame time hearing of the death of the Conquerour his Father, and more in loue with his Fathers new gotten Kingdome in England, in hope thereof, refuſed the Kingdome of Ieruſalem, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he found

found poſſeſſed by *William Rufus* his younger brother, and ſo in hope of a better, refuſing the G
worſe, vpon the matter loſt both.

Godfrey Duke of Buillon by the generall conſent of the Chriſtian army choſen firſt king of Ieruſalem.

After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* of Buillon Duke of Loraine (whoſe enſigne was firſt diſplaid vpon the walls) was by the generall conſent both of the Princes and the armie, ſaluted King. He was a great ſoldier, and endued with many heroicall vertues, brought vp in the court of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much emploied. At the time of his inauguration, he refuſed to be crowned with a crowne of gold: ſaying, That it became not a Chriſtian man there to weare a crowne of gold, where Chriſt the Sonne of God had for the ſaluation of mankind, ſometime worne a crowne of thorne. Of the greateſt part of theſe proceedings of the Chriſtians, from the time of their departure from Antioch, vntill the winning of the Holy Citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth: H

Godfrey *of Buillon, to* Bohemund *King of Antioch, greeting.*

After long trauell, hauing firſt taken certaine townes, we came to Ieruſalem: which Citie is enuironed with high hils, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of Solomons, *and that a very little one. In it are many Ciſternes, wherein water is kept, both in the Citie and the Country thereabout. On the Eaſt, are the Arabians, the Moabits and Ammonits. On the South, the Idumæans, Ægyptians and Philiſtians: Weſtward alongſt the ſea coaſt, lie the Cities of Ptolemais, Tyrus, and Tripolis: and Northward, Tiberias, Ceſaræa Philippi, with the countrey Decapolis and Damaſco. In* I
the aſſault of the Citie, I firſt gained that part of the wall that fell to my lot to aſſaile, and commanded Baldwin *to enter the Citie: who hauing ſlaine certaine companies of the enemies, broke open one of the gates for the Chriſtians to enter.* Raymond *had the Citie of* Dauid, *with much rich ſpoile yeelded vnto him. But when we came vnto the Temple of* Solomon, *there we had a great conflict, with ſo great ſlaughter of the enemy, that our men ſtood in bloud aboue the ancles: The night approching, wee could not take the vpper part of the Temple, which the next day was yeelded, the Turkes pittifully crying out for mercie: and ſo the Citie of Ieruſalem was by vs taken, the fifteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our redemption* 1099, *thirtie nine daies after the beginning of the ſiege, foure hundred and nine yeares after it fell into the hands of the Saraſins in the time of* Heraclius *the Emperour. Beſides this, the* K
Princes with one conſent ſaluted mee (againſt my will) King of Ieruſalem: who although I feare to take vpon me ſo great a Kingdome, yet I will doe my deuoire, that they ſhall eaſily know me for a Chriſtian King, and well deſerning of the vniuerſall Faith; but loue you me as you do, and ſo farewell. From Ieruſalem.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Ieruſalem, ſuch a multitude of the Turks, and Saraſins their confederates (now in their common calamitie all as one) were aſſembled at Aſcalon (a citie about fiue and rwentie miles from Ieruſalem) to reuenge the injuries they had before receiued, as had not before met together in al the time of this ſacred war. Againſt whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) aſſembled the whole forces of the Chriſtians in thoſe countries, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon in the new woon citie, ſet forward: and meeting with L
them, joyned a moſt dreadfull and cruell battell; wherein (as moſt report) were ſlain of the Infidels, an hundred thouſand men, & the reſt put to flight. The ſpoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Chriſtians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after ſo great a victorie, returning to Ieruſalem, gaue vnto God moſt humble thanks. The reſt of the Princes returned either to their charge, as did *Bohemund* to Antioch, *Baldwin* to Edeſſa, *Tancred* into Galiley, whereof hee was created Prince; or elſe hauing now performed the vttermoſt of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others the moſt honourable expedition that euer the Chriſtians tooke in hand againſt the Infidels, and with the greateſt reſolution performed; for the moſt part, by ſuch voluntarie men, as moued with a deuout zeale, to their immortal praiſe, ſpared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Chriſtian M
faith and religion; all men worthy eternall fame and memory. Not long after, enſued a great peſtilence (the ready attendant of long war and want) wherof infinit numbers of people died, and among the reſt *Godfrey*, the firſt Chriſtian King of Ieruſalem, neuer to be ſufficiently commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Chriſtians, was honourably buried

An hundred thouſand Turks and Saraſins ſlaine.

Godfrey of Buillon firſt Chriſtian King of Ieruſalem, dieth of the plague.

A ried in the Church of the Sepulchre of our Sauior on the mount Calvary, where our Savior suffered his passion; in which the Christian Kings succeeding him were also afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord 1100, when hee had yet scarce reigned a full yeare. Whose tombe is yet at this day there to be seen, with an honorable inscription thereupon. 1100

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Christians made choice of *Baldwin* his brother, Countie of Edessa; who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* syrnamed *Burgensis*, his neer kinsman, came to Ierusalem honorably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on Christmasse day with all solemnitie crowned King, *Anno* 1101. He, aided by the Venetians and Genoa's at sea, and by *Bohemund* King of Antioch by land, took from the Infidels the city of Cæsaria 1101
B Stratonis, standing vpon the sea side, and ouerthrew certain companies of the Egyptian Sultans at Rama. But vnderstanding that the Christian Princes of the West were comming to his aid with a new power, hee glad thereof went ro meet them, and safely conducted them to Ierusalem alongst the sea coast, by the cities of Berythus, Sydon, Tyre and Ptolemais, all yet holden by the Enemy. At which time the Turks at Ascalon hauing receiued great ayd from the Arabians and Egyptians, inuaded the country about Rama, where betwixt them and the Christians was fought a most cruell battell, wherein the Christians receiued a most notable ouerthrow, many of their great Commanders being there slain; and amongst the rest, *Stephen* Earle of Charters (but lately returned home from the former expedition, and now come back againe) and *Stephen* Earle of Burgondy and Tholous; yea the King himselfe hardly escaped
C the Enemies hand, and after many daies came at length to Ioppa, after it had bin constantly before reported him to haue been in that battell also slain. Who hauing there in hast repaired his army, came again speedly vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing lesse, and overthrew them with such a slaughter, as that they had small cause to rejoice of their former victorie. Neither were the rest of the Christian Princes in the other parts of Syria and Palestine in the mean time idle, but sought by all means to inlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince of Galile hauing raised a great power, tooke Apamea the metropoliticall city of Cœlosyria, and after much toile won also the city of Laodicea. *Baldwin* also the Gouernor of Edessa, besieging the city of Carras, had brought the besieged Turks to such extremity, that they were about to haue yeelded the city; when suddenly he was set vpon by a great army of the Turks
D sent from the Persian Sultan for the reliefe of the besieged; and being there ouerthrowne, was himselfe there taken, with *Benedict* the Bishop, and one *Iosceline* his kinsman: Who after fiue yeares imprisonment, found means with the Turk that had taken them, to redeem themselues, to the great offence of the Persian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

Baldwin County of Edessa, & brother vnto Godfrey, second K. of Ierusalem.

King *Baldwin* after the late victory liued for a season at some good rest in Ierusalem, vnmolested of his enemies: but knowing his greatest safety among such warlike people, to consist in arms, he vpon the sudden raised the whole strength of his kingdom, and laid siege to Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, a city of Phœnicia, standing vpon the rivage of the sea; where he found such resistance, that he was glad to raise his siege and depart, having done nothing more than spoiled the pleasant places about the city. By the way in his return backe again it
E fortuned him to meet with certain companies of the enemies adventurers, by whom he was in a skirmish mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the wound was by his surgeons healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof so great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithstanding the former repulse, the next yeare encouraged by the comming of the Genoa fleet, laid hard siege again to Ptolemais both by sea and land, which after twenty daies siege was by composition yeelded vnto him.

K. Baldwin mortally wounded.

Ptolemais won by K. Baldwin.

Shortly after, the Gouernor of Aleppo, with certain other of the Turks great Captains in those quarters, hauing joined their forces together, and so inuaded the countrey about Antioch, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into Italy had left Gouernor of that city) notably encountred and put to flight. At which time also the Caliph of Egypt, sending
F great forces both by sea and land against the King of Ierusalem, was in both places discomfited, at land by the Christians, and at sea by tempest.

Bohemund in the mean time with a great army of voluntary men and others (wherein hee is reported to haue had fiue thousand horse and forty thousand foot) returning towards the holy Land, in reuenge of many injuries done by *Alexius* the Emperour, vnto the Souldiers of

this ſacred war, contrary to his faith and promiſe to them before giuen; by the way landed G
his men in Epirus, and grieuouſly ſpoiled the countrey about Dirrachium part of the Empe-
rors dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoiling, vntill he had inforced the Emperour for
redreſſe of ſo great harms, to make peace with him, and again by ſolemne oath to promiſe all
ſecuritie and kindneſſe vnto all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as ſhould haue occaſion to trauel to
or fro thorow his countries during the time of this religious war. After which agreement hee
put to ſea again, and ſo returned for Ieruſalem. But whilſt he ſtaid at Antioch, he ſhortly af-
Bohemund dies at Antioch. ter there died in the yeare 1108, leauing the principalitie thereof vnto his yong ſon *Bohemund*
a child, vnder the tuition of his nephew *Tancred*.

Yet were the cities of Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, alongſt the ſea coaſt, in the enemies poſ-
ſeſſion: for the gaining wherof *Baldwin* the King raiſed a great army, and ſo came & laid ſiege H
to Berytus, which after many ſharp aſſaults he at length won the 23 day of Aprill, in the yere
1111 1111, and put to ſword moſt part of them that he found therein. The ſame yeare alſo he, aſſi-
Sidon won. ſted by a fleet ſent vnto him out of Norway, beſieged the city of Sydon; which the Citiſens
(ſeeing themſelues now beſet both by ſea and land) at length yeelded vnto him by compoſi-
tion the 19 day of December. After which victorie he diſmiſſed the fleet, and returned him-
ſelfe in triumph to Ieruſalem. Now of all the famous cities alongſt the ſea coaſt of Phœni-
cia and Paleſtine, from Laodicea to Aſcalon, was only the city of Tyre that remained in the
enemies hand: which City *Baldwin* alſo hardly beſieged; neuertheleſſe it was ſo well defen-
ded by the Turks, that after he had all in vain lien before it the ſpace of 4 months, he was glad
to riſe with his army and depart. I

It fortuned that within two yeares after, the Turks with a mighty army ſent from the Per-
ſian Sultan, inuaded the country of Cœliſyria, where ſpoiling all before them as they went,
they came and incamped vpon the ſea coaſt neere vnto Tyberias. Againſt whom *Baldwin* ga-
thered the whole ſtrength of his kingdom; with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now reigned in An-
tioch, the yong *Bohemund* being dead) with the County of Tripolis, and the reſt of the Chri-
ſtian Princes, joined their forces: who all together marching forward, came and incamped
not far from the enemy, being in number far more than they. *Mendus* Generall of the Turkes
army (for ſo I find him called) vnderſtanding of their approch, ſent out certain companies of
his men to skirmiſh with them; againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others, who in-
countring them, eaſily put them to flight, beeing before commanded ſo to do, of purpoſe to K
draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a great ſtrength lying in ambuſh to intrap them:
which according to the Turks deſire fell out; for the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying
enemy, fel into the ambuſh, and ſo before they were well aware, were beſet on all ſides by their
enemies: to whoſe reſcue other companies of Chriſtians comming in, and others alſo from
the Turks, both the great armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was
joined a moſt fierce and terrible battell, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the
multitude of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and ſo glad to fly: af-
ter whom the fierce enemy hardly followed, not without great ſlaughter: in which flight the
King himſelfe hardly eſcaped, with *Arnolphus* the Patriark. Whilſt *Baldwin* was thus buſied
abroad, the Turkes and Saraſins from Aſcalon came and beſieged Ieruſalem, beeing then but L
weakly manned: but hearing of the kings comming, and that the army of the Chriſtians dai-
ly increaſed with new ſupplies out of the Weſt by ſea, they retyred home again, hauing burnt
certain ſtore-houſes full of corn, and ſpoiled ſuch things as were ſubject to their fury.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this king had with the Saraſins
and Turks, which for breuitie I paſſe ouer, contented to haue briefly touched the greateſt. In
the laſt yeare of his reign, hauing for certain yeares before liued in ſome reaſonable peace, he
made an expedition into Egypt, where he with much difficultie won Pharamia a ſtrong city
vpon the ſea coaſt, which he joined vnto his own Kingdome. After that, he went to the mouth
of the riuer Nilus, and with great admiration learned the nature of that ſtrange riuer: and ha-
uing therin taken abundance of fiſh, he returned into the city, and there with the ſame feaſted M
himſelfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feel the griefe of his old wound, and
growing therof ſicker and ſicker, returned with his army toward Ieruſalem, where by the way
neere vnto a City called Laris he died (to the great griefe of all the Chriſtians) in the
1118 yeare 1118. His dead body being brought backe vnto Ieruſalem, was there royally buried,

neere

A neere vnto his brother *Godfrey*, after he had reigned eighteen yeares: whose sepulchre is yet there also to be seen, fast by the sepulchre of his brother.

Baldwin Brugensis chosen King of Ierusalem. 1118

The late King thus dead and buried, the Christians with one consent made choice of his cousin *Baldwin*, sirnamed *Brugensis*, gouernor of Edessa, who by the name of *Baldwin* the second was the second of Aprill, in the yeare 1118, solemnly crowned King of Ierusalem. He was of stature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gratious, hauing his hair thin and yellow, his beard mingled with some gray haires, hanging downe to his brest; his colour fresh and liuely for one of his yeares. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no lesse redoubted of his enemies, than beloued of his subjects, who had in him reposed great hope both for the defence and inlarging of that new gained kingdome. Against him the same sum-
B mer the Caliph of Egypt, aided by the king of Damasco and the Turks, in reuenge of the losse he had in the expedition the yere before receiued, raised a great power to inuade him both by sea and land. Against whom *Baldwin* also opposed himselfe with his whole strength, and so came and incamped within the sight of his enemies. In which sort when both armies had lien the one facing the other by the space of three months, they both rose; the Christians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valor of the Christians, and so retyred without any notable thing done.

This yeare died *Alexius* the Greeke Emperor, who euen from the beginning of this sacred War, secretly repined at the good successe of the Christians in Syria, although his Empire were thereby greatly inlarged: after whom succeeded *Calo Ioannes* his sonne, who all the time
C of his reign right worthily defended his territories in the lesser Asia, against the inuasion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greatest Princes of the Turks in the lesser Asia, with the King of Damasco, and *Debeis* King of Arabia, joining their forces together, with a great army inuading the country about Antioch, came & incamped not far from Aleppo: against whom *Roger* Prince of Antioch, not expecting the comming of *Baldwin* and the other Christian princes his confederats, but presuming of his own strength, went forth with greater courage than discretion, whereunto his successe was answerable; for encountring with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battell ouerthrown, where himselfe was slain, with most part of his army. Of which so great a slaughter, the place wherein this battel was fought was after-
D ward called the field of bloud. But whilst the Turks after so great a victorie carelessly and at pleasure rome vp and down the country, *Baldwin* setting vpon them ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and so put them to flight. After this victory gained by the Christians the fourteenth of August, in the yeare 1120, King *Baldwin* in great triumph entred into Antioch, 1120
and so joined thot principalitie vnto his owne kingdome.

The yeare following, the Turks with another army inuaded the same countrey againe: for repressing of whom, whilst *Baldwin* and the other Christian Princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great Commander suddenly died of an Apoplexy; vpon whose death they retyred without any further harm doing. Neuertheless the next spring, the 1122
King of Damasco aided by the Arabians, entered againe with a great army into the countrey
E about Antioch, and there did some harme: for the Antiochians now destitute of their owne Prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken vpon him their protection) beeing far off, and otherwise busied at Ierusalem, were much more subject vnto the inrodes of their enemies (stil at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their own stil present among them. But *Baldwin* aduertised therof, was making toward them with a puissant army, sooner than they had thought it could haue bin possible. Of whose approch the Turks vnderstanding, retyred again out of the Country: after whom the King thinking it not good to make further pursuit, turned a little out of the way, and took by force Garaze, one of the strongest castles of the kings of Damasco, built but the yeare before; which because it was not without great charge and danger to be den, he rased down to the ground.

F *Baldwin* notwithstanding that he had many times thus honorably repulsed his enemies, wisely considering how he was on the one side beset with the Turks, and on the other side with the Sarasins which yet reigned in Ægypt (the Kingdome of Ierusalem lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to craue aid of the Christian Princes of Europe; and to that purpose had sent diuers his Embassadors vnto diuers of them, but especially

vnto the Venetians, whom of all others hee thought fitteſt at his need to yeeld him reliefe by ſea. It fortuned in the mean time, that *Balac* the Perſian Sultan with a great army of the Turks inuaded the country about Antioch; whereof *Baldwin* vnderſtanding (although he certainly knew he ſhould ere long receiue aid from the other Chriſtian Princes his friends, but eſpecially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reaſon haue protracted the war vntil their comming; yet being therwith much moued, or elſe his deſtiny ſo requiring, raiſed ſuch forces as he had of his owne, and without longer ſtaying for his friends, with greater courage than good ſpeed ſet forward; and ſo joining battell with the enemy, was therein ouerthrown, with the greateſt part of his army, and himſelfe taken priſoner in the fight, with certain other of his beſt commanders, who all together were carried away captiues vnto Carras. G

Ioppa beſieged by the Saraſins

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the King, the Caliph of Egypt on the other ſide took occaſion with all his power to inuade the kingdom of Ieruſalem; and hauing in himſelfe purpoſed the vtter ruine thereof, beſide the great army which hee ſent thither by land (which lay incamped not far from Aſcalon) he put to ſea a huge fleet alſo of 700 ſail, for the diſtreſſing of the ſea towns, which he well knew were not otherwiſe to be won. This fleet of the Saraſin Kings (for Egypt with the kingdomes of Tunes and Morocco were yet in poſſeſſion of the Saraſins) ariuing at Ioppa, there put aſhore their land forces, and hardly beſieged the town both by ſea and land. But whileſt they thus lay in great hope to haue won the town, *Dominicus Michael* duke of Venice, ſtirred vp by *Calixtus* then Biſhop of Rome, came to Cyprus with a fleet of two hundred ſail for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in Syria and the holy land; and hearing of the diſtreſſe of Ioppa, nothing diſmaid with the number of the Enemies fleet, haſted thither, and came ſo ſuddenly vpon them, that he had (as ſome report) ouerthrowne them before they could put themſelues in order or be in readineſſe to fight: or as ſome others ſay, after a great and doubtfull fight, hauing ſunk or taken many of them, and put the reſt to flight, he obtained of them a moſt glorious victorie. With like good fortune alſo were the Saraſins ouerthrowne in a fortunate battell at land neere vnto Aſcalon, by the Lord *Euſtace*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdom was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after ſo great a victory died. H I

Ioppa relieued as is aforeſaid, the Duke of Venice trauelled by land to Ieruſalem, where he was honorably receiued by *Guarimund* the Patriark, and the confederation before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the Venetians, vpon the ſame conditions ſolemnly again renued. K

Tyre beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The Saraſins thus notably diſcomfited both by ſea and land, and the Chriſtians therby not a little encouraged, and joining their forces together with the Venetians, came and the firſt of March laid ſiege vnto the antient and ſtrong city of Tyre: which they hauing beſet both by ſea and land, gaue therunto many a ſharp aſſault; which the Turks as men fighting for their liues and wiues right valiantly repulſed. In which ſort the ſiege was continued longer than the Chriſtians had at the firſt thought ſhould haue needed: yet at length after four moneths ſiege, the Turks ſore weakened with often aſſaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their ſtore being ſpent, yeelded the city by compoſition. Thus was the city of Tyre (the moſt famous port of Phœnicia) yeelded vnto the Chriſtians the twenty ninth of Iune, *Anno* 1124. The third part of this city was giuen to the Venetians, according to the compoſition made betwixt them and the Kings of Ieruſalem, That of all ſuch cities as were by their helpe won from the Infidels in Syria, they ſhould haue a third part, with one ſtreet, and free traffick in all the reſt of the cities of the kingdom of Ieruſalem. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* ſet at libertie for the ranſom of an hundred thouſand ducats, after he had bin eighteen months priſoner among the Turks. 1124. L

The Duke of Venice hauing now ſpent almoſt three yeares in this ſacred expedition, and well confirmed the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, returning home, by the way tooke the Iſlands of Chios, Rhodus, Samos, Mitylen, and Andrus, with the city of Modon in Peloponeſſus; all places belonging to the Greeke Emperour. Which he did in reuenge of the injuries done by the Emperor in the time of his abſence: who enuying at the ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in Syria, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the abſence of the Duke infeſted the territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now juſtly requited with the loſſe of a good part of his own. M

Baldwin alſo not vnmindfull of the injuries vnto him before done by the Turks, in requitall thereof

A thereof, inuaded the country about Damaſco, and there in three notable battels ouerthrew the King, and ſpoiled the country; wherein hee took ſo great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hoſtage with the Turks for the paiment of his ranſome. He alſo ouerthrew the Saraſins at Aſcalon, who aided by the Caliph of Egypt, had ſundry times inuaded the country about Ieruſalem. And ſo hauing wel repreſſed his enemies, for a ſpace liued in peace.

Damaſco in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* firſt Maſter of the Templers (an Order of Knights firſt begun in the reign of this *Baldwin*) before ſent to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt againſt the Turks and Saraſins, returned with a great number of zealous Chriſtians, ready to lay down their liues for defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion: with whom *Baldwin* and
B the other Chriſtian Princes of Syria joining their forces, ſet forward and beſieged Damaſco, the regal city of the Turks in thoſe quarters. But ſuch was the ſtrength of this city, with the valor of the defendants, and contagiouſneſſe of the aire, that the Chriſtians (the heauens as it were then fighting againſt them) were glad to raiſe their ſiege, in vain begun, and ſo to retire.

Whilſt things thus paſſed in Siria, *Fulk* County of Turin, Mayn, and Anjou, a man almoſt of ſixty yeares, hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of his things at home, had for deuotions ſake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations Embaſſadors came vnto him from king *Baldwin*, offering him in mariage *Meliſenda* (or as ſome cal her *Margaret*) his eldeſt daughter, with ſucceſſion into the kingdom of Ieruſalem in dowry, if he ſhould ſuruiue the King; and in the mean time to content himſelfe with the cities of
C Tyre and Ptolemais. Of which offer he accepted, and ſo held on his journy before intended. It fortuned about three yeares after, that the King fell dangerouſly ſick, and feeling his death drawing on, hauing laid aſide all regal dignitie, cauſed himſelfe to be remoued out of his own palace, into the Patriarks houſe, which was neerer vnto the Temple of the Sepulchre; & there calling vnto him *Fulk* the County his ſon in law, with his daughter, and his ſon *Baldwin*, then but two yeares old, in the preſence of the Patriarke and diuers other Princes and great Commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdome, appointing *Fulk* to ſucceed him: and taking vnto himſelfe the habit and profeſſion of a Monke, if hee ſhould haue longer liued, preſently after gaue vp the ghoſt the two and twentieth day of Au-
The death of Baldwin the ſecond, the third King of Ieruſalem.
D guſt, *Anno* 1131; whereof he reigned with much trouble thirteene yeares, and was ſolemnly buried in the temple vpon mount Calvary, with the other two Kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* his predeceſſors.

The Kings funerall ended, the Princes of the kingdome with one accord made choice of 1131
Fulk the old County, Earle of Anjou, for their King: who the ſixt of September was with all ſolemnitie by *William* the Patriark crowned in Ieruſalem. This man in the beginning of his reign, beſide his troubles abroad, was alſo vext with domeſticall and inteſtine diſcord; *Pontius* County of Tripolis ſeeking by force of arms to haue rent the dukedom of Antioch from the kingdom. And *Hugh* County of Ioppa, for feare of due puniſhment for his treaſon, joining himſelf with the Saraſins of Aſcalon, and ſo with them infeſting the territories of Ieruſalem, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian State, and aduantage of the Infidels. Which troubleſome
E broiles were yet afterward by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriark and other princes (who ſeeing the danger therof like to enſue, had interpoſed themſelues) well appeaſed. Vengeance yet neuertheleſſe ſtill following both the aforeſaid traitors: *Pontius* being ſhortly after ſlain by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Beſides theſe domeſticall troubles, the Turkes alſo inuaded the countrey about Antioch, where they were by the ſudden comming of the King ouerthrown, with the loſſe of their tents and exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the diſquieting of the ſtate of that new erected kingdom, not long after, *Iohn* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor (together with the empire, inheritor alſo of his fathers malice againſt the proceedings of the Chriſtians in Syria) with a puiſſant army paſſing thorow the leſſer Aſia, and by the way ta-
F king by force Tarſus, the metropoliticall city of Cilicia, with the whole prouince thereunto belonging, came and beſieged Antioch, which *Fulk* but a little before had, together with *Conſtance* the daughter and Heire of the late Duke of Antioch, giuen in marriage to *Raimund* County of Poyton, for that purpoſe ſent out of France. But in this ſo dangerous a ſtate of that Chriſtian kingdom, the other zealous Chriſtian Princes interpoſed themſelues as me-

diators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the same to belong vnto his Empire) and *Raimund* that was in possession thereof: and in fine brought it to this end, That *Raimund* for the present submitting himselfe vnto the Emperor, should from thenceforth hold his dukedome of him, as of his Lord and Soueraign. Vpon which agreement the Emperour returned vnto Tarsus, where he wintered, and so afterwards to Constantinople. G

Much about the same time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes inuading the Countrey about Tripolis, besieged the castle of Mont-Ferrand; vnto the reliefe wherof *Fulk* comming with his army, was by the Turks ouerthrowne, and for the safegard of his life glad to take the refuge of the castle, the County himselfe being in that battell taken prisoner. After which victorie, the Turkes laid harder siege vnto the Castle than before; the besieged in the meane time being no lesse pinched within with famin, than pinched without by the enemy. In this H the Kings hard distresse, the other Princes hauing raised the whole power of the kingdome, were comming to his relieue: whereof the Turk hearing, offered of himselfe to giue them all leaue freely to depart, and to set the County at libertie, so that they would deliuer vnto him the Castle. Of which his offer they gladly accepting, yeelded vp the strong Hold and so departed. The King by the way meeting with the army, thanked his friends for their forwardnesse, and so returned to Ierusalem.

Calo Joannes the Greek Emperour seekes in vaine to haue surprised the city of Antioch

About foure yeares after, *Iohn* the Constantinopolitan Emperour with a great army came again into Syria, with purpose to haue vnited the famous City of Antioch vnto his empire, and so to haue made a way into the kingdome of Ierusalem, whereafter hee had now a good while longed. But comming thither in hope to haue found the Cilicians and Syrians ready I to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being shut out of the Latines, and not suffered to enter but vpon his oath, and that with some few of his followers; and so after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart, without any stir or innouation in the city. In reuenge of which disgrace, at his departure hee gaue the suburbs of the City as a prey to his greedy soldiers, pretending the same to be done for want of victuals: who made hauock of all that came to hand, not sparing the very fruit trees, but cutting them down to dresse their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of necessitie reuenged the disgrace receiued, he returned into Cilicia and there wintred: where one day for his disport hunting of the wild boar, and hauing wounded him with his boar-spear, the wild beast therwith inraged, and with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the Emperours hand backward vpon the point of a K poisoned arrow that was hanging in a quiuer at his back, and so was therewith lightly wounded. Neuertheless as light as the wound was, such was the strength of the poison, that the griefe thereof still increasing, and his hand and arm more and more swelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his arm must be cut off: which desperat and vncertain cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his pain oftentimes saying, That the Greek Empire was not to be gouerned with one hand; ouercome with the strength of the poison, died. In whose place succeeded his yongest son *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two elder sons being both dead at his setting forth vnto this so vnhappy an expedition.

The death of Calo Ioannes the Greeke Emperor.

It fortuned about this time also, that the kingdome of Ierusalem beeing now at peace, that *Fulk* the King with the queen his wife lying at the city of Ptolemais in the time of Autumn, L it pleased the Queen for her disport to walk out of the city, vnto certaine pleasant fountaines there by in the country; for whose companie the King would needs go also, with certaine of his Courtiers: where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put vp an hare that was sitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horseback gallopped amain, with notable outcries and hollowing. Among the rest, the King to be partaker of the sport, forcing his horse to the vttermost of his power, in the midst of his course fell, together with his horse foundring vnder him, and in falling chanced to fall his head vnder the horse; with whose weight and the hardnes of the saddle he was so crushed, that the braines came out both at his nose and ears. In this pittifull case being taken vp for dead, and with great heauinesse being carried back, he yet breathing lay speechlesse three daies, and so died the thirteen M of November, *Anno* 1142. His dead body afterwards brought to Ierusalem, was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his subiects, buried with the other Kings his predecessors.

The miserable death of Fulk fourth king of Jerusalem.

Now had the late King left behind him two sons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen years, and

A and *Almerick* about the age of seuen. Of the elder of these two the Christian Princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwin* the third, was (together with *Melesinda* his mother, partner with him in the kingdome) vpon Christmas day with great solemnitie crowned King of Ierusalem, in the yeare 1142. About which time *Sanguin* the Turk, taking hold of the discord betwixt *Raimund* Prince of Antioch, and *Ioscelin* county of Edessa, came & with a great power besieged Edessa, the County being at the same time absent; and did so much, that at length he took the city by vndermining it, where the bloudy Turk exercised all manner of crueltie vpon the poore Christians in the city. By the losse of this famous city, so large a territory fel again into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbishopricks were thereby drawne from the Church of Antioch. The Turke encouraged by this victory, straitwaies after besieged
B Cologenbar, another strong town of the Christians. One night drinking liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkennesse stabbed, and so slain, and the siege raised. In whose stead *Noradin* his son succeeded.

Baldwin in the first yeare of his reign recouered from the Turks the castle of Sobal, a strong Hold beyond Iordan, which he notably fortified for the defence of that side of his kingdom against the incursions of the Turks. But the next yeare vndertaking an expedition against the King of Damasco, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the Kings sonne in law, so hardly beset in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his army escaped his hands.

Baldwin, third of that name, first King of Ierusalem.

1142

The report of the losse of Edessa, with the miseries there endured by the Christians, being
C bruted thorow all parts of Christendom, greatly mooued the Christian Princes of the West. Whom *Eugenius* the third then Bishop of Rome, ceased not both by himselfe and by his Legats, to stir vp to take that sacred war in hand. And therein wrought so effectually, that almost in euery prouince of Christendom preparation was made for the relief of the distressed Christians in Syrians. Of all others, *Conrade* the third, then Emperour of Germany was most forward, who aided by the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie men out of all parts of Christendom had raised a most puissant Army, and therewith set forward on this sacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpose he had before certified *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour, thorow whose countries hee was to passe, crauing that hee might by his good fauor so do, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other such things as hee
D should haue need of for himselfe or his people, promising in most quiet and peaceable maner to passe, without any harm doing vnto his territories or subjects. All which the Greek Emperor, commending his zeale, seemed in most large terms willingly to condescend vnto. Neuertheless he inwardly repined therat, wishing indeed no better successe vnto the Christians in this so honorable an expedition, than did the Infidels themselues, as by the sequell of his doings well appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous army, indeed a terror vnto the Greekes, entring into the confines of the Constantinopolitan Empire, found all things in shew friendly (for why, *Emanuel* had before giuen out streit command, that good store of victuals & all other necessaries should be ready at all places to be sold as the army was to passe) but they were not far come into the couutry, but that in the tail of the army still followed certaine strong com-
E panies of the Greeks, to keep the souldiers from stragling from their ensignes, roaming about in the country, now and then cutting them short as they took them at aduantage. And stil the further they trauelled, the more it was to be seene in the countenances of the discontented Greeks, how vnwelcome guests they were. Yet still on they went thorow the countries of their dissembling friends, little differing from open enemies, vntil they came to Philippopolis; in departing from whence, such discord rose betwixt them that were in the rereward of the army & the Greeks that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plain battel, had not those broils by the discretion of some of the wiser sort bin in good time appeased. So marching on they came to Adrianople, & in few daies after to the plain called Cherobachi, thorow which the riuer Melas hath his course; which in summer being almost dry, in Winter or any other
F great downefall of water, right suddenly ouerfloweth his bankes, and so drowneth the whole countrey, that then it seemeth no more a riuer but a sea, and swelling with the wind, is not to be passed ouer but by great boats. This riuer then suddenly rising by night, by reason of the great rain that then fell in such abundance as if the floud-gates of heauen had bin opened, so ouerflowed the place wherein the army lay incamped vpon the side thereof, that with the violence

Conrade 3. Emperor of Germany, takes vpon him an Expedition into the holy land.

violence of the water were carried away not only many weapons, ſaddles, garments, and ſuch other the ſoldiors neceſſaries, but euen the horſes and mules, with their burthens, yea & great numbers of armed men themſelues alſo, a moſt miſerable & lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant men there fell without fight, and died, no man killing them: to be tall helped not, neither did valor ſtand them in any ſtead; they periſhed like hay, and were carried away like chaf, with ſuch outcries and lamentation, that they which ſaw it verily ſaid that the wrath of God was broke into the camp: ſuch a ſudden inundation had ouerwhelmed all, that happy was he could make ſhift for himſelfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune ſore troubled the Emperor with his whole army: neuertheleſſe the water being again fallen, & all put in ſo good order as in ſuch a confuſion was poſſible, he marched on to the imperiall City, which the ſuſpitious and malitious Greek had before notably fortified, and ſtrongly manned with armed men gliſtring vpon the walls, as if it ſhould haue bin preſently aſſaulted. G H

Conrade the Emperor not ſuffred to enter into Conſtantinople.

Conrade approching the city, was not ſuffered to enter, but perſuaded by the Greek Emperour, forthwith to tranſport his army ouer the ſtreight, with promiſe to ſupply his wants with whatſoeuer he ſhould require. Which was done in ſuch haſt, as if nothing had bin further to haue bin regarded, but only to haue them ſhipped ouer. In which ſeruice the Greekes ſpared no labor or kind of veſſell that might ſerue to tranſport them. The Greeke Emperour in the mean time, by men ſecretly appointed for that purpoſe, keeping account of the number that paſſed, vntill that wearied with the multitude, they ceaſed further to number them. But when they were once ſhipt ouer, then began the couert malice of the Greek Emperor forthwith to appeare. For, beſides that they truſting to his promiſes, had brought little or no prouiſion ouer with them, the country people by his appointment brought nothing vnto them to ſell, as before: and they of the towns and cities ſhut their gates againſt them as they marched, not affording them any thing but at an extreme rate, for which they would firſt receiue their mony by ropes caſt down from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleaſed therefore, yea and oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practiſes not beſeeming Chriſtians, the miſchieuous Greeks to poiſon the ſoldiers, mingled lime with the meal which they ſold vnto the army, wherof many of the hungry ſoldiers greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke Emperor were priuy therto or no, is not certainly known; but certain it is he cauſed counterfeit mony to be coined, of purpoſe to deceiue them: and in brief, there was no kind of miſchief to be practiſed againſt them, which either he himſelfe deuiſed not, or ſet not others to deuiſe; to the intent that their poſteritie, terrified by this ſo vnfortunat expedition, might for euer be afraid to take the like again in hand. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could deuiſe, he had ſecret intelligence with the Turks themſelues concerning the ſtrength of the army, plotting vnto them the means how the ſame might beſt be defeated: whereby it came to paſſe that ſome part thereof was by *Pamplano* a captain of the Turks, ouerthrown neere Bathis, and many ſlain. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the army that paſſed thorow Phrygia, they were themſelues ouertaken in their owne deuice, and ouerthrowne with a great ſlaughter. I K

The Turks with a great Army ſeeke to ſtay Conrades further paſſage at the riuer Mœander.

After which, the Turks in great number, to ſtay the Chriſtians further paſſage, kept the riuer Mœander, incamping vpon the further banke of that winding Riuer with a moſt huge army. There theſe worthy Chriſtians right well declared, that it was but their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before ſo long followed them, with their countries and cities they had paſſed by, were not to them become a prey. For the Emperour comming to the riuer ſide, where was neither bridge nor boat to paſſe ouer, and finding the great army of the Turks on the other ſide ready to giue him battel if he ſhould aduenture the riuer, with their archers ſtanding vpon the very bank ſide; he retyred a little out of the danger of the ſhot, and there incamping, commanded his ſouldiers to refreſh themſelues and their horſes that night, and to be ready againſt the next morning to join battell with their enemies they were ſo far come to ſeek for. Little reſt ſerued him that night: early in the morning before day he aroſe, and arming himſelfe, put his whole army in order of battell, as did alſo the enemy on the other ſide of the riuer, with their battalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon the bank ſide, ready to giue the firſt charge on the Chriſtians, if they ſhould aduenture to come ouer. Both armies thus ſtanding in readineſſe, the one in ſight of the other, and nothing but the winding riuer betwixt them; the Emperour before reſolued to fight, with cheerfull countenance and ſpeech encouraged his men as followeth. L M

That

A *That this Expedition was of Vs taken in hand for Christ his sake, and for the glory of God, and not of man, you know right well, fellow Soldiors. For, for this Cause, hauing contemned a pleasant life at home, voluntarily separated from our neereſt and deareſt Friends, we endure miſeries in forrein Countries, wee are expoſed vnto dangers, wee pine with hunger, wee quake with cold, we languiſh with heate; we haue the Earth our bed, the Heauen our couering. And although wee be noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling ouer Nations; yet weare we alwaies our Gorgets as neceſſary bonds, and are with them and our Armour loden, as was the greateſt Seruant of Christ* (Peter) *ſurcharged with two Chaines, and kept with foure Quaternions of Souldiers. But theſe Barbarians (diuided from vs by this Riuer, to be the enemies of the Croſſe of Christ) whom we of long haue deſired to encounter withall, in whoſe bloud (as* Dauid *ſaith) we haue vowed to waſh our ſelues: Who is there that knoweth not, except hee be alto-*
B *gether blockiſh, and will not with open eyes ſee, nor with open eares heare? If we wiſh to aſcend ſtraight way into heauen (for neither is God vniuſt, that he knoweth not the cauſe of this our journey, or will not in recompence giue vnto vs the immortall fields, and ſhady dwellings of Paradice, which hauing forſaken our owne dwellings, haue choſe rather for his ſake to die than to liue) if wee call to remembrance what things theſe men of vncircumciſed hearts do commit againſt our Friends and Countreymen, if wee remember what grieuous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if we be any thing touched with the compaſſion of their innocent bloud, vnworthily ſpilt; ſtand now couragiouſly, and fight valiantly, and let not any feare or terror daunt vs. Let theſe Barbarians know, That by how much Christ our Maſter and Inſtructer doth excell their falſe Prophet and Seducer, Author of their vaine impietie; ſo much are we Superiors vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy Campe, and an Army gathered by the*
C *power of God, let vs not cowardly loſe our ſelues, or feare for Christ his ſake honorably to aduenture our liues. For if Christ died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him ſhould die alſo? Vnto this ſo honourable an Expedition let vs alſo giue an honourable end: let vs fight in Christs name, with a moſt aſſured hope of an eaſie victorie. For none of them (I truſt) ſhall be able to able to abide our force, but ſhall all giue way euen to our firſt charge. But if we ſhall die (which God forbid) there ſhall be an honorable place of our buriall, wherſoeuer we ſhall for Christ fall. Let the Perſian Archer for Christ his ſake ſtrike mee, I will die with aſſured hope, and with that arrow, as with a Chariot, I will come vnto that reſt which ſhall be to me dearer, than if I ſhould with a baſe ordinary kind of death in my ſins end my dayes in a bed. Now at length let vs take reuenge of them, with whoſe impure feet our Kinſmen and Chriſtian brethren trodden downe, are gone into that common Sanctuarie, in which Christ our Sa-*
D *uiour, equall and aſſociate to his Father, is become a Companion of the Dead. Wee are thoſe mighty men, we all haue drawne our ſwords, which ſtand about the liuely and Diuine Sepulchre, as about* Solomons *Bed. Wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way theſe Agarens, the children of the Bondwoman; and let vs remoue them as ſtones of offence out of the way of Christ: whom (I know not why) the Grecians feed vp as greedy Wolues to their owne deſtruction, and with ſhame fat them with their bloud; when as with couragious mindes and thoughts beſeeming wiſe men, they ought ſo to haue been driuen from their Prouinces and Cities, as rauening wilde beaſts from their Flockes. Now foraſmuch as this Riuer (as it ſeemeth) is not but by ſome aduenture to be paſſed ouer, I my ſelfe will ſhew you the way, and be the firſt that ſhall take it. Let vs, ſerred together, forcibly breake into the*
E *River, and wee ſhall well enough ride thorow it. I know that the water beaten backe by our force, will be at a ſtand, and breake the courſe, returning as it were backward. By not vnlike meanes the Iſraelites in antient times on foot paſſed ouer Iordan, the courſe of the Riuer being ſtaid. This attempt ſhall be ſpoken of in all poſterities, it ſhall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but ſtill remaine in freſh remembrance, to the great diſhonour of the Turkes, whoſe dead bodies ouerthrowne at this Riuer, ſhall lie like a mountaine, and be ſeen as trophey of our victorie vnto the worlds end, and our immortal praiſe and glory.*

A notabl ſpeech of Conrade the Emperor to encourage his ſoldiers to aduenture the Riuer Mœander.

Hauing thus ſaid, and the ſignal of battel giuen, euery man hauing before by deuout praier commended himſelfe vnto almighty God, he was the firſt that put ſpurs to his horſe and took the riuer; after whom followed the reſt, ſo cloſe and forcibly, with ſuch a terrible outcry, that
F the courſe of the water being by the force of their horſes ſtaid, and as it were beaten back toward the fountain, the whole army paſſed ouer with leſſe trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turks, already diſcouraged to ſee them ſo deſperatly, and contrary to their expectation, to haue paſſed the riuer; after ſome ſmal reſiſtance put them to flight, wherin ſuch infinit numbers of them fel, the Chriſtians like fierce lions purſuing the chaſe, that al the valies

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians with a mighty ſlaughter.

lies ran with bloud, and the fields were couered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians were wounded with the Turks arrowes, and but few or none slain: but what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the sundry and huge heaps of bones, to be compared vnto great hils, did long time after well declare; whereat every man that trauelled that way did worthily wonder, as did I my selfe, saith *Nicetas Choniates* in reporting this history. Not much vnlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, slain by *Marius* in such number, that of their bones the country people about Marcellis where the field was fought, long time after made walls for the defence of their vineyards. G

Nicetas Choniates Annali primo rerum à Manuel Comneno Imperatore gestar. fol. 139.

After this so great a victorie, the Christians without resistance came to Iconium the chief seat of the Turkish Kings in the lesser Asia, which they hardly besieged. Neuertheless such was the strength of the city, being strongly fortified both by nature and art, together with the valor of the defendants, that lying there long they little preuailed, pressed in the meane time with greater extremities and wants in the camp, than were the besieged in the city: wherupon ensued such a mortality (people daily without number dying in the army) that the Emperor was glad to raise his siege and to return into his own country. The chiefe cause as wel of this so great a mortalitie, as of the ouerthrow of so notable an action, most men ascribe vnto the malice of the Greekes, who not without the priuitie of their Emperour (as it was commonly bruted) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to sell into the army, whereof the hungry souldiers desirously feeding, were therewith poisoned, and so miserably died. Of the certain time of this journy of the Emperors into Asia, Authors agree not; howbeit wee must refer it vnto the yeare 1146. H I

Iconium in vain besieged by the Christians.

1146

This expedition, though not so fortunat as it was at the first well hoped of, yet profited the Christian commonweal in this, that the Turkes therewith throughly busied, and doubtfull of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the mean time fortified Gaza (sometimes a famous city of the Philistims, but as then ruinous) which serued as a most sure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome towards Egypt; and also for the distressing of Ascalon, the only refuge of the Egyptians left in that country: which strong city standing vpon the sea side, hee with all the power of his kingdome afterward besieged both by sea and land: vnto the relief whereof the Caliph of Egypt (after he had beene fiue moneths by the Christians besieged) sent a strong fleet of seuenty gallies. At which time also on the other side *Noradin* the Turke (who had now got into his hand all the kingdome of Damasco) to withdraw the Christians from the siege of Ascalon, besieged Paneada, from whence he was by the valour of the Citisens repulsed, as was also the Caliphs fleet at sea, and the siege at Ascalon continued. Where at length the Christians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall; but giuing thereunto an assault, they were with great losse of their men repulsed; and the breach again by the enemie repaired; who to the greater despight of the Christians, hanged ouer the wals in ropes the dead bodies of their slain: with which spectacle the chiefe commanders of the army were so moued, that they with all their power returned againe to the assault, with a full resolution to ingage thereon their whole forces; which they so couragiously performed, that the besieged discouraged with the great slaughter of their men, and now with true valor ouercome, craued parley, and so couenanting that they might with their liues in safety depart, agreed to yeeld vp the city, which they accordingly performed. The spoile of the city was giuen to the souldiers, and the gouernment thereof vnto *Almerick* the Kings brother, Earle of Ioppa. By this victory great securitie was gained vnto that side of the kingdome, the enemy hauing now no place left in those parts whereon to set his foot. K L

The honorable expedition of Lewis King of France, by the malice of the Greeks, and enuy of other Christian princes of Syria, frustrated and brought to nothing.

About the same time also (or as some write, euen at the same time together with the Emperor) *Lewis* the French King the eighth of that name, took vpon him the like expedition for the relief of the Christians in the Holy land: who setting forward with all the Chiualrie of France, and accompanied with diuers other great Princes, with a right puissant army came to Constantinople, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperour honorably receiued with all the outward shews of feigned curtesie that could be deuised: but hauing passed the streit, and landed in Asia, he found nothing answerable to that the dissembling Greek had before most largely promised. And to distres him the more, he was by false guides before corrupted by the emperor, conducted thorow the most desolate and barren countries, where by the way a wonderfull number of his Souldiors perished of hunger and thirst: many of them also being cut off in M

the

A the ſtreit and difficult paſſages, or as they ſtrayed from the army by the Turks themſelues, appointed by the malicious Emperor for that purpoſe. Yet after many dangers paſſed, and his army ſore waſted, he came at length into Syria, and laid ſiege vnto Damaſco the royal ſeat of *Noradin* the Turkiſh King; which he ſo notably impugned, that the defendants were almoſt out of hope to be able for any long time to hold out. Neither had it otherwiſe hapned, had not Envy, the inſeparable attendant of all honourable actions, fruſtrated ſo great a hope: for the beſieged Turks beeing brought to great extremitie, and now euen at the point to haue yeelded the city, certain of the Chriſtian princes of that country, vnderſtanding that the king had promiſed the gouernment of that ſo famous a City vnto *Philip* Earle of Flanders, if it ſhould be won, and ſecretly grudging to haue a ſtranger preferred before themſelues, corrupted alſo (as ſome ſay) with the Turkes gold, fraudulently perſuaded the King to remoue from that part of the city where he lay, and might in fine haue taken the ſame, to another far ſtronger; where after he had lien a great while, ſtriuing with no ſmall extremities, he was inforced for want of victuals, to raiſe his ſiege and depart. And ſo without any thing done worth the remembrance, returned again into France, deteſting the very name of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor, by whoſe ſiniſter dealing ſo notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great diſcouraging of all other Chriſtian Princes for taking the like again in hand.

Damaſco in vain beſieged by Lewis the French king.

B

Now had the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, for certain years after the aforeſaid expeditions, reſted in good peace: when *Noradin* the Turk, moued with ſome injuries done by the Chriſtians vnto the Turks and Arabians who by the leaue of K. *Baldwin* dwelt in the forreſt of Li- 1147

C banus, came and ſtreitly beſieged Paneade a city of the Chriſtians there by: vpon whom the Chriſtians in the city, now brought vnto great extremity, made a moſt deſperat ſally, and had with the Turks a ſharp and cruel fight; but oppreſſed with the multitude, and inforced to retyre, they were ſo hardly purſued, that the Turks together with them entred the city, and put to ſword all that came in their way. Neuertheleſſe the greater part of the Citiſens (by good fortune) had in good time before retyred themſelves into the Caſtle, which was of great ſtrength, and there ſtood vpon their gard. Of whoſe diſtreſſe, with the taking of the city, *Baldwin* hearing, raiſed a great army, and ſo ſet forward to relieue them. But *Noradin* hearing of his comming, and doubtful of his own ſtrength, after he had taken the ſpoil of what he could, ſet fire on the city and ſo departed. The citiſens thus deliuered, repaired again the wals of the

Paneade taken and ſacked by the Turks.

D city, the Kings power ſtill defending them: *Noradin* with his power all the while lying cloſe in the woods not far off, ſtill awaiting the offer of ſome good opportunitie to take the Chriſtians at aduantage: which ſhortly after fell out according to his owne deſire; for the King doubting no ſuch matter, but ſuppoſing him to haue bin quite gon, hauing at his returne ſent away all his footmen, followed after himſelfe, accompanied only with his horſemen, and they alſo not very ſtrong: but as he was paſſing the riuer Iordan, he was ſuddenly ſet vpon by *Noradin* & the Turks, and after a ſharp conflict ouerthrown. The king himſelf with ſome few hardly eſcaped to Saphet, a town there by; moſt of his nobility being there either ſlain or taken priſoners: among the reſt, *Bertrand* of Blanquefort maſter of the Templers, with diuers others of great name fel at that time into the enemies hands, and ſo were caried away priſoners.

Paneade again repaired by the Chriſtians.

E After this victory, *Noradin* ſtrengthned with new ſupplies from Damaſco, came againe and beſieged Paneade, in good hope that the Citiſens, diſcouraged with ſo great an ouerthrow of the King, and out of hope to be by them reiieued, would now either yeeld the city, or elſe not be able long to hold it out. But the King contrary to his expectation, had in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, raiſed a great power, and aided by the prince of Antioch and the Countie of Tripolis, was marching to the reliefe of the city. Of which approch *Noradin* vnderſtanding, although he had made diuers breaches in the walls, and brought the citiſens almoſt to vtter deſpair, roſe with his army and departed. And ſo *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the beſieged city, returned alſo to Ieruſalem.

Many an hard conflict with the Turks had this yong King afterwards, during the fortunat

F time of his reign, wherein that troubleſome Kingdome happily flouriſhed amidſt the miſereants; all which to recount were long and tedious. Yet among other things it is worth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then King of Damaſco, beſieging Sueta a Caſtle belonging to the Kingdome of Ieruſalem, was in a ſet battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his Army. King *Baldwin* had before married

ried *Emanuel* the Greek Emperors neece: and now the same Emperor, by *Guido Stephanus* and *Trifillus* his Embassadors, requested to haue giuen him again in mariage one of the Kings nigh kinswomen. Vnto whom the King, after mature deliberation had concerning the matter, offered him *Matilde*, an honorable Lady, the sister of the County of Tripolis; whom the Emperor refused: and afterward by the consent of the King made choice of *Mary* the daughter of *Raimund* Prince of Antioch, lately dead. Which the County of Tripolis taking in euill part, in reuenge thereof, by certain men of war whom he put to sea, grieuously infested the frontiers of the Emperours Dominions. Now during the time that the mariage was in solemnising, the King made his abode at Antioch, at which time he fortified the castle of Pontisfer vpon the riuer Orantes, against the incursions of the enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to preuent sickneſſe, vpon the approch of Winter tooke physicke of *Barac* a Iew, the Countie of Tripolis his Physitian. After the taking whereof he fell presently into the bloudy flix, and afterward into a consumption: whereby it was verily supposed that hee was poysoned by the Iew; and the rather, for that some little part of the same medicine that was left, being giuen to a Dog, he thereof in short time died. The King thus languishing in pain, to change the aire, remoued first to Tripolis, and afterward to Berytus, where he departed this troublesome life, to liue with his Sauiour Christ in blisse for euer. His dead body was afterwards with generall mourning of his Subjects conueyed to Ierusalem, and there solemnly interred by the body of his father. He departed the thirteenth of February, in the yeare of Grace 1163, when he had reigned 21 yeares. He was a man so gratious, that not only his friends, but euen the Infidels themselues (as it is reported) lamented his death. Insomuch that *Noradin* King of Damasco, his antient enemy, beeing incited by some of his Captaines to inuade his Kingdome at such time as his funeralls were in solemnising, refused so to do; answering, That compassion and regard was to be had of the just sorrow of the Christians his subjects, for that they had lost such a King, the like was hardly againe to be found in the world.

The death of King Baldwin lamented by his enemies.

1164

But leauing the Kingdome of Ierusalem with the greater part of Syria thus victoriously gained from the Infidels; let vs for the orderly continuation of our History againe returne to see the proceedings of the Turks at the same time in the lesser Asia also: wherein they yet held the state of a kingdome, though not so great as before the comming of the Princes of the West into those countries. After the death of Sultan *Solyman* (with whom Duke *Godfrey* and the other Christian Princes had much to do as they passed into Syria) as is aforesaid, one *Mahomet* succeeded him: betwixt whom and *Masut* Sultan of Iconium great discord arose, which at length broke forth into open war, to the further weakning of that late shaken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his state, *Iohn Comnenus* the Greeke Emperour gaue ayd to *Masut* against his enemy *Mahomet*. Neuertheleſſe in short time the two Infidels (professing both one superstition) became friends, and joining their forces, ouerthrew the Emperour with his whole Army as hee lay at the siege of Iconium; at which time he himselfe with much ado escaped by flight. *Masut* afterwards hauing got into his hands the whole kingdome of the Turks, at the time of his death diuided the same among his three sons: Vnto *Clizaslhlan* his eldest son he gaue Iconium his chiefe city, with the towns and prouinces subject thereunto. Vnto *Iagupasan* his other son (or rather as some will have it, his son in law) he allotted Amasia and Ancyra, with the fruitfull country of Cappadocia, and the places adjoining. But vnto *Dadune* his other son or son in law, he gaue the great cities of Cæsaria and Sebastia, with the large countries thereabouts, all sometime a part of the Greek Empire, but then a portion of the Turks. Long it was not after this diuision of the kingdom, but that these brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetfull of the bonds both of loue and nature, fell at discord among themselues: the Sultan seeking the destruction of *Iagupasan*, and he likewise of him, and that not by secret means, but euen by open force of armes. *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor in the mean time wishing the destruction of them both, heartily rejoiced thereat, and by Embassadors secretly animating the one against the other, yet in open shew more fauouring the part of *Iagupasan* than of the Sultan, by whose aid he obtained against him many notable and bloudy victories: insomuch that the Sultan beeing weary of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his Embassadors to seeke the Emperors fauor, but euen in person himselfe to go and meet him, as he came with his army out of Syria,

Discord among the Turkes in the lesser Asia.

Masut the Sultan diuides his kingdom amog his three sons.

and

A and ſo to accompanie him vnto Conſtantinople, where he was together with the Emperour moſt honorably receiued, with all the ſignes of joy and triumph that could poſſibly be deuiſed. The Emperor no leſſe rejoycing to be ſued vnto by ſo great a Prince, than did the Sultan at his ſo honorable entertainment.

Among other queint deuiſes of many, for the ſolemniſing of ſo great a triumph, there was an actiue Turke who had openly giuen it out, That againſt an appointed time he would from the top of an high tower in the tilt-yard flie by the ſpace of a furlong: the report whereof had filled the city with a wonderfull expectation of ſo ſtrange a noueltie. The time prefixed being come, and the people without number aſſembled, the Turke according to his promiſe, vpon the top of an high tower ſhewed himſelfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathe-
B red into many pleits and foldings, made of purpoſe for the gathering of the wind: wherwith the fooliſh man had vainely perſuaded himſelfe to haue houered in the aire, as do birds vpon their wings, or to haue guided himſelfe as are ſhips with their ſailes. Standing thus houering a great while, as ready to take his flight; the beholders ſtill laughing, and crying out, Flie Turke, flie, how long ſhall we expect thy flight? the Emperor in the meane time ſtill diſſuading him from ſo deſperate an attempt; and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in doubtfull ſuſpence what might happen to his countryman. The Turke, after he had a great while houered with his armes abroad, (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders, at length finding the winde fit, as he thought, for his purpoſe, committed himſelfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: but
C in ſtead of mounting aloft, this fooliſh *Icarus* came tumbling downe with ſuch violence, that he brake his necke, his arms, his legs, with almoſt all the bones of his body. This fooliſh flight of the Turke gaue ſuch occaſion of ſport and laughter vnto the vulgar people (alwaies ready to ſcoffe and jeaſt at ſuch ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending vpon the Sultan could not walke in the ſtreets vnderided; the artificers in their ſhops ſhaking their arms, with their tooles in their hands as did the Turke, and ſtill crying out, Flie Turke, flie: whereof the Emperor hearing, although he could not chooſe but therat ſmile himſelfe, as not ignorant of the ſcoffes and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieued therewith, he commanded ſuch their inſolencie to be reſtrained.

Another fooliſh Icarus.

Nicetas Choniates, rerum ab imper. Manuele Comneno, geſtar. li. 3. fol. 143.

The ſolemnitie of the triumph ouerpaſſed (which by an ominous earthquake at the ſame
D time hapning, was ſomwhat obſcured) the Emperor to ſhew his wealth, & to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich & royall preſents, with ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as that he much wondred thereat. In requitall wherof, and in token of his thankefulneſſe, he again honored the Emperor with the name of his father, and terming himſelfe by the name of his ſon, promiſed to reſtore vnto him the city of Sebaſtia, with the territory thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance. Neuertheleſſe, all this was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulation, as afterward by proofe appeared: for returning home, hee thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of Sebaſtia, which he ſpoyled, with the country thereabout; and forgetfull of his promiſe, kept it wholly to himſelfe; and by force tooke alſo from him the city of Cæſarea, with the country of Amaſia, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner he bent his forces alſo vpon *Iagupaſan*
E his other brother, who in the very preparation of thoſe wars died: by whoſe vntimely death the city of Ancyra, with all his dominions in Capadocia, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now poſſeſſed of all his fathers kingdome, and ſwelling with pride, forgetting all former curteſies, inuaded the Emperors territories, and took from him the city of Laodicea in Phrygia; where he did great harme, as alſo in the country therabouts, killing the people as he went, or elſe carrying them away with him captiues. For the repreſſing of which outrages, the Emperor with a ſtrong army paſſed ouer into Aſia, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified Dorileum againſt the incurſions of the Turks. In performing whereof, he, to the example and ſtirring vp of others, carried the firſt basket of ſtones himſelfe vpon his ſhoulders; and vſed ſuch further diligence, that in ſhort time the city was compaſſed about with ſtrong wals,
F and deepe ditches, maugre the Turks, who ceaſed not with continuall alarmes and skirmiſhes to haue hindred the worke. With like care, and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified Subleum, another ſtrong Hold; and leauing in either place a ſtrong garriſon, returned again to Conſtantinople. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ceaſed not with continuall inrodes to doe what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with ſo good ſucceſſe as

 before,

before, being many times cut off by the garrisons of the late fortified towns: which grieuan- G
ces still increasing, caused the Emperor to expostulate with the Sultan, as with an vnthankful
man, and forgetfull of so great kindnes before done vnto him, as the establishment of him in
his kingdome came vnto: who with no lesse vehemencie vpbraided him againe with incon-
stancy & breach of promise, as wel for fortifying the aforesaid places contrarie to the league
betwixt them, as for that hauing promised much more, hee had thereof performed nothing.
Thus vnkindnes daily growing vpon euery trifle (as it commonly falleth out among men of
great spirit, and jealous of their owne honors) it was daily expected, when the matter should
fall out into open and bloody war; both of them being men of great valor, and apt to reuenge
the least iniurie to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to mannage his warres
by his politique and expert captaines; whereas the Emperour being of an hotter nature, and H
couragious aboue measure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his owne per-
son, without respect what danger might thereof insue vnto himselfe or his state. Long it was
not but that the Emperour, fully resolued to be reuenged of so many wrongs done to him and
his subiects by the Turks, raised the whole power of his empire, both in Europe and Asia, in
such sort as if he had therewith purposed, not onely to haue rased to the ground Iconium the
regall seat of the Turkish Sultan, but euen vtterly to haue destroied the whole Nation of the
Turks. Thus with a most puissant and populous armie, wel appointed of all things necessarie,
he passed ouer into Asia, and so in good order marching through Phrygia, Laodicea, Chonas,
(called in antient time Passas) S. Archangel, Lampis, Cælænas, (where the head of the great
and famous riuer Mœander riseth, whereinto the riuer Marsyas falleth) and from thence to I
Chonia, he with euill lucke, and worse speed, passed by Myriocephalon, an old ruinous castle,
ominous by the name thereof, as by the euent in short time after it prooued. And albeit that
he marched very circumspectly, still intrenching his armie in euery place where he lodged;
yet could he make but small speed, by reason of the multitude of his cariages, and of the base
people that attended the same. The Turks in the mean while oftentimes shewing themselues
in troupes, and in places of aduantage skirmishing sometime with one part of the armie, and
somtime with another, but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a iust battell: yet by such
meanes were the victuallers of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the passages for the Empe-
ror made very dangerous. And the more to distresse the Christians in their long trauell, they
found the countrey before them of purpose destroied by the Turkes, and the water in many K
places poisoned, whereof the Christians vnaduisedly drinking, fell into many grieuous disea-
ses, especially the flix, & therof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although
he had in readinesse a right puissant armie of his owne, and had procured great aid from the
Persian Sultan his kinsman and chiefe supporter; yet fearing the doubtfull euent of war, and
loth to aduenture his whole estate vpon the fortune of a battell, sought by his Embassadors
sent for that purpose, to grow to some peace with the Emperour, and that vpon such honora-
ble conditions, as by the wiser sort were thought not to be at any hand refused: which large
offers, the Sultan as desirous of peace, made vnto him not once, but again and againe: which
the Emperor neuertheless (reposing great confidence in his owne power, and prickt forward
by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace, than the L
hard wars of the Turks) proudly reiected, and so dismissing the Embassadors, scornfully wil-
led them to tell their Master, That he would giue him answer to his requests, vnder the wals
of Iconium. Which caused the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made
betwixt the Emperour and him, with all his power to take the straits of Zibrica, whereby the
armie of the Christians, departing from Myriocephalon, must of necessitie passe. The en-
trance into these straits was by a long valley, on either side inclosed with high mountains,
which towards the North rising and falling according as the hils gaue leaue, opened into
diuers large vallies, which by little and little growing againe straiter and straiter, with high
and craggie rockes hanging ouer on either side, and almost touching one another, gaue vnto
the painfull traueller a most hard and difficult passage. M

Vnkindnes betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan.

A great ouersight of the Emperour.

Into this so daungerous a valley the Emperor, not fearing the enemies force, desperatly en-
tred with his armie, hauing neither prouided for the clearing of the passages, or safetie of his
carriages, in no other order than as if he had marched through the plain and champain coun-
trey, although it were before told him (that which he shortly after, but too late saw) that the
ene-

A enemie had ſtrongly poſſeſſed both the ſtraits and mountaines to hinder his further paſſage. The vauward of his armie was conducted by *Iohn* and *Andronicus* the ſons of *Angelus Conſtantine*, accompanied with *Macroducas Conſtantine*, and *Lapardas Andronicus*: in the right wing was *Baldwin* the Emperors brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: after them followed the drudges and ſcullions, with an infinite number of carters and other baſe people, attending vpon the carriages, with the baggage of the whole armie: next vnto theſe came the Emperor with the main battell, conſiſting for the moſt part of right valiant and worthy ſoldiers: the rereward was ſhut vp by *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, with a number of moſt reſolute men. They were not far entred into theſe ſtraits, but that the Turks from the mountaines and broken cliffes, ſhewed themſelues on euery ſide, deliuering their deadly ſhot from the vpper
B ground, vpon the Chriſtians below, as thicke as haile: neuertheleſſe the ſons of *Angelus* with *Macroducas* & *Lapardas*, and the vantgard, caſting themſelues into a three ſquare battel in form of a wedge, with their targuers in manner of a penthouſe caſt cloſe together ouer their heads, and their archers on euery ſide luſtily beſtowing their ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies, by plain force droue them out of the ſtraits they had before poſſeſſed, and cauſed them to retire farther off into the mountains, and ſo hauing made themſelues way, with little or no loſſe paſſed thoſe dangerous ſtraits; till that at length hauing recouered the top of a hill very very commodious for their purpoſe, as the caſe ſtood, they there ſtaid, & preſently incamped themſelues. And happily with like good fortune might the reſt of the army haue paſſed alſo, had they in like order, & with like courage preſently followed after: but failing ſo to do, and
C troubled with the multitude of their carriages, which could not poſſibly make any way throgh thoſe ſtrait & rough paſſages, (but troubled themſelues one another, as alſo the whole armie) they were from the vpper ground miſerably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh archers, whoſe arrowes fell as thick vpon them from the mountains, as if it had bin a perpetual tempeſt or ſhoure of haile, to the great diſordering and diſmaying of the whole armie: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith incouraged, in great numbers came downe from the mountains, where they had before houered ouer the heads of the Chriſtians, and forcibly entring the plain ground, & comming to handy blows, firſt ouerthrew the right wing; where *Baldwin* himſelf ſeeking to reſtore his diſordered companies, and to ſtay the furie *Baldwin ſlain.* of the enemie (now raging in the bloud of the Chriſtians) with a troupe of valiant horſemen
D breaking into the thickeſt of them, as became a worthie captaine, was there compaſſed in with the multitude of his enemies, and ſlaine, together with all his followers, and the greateſt part of the whole wing by him commanded: with this victorie the Turks were ſo incouraged, that comming down with all their power, they ſtopped all the waies whereby the Chriſtians were to paſſe, who as men couped vp in thoſe dangerous ſtraits, were not able either to defend themſelues, or to help one another: but incloſed as deer in a toile, and one troubling another, were the cauſe both of the deſtruction of themſelues and others: for by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behinde in the rereward come forward to relieue the one the other, as need required: the carriages alſo, which were many, and in the midſt of the army, ſeruing them to no other purpoſe, than to the hurt
E of themſelues. There were the beaſts that ſerued for burden, together with the ſoldiers, ouer- *The miſerie of the Chriſtians, by the Turks incloſed in the ſtraits.* whelmed with the Turks ſhot, the vallies lay full of dead bodies, the riuers ran mingled with the bloud of men and beaſts, in ſuch terrible manner as is not by pen to be expreſſed. For the Chriſtians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in thoſe ſtraits ſlain like ſheep: if any courage or ſparke of valour were by any ſhewed againſt the enemy, fighting at ſo great aduantage, it was but loſt, ſeruing to little or no purpoſe. And to increaſe their miſeries, the Turks in ſcorne ſhewed vpon the point of a lance the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the emperors nephew, who comming with an atmy out of Paphlagonia, and Heraclea Pontica, againſt the Turks of Amaſia, was now by the way by them ouerthrowne and ſlaine. The report whereof, confirmed by the ſight of his head, and the conſideration of the deſperat danger wherein the
F whole army preſently ſtood, ſo troubled the Emperour, that he was at his wits end; and with *The Emperor in great perplexitie.* drie teares (if it may be ſo ſaid) diſſembling his inward griefe, as one out of comfort, ſtood doubtfull which way to turne himſelfe. For the Turks hauing ſuffered the vantgard to paſſe, with all their power charged the Emperors main battell, as his chief ſtrength, nothing doubting, but that hauing once ouerthrown it, they ſhould eaſily & at pleaſure ouerthrow the reſt.

Oftentimes had the Emperour attempted to haue driuen the enemy out of thoſe ſtraits, and G
ſo to haue opened a way for his army to haue paſſed, but all in vaine, the power of the Turkes
The deſperat reſolution of the Emperor. ſtil increaſing, and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the paſſages before by them
taken: neuertheleſſe ſeeing no leſſe danger in ſtaying ſtil, than in going forward, he with a few
of his beſt ſoldiers, armed with deſpaire, and reſolued to die, (to which kind of men nothing
is terrible) ſet forward directly vpon his enemies, willing the reſt with like reſolution euery
man to make for himſelfe the beſt ſhift he could. And ſo with many wounds & ſturdy blows
both giuen and receiued, he by plaine force and might of hand brake through the thickeſt of
his enemies, and ſo eſcaped out of thoſe ſtraits as out of a trap: but yet not without many
wounds receiued in his perſon, and himſelfe ſo wearied, as that hee was not able to lift vp his
helmet, being beaten cloſe to his head, and in his target were found ſticking 30 of the Turks H
arrows, or therabouts, the manifeſt tokens of his danger. The other legions ſeeking to follow
the Emperor, (for other way they had none) were on euery ſide hardly aſſailed by the Turks,
and infinit numbers of them ſlain, beſide many others that periſhed in thoſe ſtraits, ouerborn
and trodden to death by their owne fellows. Yea ſuch as had the fortune to eſcape out of one
of theſe perillous ſtraits, were forthwith ſlaine in the next: for this ſo daungerous a paſſage
through the mountains, was diuided (as is aforeſaid into ſeuen vallies, which giuing fair and
broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew ſtil ſtraiter & ſtraiter, al which ſtraits the Turks
had before ſtrongly poſſeſſed. At which time alſo, the more to increaſe the terrour of the day,
the light ſand raiſed with the feet of the men and horſes, was by the violence of a moſt tem-
peſtuous wind which then blew, carried ſo forcibly and thicke, that both the armies grapling I
together, as if it had bin in the darknes of the night, killed whomſoeuer they met with, with-
A moſt miſerable ſpectacle. out reſpect of friend or foe; by which errour many were euen of their owne friends ſlaine. In
euery place lay great heaps of Turks ſlain together with the Chriſtians, and with them great
numbers of horſes & other beaſts for cariage; ſo that thoſe vallies where this bloudy conflict
was, ſeemed to be nothing elſe but a large burying place of the Turks & Chriſtians with their
horſes: but the greateſt number was of the Chriſtians that periſhed, and they not altogether
of the common ſort, but euen of the braueſt captaines, and the Emperors neereſt kinſmen: the
violence of the wind ceaſing, and the day cleering vp, there was of all others to be ſeen (a moſt
wofull ſpectacle) men yet aliue, ſome wounded, ſome whole, couered ſome to the middle,
ſome to the neck, with dead carkaiſes, in ſuch ſort, as that they were not able with any ſtrug- K
ling to get out: who with their hands caſt vp towards heauen, with ruthfull voices cried out
for help to ſuch as paſſed by; but all in vaine, for euery man poſſeſſed with the common feare,
and by their danger meaſuring their owne, paſſed by them without compaſſion, as more care-
full of their owne ſafety, leauing them yet liuing, as men to be numbred among the dead.

The Emperour himſelfe, as a man almoſt now ſpent, being got out of the danger, ſtood a
The Emperor in danger to haue beene taken valiantly defendeth himſelfe. while to breath himſelf vnder the ſhadow of a wild peare tree, without any page or man to at-
tend him; whom a poore common ſoldier eſpying, and moued with compaſſion, came to him,
and offering him the beſt ſeruice he could, helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his
armor, which before hung dangling here & there about him: when in the mean while a Turke
comming in vpon him, had taken his horſe by the bridle, in hope to haue led him away priſo- L
ner: whom for all that, the Emperor as weary as he was, with the trunchion of his broken lance
which he had yet in his hand, ſtruck down to the ground, and ſo cleered himſelfe of him. Pre-
ſently after came alſo another ſort of the ſtragling Turks, ready alſo to haue ſeiſed vpon him,
and to haue taken him priſoner; of whom he ſlew one with the aforeſaid horſemans ſtaffe, and
with his ſword ſtruck off the head of another of them, and ſo kept them off, vntill that by the
comming in of ten of his owne ſouldiers he was relieued. Departing thence with purpoſe to
haue ioyned himſelfe vnto the legions that were gon before in the vauward, he had not gone
farre, but that he was much troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heapes of the dead
bodies that lay in his way: yet at laſt, hauing with much labour and more danger paſſed the
ſtraits, and a riuer running thereby, being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of M
his own people, and ſome other of his owne ſoldiers now reſorting vnto him, he there ſaw *Iohn Cataczene*, a noble and right valiant gentleman that maried his neece, fighting alone againſt
a great number of the Turks, to be compaſſed in and ſlaine; whom he was no way able to re-
lieue. Which Turks alſo ſeeing him paſſe by, followed after him, as after a moſt rich prey, in

hope

A hope to haue either presently taken or slaine him: whom neuertheless he (encouraging the small company he had about him) notably repulsed; and so somtime marching forward, and again as occasion required making a stand, came at length long looked for, but most welcom vnto the legions that were gon before, not so sorry for their owne hard estate, as carefull of his danger.

But before he could come to those his legions, he ready to faint for thirst, commanded water to be brought him out of the riuer that ran fast by; which after he had tasted, & by the vnpleasant tast therof perceiued the same to be infected, he fetching a deep sigh, said, *O how vnfortunately haue I tasted Christian bloud!* whereunto an audacious and malapert souldier there present, and more bitter than the cruell time it selfe, replyed, *Emperour, thou didst not now, thou*
B *didst not now I say, first, but long since, and oftentimes drinke the bloud of the Christians, euen vntil thou wast drunke againe, at such time as thou didst with most grieuous exactions vexe and deuoure thy poore subjects.* Which reproachfull speech the Emperour put vp in silence, making as if he had not heard it. With like patience he also forbare the same railing companion, at such time as hee seeing his treasures hardly beset, and in danger to be taken by the Turkes, to animate his soldiers, willed them to do what they could to rescue the same, and to take it for their labor: *This treasure* (said this impudent fellow) *should before haue bin giuen vnto thy soldiers, rather than now, when as it cannot be recouered but with great danger and bloudshed: and therefore if thou be a man of valor, as thou wouldst be accounted, and as the present case requireth, valiantly charge the Turks (now ready to carry it away) thy selfe, and so recouer thine euill gotten goods.* Whereunto the Emperor an-
C swered no more but, *Good words souldier*, and so put it vp, as did *Dauid* the railings of *Shimei*. Shortly after the comming of the Emperor vnto those legions of his vauntgard (the only remainder of his army that was left whole and vnbroken) came also *Andronicus Contostephanus*, who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers other of great place, who had by good fortune escaped the fury of the Turks. The miseries of that day (not well to be expressed) being ended by the comming on of the night, the Christians sate in the camp, oppressed with a generall heauinesse, leaning their heads vpon their elbows, and considering the present danger wherein they were, scarcely accounted themselues among the liuing: the Turks in the meane time to increase their feare, all the night running about the camp, and crying aloud vnto such of their countreymen in the camp, as had abiured their religion, or for other respects had ta-
D ken part with the Imperials, that they should that night get them out of the camp, whereas otherwise if they staid vnto the morning, they should be al but lost men. In this so great an extremity the Emperour knowing not what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, declared vnto them the desperat danger they were in, together with his resolution; which was, secretly himselfe to flie, and to leaue the rest, euery man to make what shift he could for himselfe. Which his base determination, so foule as fouler could not be, they all wondring at, as proceeding from a distraughted mind; and by chance ouerheard by one of the common souldiers that stood without the tent, the same souldier fetching a deep sigh, in detestation thereof cryed out with a loud voice, *What means the Emperor?* And so turning himself vnto him, said,
E *Art not thou he that hast thrust vs into this desolate and strait way, and cast vs headlong into destruction? and hast as it were in a morter inclosed vs in these rocks and mountains, ready as it were to ouerwhelme vs. What had we to do with this vaile of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into these mischieuous and rough straits? What can we particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in these inextricable windings and straits haue thus intangled and beset vs? Was it not thou that broughtst vs hither? And wilt thou now, as sheep appointed to the slaughter, thy selfe betray vs?* With which so sharp a reprehension the Emperor throughly pierced, changed his former determination for flight, resoluing now to stand by it, what soeuer hapned. But what should he now do, beset with his enemies still ready to deuoure him? Help he saw none, either in himself, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and despaire. In this extremity, al mans help now failing, it pleased the most mighty (which chastiseth & healeth again, which striketh, &
F yet giueth life, and suffereth not the staffe of the sinners always to rage into the portion of the iust) with mercifull eye to looke down vpon these distressed men, and with an vnwonted kind of clemency to touch the Sultans heart, in such sort, as that he which but the other day stood in dread of the Emperour, and now hauing him as it were in his power, was ouercome with his misery: or as in times past he by *Husai* ouerthrew the counsell of *Achitophel*, and changed

The malapert speech of an insolent soldier, to the emperor.

The great patience of the Emperor.

The fearefull resolution of the Emperor.

A sharp reprehension of a common soldier vnto the Emperor.

the mind of *Abſalon* to follow ſuch aduice as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then alſo he G
turned the minde of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certaine of the chiefe men about him, who in time of peace had vſed to receiue great gifts and Preſents from the Emperor) he of his owne accord by his Embaſſadors offered peace vnto the Emperour, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe ſued vnto him for any; and that vpon the ſelfe ſame conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were ready to aſſault the emperors camp, in hope at once to haue ouerthrown his whole power; and with a barbarous outcry ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their arrows they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their own trenches: againſt whom the Emperor ſent out *Iohn* the ſon of *Conſtantinus Angelus*, and after him, *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, but to little or no purpoſe. In the mean time came one *Gabras*, a man of greateſt reputation a- H
mong the Turks, Embaſſador from the Sultan; by whoſe commandement the Turkes ceaſed further to aſſault the camp. This *Gabras* comming vnto the Emperor, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honoring him with reuerence done euen down to the ground; firſt preſented him with a goodly horſe, whoſe furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had bin for a triumph, and a rare two edged ſword: afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made and with many kind words as with an inchantment appeaſing the Emperors heauineſſe conceiued of his late loſſe; he among other pleaſant conceits then vttered, ſeeing the Emperor in a rich robe of yellow ouer his armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for war, as ominous, and portending euil luck: whereat the Emperor a little ſmiling, gaue it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiuing the horſe and ſword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the peace. A- I
mongſt other conditions of the peace (which the daungerouſnes of the time ſuffered not the Emperor curiouſly to examine) one was, That Dorileum and Subleum, before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunat war, ſhould be again raſed. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the Emperor deliuered of a great feare, purpoſed another way to return home, to auoid the ſight of the ſlaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpoſe as it was thought, led backe the ſame way, to behold with his eyes thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the ſlain, which could not with any teares be ſufficiently lamented: for the ſtraits were made plain, the vallies were raiſed into hils, and the forreſts lay couered with the carkaſſes of the ſlaine: no man paſſed by, but with heauines and griefe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there loſt. Hauing againe paſſed thoſe dolefull ſtreits, the Turks were again in the taile K
of the army: for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himſelfe to haue ſuffered his enemies ſo to ſcape out of his hands, had giuen leaue to ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelf with his whole power, as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his ſoldiers loaded with the ſpoile, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the army, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weak or wounded, and ſo vnable to follow the reſt: although the Emperor to help the matter, had for the repreſſing of them placed the beſt of his captains and ſoldiers in the rereward. Being come to Chonas, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto euery one of his hurt ſoldiers money to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their countries; and comming to Philadelphia, there ſtaid for the refreſhing of himſelf after ſo great miſeries. In his return he raſed Subleum, according to his promiſe, but L
not Dorileum: whereof the Sultan by his Embaſſadors complaining; he anſwered, That what he had, inforced thereto by neceſſity, promiſed, he greatly forced not to performe: in reuenge whereof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant captains, called *Atapac*, with 24000 good ſoldiers choſen out of his whole army, with ſtreit charge to waſt and deſtroy all the emperors prouinces & towns euen vnto the ſea ſide, without ſparing man, woman, or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the ſea water, an oare, and ſome of the ſea ſand: who according to his charge ſpoiled Phrygia, with the cities along the riuer Mæander, euen to the ſea ſide: and ſo returning with a rich prey, by the way ſpoiled what before he had left vntouched. But in paſſing the riuer Mæander, when he feared leaſt, he fell into the hands of *Iohn Bataza* the Emperors nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine* a moſt valiant captain; of purpoſe ſent againſt M
him by the Emperour with a great power: where he was by them ſlain, together with all his army, and the rich booty he had taken, all again recouered. Many other hard conflicts paſſed after this, betwixt the Imperials & the Turks, the one continually ſeeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fell out much worth the remembrance, I for breuitie willingly

The Emperor returneth.

The Emperor altogether performs not what he had promiſed to the Sultan.

Atapack with all his Armie ſlaine.

A lingly paſſe ouer. In theſe endles troubles did *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, whom he had by the ſpace of eight and thirty yeares worthily gouerned that great empire, hauing in the time of his ſickneſſe but a little before his death taken vpon him the habit of a Monk, in token he had forſaken the world. All the time of his reigne he was no leſſe jealous of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, than of the Turks in the Eaſt; and therfore euer dealt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was ſo laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicity but in pain; and againe in peace ſo giuen ouer to his pleaſure, as if he had neuer thought of any thing els: after whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance inuading the frontiers of the empire, tooke Sozopolis, with diuers towns thereabout in Phrygia, and long beſieged the famous city of Atalia, and ſo daily encroched more and more vpon the prouinces of the empire, ioining the ſame
B vnto his owne; which was no great matter for him to do, the Greek empire being then no better gouerned then was the chariot of the Sun (as the poets feigne) by *Phaeton*, far vnfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a childe of about 12 yeares old, ſucceeding his graue father in the empire, after the maner of children altogether following his pleaſure; his mother with his fathers kinſmen and friends, who aboue all things ought to haue had an eſpeciall care of his education, neglecting the old Emperors truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their own delights, without the regard of the ruine of the common-weale. Some enamored with the beauty of the young Empreſſe, gaue themſelues al to brauery, and the courting of her, other ſome in great authority, with no leſſe deſire in the mean time, with the common treaſures filled their empty coffers: and a third ſort there
C was (of all the reſt moſt dangerous) who neither reſpecting their ſenſual pleaſure, nor the heaping vp of wealth, looked not ſo low, aiming at the very empire it ſelfe. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all leaſt regarded. Among theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the couſin of the late Emperor *Emanuel*, a man of an haughtie and troubleſome ſpirit, whom he the ſaid Emperor *Emanuel* had for his aſpiring, moſt part of the time of his reigne kept in priſon, or elſe in exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for fear of raiſing new troubles, confin'd to liue far off from the court at Oenum: who now hearing of the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, of the factions in court, of the childiſhneſſe of the young emperor *Alexius*, giuen wholly to his ſports; and the great men put in truſt to haue ſeene to his bringing vp, and to the gouernment of the empire, ſome like Bees to fly abroad
D into the country, ſeeking after mony as the Bees do after hony; ſome others in the mean time like hogs, lying ſtill and fatting themſelues with great and gainfull offices, wallowing in all exceſſe and pleaſure, to haue no regard of the honor or profit of the common-weale: thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the ſtate) for him to aſpire vnto the empire after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the Conſtantinopolitans, yea and of ſome of the nobilitie alſo, he doubted not: for them he had long before by his popular behauior gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late Emperor, jealous of his eſtate; which as it coſt him his liberty, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his life alſo: but now that he was dead, wanted nothing more than ſome faire colour for the ſhadowing of his foule purpoſe. Among many and right diuers things by him thought vpon, was a clauſe
E in the oath of obedience which he had giuen to the Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſon, (which oath he had deliuered vnto him in writing) That if he ſhould ſee, heare, or vnderſtand of any thing dangerous or hurtfull to their honor, empire, or perſons; he ſhould forthwith bewray it, and to the vttermoſt of his power withſtand it: which words (not ſo to haue been wreſted) as beſt ſeruing for his purpoſe he took firſt occaſion for to work vpon. And as he was a ſtout and imperious man, therupon writ diuers letters vnto the young emperor his couſin, to *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, and other ſuch as he knew well affected vnto the late emperor *Emanuel*: wherin among other things which he wiſhed to be amended in the preſent gouernment, he ſeemed moſt to complaine of the immoderate power and authoritie of *Alexius*, then preſident of the Councell, who in great fauor with the young emperour, and more inward with
F the empreſſe his mother than was ſuppoſed to ſtand with her honour, ruled all things at his pleaſure, inſomuch, as that nothing don by any the great officers of the empire, or by the emperor himſelfe, was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was growne to ſuch an exceſſiue pride, hauing all things in his power, as that no man could without danger, as vpon the venomous Baſiliske, look vpon him. Of which his ſo exceſſiue

Andronicus aſpireth.

Ambition couered with the zeale of the commonweale.

exceſſiue and inſolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, moued thereunto (as he would haue it beleeued) with the care he had of the yong Emperors ſafety, which could not (as he ſaid) long ſtand with the others ſo great power, which he therfore (as in duty bound) wiſhed to be abridged: aggrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much familiarity with the empreſſe; which firſt muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he ſaid) throughout the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the perſon of the Emperor, and diſhonor of the ſtate, he forſooth as one in conſcience bound, with great grauity and eloquence (beeing a very learned man) both in open ſpeech and writing moſt earneſtly deſired: and thereby ſo wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithful counſellor to the ſtate, a thing much to haue bin wiſhed. Wherefore leauing Oenum, the place whereto he was by the Emperour *Emanuel* in a ſort baniſhed, trauelling towards Conſtantinople, hee gaue it out in euery place where he came, what he had ſworne, and what he would for his oaths ſake do: vnto whom men deſirous of the change of the ſtate, and ſuch as gaue credit vnto the report long before giuen out, That he ſhould at length become Emperor; flockt in great numbers, as birds about an owle, to ſee him, and with vain praiſes to chatter about him. In this ſort he came as far as Paphlagonia; in euery place honorably receiued, as if he had bin a deliuer of his countrey ſent from God. And in the imperiall city he was not longed for of the vulgar people only, as their light and load ſtar, but diuers of the nobility alſo by ſecret meſſengers and letters, perſuaded him to haſten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernment; aſſuring him, that there would be none to reſiſt him, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt his ſhadow, but all ready to receiue him: eſpecially *Mary* the yong Emperors ſiſter by the fathers ſide, with her husband *Caſar*; who being a woman of great ſpirit, and grieuing much to ſee her Fathers Empire made a prey vnto *Alexius* the preſident, & the Empreſſe her ſtep mother, whom ſhe naturally hated, had raiſed a great and dangerous tumult in the city againſt them both, which was not without much bloud ſhed appeaſed: and now ceaſed not by often and moſt earneſt letters (to her own deſtruction, and her husbands, as afterwards it fel out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to haſten his comming: who by letters and meſſengers daily comming vnto him from the court ſtil more and more incouraged, leauing behind him the country of Paphlagonia, came to Heraclea in Pontus, and ſtil on towards the imperiall city, with great cunning and diſſimulation winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was ſo ſtony hearted; whom his ſweet words and abundant teares flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentifull fountaines down by his hoary cheeks, might not haue moued? All that he did or deſired, was (as he ſaid) for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawne vnto him a wonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But comming into Bythinia, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernour of the great city of Nice, ſhut out as an enemy to the ſtate, and ſo at Nicomedia alſo. Neuertheleſſe, paſſing by thoſe cities, he held ſtill on his way, vntil at length he was neer to a caſtle called Charace, encountred by *Andronicus Angelus*, ſent with a great power againſt him, by the great preſident *Alexius*; who otherwiſe as an effeminat man, giuen ouer to his pleaſure, ſpending the greateſt part of the night in royoting by candle light, and moſt part of the day in his bed, with curtains cloſe drawn, as if it had been night: yet doubtfull now of the comming of his enemy, left nothing vndon which he thought might help for the aſſuring of his ſtate. Many of the nobility of whom he ſtood in doubt, he gained vnto him by means of the Emperors mother; who by her rare beauty, ſweet words, and gracious behauiour, as with a line drew all men to her. Other ſome hee ouercame with gifts and great ſummes of money, whereof he now made no ſpare: And ſo wrought the matter, that no man of any acount or marke went ouer to *Andronicus*. Who neuertheleſſe with ſuch followers as hee had, ioyning battell with *Angelus* (ſent againſt him, as is before ſaid) ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great diſpleaſure and without reaſon, called *Angelus* (now fled to Conſtantinople) to an account for the money deliuered vnto him for the defraying of the charges of that vnfortunate warre: who ſeeing his misfortune to be ſo taken as if he had framed it himſelf and of purpoſe betraid the army committed to his charge; by the counſell of his ſix ſons, being all men of great valor and wiſedome, firſt tooke the refuge of his owne houſe: but finding himſelfe there in no ſafetie, with his wife and his ſaid ſonnes (two of which came afterwards to be Emperours) preſently

Andronicus departeth from Oenum toward Conſtantinople.

A presently fled ouer the strait to *Andronicus*: who seeing of him comming towards him, is reported to haue vsed this text of Scripture, *Behold I will send mine Angell before thy face to prepare thy wayes*: alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the presage of his good successe. Wherefore incouraged with the comming of these noblemen his kinsmen, he without longer stay marched directly vnto the sea side, and there a little aboue Chalcedon encamped almost right ouer against Constantinople: causing many great fires (moe than needed) to be made in his army, to make it seeme vnto them of the city greater than indeed it was; and with the sight thereof to keep the citizens in suspence, with the doubtfull expectation of some great matter to ensue. Wherein he was no whit deceiued; for they hauing him now as it were in sight, leauing their worke, ran some to the sea side, some vp to the hils and high towers to behold his army a far
B off, willing with their friendly looks, if it had bin possible, to haue drawne him ouer the streit into the city. *Alexius* knowing himselfe not able by land to encounter with so strong an enemy, (for now some which on foot could not go ouer to *Andronicus*, were secretly in heart already with him; othersome thought themselues sufficiently to shew their fidelity to the Emperor, if sitting still at home, they should take part with neither: for so haue subtill heads and aspiring mindes, for the furtherance of their desires, taught the common people both to say and think) thought it best by sea to auert the present danger: and therfore commanded all the emperors gallies (being before rigged vp and ready) to be strongly manned and put to sea, for the keeping of Propontis and the streit of Bosphorus, that *Andronicus* should not that way passe: now had he determined to haue made especiall choice of some assured friend of his own
C to be General of this fleet, as he had done of the captains and masters, being all his own kinsmen or domesticall seruants: but as he was about to haue so done, *Contostephanus* (sirnamed the great captain) opposed himself against it, challinging that place as due vnto himselfe, before al others: so that ouercome by his authority (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to dispute) he was glad to commit the charge and trust of the whole fleet vnto him, as Generall. Thus hauing (as he thought) made the sea sure, he sent ouer vnto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor, (for al was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other instructions, whereof the effect was, to command him forthwith in peace to returne to the place from whence hee came, & not farther to trouble the state: promising him in so doing, the Emperors fauor, with many great honours and preferments to be afterward bestowed vpon him; which otherwise
D might turn to his vtter destruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and done his message, is reported to haue secretly aduised *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpose, and not in any case to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherwith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly reiected the graces offred, and willed the messenger to tel them that sent him, that if they would haue him to returne to the place from whence he came, they should first displace the proud president *Alexius*; and call him to an account for the villanies he had done; then the Emperors mother they should depriue of her honors, & shut her vp as a Nun into some cloyster, there to learn to amend her life; and last of all, that the Emperor according to his fathers will, should take vpon himselfe the gouernment, and not be ouertopt by others, by whose too much authority, his maiesty and honor was (as he said) too much impaired. But within a few
E days after, *Contostephanus*, the great captain & General, caried ouer al the gallies to *Andronicus* leauing nothing but their names for the president in his rols to look vpon: whose reuolt aboue all other things incouraged *Andronicus*, & cast *Alexius* euen into the bottome of dispaire. For now *Andronicus* his friends flocked together in the city, not secretly as before, but openly in all places: and such as wisht a change in the state, impudently scoffing at *Alexius*, passed ouer the streit to Chalcedon in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eys with beholding of his goodly person, his cheerfull countenance, & reuerent age; and their eares with his sweet words & great promises, returned home merry & ioyfull, as if they had bin in some terrestriall paradise, filling the city with his praises. After that, *Andronicus* his 2 sons, *Iohn* & *Manuel*, with diuers others, whom the president had cast in prison, were set at liberty, & other
F of his chief fauorits laid fast in their rooms. As for *Alexius* the president himself, with all his friends & faction in the court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the guard: a right strange alteration: but about midnight, *Alexius* himself was secretly conueied out of the court to the Patriarchs house, & there kept with a stronger guard than before. A wonderfull change & worth marking, a man so honorably born, but yesterday in greatest honor, attended vpon

Andronicus encampeth in sight ouer against Constantinople.

Xiphilinus sent ouer to Andronicus, dealeth vnfaithfully in doing his message.

The proud answer of Andronicus.

Contostephanus reuolteth to Andronicus.

Alexius in dispaire.

Alexius and his friends apprehended.

A strange alteration.

vpon with many thouſands, all at his command, hauing the power to ſpill or ſaue: to day in bonds, in diſgrace, in miſery and diſpaire, and not ſo much as a page to wait vpon him: which he taking very grieuouſly, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not ſuffer him to ſleep or take any reſt. Of whoſe miſery, the Patriarch taking pity (although he had of him very euil deſerued) yet cheered him vp with comfortable words, perſuading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with ſuch ſpeeches as fitted not his preſent ſtate, to prouoke his keepers to vſe him euill: within a few daies after, early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs houſe, and ſet vpon a very little bad lade, and ſo with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed, in maner of an enſigne, caried before him in deriſion, was broght to the ſea ſide, and there caſt into a little boat, was ſo brought to *Andronicus*, by whoſe command, with the generall conſent of the nobility, he for his euill gouernment ſhortly after had his eies put out. This was the miſerable end of the immoderat power, or rather of the inſolent ſoueraignty of *Alexius*: who, had he with more moderation and vigilancie gouerned, might both haue kept *Andronicus* out of the city, and himſelfe from ſo great miſery; hauing at his command all the Emperors treaſure, his gallies, with moſt part of the ſtrength of the empire. Now came the noblemen ouer apace to *Andronicus*: the laſt that came, was the reuerend Patriarch *Theodoſius*, with the chiefe of the clergy: of whoſe approch, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horſes feet, and in a while after ariſing again, kiſſed the patriarchs foot, calling him, the Emperors Sauior, the louer of vertue, the defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous father *Iohn Chryſoſtome*, omitted not any honorable title he could poſſibly deuiſe to giue him. But the deuout patriarch, that had neuer ſeen *Andronicus* before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his ſtern countenance, his ſubtile nature, his crafty and diſſembling manners, his exceeding ſtature, being almoſt ten foot high, his ſtately gate, his proud looke, his continual ſeuerity, and melancholy ſilence; as it were pittying them that to their owne deſtruction had called ſuch a man in, ſaid, *Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue alſo ſeen, and plainly knowne:* and fetching a deep ſigh, adioyning thereunto that ſaying of the Prophet *Dauid: As we haue heard ſo haue we alſo ſeen*: in which words, he couertly quipped the diſſembling meeting and ſubmiſſion of *Andronicus*: and withall called to remembrance the words of the Emperor *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times ſo painted forth *Andronicus* vnto the Patriarch, as if he would moſt liuely haue repreſented him vnto his view.

Alexius brought to Andronicus, hath his eyes put out.

The meeting of the Patriarch & Andronicus.

Andronicus paſſeth ouer the ſtreit.

All things in the city and in the palace ſet in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two ſons, and leaue giuen vnto the Emperors friends to come ouer vnto him, and to be acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himſelfe departing from Damalum, in a gally croſſed the ſtrait, oftentimes by the way merily ſinging that ſaying of the heauenly Pſalmiſt: *Returne my ſoule into thy reſt, becauſe the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling.* The Emperor with his mother *Xene*, then lay not in the palace at Conſtantinople, but at another princely houſe of his in the country neer vnto Philopatium, as *Andronicus* had appointed: whither *Andronicus* firſt went, and comming vnto his preſence, moſt humbly proſtrat before him, with ſobbing and teares, as his deceitfull manner was, kiſſed his feet. As for the Empreſſe his mother, he lightly ſaluted her, and as it were but for faſhion ſake, not diſſembling in his countenance the old grudge hee bare againſt her. And ſo without longer ſtay went vnto his tent prouided for him not far off; round about which all the great noblemen had pitched their tents alſo, flocking vnto him as chickens ſeeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there ſtaid with the Emperor a good while, he was deſirous to go vnto the imperiall city, and to ſee the late Emperour *Emanuel* his couſins graue. Where entring into the monaſterie of our Lady, where he was buried, and comming to his tombe, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainely out. So that diuers of the ſtanders by, ignorant of his diſſembling nature, by way of admiration ſaid; *O what a wonderfull thing is this! O how hee loued the Emperour, his couſin, although his fierce and cruell perſecutor!* And when one of his kinſemen would haue pulled him from the tombe, ſaying that hee had ſorrowed for him enough; he would not be remoued, but requeſted them to ſuffer him yet a little to tarrie by the tombe, for that he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto the dead: and ſo with his hands caſt vp, and cloſe togeather, as if he had prayed, and his eies faſt fixed vpon the tomb, he mooued his lips, and ſecretly ſaid ſomething, but what, no man could tell. Some ſaid it

was

A was ſome charme or incantation. But others more pleaſantly conceited, ſaid, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph ouer the dead Emperor *Emanuel*, and reuell with his ghoſt, with theſe or like words: *I haue thee now faſt, my cruell perſecutor, by whom I haue bin driuen to many great extremities: and hauing wandred almoſt all the world ouer, haue thereunto bin made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe riſing vp with ſeuen tops, & priſon, out of which thou canſt not ſtart, holdeth thee oppreſſed with a dead ſleep, out of which thou ſhalt not be awaked, but by the ſounding of the laſt trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy poſteritie, and ſatisfie my ſelfe as a lyon with a fat prey; and take ſharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou haſt done me, when I haue once poſſeſſed my ſelfe of this royall citie.*

After that, viſiting all the Emperors ſtately houſes, but ſtaying in no place long, he diſpo- *Andronicus taketh vpon him the gouernment.*
B ſed of all matters of ſtate, according to his owne pleaſure. To the young Emperor he allowed hunting, and other his vain delights, with keepers ioined to him, to watch not only his going in and out, but alſo that no man ſhould talk with him of any matter of importance: for all the gouernment of the ſtate he took vnto himſelf: not for that he wiſhed ſo well thereunto aboue others, but ſo to driue from the court all them of the contrarie faction to himſelfe, that were able to do any thing, and had before borne ſome ſway. The ſoldiers, whoſe help he had vſed in aſpiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bounty; all their offices & preferments he beſtowed either vpon his own children, or other his great fauorits; diuers of the no- *Andronicus tyrannizeth.*
bilitie of whom he liked not, were by him in ſhort time driuen into exile: ſome were by him depriued of their ſight, and ſome others caſt in priſon, not knowing any cauſe why, more than
C that they were by him ſecretly condemned, for that they were of the nobilitie, or had done ſome good ſeruice for the ſtate, or exiled for their perſonage, or ſome other thing that grieued *Androvicus*; or els for the ſpark of ſome old diſpleaſure which yet lay hid as fire raked vp in the aſhes: ſo that the ſtate of that time began to grow moſt miſerable: & the trechery euen *A miſerable ſtate of a common-weale.*
of men neereſt in bloud, ſeeking the deſtruction one of another, for to ſerue their owne turns, or to gratifie *Andronicus*, moſt horrible: not only one brother betraid another, but euen the father his ſon, and the ſon his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it ſo. Some accuſed their neereſt kinſmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more fauoured *Alexius* the yong emperor, then a great offence. Yet ſuch was the miſchief of the time, that many in accuſing others, were themſelues accuſed; and charging others of trea-
D ſon againſt *Andronicus*, were themſelues charged by them whom they accuſed, and ſo clapt vp both together in one priſon: neither were they of the nobility onely (enemies to *Andronicus*) thus hardly dealt withall, but euen ſome of his great fauorits and followers alſo: for ſome whom but yeſterday he had vſed moſt kindly, and enrolled among his beſt friends, vpon them to day he frowned & tyrannized moſt cruelly: ſo that you might haue ſeen the ſame man the ſame day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his admirall) to be crowned and beheaded, to be graced and diſgraced: inſomuch that the wiſer ſort deemed *Andronicus* his praiſings, the beginning of a mans diſgrace; his bounty, his vndoing; & his kindnes, his death. The firſt that taſted of his tyranny, was *Mary* the daughter of *Emanuel* the emperor, who for the hate ſhe bare to *A-* *Mary the daughter of Emanuel, with her husband Cæſar poiſoned by Andronicus.*
E *lexius* the late preſident, & the empres her mother in law, had (as is aforeſaid) aboue all other, wiſht for his comming; but was now by one *Pterigionites* (ſomtime an Eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aſpiring mind purpoſed the vtter deſtruction of all *Emanuels* poſterity) cunningly poiſoned; as was her husband *Cæſar*, who liued not long after her, poiſoned alſo (as was ſuppoſed) with the ſame cup that his wife was. Now among others of the late emperors houſe, none had euer ſtood more in his light, than had the fair empres *Xene*, the yong emperors mother, whom now he ceaſed not moſt bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuſe, as an vtter enemie both to the emperor & the ſtate, making as if he would leaue all, & again depart, if ſhe were not remoued from the emperor her ſon: & by his cunning ſo inſenced the giddie headed vulgar people againſt her, that they came flocking to *Theodoſius* the good patriarch, ready to tear him out of his cloths, if he conſented not to the remouing of the em-
F pres, as *Andronicus* had deſired: ſo a counſel being called of ſuch his fauorits & others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cauſe, but aſſuredly to condemne her; the guiltles empreſſe after many things falſly laid to her charge, was accuſed of treſon: as that ſhe ſhould by her let- *Xene the Empreſſe accuſed of treaſon, and condemned.*
ters haue ſolicited *Bela* K. of Hungary, her brother in law, to inuade Brantizoba & Belligrade, two ſtrong places belonging to the empire: whereupon ſhe was condemned, and ſhamefully caſt

caſt into a moſt filthy priſon neere vnto the monaſtery of S. *Diomede*. Amongſt other noble- G
men called vnto this wicked counſell, were *Leo Monaſteriotes*, *Demetrius*, *Tornicius* and *Conſtantius Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the Empreſſe, ſaid, They would be glad firſt to know, Whether that counſell againſt his mother, were called by the Emperours conſent or not? With which ſpeech, *Andronicus* pierced to the heart as with a ſword, in great rage ſtart vp and ſaid, Theſe are they which encouraged the wicked Preſident to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Whereupon they of his guard in threatning manner ſhooke their weapons and ſwords at them, as if they would euen preſently haue ſlain them: and the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them ſome one way, ſome another, were ſo fierce vpon them, as that they had much ado to eſcape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire Empreſſe H
(but the other day one of the greateſt princes of the Eaſt, and honored of all her ſubiects) in great miſerie & deſpaire, ſcorned euen of her baſe keepers, euery houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* againſt her, ſo any thing aſſwaged, but grieuing that ſhe yet breathed, ſhortly after aſſembled the former counſell, the miniſters of his wrath, demanding of them, What puniſhment was by law appointed for ſuch as betraied any towne or prouince of the Empire? whereunto anſwer being giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death; he could no longer hold, but that he muſt in great choler break forth againſt the poore Empreſſe, as if it had bin ſhe that had done it: and thereupon the wicked counſellors crying out with one voice, That ſhe was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed; by and by without longer ſtay, a damned writing was ſubſcribed by the I
young Emperour her ſon, as if it had bin with the bloud of his owne mother, whèrby ſhe was (I abhor to write it) moſt vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to ſee this moſt horrible and cruell execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldeſt ſon, and *Georgius Auguſtus*, his neer kinſman; who both diſmaid at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the Emperours command, ſaid plainely, that they neuer before conſented to the death of the Empreſſe, but had clean hands of ſo hainous offence, and therefore would now much leſſe ſee her innocent body diſmembred in their ſight. At which vnexpected anſwer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himſelfe by the hoarie head, and with burning eies caſting ſometime vp his head, and ſometime downe, ſighed at his owne moſt miſerable tyrannical eſtate, fretting inwardly, that they which were neereſt vnto him, whom he thought K
he might euen with a beck haue commanded to haue don any miſchief, abhorring his crueltie, ſhould refuſe to do the thing he ſo much deſired to haue don: yet repreſſing his anger for a while, within a few daies after, he againe commanded her to be ſtrangled; which was accordingly done by *Conſtantinus Tripſicus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngracious eunuch, by whoſe help he had before poiſoned *Mary* the Emperors daughter, with *Cæſar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus periſhed this great Empreſſe, cruelly ſtrangled in priſon, by theſe two wicked men, the mercileſſe executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead body lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen to the admiration to the beholders, was without more adoe ſecretly raked vp in the ſand faſt by the ſea ſide: a poore ſepulchre for ſo great a perſon.

Dangerous to ſpeak the truth to a tyrant.

A wicked counſell.

The miſerable death of the Empreſſe.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durſt thus cruelly to deale with the L
yong Emperors owne mother, and neereſt friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good & ſafety of the ſtate and empire. And the more to ſhadow *Andronicus* his ſecret purpoſes, as not proceeding of any priuate or hidden malice, or aſpiring humor, from which he of all men would ſeem moſt free; and the more to manifeſt his deuotion & loyaltie to the yong Emperor his couſin, he was the only perſuader to the reſt of the nobility, to haue him ſolemnly crowned (which as yet by reaſon of his tender age he was not;) and at the time of his coronation, with his own ſhoulders ſupported him vp, as he was (after the manner of that ſolemnitie) carried vnto the great Church, and ſo back again; the Crocodiles tears ſtill plenteouſly running down his aged face, as if it had bin for exceeding ioy: which many of the meaner ſort beholding, & deeming thereof the beſt, highly commended his kindnes, accoun- M
ting the young Emperor thrice happy, in ſo graue a gouernour, and faithfull counſellor; who in loue and kind affection towards him, ſeemed not inferior to his natural father: ſo cunningly had he vnder the vaile of pietie, ſhadowed his moſt execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted moſt louing and kinde. But hidden treaſon, be it neuer

ſo

A so well dissembled, must at length shew it selfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the Emperor and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or els driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himselfe to aspire vnto that high soueraignetie, after which he had so many yeres longed. Wherefore calling together a councell of his flatterers and fauorits, whom he had for such purpose promoted vnto the highest places of state (al or most part of the graue counsellors & friends of the late emperor *Emanuel* being now displaced, or otherwise taken out of the way) he as a man only carefull of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous state of the Empire, by reason of a rebellion raised in Bythinia at Nice, by *Isaac Angelus*, and *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; and another at Prusa, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the suppressing thereof: who
B not ignorant of their lords purpose (as thereof before sufficiently instructed) answered with one consent, That of such great mischiefes there would be no end, except hee were joyned in fellowship of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wisedome to supply what wanted for the good gouernment of the State in the young Emperor his cousin. At which speech the by-standers (being in number many, and for the most part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great shout, as if it had beene already granted, with one applause crying out, *Long liue Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke Emperors*; and that with such a vehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the very heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the city, forthwith you might haue seene euery street and corner of the city full of the vulgar people, with some also of better sort, swarming together like Bees, and sounding
C the praises of *Andronicus* (who now was come out his house into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long liue the Empeorors Alexius and Andronicus*. With which loud acclamation, mixt with the heauy sighings of many good men, (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yong Emperor awaked, and seeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them saluted his fellow in the Empire; knowing now no other remedy, thought it best to yeeld vnto the time, and so with the rest flattering the old tyrant, welcommed him full sore against his will, by the name of his friend and companion in the empire: which he now in dissembling manner seeming vnwilling to take vpon him, and refusing the place offred, was by the rout of his flattering fauorits enforced to his own great contentment, to yeeld to their request: some of them with both their hands carrying him vp, vntill they had as it were against
D his will placed him in the imperiall seat, prepared for him fast by the yong Emperor: others in the meane time no lesse busied in pulling off his priuat attire, and putting vpon him the imperiall robes.

The sly practise of Andronicus in aspiring to the Empire.

The next day, when this participation of the empire should be published, & they both proclaimed emperors, the name of *Andronicus* was set before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauorits (though some others interpreted it otherwise) gaue this reason, that it fitted not with the majesty of the empire, that the name of a boy should be set before the name of so reuerend graue, wise, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then first began to shew to the people a cheerfull countenance, and setting aside his sterne look, after his long deuotion done,
E filled the vain peoples heads with many large promises of a more happy form of gouernment than before. All which proued nothing but meere dissimulation and deep deceit, that cheerefulnes of countenance & speech seruing but for a while to couer his inward, secret, & most inhuman cruelty. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation past, at such time as he should for consummation & confirmation of al, receiue the sacred & dreadful mysterie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerence to be named, much lesse with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread, and taken the cup in his hand, he with a most deuout countenance framed of purpose to deceiue, & his eies cast vp to heauen, as if his soule had there already bin (the faireſt maske of hypocrisie) swore by those dreadful mysteries, & most deeply protested in the hearing of the people standing by, that he had taken vp-
F on him the fellowship of the empire for no other end or purpose but to assist *Alexius* his cosin in the gouernment, and to strengthen his power: wheras his secret meaning was nothing lesse, as shortly after appeared. For after a few daies spent in feigned deuotions for the prosperous beginning of his Empire, he forthwith turned his mind vnto other his more secret, but most wicked and execrable designes. And hauing aboue all things purposed the death of the yong

Emperor,he called together them of the Councell, his owne creatures and corrupt miniſters G
of his wickedneſſe, who had now oftentimes in their mouthes that ſaying of the Poet,

Eſt mala res multos dominarier : vnicus eſto
——Rex dominuſque.

An euill thing it's to be rul'd by many :
One King and one Lord, if there be any.

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Larke. So by the generall conſent of that wicked aſſembly (vnworthy the name of a graue councel) a decree was made, That
Alexius depriued of the Empire. *Alexius* ſhould (as a man vnfit to gouern the State) be depriued of all imperiall dignitie, and H
Alexius condemned. commanded to liue a priuat life. Which diſloyall decree of the conſpirators was yet ſcarcely publiſhed, but that another more cruell came out of the ſame forge, That he ſhould forthwith be put to death, as one vnworthy longer to liue. For the execution of which ſo horrible a ſentence *Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites* (one of the chiefe miniſters of *Andronicus* his villanies, and by him promoted euen vnto the higheſt degrees of the honours of the court) with *Conſtantinus Trypſicus*, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captain of the tormentors) were ſent out ; who entring his chamber by night, without compaſſion of his tender age, or regard of his honour or inno-
Alexius the emperor cruelly ſtrangled. cency, cruelly ſtrangled him with a bow ſtring: which deteſtable murther ſo performed, *Andronicus* ſhortly after comming in, ſpurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his father the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a forſworne and injurious man ; and at his mother, as a common I
whore. The head was forthwith ſtrooke off from this miſerable carkaſſe (the mirror of honors vnſtabilitie) and left for the monſtrous tyrant to feed his eies vpon : the body wrapped vp in lead, was in a boat carried to ſea by *Io. Camateriu*, and *Theodoſius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus* his noble fauorits ; who with great joy and glee returned with the ſame boat to the Court, as if they had done ſome notable exployt. But long continueth not the joy of the miſchieuous, vengeance ſtill following them at the heeles ; as it did theſe two, who not long after, with the reſt that conſpired the innocent Emperors death, all or moſt part of them came to ſhamefull or miſerable ends. Thus periſhed *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet ful fifteene yeres old, in the third yeare of his raigne: which time he liued more like a ſeruant than an Emperor, firſt vnder the command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end. K

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made yong again, as ſhould ſeem, by his new gained
An vnequall marriage. honors? for ſhortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French Kings daughter (as ſome report) before betrothed to yong *Alexius* ; a tender & moſt beautiful lady, not yet full 11 yeres old, an vnfit match for threeſcore and ten. And in ſome ſort as it were to purge himſelf & his partakers of the ſhameful murther by them committed, and to ſtop the mouths of the people, he by much flattery & large promiſes procured of the biſhops a general abſolution for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the Emperor *Emanuel*, and *Alexius* his ſon. Which obtained he for a while had the ſame Biſhops in great
Andronicus ſeeketh by tyranny to eſtabliſh his eſtate. honor, & ſhortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. After that, he gaue himſelfe wholly vnto the eſtabliſhing of his eſtate, neuer reckning himſelf ther- L
of aſſured, ſo long as he ſaw any of the nobility or famous captains aliue, that fauored *Emanuel* the late Emperor, or *Alexius* his ſon : of whom ſome he ſecretly poyſoned, as *Mary* the Emperor *Emanuels* daughter, with her husband *Cæſar* ; ſome for light occaſions hee depriued of their ſight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the ſons of that noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus* ; *Andronicus Lapardus*, whoſe good ſeruice he had oftentimes vſed ; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuels* baſe ſon : ſome he hanged, as *Leo Syneſius*, *Manuel Lachanas*, with diuers others: ſome he burnt, as *Mamalus* one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chiefe Secretaries; all men of great honor and place. For colour whereof he pretended himſelfe to be ſorrie for them, deeply proteſting that they died by the ſeueritie of the law, not by his will, and by the juſt doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himſelfe (as he ſaid) to giue place ; and that M
with tears plentifully running down his aged cheekes, as if he had been the moſt ſorrowfull man aliue. O deepe diſſimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expreſſe the heauineſſe of the heart, flowing from the eies as ſhowers of raine out of the Clouds : in good men the moſt certaine ſignes of greateſt griefe, and ſureſt teſtimonies of inward torment :

but

A but in *Andronicus* you are not ſo, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promiſe not vnto the diſtreſſed pittie or compaſſion, but death and deſtruction! how many mens eies haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Moſt of the nobilitie that fauored the late Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſon, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, ſtrooke ſuch a feare into the reſt, that for ſafegard of their liues they betooke themſelues to flight, ſome one way, ſome another, neuer thinking themſelues in ſafety ſo long as they were within the greedy Tyrants reach; whereof ſhortly after enſued no ſmall troubles, to the ſhaking of the ſtate of the whole Empire. *Iſaac Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuels* nigh kinſman, took his refuge into Cyprus, and kept that Iſland to himſelf. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Emanuels* brothers ſon, fled into Sicilia, and there ſtir'd vp *William* king of that Iſland againſt
B *Andronicus*, who with a great army landed at Dyrrachium, tooke the city, and ſo from thence without reſiſtance paſſing thorow the heart of Macedonia, ſpoiling the country before him as he went, met his fleet at Theſſalonica, which famous city he alſo took by force, & moſt miſerably ſpoiled it, with all the country thereabout, ſo that he brought a great feare vpon the imperiall city it ſelfe. Vnto which ſo great euils *Andronicus* (intangled with domeſtick troubles, and not knowing whom to truſt) was not able to giue remedy, although for ſhew he had (to no purpoſe) ſent out certain of his moſt truſty miniſters with ſuch forces as he could well ſpare. For the majeſty of his authority growing ſtil leſſe & leſſe, and the number of his enemies both at home & abroad daily increaſing, and the fauor of the vnconſtant people (who now began to ſpeake hardly of him) declining; he vncertain which way to turn himſelfe, reſted wholly vpon
C tyranny, proſcribing in his feare, not only the friends of ſuch as were fled, and whom he diſtruſted, but ſomtimes whole families together, yea and that for light occaſions, ſometime thoſe who were his beſt fauorits, whoſe ſeruice he had many times vſed in the execution of his crueltie; ſo that now no day paſſed wherein he did not put to death, impriſon, or torture one great man or other. Wherby it hapned that the imperiall city was filled with ſorrow and heauines, euery man hanging the head, & with ſilence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to haue bin then vttered. Among many others appointed to this ſlaughter, was one *Iſaac Angelus* a man of great nobility, whom *Hagiochriſtopherites* (the chiefe miniſter of *Andronicus* his tirannie, and for the ſame by him highly promoted) ſuſpecting, as one that bare no good wil to the emperor (cauſe enough of death) came to his houſe to apprehend him; & finding him at home,
D after a few hot words commanded him to follow him: whereat the noble man making ſome ſtay, and abhorring the very ſight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous & fatal, *Hagiochriſtophorites* himſelfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not forthwith drawn him out of his houſe by the haire of his head, vnto the priſon by him appointed. For they, touched with the honor of the man, & moued with pitty, forced him not, but ſtood ſtil as beholders. *Iſaac* ſeeing himſelfe thus beſet, and no way now left for him to eſcape, reſoluing rather there preſently to die, than ſhortly after to be murdred in priſon, drew his ſword as the reſt were laying hands vpon him, and at the firſt blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochriſtophorites* down to his ſhoulders; and ſo leauing him wallowing in his own bloud, and like a deſperate man laying about him amongſt the reſt, made himſelfe way through the midſt of them.
E And ſo embrued with bloud, with his bloudy ſword yet in his hand, running thorow the midſt of the city, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for help in defence of his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the ſanctuarie: where he had not long ſit (in the place where the guilty flying thither for refuge vſed to ſit, & confeſſing their offence, craue pardon of ſuch as go in & out) but that the temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of al parts of the city, ſome to ſee the nobleman, ſome to behold what ſhould become of him: for all men thought that he would before Sun-ſet (notwithſtanding the reuerence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, & put to ſome ſhamefull death. Thither came alſo *Iohn Ducas*, *Iſaacs* vncle, and his ſon *Iſaac*, to increaſe the tumult; not for that they were any thing guilty of the death of *Hagiochriſtophorites*, but for that they
F had before become ſureties vnto the ſuſpitious tyrant, for their kinſman *Iſaac*, and he likewiſe for them; by whoſe treſpas they well knew themſelues now brought into no leſſe danger than if they had bin abettors therunto. And beſide them alſo, many other there were, which doubting of their owne eſtate, and fearing the like might happen to themſelues, pricked forward with hard ſpeeches, the common people flocking thither, inſtantly requeſted them to ſtay

Exceeding crueltie.

Iſaac Angelus taketh Sanctuarie.

there,and to ſtand by them now at their need, being ſo injuriouſly wronged; whoſe pittifull G
The people in a tumult resort vnto Angelus. complaints moued many to take part with them. At which time alſo, no man yet comming from the Emperor(being as then out of the city)to repreſſe the ſedition,nor any of the Nobilitie oppoſing themſelues,no friend of *Andronicus* appearing,none of his bloudy miniſters or officers ſhewing themſelues,nor any that did ſo much as ſpeake a good word in his behalfe,or in diſlike of the tumult, the boldnes of the ſeditious people increaſed, euery man in ſo great liberty ſaying what he liſt,and after their rude maner one incouraging another. So ſpent *Iſaac* that long night,not thinking(God wot)of an Empire,but ſtil expecting the deadly ſtroke of *Andronicus*. Yet had he with great intreating ſo preuailed,that diuers of the aſſembly ſhutting the church doores,and bringing lights into the church,ſtaied there with him all night,and by their example cauſed ſome others to ſtay alſo. The next morning by breake of day were all H
the citizens flockt againe to the temple,curſing the tyrant to the deuil,as the common enemy of mankind,wiſhing vnto him a ſhameful death,& the honor of the empire vnto *Iſaac*. At that time by fortune, or rather God ſo appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the city at his palace of Meludinum,on the Eaſt ſide of Propontis,where he was by nine a clocke at night certified of the death of *Hagiochriſtuphorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night ſtirred he not,neither did any thing more,but by ſhort letters aduiſed the people to pacifie themſelues, and not by fooliſh rebellion to caſt themſelues into further danger. In the morning *Andronicus* his fauorits began to ſhew themſelues, and to doe what they might to haue appeaſed the
Andronicus in vaine ſeeketh to appeaſe the tumultuous people, tumultuous multitude; yea,and preſently after came *Andronicus* himſelfe,and landed with his imperiall galley at the great pallace in the city. But with the inraged people nought preuai- I
led either the perſuaſions of the one,or report of the preſence of the other:for they all,as vpon a ſignall giuen, and as men inſpired with one ſpirit, or ſtirred vp with the ſame fury, flocked together into the temple of S. Sophia, one incouraging another, and ſcoffing at ſuch as ſtood by as idle lookers on,without weapons in their hands, reuiling them and calling them rotten lymnes that had no feeling of the common harme. After that, they broke open the priſons, and ſet at liberty the priſoners, as fitteſt inſtruments to increaſe the tumult, who were not all notable offenders of the dregs of the people,but many of them borne of good houſes,and for ſome light fault,or inconſiderate word (whereof euery man was in thoſe times bound to giue an account)or for ſome friends offence againſt *Andronicus*,there laid faſt. Theſe of all others moſt animated the people, in ſuch ſort, as they which before for feare of the danger did but K
ſoftly murmur to themſelues againſt *Andronicus*, did now openly joyne with the reſt of the baſe ſeditious. Then might you haue ſeen ſome with their ſwords & targets,ſome alſo in their armour, but the greateſt part armed but with clubs and ſtaues, and other ſuch like rude weapons, armes of fury, haſtily taken vp in their ſhops as by chance they came firſt to hand, runping forth in euery place. By this aſſembly of the moſt furious and promiſcuous people was
Iſaac Angelus by the people in a tumult ſaluted Emperor. *Iſaac* hoyſed vp,and with a generall applauſe ſaluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sextons of the church,with a ladder tooke downe *Conſtantine* the great his crowne of gold,(which for a monument hung ouer the holy altar,and ſet it on *Iſaacs* head:which he at the firſt ſeemed vnwilling to weare, not for that he was not deſirous enough of the Empire, but for that hee feared the extream danger of the matter, and thought thoſe things that were then done to be L
but as it were a ſicke mans dreame,like enough ſtraitway to vaniſh: beſides that,he feared in ſo doing,the more to exaſperate *Andronicus*. Which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (as is ſaid before ſtanding by him)perceiuing,plucking off his own cap, and ſhewing his old bald head, requeſted the people, That if his nephew did refuſe it they would ſet it vpon his: whereunto they with a great outcry anſwered, That they would no more yeeld their obedience to an old bald man,as hauing receiued many harmes from the hoary haires of old *Andronicus*; and therefore for his ſake hated euery old man,more fit for *Charons* boat, and his coffin, than for an Empire, and eſpecially if he had a forken beard and bald head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Iſaac* by the tumultuous multitude inueſted in the Empire;and ſo royally mounted vpon one of the Emperors horſes, richly furniſhed with a ſaddle and trappings of gold, which they M
had by chance gotten,was by them brought from the temple to the court; *Baſilius Camaterus* the Patriarch waiting vpon him,whom the headſtrong people had inforced againſt his will to confirme with his authoritie what was by them done for the eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac* in the Empire. *Andronicus* at his comming to the palace, perceiuing firſt by the confuſed cry of the tu-

multuous

A multuous multitude, and afterward by that which he ſaw with his eies, how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauorits, thought firſt by their help to haue repreſſed the fury of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himſelfe, were now for the moſt part ſhrunk from him; and thoſe that were left ſo faintly comming on, as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to ſpend their liues: with which heartleſſe company *Andronicus* fearing to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the fury of the multitude, with his bow and arrows in his hand got him vp into the higheſt tower of the palace, called Centenaria, and from thence beſtowed certaine ſhot among the people. But ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe, and better perſuaded to do more with them by faire words, than ſuch vain force, he from the top of the tower cryed aloud vnto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, he would by their conſent

B reſigne the Empire vnto his ſon *Manuel*: wherat the people more inraged, ſpared not to poure forth moſt reprochfull words in contempt both of himſelf and his ſon; and ſo furiouſly brake into the court by one of the gates called Carea. Which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, caſting from him all his habiliments of honor, and diſguiſing himſelf fled againe to his gally, accompanied only with *Anna* his wife, and *Maraptica* his minion, and ſo returned to Meludium, his place from whence he came. *Iſaac* but yeſterday in the bottom of diſpaire, & ſhadowed as it were with the hand of death, by the ſtrange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the higheſt type of worldly honour, entering the palace, was there againe with the greateſt applauſe of the people that might be, ſaluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith ſent out certaine companies of his moſt aſſured friends and followers, to apprehend *Androni-*

C *cus*; who now as a man at once forſaken both of his friends and of his better fortune, ſecretly fled with his wife and his paragon, before remembred, to Chele, attended vpon only with a few of his truſty ſeruants, which had a long time ſerued him before he was Emperor. There taking ſhip, with purpoſe to haue fled vnto the Tauroſcythes (as not thinking himſelfe ſafe in any Prouince of the Empire) he was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe againe, the wrought ſea abhorring (as it ſeemed) to carry him that had ſo polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him ſlain, and ſtil threatning (as it were) to deuoure him. Thus ſtrangely ſtaied by foule weather, or more truly to ſay, by the reuenging hand of the Higheſt, he was found by ſuch as were ſent to ſeek out after him, & being by them apprehended, was with two great yron chains faſt locked about his proud necke, and heauy gyues vpon his legs, caſt into

D the caſtle of Amena; and in that miſerable habit ſhortly after preſented to the Emperor *Iſaac*, yet buſied in appeaſing and reforming the diſordred city: where by the way as hee went, he was by the people moſt ſhamefully reuiled, and injuriouſly vſed; ſome plucking him by the beard, ſome by the haire of the head, ſome other in the meane time playing with his noſe, and bobbing him in the face, with a thouſand other deſpights done vnto him; eſpecially by ſuch women, as whoſe husbands he had before murdred or depriued of their ſight. Afterward being committed to the hatefull fury of the people, he had his right hand cut off, and was again committed to the ſame caſtle, without meat, drinke, or other comfort: where after he had lien a few daies, hauing one of his eies put out, he was ſet vpon a foule leane cammel, with his face toward the taile thereof, and ſo (as it were in triumph) led through the Market place, his

E bald head all bare, as if it had been a dead mans skull taken out of a charnell houſe; in a ſhort old coat; ſo miſerable a ſpectacle, as might haue expreſſed a fountaine of teares out of the eies of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlam and moſt inſolent citiſens, eſpecially they of the baſer ſort, as cookes, coblers, curriers, and ſuch like, flocking about him like Bees (without regard that he had but the other day worne vpon his head the imperiall crowne, then honored by them as a god, and extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before ſolemnly ſworne vnto him obedience and loyaltie) ran now as men out of their wits, omitting no kinde of villanie they could deuiſe to do vnto him: ſome thruſt nailes into his head, ſome caſt durt in his face, ſome the dung both of men and beaſts, ſome prickt him in the ſides with ſpits, ſome caſt ſtones at him as at a mad dog, and other-ſome opprobious and deſpightfull words, no leſſe

F grieuous vnto him than the reſt: amongſt others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchen, caſt a pot full of ſcalding water in his face; and in briefe, their outrage ſo exceeded, as if they had ſtriuen among themſelues, who ſhould doe him the greateſt villanie. Hauing thus ſhamefully, as in a ridiculous triumph, brought him into the Theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by the heeles: where hauing ſuffered all theſe deſpightfull indignities,

Andronicus forſaken of his flattering fauorits.

A ſtrange chãge

Andronicus the Emperor taken, and brought in bonds to Angelus.

Andronicus the Emperour hanged vp by the heeles.

with many moe, not without offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet still held his patience, not giuing one euill word, but sometimes saying, *Lord haue mercy vpon me*; and otherwhiles, *Why do you breake a bruised reed?* Yet the furious people nothing moued with the calamity of so great a man, (of al others now the most miserable) stript him of his bad clothes as he hung, and cut off his priuities. One among the rest, to make an end of him, thrust his sword in at his throat vp to the twist as he huug: other two with their long swords proued their strength, who could strike furtheſt into his buttocks. Thus miserably perished this famous Emperor, after he had reigned two yeares. That which was left of his body (for many had carried away some pieces thereof) being taken downe from the place where he hung, was cast in. to a base vault in the Theatre, where it for a space lay, as the loathsome carkasse of some wilde beast, and the miserable spactacle of mans fragilitie; for *Isaac* the Emperor would not suffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards (the fury of the people ouerpassed) it was by some more charitable men remooued thence, and layd in a low vault neere vnto the monasterie of the *Ephori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this history, speaking of the time wherein he liued) saith, is yet there vndissolued to be seene. Hee was a man most honorably discended, of stature tall, and well proportioned; in his countenance sate a certaine reuerend majestie, adorned with such notable vertues, as might haue made him worthily to haue bin compared vnto the greatest Emperors of his stocke and familie, had he not obscured the same with too much ambition and cruelty; whereof the one caused him to lead the greatest part of his life in prison or exile; the other brought vnto him a most shamefull end.

Nicetas Choniates, Annal. lib. 1. fol. 161. col. 4.

Isaac Angelus his succeſſor, by the fauor of the people thus exalted vnto the Empire, at the first gouerned the same with great lenitie and moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred from the effusion of his subjects bloud: but afterwards not a little troubled both with forrein enemies, and domesticall rebellion, besieged in the Imperiall City by such of the Nobilitie as thought themselues no lesse worthy of the Empire than himselfe: for repressing of which insolencies, and the assuring of his State, he became so seuere in chastising the offendors, and such others as he had in distrust, that he was counted of most men not inferiour in crueltie to *Andronicus* his predeceſſor; few daies passing without the condemnation or execution of one great man or other, besides them of the meaner sort, of whom hee seemed to make no great reckoning: whereby he in few yeares lost the loue and fauour of his Subjects, who before had him in great honour; and became vnto them no lesse odious than was before *Andronicus*. Vpon which generall dislike of the people, his ingratefull younger brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great sum of mony redeemed from the Turks) tooke occasion to rise vp against him, and by the fauour of the souldiers depriued him together both of the Empire and his sight: and hauing put out his eies, thrust him into a Monastery, there to liue as it were out of the world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darkenesse, after he had raigned nine yeres and eight moneths, being not yet full forty yeares old. Whether it were the reuenging hand of God, for the hard measure vsed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wiser to consider; who in his deepe prouidence, wherewith he best gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vsed in punishment of our most capitall enemies, as hauing alwaies before our eies the slippery state of power and authoritie: and that as all worldly things are subject to change, so by the just judgement of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we doe vnto others, the same wee may receiue againe from others. In these so great and strange mutations of the Constantinopolitan Empire (which I haue somewhat more at large prosecuted, not so much for the nouelty of the matter, although it were right strange, as for that out of the losses and ruine thereof, the greatnes of the Turks for the most part grew) *Clizasthlan* Sultan of Iconium, after the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, found meanes to take from the Empire diuers strong Townes and castles in the lesser Asia, together with a great part of the country of Phrygia: *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Isaac* the succeeding Emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to oppose against him, but faire intreatie and rich presents; so redeeming for a while an vnsure peace, with no lesse charge in short time to be renewed againe. This victorious Sultan (for so he may of right be called) holding in his subjection a great part of the lesser Asia, now a man of great yeares, dying, left behind him foure sonnes, *Masut*, *Coppatine*, *Reucratine*, and *Caichosroes*, all men growne. Amongst whom he diuided his Kingdome: Vnto *Musat* he bequeathed Amasia, Ancyra, Doryleum, with diuers other pleasant Cities of Pontus:

Isaac Angelus the Emperour tyrannizeth.

Isaac the Emperor thrust from the Empire, and depriued of his sight by his brother Alexius.

Clizasthlan the Turks Sultan incroacheth vpon the Greeke Empire in the lesser Asia.

Clizasthlan diuideth his kingdome amongst his foure sons.

vnto

A vnto *Coppatine* he aſſigned Melytene, Cæſarea, and the colonie now called Taxara: vnto *Reucratine* he allotted Aminſum, Docea, with ſome other Cities vpon the ſea coaſt: but vnto *Caichoſroes*, he left Iconium his regall ſeat, and with it Lycaonia, Pamphilia, and all the countries thereabouts as farre as Cottianyum. Of theſe foure, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father; for whoſe inheritance *Reuſratine* Prince of Docea, and *Maſut* Prince of Ancyra (his two brethren) fell at variance, and ſo at laſt into open warre. But *Maſut* finding himſelfe too weake for his warlike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories which hee ſaw he muſt needs forgoe; and glad now to keepe his owne, ſo made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie ſpirit, with his forces thus doubled, denounced war vnto his brother *Caichoſroes*; who doubting his owne ſtrength, fled vnto the Emperour *Alexius*
B *Angelus* for aid, as had his father done before him the vnto Emperour *Manuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the Emperour but of late hauing obtained the Empire, by the depoſing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, reputing alſo thoſe domeſticall warres of the Turks, ſome part of his owne ſafety; ſent him home without comfort, as one ſtrong enough of himſelfe to defend his owne quarrell againſt his brother.

The ſonnes of Clizaſthlan at variance among themſelues.

Howbeit, he was ſcarcely come to Iconium, but he was by *Reucratine* expulſed thence, and driuen to fly into Armenia, where he was by *Zebune* King of that countrey, a Turke alſo, honourably receiued and courteouſly vſed, but yet denied of the aid he requeſted: the King pretending that hee was already in league with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as ſome thought, fearing the dangerouſneſſe of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. Where-
C with the poore Sultan vtterly diſcouraged, returned againe to Conſtantinople, and there in poore eſtate, as a man forlorne, paſſed out the reſt of his daies.

Now hauing thus paſſed through the Turkiſh affaires in the leſſer Aſia, together with the troubled eſtate of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, no ſmall cauſe of the Turks greatnes; the courſe of time calleth vs backe againe before we paſſe any further, to remember their proceedings alſo at the ſame time, and ſhortly after, in Syria, Iudæa, Ægypt, and thoſe more Southerly countries, where theſe reſtleſſe people ceaſed not by all meanes to enlarge their Empire, vntill they had brought all thoſe great kingdomes vnder their obeyſance.

After the death of *Baldwin* King of Ieruſalem, of whom we haue before ſpoken, *Almericus* his younger brother, Earle of Ioppa and Aſcalon, beeing then about ſeuen and twentie
D yeares old, was by the better good liking of the clergie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected King: not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a kingdom, but for that ſome of them enuied vnto him ſo great an honour. Neuertheleſſe he was (as we ſaid) by the generall conſent of the people, elected, proclaimed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with all ſolemnitie crowned, the 17 day of February, in the yeare of Grace, 1163. To begin whoſe troubled reigne, the Ægyptians firſt of all denied to pay vnto him their wonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant army entred into Ægypt; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to ſtay the further purſuit and paſſage of the Chriſtians, cut the bankes of the riuer Nilus, and ſo drowned the country, that the King was glad to content himſelfe with the victory he had al-
E ready gotten, and ſo to returne to Ieruſalem.

Almericus ſixt King of Ieruſalem.

The next yeare *Almericus* was againe drawne downe with his power into Ægypt, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him againſt *Saracon*; whom *Noradin* the Turke, King of Damaſco, had ſent as Generall with an army, to reſtore *Sanar* the Sultan before expulſed, and to depoſe *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being ſlaine, and *Saracon* hauing won certaine Townes, kept them to himſelfe: *Sanar* doubtfull of his good meaning, joyned his forces with *Almericus*, and by his helpe expulſed *Saracon* out of Ægypt. But whilſt *Almericus* was thus buſied in Ægypt, *Noradin* the Turk making an inrod into the frontiers of the Chriſtians neere vnto Tripolis, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, maſter of the Templars in thoſe quarters, and the other Chriſtians,
F when he leaſt feared, ſo ſuddenly ſet vpon, that he had much adoe by flight to ſaue himſelfe, halfe naked for haſte, moſt of his followers being at the ſame time ſlain. In reuenge of which diſgrace, he not long after with a great power came and beſieged Arethuſa: for reliefe whereof, *Bohemund* Prince of Antioch, *Raymond* the younger, Earle of Tripolis, *Calamon* gouernour of Cilicia, and *Toros* Prince of Armenia, came with their power. Of whoſe comming the Turk hearing, raiſed his ſiege and departed. After whom theſe Chriſtian Princes eagerly

Noradin the Turke diſcomfited by the Chriſtians.

gerly following, were by the Turkes ſhut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto G
they had vnaduiſedly to far entred) and there with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne. In which conflict all the chiefe commanders of the army were taken, except the Prince of Armenia, who forecaſting the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine diſſuaded the reſt from the further purſuit of the flying enemy. The Prince of Antioch there taken, was about a yeare after for a great ſum of mony redeemed; but the Countie of Tripolis was after eight yeres ſtraight captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victory returning againe to the ſiege of Arethuſa, in few daies won the towne: and encouraged with ſuch good ſucceſſe, and the abſence of the King, laid ſiege to the city of Paneade, which was alſo deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citiſens might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart.

At the ſame time *Saracon* Generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Chriſtians two H
caſtles; the one in the country of Sidon, the other beyond Iordan vpon the borders of Arabia, both in the cuſtody of the Templars: twelue of whom the King at his returne hanged vp for treaſon.

Shortly after *Saracon*, King *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turks, came downe againe into Ægypt, with purpoſe to haue fully ſubdued all that notable kingdome vnto his Lord and Maſter. Of whoſe power, *Sanar* the Sultan ſtanding in dread, praied aid of *Almericus*, promiſing vnto him beſide his yerely tribute, the ſumme of forty thouſand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readineſſe, *Almericus* ſet forward with his army, and encountring with *Saracon* and his Turks at the riuer Nilus, ouerthrew him in a great battell: yet not without ſome loſſe, for the Turkes in their flight I
lighting vpon the Kings cariages with the whole baggage of the army, & ouer-running them that had the charge thereof, carried away with them a moſt rich prey, wherby it came to paſſe that as the Chriſtians had the victory, ſo the Turks injoyed the ſpoile.

Saracon after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his diſperſed ſoldiers, tooke his way to Alexandria, where he was by the citiſens receiued: after whom the King following, gaue no attempt vnto the city, for that he knew to be but vaine, but incamped cloſe by the ſide of the ruer Nilus, from whence the city was chiefly to be victualled. Whoſe purpoſe *Saracon* perceiuing, and betime foreſeeing the diſtreſſe of his whole army for want of victuals, if he ſhould there long ſtay: leauing there his ſon *Saladin* (or as ſome call him his nephew) with a thouſand horſmen for the keeping of the city, ſecretly by night departed thence him- K
ſelfe with the reſt of his army: and paſſing through the deſarts, did great harme in the vpper parts of Ægypt. Of whoſe departure *Almericus* vnderſtanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwaies perſuaded by the Ægyptian captains to continue his former purpoſe for the gaining of the city: wherefore now after the departure of *Saracon* he began to approch the wals, and with diuers engines of war to diſturbe the deſendants: wherewith the citiſens (better acquainted with the trade of merchandiſe, than the feats of war) diſcouraged, began now to conſult amongſt themſelues for the turning out of thoſe troubleſome gueſts whom they had ſo lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracon* his vncle there- *Saladin left in Alexandria by Saracon, craueth ayd.*
of, requeſting his ſpeedy reliefe in that his ſo dangerous eſtate, & with much intreaty perſua- L
ded the citiſens for a while to hold it out, vntil he might from him receiue anſwer: of al which the Chriſtians and Ægyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid ſo much the harder vnto the city. Gladly would *Saracon* haue done what he was by his nephew requeſted: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no leſſe danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh*, County of Cæſarea, and one *Arnolphus* another noble Chriſtian, both then priſoners with him, concluded a peace with the King: whereupon the city was forthwith yeelded vp, and *Saladin* with his Turks *Alexandria yeelded to Almericus.*
ſuffred in ſafety to depart. At which time alſo all priſoners were on both ſides freely and without ranſome ſet at liberty. Thus *Saracon* for this time diſappointed of this his purpoſe for the conqueſt of Ægypt, returned backe againe to Damaſco: and *Almericus* with great glo-
1167 ry to Aſcalon, where he arriued with his army the 21 of September in the yerere 1167.

In this late expedition, *Almericus* on the one ſide enflamed with the wealth of Ægypt, and M
on the other encouraged with the weaknes of that effeminat people, reſting for the moſt part vpon forraine ſtrength; had purpoſed himſelfe to inuade the kingdome, and ſo if poſſible he might, to joine it to his own. For color wherof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before giuen, had ſecretly ſought to joine in league and amity with *Noradin* the Turke,

King

A King of Damaſco. The chiefe ſtirrer vp of the King vnto this war, was one *Gerbert*, maſter of the Templars; who in reſpect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the King, after the victory gained, to haue the city of Peluſium with all the rich countrey about the ſame, giuen vnto him and his brethren the Knights of the order for euer: vpon which hope, he contrary to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit with all the treaſure of his houſe. So all things now in readineſſe for ſo great an enterpriſe, *Almericus* with his army ſet forward in October, and hauing in ten daies paſſed the ſandy deſart, came to Peluſium; which City he (after three daies ſiege) tooke by force, and put to ſword all them that were therein, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: which city, he according to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he
B began alſo to beſiege Caire, at which time his fleet ſacked the city of Tapium. In the meane time, *Sanar* the Ægiptian Sultan, conſidering the danger he was in, to ſatisfie *Almericus* his greedy deſire, offred to pay him twentie hundred thouſand ducats to withdraw his forces: and forthwith ſent him one hundred thouſand, for the ranſome of his ſon and his nephew taken priſoners at Peluſium: and for the reſt to be paid within fiue daies after, hee gaue two of his nephewes hoſtages. Neuertheleſſe the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpoſe in the meane time to raiſe the whole power of Ægypt, as alſo to receiue aid from the Turks by *Saracon*, which he daily expected: of whoſe ſpeedy comming, *Almericus* vnderſtanding, left part of his army at Peluſium, and with the reſt went to haue met him: but miſſing him by the way, *Saracon* with his Turks came in ſafety to Caire vnto the Sultan, as he had deſired. Wher-
C fore *Almericus* diſmaid with the multitude of two ſo great armies now joyned together, retired backe againe to Peluſium, and there taking with him the garriſon before left, returned home to Ieruſalem: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeres after, it by proofe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turks, by that meanes brought downe into Ægypt.

Peluſium taken by Almericus.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, eaſily perceiuing a moſt fit time and opportunitie to be offered for him now to obtain that, which he had in vaine before both ſought and fought for, encamped with his army neere vnto Caire, and notably counterfeited himſelfe of all others the moſt deuoted friend of the Sultans: ſo that betwixt them two paſſed all the kind tokens of loue and friendſhip, that could poſſibly be deuiſed; the Sultan often-
D times feaſting the Turke, and in kindneſſe likewiſe being feaſted of him: but at length going as his manner was, vnto the campe to viſit him, he was by the Turks ſlaine. So *Saracon* hauing brought to paſſe what he deſired, and entring the city with his army, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Ægyptian Sultans, as from their ſuperiors, the true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the firſt of the Turks that euer enjoyed the ſame: which royall dignitie he had not poſſeſſed fully a yeare, but that he was taken away by death. In whoſe ſtead *Saladin* his brothers ſon, by and by ſtept vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend Majeſty of the Caliph (as had his vncle *Saracon*, and all the Ægyptian Sultans before him) with his horſemans maſe ſtruck out his brains; and not ſo contented, vtterly rooted out all his poſteritie, the better to aſſure himſelfe and his
E ſucceſſors the Turks in the poſſeſſion of his new begotten kingdome; and after that diuided the great treaſures of the Ægyptians among his Turks, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

The Sultan of Ægypt vnder the colour of friendſhip ſlain by Saracon.

This glorious kingdome ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture, and renowned of the learned hiſtoriographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Roman Empire, was ſometime part of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, and a notable member of the Chriſtian commonweale; vntill that about the yeare of our Lord 704, the Ægyptians weary of the pride and couetouſnes of the Grecians, reuolted from them to the Saraſins, whoſe ſuperſtition they alſo receiued: and ſo vnder the gouernment of the Saraſin Caliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe prophet *Mahomet*,
F liued about 464 yeres, vntill that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they praied aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of Damaſco: who to their reliefe ſending *Saracon* with an army, repulſed indeed the Chriſtians, but oppreſſing their libertie, took to himſelfe the kingdom, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whoſe poſterity it remained vntill it was from them again taken by the Circaſſian ſlaues the Mamalukes: vnder whoſe ſeruile gouernment it was holden of long time, till that by the great Emperor of the Turks, *Selymus* the firſt, it was again conquered, and the

How the Kingdome of Ægypt firſt fell into the hands of the Saraſins, with the notable alterations thereof.

the Mamalukes vtterly deſtroied: In the gouernement of whoſe proſperitie, the mighty Emperours of the Turks, it hath euer ſince remained as part of their Empire, vntill this day, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory God willing ſhall appeare. G

1170 *Saladin* thus poſſeſſed of the great kingdome of Ægypt, and all things ſet in ſuch order as he thought beſt for the newneſſe of his eſtate, with a great army entred into the land of Paleſtine, in the yere 1170, and there beſieged Daron; which towne he woon, and ouerthrew ſuch as were ſent by King *Almericus* to haue relieued the ſame: with which ſmall victory contenting himſelfe, as with the good beginning of his riſing fortune, he returned backe againe into his kingdome: yet was his army ſo great and populous, as that the like army of the Turks had neuer before bin ſeen in the Holy-Land. Wherfore *Almericus* conſidering in what great danger he ſtood, his kingdome now being on both ſides beſet by the Turks, ſent out his Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to craue their aid for the defence of that kingdom which their fathers had woon: and for the ſame purpoſe went himſelfe in perſon vnto the Emperor of Conſtantinople, of whom he was royally entertained, and afterward ſent backe loded with the promiſes of great matters, as were alſo his Embaſſadors from the Princes of the Weſt. All which for all that ſorted vnto nothing, but vaniſhed into ſmoake. H

1171 The yere following, *viz.* 1171, *Saladin* beſieged Petrea, the Metropoliticall City of Arabia: but hearing that *Almericus* with a great power was comming to the reliefe thereof, hee raiſed his ſiege and retired: as he did alſo the next yere after, hauing in vaine attempted the ſtrong caſtle of Mont-Royall, on the further ſide of Iordan. In like manner alſo the third yere he came againe into the Holy-Land, and ſpoiled the countrey beyond Iordan: but hearing of the Kings comming againſt him, he forthwith returned againe into Ægypt. All theſe light expeditions, this politique Prince made not ſo much for hope of victory, or to proue his enemies ſtrength, as to traine his ſouldiers, eſpecially the effeminate Ægyptians, and to make them fitter to ſerue him in his greater deſignes. I

1173 Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of Damaſco, and in his time a moſt notable champion of the Turks, after he had raigned nine and twenty yeres. Vpon whoſe death *Almericus* forthwith beſieged the city of Paneade, in hope to haue againe recouered the ſame: but he was by the widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great ſum of money and the deliuerie of certaine noble priſoners, intreated to raiſe his ſiege and depart. So hauing ſent away his army, and trauelling with his ordinary retinue to Tiberias, where he had the Summer before been ſicke of the flix, feeling himſelfe not well, he returned on horſe backe by Nazareth and Neapolis to Ieruſalem, where his old diſeaſe increaſing vpon him, he was alſo taken with a feuer: wherewith after he had beene ſome few daies grieuouſly tormented, hee requeſted his Phyſitians, with ſome gentle potion to looſe his belly, which was now ſomewhat ſtaied: which they refuſing to doe, he commanded the potion to be giuen him vpon his owne perill, hap thereon what hap ſhould: which being giuen him, and his belly againe looſed, he ſeemed therewith to haue beene at the firſt well eaſed; but his wonted feauer with great vehemencie returning, before his weake and ſpent body could be with conuenient meats refreſhed, he ſuddenly died, the tenth of Iuly, in the yeare 1173, when he had raigned about ten yeares. His dead body was with the great lamentation of all his ſubjects, ſolemnly buried by his brothers. He was a moſt wiſe Prince, and withall right valiant, amongſt many moſt fit for the gouernement and defence of that troubleſome kingdom, ſo hardly beſet with the Infidels, if it had pleaſed God to haue giuen him longer life. K L

Baldwin the fourth of that name, ſeuenth King of Ieruſalem.

Foure daies after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his ſonne, then a youth about thirteene yeares old, by the generall conſent of the Nobilitie choſen King, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch, in the Temple with great ſolemnitie crowned in the yeare 1173: vnto whom as not yet by reaſon of his tender age, fit himſelfe to manage the weightie affaires of the kingdom, *Raymond* Countie of Tripolis, was by the whole conſent of the Nobilitie appointed Tutor to ſupply what was wanting in the young King.

Noradin Sultan of Damaſco (dead as is aforeſaid) left behind him *Melechſala* his ſonne, yet but a youth, to ſucceed him in his kingdome. Whoſe gouernment the Nobilitie diſdaining ſent ſecretly for *Saladin* Sultan of Ægypt, vnto whom at his comming they betraied the city of Damaſco, the regall ſeat of the Turks in Syria. Whereof *Saladin* poſſeſſed, and entring into Celeſiria without reſiſtance, tooke Heliopolis, Emiſſa, with the great Citie of M

Cæſarea;

A Ceſarea; and in fine, all the whole kingdome of Damaſco, the city of Arethuſa onely excepted. But thus to ſuffer *Melechſala* the young Prince to be wronged, and the kingdome of Damaſco to be joyned to the kingdome of Ægypt, was of the wiſer ſort thought not to ſtand with the ſafety of the kingdom of Ieruſalem, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherfore the County of Tripolis, gouernor of that kingdom, made out certain forces to haue hindred his proceedings. At which time alſo, *Cotobed* Prince of Parthia, and *Melechſalas* vncle, ſent certaine Troups of Parthian horſemen to haue aided his diſtreſſed Nephew, who were by *Saladin* ouerthrowne and almoſt all ſlaine, neere vnto Aleppo where *Melechſala* lay. As for the County of Tripolis and the other Chriſtian Princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newneſſe of his kingdome had no deſire to fall out; hee appeaſed them with faire intreaty, and
B rewards: vnto the County he ſent freely the hoſtages, which yet lay for his ranſome at Emiſſa: vnto the other Princes he ſent rich preſents; and therewith ſo contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing againſt him. After which time, three or foure yeres paſſed in great quietneſſe, to the great ſtrengthning of him in thoſe new gotten kingdomes. At length vpon the comming ouer of *Philip* Earle of Flanders, the Chriſtian Princes of Syria encouraged, conſulted of an expedition to be made into Ægypt, whereof *Saladin* hauing intelligence, drew downe into that country the greateſt part of his ſtrength. But *Philip* diſliking of that expedition, and the rather for that hee ſaw no great cheerfulneſſe in the County of Tripolis and the reſt thereunto; they with one conſent changed their purpoſe for Ægypt, and turning their forces a quite contrary way, miſerably and without reſiſtance waſted the
C country about Emiſſa and Ceſarea.

Whileſt the Chriſtians was thus buſied in Cæliſiria, *Saladin* on the other ſide tooke occaſion out of Ægypt to inuade the kingdome of Ieruſalem: of whoſe comming, King *Baldwin* hauing intelligence, with ſuch ſmall forces as he had left, haſtened himſelfe to Aſcalon. In the meane time *Saladin* with a great army was entred into the Holy-Land, where burning the countrey before him, and raging in the bloud of the poore Chriſtians, he came and encamped not far from Aſcalon: and ſtrucke ſuch a feare vpon the whole country, that they which dwelt in Ieruſalem, were about to haue forſaken the City: as for the King himſelfe, hee lay cloſe within the City of Aſcalon, not daring to aduenture vpon ſo ſtrong an enemy. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of feare of his enemies, diſperſed his army, ſome one way, ſome
D another, to forrage the country. Which the King perceiuing, ſecretly with all his power iſſued out of the City, if happily ſo he might ouertake the Sultan vnawares; neither was he deceiued in his expectation: for comming ſuddenly vpon him, and ſecretly charging him, he had with him for a good ſpace an hard and doubtfull battell, vntill that the victory by the power of God, at length inclining to the Chriſtians, *Saladin* with his Turks fled, ouerthrowne with a great ſlaughter, moſt part of his great army being either there ſlain, or loſt afterward with hunger and cold. This victory fell vnto the Chriſtians the 25 day of Nouember, in the yere 1177, 1177
not without the Almighty hand of God, the Turke hauing in his army aboue twenty ſix thouſand horſemen, and the King not paſt foure hundred horſe with ſome few footmen. After which victory, *Baldwin* in great triumph returned to Ieruſalem, and there ſhortly after
E with great care and diligence repaired the decayed wals of the City.

Saladin in reuenge of this ouerthrow, made diuers incurſians into the frontiers of the Chriſtians, and did great harme, eſpecially in the country about Sidon. For the repreſſing whereof, the king put himſelfe in arms, and going againſt him ouerthrew part of his army, as they were carrying away a great booty. Of which ouerthrow *Saladin* vnderſtanding, came in ſuch haſte with the reſt of his army as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt, vpon the Chriſtians, then in great ſecuritie diuiding the ſpoile; of whom they ſlew a great number, and put the reſt to flight: In which ſo ſudden a confuſion, *Otto*, grand maſter of the Templars, and *Hugh* the Earle of Tripolis his ſon in law, were both taken priſoners. The Earle himſelfe with a few fled to Tire: the King alſo at the ſame time was glad to ſhift for himſelfe, and by flight to ſaue himſelfe as he
F might: after which victory, *Saladin* beſieged a ſtrong caſtle which the king but the yere before had built vpon the banke of the riuer Iordan, and giuen it to the Templars, with the country round about; which caſtle *Saladin* took by force, and put to ſword, all that were therein, except ſome few whom he carried away priſoners. By this victory *Saladin* became dreadfull vnto the Chriſtians in Syria, which cauſed them, eſpecially ſuch as had any charge, with more vigilancie

Saladin ouerthrown by king Baldwin.

The Chriſtians diuiding the ſpoile, ouerthrowne by the Turkes.

cie to looke about them. Yet ſhortly after, a peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the King: whereby their troubled eſtates breathed themſelues almoſt the ſpace of two yeares. G

But this ſo welcome a calme was by domeſticall troubles againe by the Kings friends ſuddenly troubled: for the Countie of Tripolis, to whom the gouernment of the kingdome was committed, comming towards Ieruſalem, being by the ſuggeſtion of his enemies brought into ſuſpition with the King, as if he had affected the Kingdome, was to his great diſgrace by the way commanded to ſtay. The chiefe authors of which diſcontentment, were the Kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the Kings Steward, who in the abſence of the Earle, had wrought the Kings ſicke mind according to their owne appetites. But the reſt of the nobilitie wiſely foreſeeing vnto what great danger that diſcord might tend; in diſpight of them, with much labor, cauſed him to be ſent for againe, and ſo reconciled vnto the King: by which meanes that dangerous fire of diſſention was for that time appeaſed, which afterwards brake out againe to the vtter ruine of that kingdome. H

Saladin goeth out of Ægypt to Damaſco.

Saladin now weary of the league he had before made with King *Baldwin*, as no longer ſtanding with his haughty deſignes, renounced the ſame, and raiſing a great power in Ægypt, ſet forward toward Damaſco. Of whoſe comming King *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called Petra. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the Kings territorie, came and encamped before Mount-Roiall, a caſtle which *Baldwin* had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march from the place where the King lay. I

Galiley ſpoiled and the caſtle of Burie taken by the Turks.

There *Saladin* with the ſpoile of the country refreſhing his army, now weary of long trauel, ſet forward againe, and ſo without reſiſtance arriued with his army at Damaſco. At the ſame time, the Turks Captaines about Damaſco, Boſtrum, and Emiſſa, perceiuing the frontiers of the Chriſtians thereabout to be kept with ſmall ſtrength, paſſed ouer Iordan, and ſpoiling a great part of Galiley, beſieged the caſtle of Burie, at the foot of Mount Tabor, not farre from the citie of Naim; which caſtle they in few daies tooke, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them about fiue hundred priſoners. *Saladin* being come to Damaſco, called together all the garriſons of that Kingdome, and joyning them vnto the forces hee brought out of Ægypt, entred into the Holy-Land: at which time the Countie of Tripolis, Gouernour of the Kingdome, lay ſicke of burning feauer. Neuertheleſſe the King encouraged by the Knights of the order, went out with his army againſt him; and encoutring with him neere vnto a village called Frobolet, ouerthrew him in a great battell; wherein, and afterward in the flight, moſt part of the Sultans armie periſhed: *Saladin* himſelfe being glad by ſpeedie flight to eſcape the danger, and ſo by long marches to get him againe to Damaſco. K

Beritus in vain beſieged by the Turkes.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, *Saladin* hauing repaired his Army, and ſent for his fleet out of Ægypt, came and beſieged Beritus both by ſea and land: at which time alſo his brother, whom he had left gouernour in Ægypt, beſieged Darum, a ſtrong Towne in the vttermoſt bounds of the Kingdome of Ieruſalem towards Ægypt: both whoſe forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to repreſſe, by the counſell of the nobilitie, thought it beſt firſt to relieue Beritus, as the place of greateſt importance. And for that purpoſe ſet forward with his armie by land, hauing alſo rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at Tyre, for the reliefe thereof by ſea. Of which preparation *Saladin* vnderſtanding, as alſo of the Kings comming (by letters intercepted by his ſcouts, directed to the beſieged, for the holding out of the ſiege, with promiſe of ſpeedy reliefe) he preſently roſe with his army, and departed: whereof the King being aduerſed, retired to Sephor. L

Saladin inuading Meſopotamia, is himſelfe inuaded by the King of Ieruſalem.

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, deſirous aboue meaſure to extend the bounds of his Kingdome, and ſeeing the ſucceſſe of his attempts againſt the King of Ieruſalem not anſwerable to his deſire, conuerted his forces vnto the Countries more Eaſtward; and paſſing the riuer Euphrates, and entring into Meſopotamia, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the Cities of Edeſſa, Carras, and diuers others. In which time the King of Ieruſalem tooke occaſion firſt to ſpoile the Countrey about Damaſco, and after that diuers other places of the Sultans Kingdome, making hauocke of whatſoeuer came in his way, and ſo laded with the ſpoile of the Turks, retired to Ieruſalem. M

Saladin

A *Saladin* with victorie returning out of Meſpotamia, in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him in his abſence, marched directly to Aleppo, the ſtrongeſt city of the Chriſtians in that part of Syria, which aboue all other he longed after: where hee had not long lien, but that it was by the treaſon of the Gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the Countrie thereabouts; wherewith the Chriſtian Princes were ſo diſcouraged, that they euen then began to fear greater matters to enſue. The Prince of Antioch ſold Tarſus the metropolitical city of Cilicia, to *Rupinus* Prince of Armenia, for that he ſaw it was not without great charge & danger to be by him defended, being ſo far from him, and *Saladin* as it were now ſtept in betwixt him and it. *Aleppo betrayd to the Turks.*

At the ſame time King *Baldwin* at Nazareth fell ſicke of a feuer, the leproſie alſo his old
B diſeaſe growing daily more and more vpon him: inſomuch as diſpairing of his life, he called vnto him *Guy Luſignan* County of Ioppa and Aſcalon, vnto whom he had before eſpouſed *Sybel* his eldeſt ſiſter, and in the preſence of his mother, the Patriark, and all the chief commanders of the ſoldiers of the ſacred war, appointed him Gouernor of the kingdom, reſeruing vnto himſelfe onely the title of a King, with the City of Ieruſalem, and a yearely penſion of ten thouſand ducats: all which was done to the great diſgrace and diſcontentment of the County of Tripolis the old gouernor.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* hauing breathed himſelfe a little, after ſo great labours, came again into the Holy land, where he took many caſtles, and did infinit harm; inſomuch that the country people were glad for fear, to forſake their houſes, & fly into cities: the Chri-
C ſtian army in the mean time lying faſt by at Sephor, not once mouing, although many a faire occaſion were offered. For the chiefe commanders affectionated vnto the County of Tripolis, and enuying at the preferment of *Guy* the new gouernour, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuſe or other, ſuffered the enemy at his pleaſure to ſpoil the country, and ſo in ſafety to depart; which he had neuer before done in thoſe quarters.

Within leſſe than a month after, *Saladin* with a great army well appointed with all the habiliments of war needful for the beſieging of a city or ſtrong caſtle, came again into the land of Paleſtine, and paſſing thorow the country beyond Iordan, ſate down at laſt before Petra, in hope by the taking thereof to haue made his paſſage betwixt Egypt and Damaſco more ſafe. *Petra in vaine beſieged by the Turks.*

Of which his purpoſe king *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, and taught by the euil ſucceſſe of late,
D to what ſmall purpoſe it was to commit the managing of his wars vnto a Generall ſo euil beloued, and leſſe regarded, as was *Guy* his brother in law; ſent againſt him with his army *Raymund* the County of Tripolis the old gouernor, whom he had again reſtored vnto the gouernment, and diſplaced *Guy*. Of whoſe comming *Saladin* hearing, raiſed his ſiege after he had lien there a moneth, and ſo departed.

A little before this expedition, the King ſtill growing ſicker and ſicker, his foul diſeaſe ſtil increaſing, by the common conſent of the nobilitie, he appointed *Baldwin* his nephew by his ſiſter *Sybel*, a child but of fiue years old, to ſucceed him in the kingdome; and the County of Tripolis to haue the gouernment of the State during the time of his minoritie. This *Sybella* the Kings ſiſter was firſt maried to *William* the yonger, Marquis of Mount-Ferrat, who dying
E within three moneths after, left her with child of this his poſthumus ſon *Baldwin*, now by his Vncle deputed vnto the hope of the Kingdome. After whoſe death ſhe was maried vnto *Guy Luſignan* County of Ioppa and Aſcalon the late Gouernor: who taking in euill part this the Kings deſinement, eſpecially for the gouernment of the Kingdome by the County of Tripolis, departed from the Court as a man diſcontented, vnto his City of Aſcalon. Whereof the Patriark and the Princes of the ſacred war fearing (and not without cauſe) great danger to inſue, came to the king, then holding a Parliament in the city of Acon, moſt humbly requeſting him, for auoiding of further danger, and the ſafety of his kingdom, to receiue againe into his fauour the County *Guy* his brother in law, and to make an attonement between him and the County of Tripolis. But this their requeſt ſorted to no purpoſe: ſo that the Parliament at
F that time was diſſolued without any thing for the good of the Commonweale in that point concluded. *Diſſention in the Court of Ieruſalem.*

After that time the kingdom of Ieruſalem began ſtill more and more to decline. In the old King *Baldwin* (ſick both in body and minde) was almoſt no hope: in the young King (yet vnfit for ſo great a burthen) much leſſe: and the diſſention betwixt the two Counties *Guy* and

Raymund with their fauorites, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the State. Beſides G
that, the County of Tripolis fearing the power of *Guy* his enemy, was thought to haue ſecret intelligence with *Saladin* the Turk: inſomuch as the King was almoſt in purpoſe to haue proclaimed him traitor. Wherfore the King now reſted only vpon the counſel of *William* Archbiſhop of Tyre, and the Maſters of the Knights of the ſacred war: by whoſe aduice hee ſent *Heraclius* Patriark of Ieruſalem, *Roger Molins* Maſter of the Knights of S. *Iohns*, and *Arnold* maſter of the Knights Templers, vnto *Lucius* the third then Pope, vnto *Fredericke* the Emperour, *Philip* the French King, and *Henry* the ſecond, King of England, to declare vnto them the dangerous eſtate of that Chriſtian kingdome, and to craue their aid againſt the Infidels. Theſe Embaſſadors comming vnto the Councell then holden at Verona, with great grauitie and diligence, in the preſence of the Pope and of the Emperor, declared the hard eſtate of the Chri- H
ſtians of the Eaſt, with their humble petition vnto them for aid; in ſuch ſort that they moued them, with all the Princes there preſent, to compaſſion. From thence they were by the Pope directed vnto *Philip* the French King, with whom hauing diſpatched their affaires, they from him paſſed ouer into England, and afterward into Germany: and had at length brought their negotiation to ſo good paſſe, that in euery place great preparation was made for a great expedition to be made againſt the Turkes, for reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt. With which good newes the Embaſſadors returning to Ieruſalem, filled the ſicke King with hope of great matters. But greater quarrels ſhortly after ariſing betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, and ſharp war likewiſe betwixt the French King and the King of England, and the other Chriſti-
an Princes alſo being at no better quiet; the notable expedition that had with the expectati- I
on thereof ſo filled the whole world, was again laid aſide and quite daſhed. Wherof K. *Baldwin* vnderſtanding, both by meſſengers and letters from his friends, oppreſſed with griefe and
1185 heauineſſe more than with the force of his diſeaſe (a man for his proweſſe and painfulnes not inferior to any his predeceſſors) died without iſſue the 16 day of May, *Anno* 1185, being but 25 yeares old, wherof he had reigned twelue. His body was afterward with the general mourning of his ſubjects, ſolemnly buried in the Temple neer vnto mount Calvary, together with his predeceſſors the Kings of Ieruſalem.

King Baldwin ſends Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the weſt for aid.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned King. But then began the ſparks which had of long lien raked vp and hidden in the aſhes, to breake out into a great fire: for *Raymund* County of Tripolis pretended the whole gouernment of the K
kingdom and the tuition of the king to be due vnto him, by appointment of the late king, and conſent of the nobilitie: and did ſo much, that he had almoſt obtained it to haue bin confirmed vnto him in open parliament. But *Sybella* a woman of a moſt haughty ſpirit (ſiſter to the late King, and mother vnto the yong King yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no caſe to giue place vnto his competitor *Raymund*; and ſo animated him, that by the help of his own fauorits, and the countenance of *Boniface* Marquis of Mount-Ferrat (who euen then was come with a great power into Syria) he extorted from the Nobilitie whatſoeuer hee deſired. But ſeuen moneths were ſcarſe well paſſed, but that this yong King *Baldwin* was dead and buried, poiſoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the deſire ſhe had of the kingdom her ſelfe. Whoſe death ſhe with all ſecrecie concealed, vntill ſhe had obtained of the Patriark & other L
princes of the kingdom, that *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed King. So by her means it was ſo wrought, that vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day, the yong King *Baldwin* was buried by his vncle, and *Guy* the County crowned. This yong King *Baldwin*, by reaſon of his tender yeres and ſhort reign, is of ſome not reckoned amongſt the Kings of Ieruſalem: howbeit, ſeeing he was by his vncle and the princes of that time thought worthy of the kingdome, let him alſo haue his place amongſt the reſt, as the eighth King of Ieruſalem.

Guy the ninth and laſt king of Ieruſalem.

When *Guy* was thus poſſeſſed of the kingdom, the County of Tripolis ſeeing himſelfe out of all hope of the gouernment, and highly therewith diſcontented, did what hee might by all means to croſſe the doings of the King: whoſe ſicke and aſpiring minde *Saladin* prickt dayly more and more forward, promiſing him his helping hand whenſoeuer he ſhould need; which M
curteſie the County deſirouſly embraced. For now the fatall period of the Kingdome of Ieruſalem, grew faſt on, and all things tended to deſtruction, diſcord reigning in euery place: which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after he had compacted with the County) by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, inuited the Turkes, Saraſins, and Egyptians, as men agreeing in the ſame Religion,

A gion, generally to take vp arms in ſo fit an opportunitie of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, aſſuring them of great prey and ſpoil, beſides the honor of the conqueſt. The city of Ptolemais was the place by him appointed, where all this power ſhould meet: whither ſuch a multitude of the barbarous Mahometans (partly for the hatred of the Chriſtian Religion, partly for the hope of the rich ſpoile which *Saladin* had promiſed them) came flocking out of all places, that in ſhort time there was met together about fifty thouſand horſemen, beſides an infinite number of foot: and vnto ſuch as could not ſafely paſſe by the borders of Ieruſalem, to them the falſe County gaue ſafe conduct by the countries of Tyberias, Nazareth and Galile.

Saladin vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtians, taketh occaſion to inuade the Holy land.

All the power of the Infidels thus aſſembled, *Saladin* laid ſiege vnto the city of Ptolemais; *Ptolemais beſieged by Saladin.*
B which the Templers and Knights Hoſpitalers had notably fortified and ſtrongly manned (as before vnto them giuen by the King of Ieruſalem to defend againſt the Infidels) and therein now were both the Maſters of both thoſe honorable Orders, with the whole floure of Knights of their profeſſion. Vnto this City *Saladin* gaue a moſt terrible aſſault vpon May day in the morning, *Anno* 1187. which was by the Chriſtians notably defended, & the enemy with great ſlaughter ſtill beaten down. In the heat of this aſſault, the two great Maſters ſallying with certain troups of their moſt ready horſmen, aſſailed the enemies camp, & bearing down al before them, raiſed there a great tumult; and by and by turning vpon the backs of them that were aſſaulting the city, made there an exceeding great ſlaughter. Inſomuch that *Saladin* diſmaid, firſt with the confuſion in his camp, and now with the ſudden danger behinde him, was glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and to turn his whole forces vpon them, where was fought a
C moſt bloudy and terrible battell. Amongſt others that there fought, the County of Tripolis, now an enemy vnto God and his country, diſguiſed in the habit of a Turk, notably helped the Infidels, and meeting with the Maſter of the Knights Hoſpitalers, vnhorſed him; who, ſurcharged with the weight of his armor, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, there died. Neuertheles ſuch was the valor of theſe worthy men, and new ſuccor ſtill comming out of the city, that *Saladin* hauing in that battell and at the aſſault loſt 15000 of his Turkes, was glad with the reſt to betake himſelfe to flight. Neither was this ſo notable a victory gained by the Chriſtians without bloud, moſt part of the worthy Knights Hoſpitalers being together with their grand Maſter there ſlain.

1187

Saladin by this ouerthrow perceiuing, that by open force he ſhould not be able to do much
D againſt the Chriſtians, thought it good vnto his forces to join alſo policie. Wherein the falſe County of Tripolis was the man he thought beſt to make choice of, as his fitteſt inſtrument to work by. Him he compacted withall, to ſeek for grace at the King of Ieruſalems hand, as of his dread Soueraign, and after ſo long diſcord, to ſue to be reconciled vnto him, as now weary of the Turks amity, with whom he ſhould make ſhew to be vtterly fallen out. At which time alſo, to giue the matter the better grace, *Saladin* of purpoſe with a great army came and beſieged Tiberias, a city of the Counties juriſdiction: for the reliefe wherof the traiterous County craued aid of the King and the other Princes of the ſacred war. Who with an army, though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his deſire, and incamped neer vnto the fountain of Sophor: where they had not long ſtaid, but that they met with the huge army of
E the Turkes, beeing in number ſix ſcore thouſand horſe and eight ſcore thouſand foot, with whom they joined a moſt ſharp and terrible battell, which by reaſon of the extremitie of the heate of the weather (it then beeing the twelfth of Iuly) and the approch of the night, was again giuen ouer, both armies as if it had bin by conſent retyring. The next day the battell was again begun, wherein the Turks, by the treaſon and ſhamefull flight of the falſe County of Tripolis, gained the victory. In this battell, *Guy* the King himſelfe, with *Gerard* maſter of the Templers, *Boniface* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, and diuers others, men of great rank, were taken priſoners. And to ſay the truth, In this battel was broken the whole ſtrength of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

Guy king of Ieruſalem taken priſoner.

The Chriſtian commonweal by the treaſon of the falſe County thus betrayed to the Infi-
F dels, *Saladin* without any great reſiſtance, had the cities of Ptolemais, Biblis, and Berithus deliuered vnto him: in all which places hee vſed his victorie with great moderation, not inforcing any Chriſtian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but ſuffring them there ſtil to remain as before, yeelding vnto him their obedience, with ſuch tribute as he had impoſed vpon them. With like good fortune he within the ſpace of one moneth tooke all the port Townes

betwixt Sidon and Aſcalon alongſt the ſea coaſt, excepting only the antient city of Tyre: vnto the city of Aſcalon alſo hee laid ſiege by the ſpace of nine daies: but loth to ſtay the courſe of his victory, by the valor of the defendants reſolued there to ſpend their liues, he departed thence, and marched directly vnto Ieruſalem the chiefe city of that kingdom: and approching the ſame, gaue ſummons therunto, perſuading the citiſens yet whilſt they had time, to yeeld themſelues together with the city vnto his mercy. Which they refuſing to do, he incloſed the ſame with his army, and by the ſpace of 14 days layd hard ſiege vnto it, leauing nothing vndone or vnattempted, that might ſerue for the gaining thereof. At which time the citiſens conſidering the danger they were in, and that the ſtrength of the kingdome, with the flour of their Chivalry were in the late battell loſt, and that they were not now to expect any forein aid; agreed vpon certain conditions to yeeld vp the city: which were, That ſuch Chriſtians as would, might remain ſtill with their libertie and goods; and that ſuch as would not might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their goods as they could carry vpon their backes. Theſe conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the holy city was vnto him deliuered the ſecond of October, *Anno* 1187; after it had been by the Chriſtians holden from the time that it was by *Godfrey* of Buillon and other Chriſtians won, about 89 years. *Saladin* entring into the city, prophaned firſt the Temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vſe of his Mahometan ſuperſtition: the other churches he vſed as ſtables for his horſes, only the temple of the Sepulchre was by the Chriſtians for a great ſum of mony redeemed, and ſo kept vndefiled. The Latine Chriſtians he thruſt out of the city, yet with leaue to cary with them ſuch things as they were able themſelues to bear: who trauelling with heauy burthens, but much more heauy hearts, ſome to Tripolis, ſome to Tyre, and ſome to Antioch (for only theſe three cities were now left vnto the Chriſtians) were by the falſe County of Tripolis by the way lightned of their burthens, to the increaſing of the heauineſſe of their hearts, moſt of them being by him and his followers ſpoiled of that little they had by the mercy of their enemies ſaued in the ruine of their ſtate.

Ieruſalem beſieged.

Ieruſalem taken by Saladin.

G H I

Vnto the other Chriſtians that were naturall Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certain places of the city for them to dwell in, where ſome of their poſteritie were long time after to be found. All the monuments of the Chriſtians were by the barbarous Mahometans and Turks defaced; onely the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauiour Chriſt, with the monuments of *Godfrey* of Buillon and his brother *Baldwin*, for the reuerence of the men, were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles aboue 20000 of the Chriſtians periſhed. Among the reſt, the County of Tripolis was ſhortly after found dead in his bed, and as ſome ſay, circumciſed; a manifeſt token of his reuolt, not from the King only, but from the Chriſtian faith alſo.

K

The death of Raymund the traitrous county of Tripolis.

Ieruſalem thus won, *Saladin* returned again to the ſiege of Aſcalon, which after hee had by the ſpace of ten daies moſt ſtreitly beſieged, was to him by compoſition deliuered: wherin amongſt other things agreed vpon for the ſafe departure of the Citiſens, was compriſed alſo, That he ſhould freely ſet at liberty *Guy* the King, and *Gerard* maſter of the Templers, both before taken priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turk ſtil vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue taken Tripolis: but hauing made ſome proofe of his owne forces, and the valour of the defendants, he was glad to giue ouer the ſiege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his army, becauſe he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid ſiege vnto the city of Tyre, where *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat was a little before arriued with *Iſaac Angelus* the Greek Emperors fleet, and a ſupply of certain companies of good ſoldiers. Vnto which place were come great numbers of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, fled from Ieruſalem and other places, ſo that the city was full of men.

L.

This city *Saladin* moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not without the great loſſe of his beſt ſoldiers. At which time alſo the Admirall of Sicilia diſcomfited his fleet at ſea, and landing his forces came vnlooked for vpon the back of him. So that hauing his hands ful before by them of the town, and charged behind by theſe new come enemies, he was glad to retyre in ſuch haſt, as that hee left his Tents, with all that therein was, vnto the ſpoile of the Chriſtians.

M

Within a few dayes after, *Saladin* hauing againe repaired his army, inuaded the Countrey about

A about Antioch, with fire and ſword deſtroying whatſoeuer was ſubject to his fury, euen to the gates of the city. But knowing that ſo ſtrong a city was not without great charge and a long ſiege to be won, he thought good to make proofe if it might by policie or corruption be gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriark, that he had by his meanes the Caſtle (otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for gold betraied to him. By means wherof he in ſhort time became lord & maſter of that famous city (about 90 years before hardly gained by the whole power of the Chriſtians, after eleuen months ſiege) and with it twenty fiue cities moe, that depended of the fortune thereof, with all the prouinces belonging thereunto, alwaies deemed to haue bin the third part of the kingdom of Ieruſalem.

The famous city of Antioch betrayd vnto the Turks.

The loſſe of ſo great a city, together with the ruine of the whole kingdome, had in a ſhort
B ſpace filled euery corner of Chriſtendom with the heauy report therof. Wherwith the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the German Emperour, with *Frederick* his ſonne duke of Suevia, *Philip* the French King, *Henry* the ſecond, King of England, *Otto* duke of Burgondie, *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, with many other great Princes and Prelats of Germany, Italy, and other places) not a little moued, as alſo with the pittifull complaints of the Embaſſadors at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians, and the effectuall perſuaſions of *Clement* the third, then Pope; promiſed, and all or moſt part indeed made great preparations: which they afterward, though not all at once (as letted by other occaſions) but at diuers times imployed, for the moſt part with the danger of their own perſons, againſt the Turkes, for the reliefe of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians, and recouery of the Holy land: but with what ſucces
C ſhall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at liberty *Guy* King of Ieruſalem, who contrary to his promiſe made at Aſcalon, he had now detained a year in priſon; yet before his inlargement exacting of him an oath, Neuer by force of arms afterwards to ſeek to recouer his kingdom, or to reuenge the wrongs he had ſuſtained: hoping therby to ſtay the comming of the other Princes in his quarell. Which oath for all that, the Pope diſpenſed withall, as extorted by conſtraint from him, at ſuch time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in priſon than of right he ſhould.

Guy now at liberty, and yet in mind a King, came to Tyre, but could not be there receiued,
D the Citiſens hauing before ſworne their obedience to *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, who had notably defended them againſt the fury of *Saladin*. Wherfore departing thence with ſuch power as he had, and the diſperſed Chriſtians daily repairing vnto him out of all parts of Syria, he came and beſieged Ptolemais: where he had not long lien, but firſt came vnto him the Venetian fleet, with them alſo of Piſa, and after them the Flemings with a fleet of fifty ſaile, who all joined their forces together for the winning of the city. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, came *Saladin* with a great army for the reliefe of the beſieged; where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great battell, wherein the Chriſtians at the firſt had the better, but afterward fainting, and ready to fly, had there vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow, had not *Iefferey Luſignan* the Kings brother (left for the garding of the campe) in good time come in with new ſupplies, and not only ſtayd their flight, but alſo repreſſed the further purſuit of the fierce enemy, now almoſt in poſſeſſion of the deſired vi-
E ctorie. Neuertheleſſe there were 2000 Chriſtians there ſlain, and amongſt them *Gerard* Maſter of the Templers. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiuing how hard a matter it would be for him by land to relieue the city, ſent for the fleet which hee had ſtrongly rigged vp at Alexandria, and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of men and victuals into the beſieged city. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often ſallies vpon the Chriſtians, and in deſpight of the Chriſtian religion, whipped the image of Chriſt crucified, which they had for that purpoſe in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet vp vpon the top of the wall. With the ſaid fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the ſeas, that no victuals or new ſupplies of men could that way without great danger be brought vnto the campe: wherby ſuch ſcarcitie and want of all things began
F ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to endure the famin, fled vnto the Turks camp, then lying not far off, crying out for bread. Of which diſtreſſe in the campe of the Chriſtians *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch fugitiues as dayly came ouer vnto him, and by his own eſpials; yet made ſhew as if he vnderſtood nothing thereof, but ſuddenly riſing with his army, as doubtfull of his own ſtrength, departed, leauing

his camp full of all maner of victuals: whereof the Christians vnderstanding, and suppoſing him for fear to haue bin gon indeed, in great numbers haſted vnto the forſaken camp as vnto a moſt deſired prey: where whileſt they were gorging themſelues, *Saladin* ſuddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great ſlaughter. Neuertheles the Chriſtians hauing now lien before the city ſix months, continued the ſiege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardeſt difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Chriſtian princes, whoſe comming they expected with the firſt of the next Spring: during which time many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them and the Turks both by ſea and land. G

1160 *Fredericke the Emperour ſets forwards toward the Holy-land.*

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Frederick* the Emperor, with diuers of the great German princes and others, before reſolued vpon an expedition for the recouery of the Holy land, and the reliefe of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria: hauing now raiſed a great army, furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo long a journey, ſet forward from Ratiſbone, and ſo comming to Vienna, and paſſing thorow Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thracia, ariued at length at Conſtantinople; where he was by *Iſaac Angelus* the Emperor that then reigned, honorably entertained, but indeed more for feare and faſhion ſake, than for any loue or good wil; for that he, after the ſuſpitious manner of the Greeks, hauing in diſtruſt ſo great a power of the Latine Emperors, wiſhed rather for his abſence than his preſence; and therfore ceaſed not in what he might, to haſten his paſſage ouer into Aſia, pretending for the colour thereof, the neceſſitie the Chriſtians had of his preſent aid. So the Emperour with his army paſſing ouer the ſtreit, and without reſiſtance marching thorow the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia, entred into Lycaonia, where meeting with a great power of the Turks, who were come from the Sultan of Iconium to ſtay his further paſſage, he ouerthrew him in a great battell: and ſo marching directly on to Iconium, took it by force, and gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers, in reuenge of the injuries before done vnto his vncle the Emperor *Conrade*, by the Souldan of that city. Departing thence, and marching thorow Cilicia, hee in another battell ouerthrew the Turks, that hauing taken the ſtreits of the mountains, had thought to haue ſtayd his further paſſage into Syria. After that he took the city Philomela (which the Sultan had ſtrongly fortified) and raſed it to the ground, putting to the ſword all the people therein, for that they contrary to the law of Nations, had ſlaine ſuch meſſengers as hee had ſent vnto them for the ſummoning of the city. In like manner he entred into the leſſer Armenia, where he tooke the city Melitene, and ſubdued all the country thereabouts: vnto the reliefe wherof the Turks comming with a moſt huge army, were by him with an exceeding great ſlaughter ouerthrown and put to flight. After that, entring into Comagena, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his ſon, with a great Army of the Turks, he ouerthrew him in the plain field, and diſcomfited his whole army. But whileſt he too eagerly purſueth his enemy hee had then in chaſe, his horſe foundring vnder him as he paſſed the riuer Saleph, hee was ſo ouerthrown, and his foot hanging faſt in his ſtirrop, drawne thorow the deepe riuer, and almoſt drowned; and at the farther ſide of the riuer was ſo plunged by his horſe at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead: yet breathing a little, and caſting vp his eies to heauen, with much adoe hee vttered theſe few words, *Lord receiue my Soule*; and ſo in the hands of them that tooke him vp, gaue vp the ghoſt, vnto the great griefe and hinderance of the Chriſtian commonweal. For *Saladin* hearing of his approch, was ſo afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keepe that he had before got in Syria, but how to defend himſelfe in Egypt. Thus miſerably periſhed this worthy Emperor the tenth of Iune, in the yeare of Grace 1190, being then of the age of ſeuentie yeares, whereof he had with much trouble reigned eight and thirty. His dead body was carried along with the army, and afterward with all funeral pomp buried in the cathedral church at Tyre. H I K L

Frederick the Emperour dyth

Fredericke the Emperours ſon choſen General of the Chriſtian Army.

Frederick the Emperor thus dead, *Frederick* his ſon Duke of Suevia, was by the general conſent of the Princes in the army choſen Generall in his ſtead: vpon whom, with the reſt of the army, yet mourning for the death of the Emperor, the Turks gaue a ſudden and fierce charge, in hope ſo to haue ouerthrown them; but finding greater reſiſtance than they had before ſuppoſed, and hauing loſt ſome of their men, they with like ſpeed that they came, retyred againe. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great Armies) to encreaſe in the Campe: for why, the Turks for that purpoſe had before deſtroyed or carried away all that was in the country, leauing nothing for the Chriſtians more than the bare ground. Wherfore M

Frederick

A *Frederick* turning a little out of the way, came to Antioch, which was easily deliuered to him, and his hungry soldiers well refreshed by the citisens, being as yet for the most part Christians. But he had not there stayd past fifteen dayes for the refreshing of his army, but that the plague (the hand-maid of Famin, and another scourge of the greatest multitudes) began to rage among his soldiers in such sort, that he was glad with his army to forsake the city, & to get him abroad again into the open field: where forthwith newes was brought vnto him, that *Dodequin* Generall of such forces as *Saladin* had sent for out of Egypt (which were not small) was by great journies comming towards him. Against whom he in good order set forward, with his fathers Corse still caried in the midst of his army. These two armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, joined a great and doubtfull battell, fortune now inclining to
B the one side, and by and by to the other; the Christians exceeding their enemies in valor, and they them again in number. At length the Christians in the vantgard began to retyre, & they that seconded them were also hardly charged: when *Frederick* mindfull of his fathers valour, with a troup of valiant horsmen brake into the enemies battel with such force, that the Turks were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* Duke of Austria comming presently on with his footmen, brought such a feare vpon the whole army of the Turks, that they betook themselues to speedy flight. In this battell were 4000 of the enemies slain, with small losse of the Christians; and about 1000 more taken prisoners, with 15 of their ensignes. After which victorie, *Frederick* marching further into Cœlo-Syria, pacified Laodicea then in mutinie, and like to haue bin deliuered to the Turks. He also with a little labor took Berythus, with diuers
C other cities of Syria, which before belonging vnto the Kings of Ierusalem, were now revolted vnto the Turks. So afterward comming to Tyre, he there solemnly buried his father, (dead as is before said) and from thence certified *Guy* the King (still lying with the other Christian Princes at the siege of Ptolemais) of his comming: who forthwith sent the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat with part of the fleet, to transport him with his people that were left, by sea; for that by land he could not so safely haue come, being now but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*, who with a great army lay still houering about his besieged city, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was Duke *Frederick* with his soldiers yet left, safely by sea conducted from Tyre to the camp at Ptolemais, and there joyfully receiued by the King and the other Princes, with the general applause of the whole camp.

A great battell betweene the Turkes and the Christians.

D In the mean time the Turks sallying out of Ptolemais, had done great harme amongst the Christians, by whom they were not without some losse againe repulsed. But after the comming of duke *Frederick*, it was thought good by the general consent of all the great commanders in the army, that the city should be assaulted round, and to that purpose was euery mans regiment appointed what place to assail. The King himselfe with the Templers and the Italians from Pisa, vndertook that part of the city which was toward the sea: vnto duke *Frederick* and his Germans was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer the riuer Bele, and the Bishops palace: the Venetians, Genoa's, and Knights Hospitalers were appointed vnto the rest of the wall as far as the court of *Raymund*: the Friselanders, Flemings and Hollanders tooke vp all the rest of the wall vnto the sea side. Thus was the City at once on euery side assailed by the
E Christians, with such fury, as if they had thereon purposed to ingage their whole forces, seeking by a thousand wounds, and a thousand kinds of death, to haue by their scaling ladders gained the top of the walls; the Turks with no lesse courage still beating them down again. But in the heate of this so dreadfull and desperat assault, *Saladin* stil houering aloof, came now vpon the sudden and assailed the camp of the Christians, filling the same with fear and tumult: whose charge they that were left for the defence of the same, at the first notably receiued; but finding themselues too weak, began to giue ground: by which means the Turks took certain tents with some ensignes, and fired some other of the pauilions of the Christians, hauing slain aboue an hundred of the defendants.

Ptolemais assaulted by the Christians.

The Christians in the mean time little preuailing in the assault, and troubled with the dan-
F ger of their camp, retyred to the reliefe thereof. But the Turk perceiuing himselfe too weake for the whole power of the Christians, retyred also; yet not with such hast but that hee had there almost lost himselfe. This notable assault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after which many light skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks, but more for booty than for any other great purpose.

In

In the meane time diuers great Princes of the Weſt that had vowed themſelues to this ſacred war, came thither, whoſe number rather increaſed the want of victuals, than furthered the ſeruice. At which time alſo, the diſcord betwixt *Guy* the King (whoſe wife and children were now dead) and *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat (who had maried *Iſabel* the late queens ſiſter, by whom he pretended a claim pnto the title of the imaginary kingdom) did much harm vnto the proceedings of the Chriſtians: ſo pleaſing a thing theſe hauty ſtiles be vnto the lofty minds of the ambitious. Shortly after, the Chriſtians yet lying at the ſiege, the contagion and famin ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that duke *Frederick* fell ſick of the plague, whereof he died, and with the great mourning of the whole army was afterward ſolemnly buried faſt by his father, in the Cathedral Church at Tyre: after whoſe death the Chriſtians attempted no great matter againſt the city, although they were by the Turks often prouoked, but lay ſtill ſtrongly intrenched, expecting ſome greater aid from the Princes of the Weſt. G H

Now all the hope of the Chriſtians affairs in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine, reſted vpon the comming of the two mighty Princes, *Philip* the ſecond of that name, King of France, and *Richard* the firſt, King of England: who hauing agreed betwixt themſelues, with their combined forces to relieue the diſtreſſed Chriſtians of the Eaſt, and again (if it were poſſible) to repair the broken ſtate of the kingdom of Ieruſalem, were now met together at Marſeilles in Prouence. From whence the French King firſt departing with his fleet for Sicilia, and with a proſperous gale for certain daies holding on his courſe, and now come nigh vnto the Iſland, was by force of a furious tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, ſo toſſed and tumbled in the deep, that many of his ſhips there periſhed, eaten vp of the ſea; others by force of weather driuen vpon the ſands and rocks, were broken all to pieces; and the reſt, ſome with their maſts broken, ſome with their tackling and ſails rent, & all in generall ſore weather-beaten, with much ado ariued at Meſſena the deſired Port. At which place King *Richard* alſo (but with better fortune) arriued with his fleet alſo. Both the Kings now met together, reſolued there to winter; the French King inforced by neceſſitie ſo to do, for the repairing of the late loſſes he had receiued, as wel in his people and prouiſion, as in his ſhipping; all which was to be relieued by new ſupplies out of France: and the King of England ſtaying to take order for the dowry of his ſiſter *Ioan* (widow of *William* the late King of Sicilia) with *Tancred* the baſe ſon of *Roger*, who had now aſpired vnto the kingdom of that Iſland. About which matter great ſtirs aroſe betwixt King *Richard* the Queens brother, and *Tancred* the new king; inſomuch that it was like to haue broken out into open war, had it not to the good contentment of King *Richard* bin otherwiſe taken vp, and ſo the controuerſie ended. But whilſt theſe two great Kings thus wintred in this fruitfull Iſland, and oftentimes as good friends met together, ſomtime for their diſport, and ſomtime to confer of their ſo weighty affaires, (the way as was thought to haue appeaſed all former diſpleaſure, and to haue encreaſed loue) it fell out clean contrary, jealouſie and diſtruſt not only reuiuing the old, but alſo ſtill raiſing new quarrels betwixt them, to the great hinderance of the Common good by them intended. Which may ſerue for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in amitie, and to hold a good opinion one of another, neuer to ſee one the other; or comming ſo to an interview, not to conuerſe or ſtay long together: which as it is not often done without the danger of their perſons, ſo can it not poſſibly be long continued, but that it will ingender in themſelues, as well as in their followers, jealouſie, enuy, hatred and diſtruſt, as we haue before ſaid, and hereafter in the courſe of this hiſtorie may appeare. I K L

An old grudge betwixt Philip the French king and Richard K. of England.

There was an old quarrell betwixt theſe two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French Kings ſiſter; whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet liuing) affianced, had now reiected, as her whom his aged father *Henry* the ſecond had too familiarly vſed: and in ſtead of her, to the great diſgrace of the French, eſpouſed the Lady *Berengaria*, daughter to the King of Navar. Which indignitie with diuers others then ariſing betwixt the French and Engliſh, as then with great heart-burning ſmouldred vp in reſpect of the common cauſe then in hand, afterwards brake out again to the ſhamefull ouerthrow of this moſt honorable expedition, and lamentable diſturbance of both realms. M

Winter paſt, and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the beſt pleaſed, firſt looſed from Meſſena, and with his fleet in ſafety arriued at Ptolemais, where hee was by the Chriſtians, now the third yeare lying at the ſiege, ſo joyfully receiued, as if he had been

to

A to them ſent with ſuccors from heauen. After whom ſhortly after followed alſo king *Richard*, of whoſe fleet (by force of weather ſore beaten and diſperſed) two ſhips by the rage of the tempeſt driuen aground vpon the coaſt of Cyprus, were by the Iſland people ſpoiled, and the men that in them had hardly eſcaped the danger of the ſea, with moſt barbarous inhumanity, ſome ſlain, and ſome taken priſoners: the reſt of the fleet arriuing there alſo, were with like inciuilitie forbidden to land; the Cypriots ready at hand in all places to keep them off. With which ſo great an indignitie the King juſtly moued, and by force landing his people, with incredible celeritie and ſucceſſe quer-ran the whole Iſland, neuer ceaſing vntill hee had made a full conqueſt thereof, and taken *Iſaac Comnenus* (commonly called the king of that Iſland, and of ſome, for what reaſon I know not, Emperor of the Griffons) priſoner: yet was hee indeed
B neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the honourable ſtock of the *Comneni*, had in the troubleſom reign of *Andronicus Comnenus* the Emperor his couſin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull Iſland, and there tyranniſed as a reputed King, vntill that now he was by King *Richard* taken priſoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing ſent faſt bound in chaines of ſiluer into Syria. The King thus poſſeſſed of the whole Iſland, there at Limozin maried the Lady *Berengaria* the King of Navars daughter, brought thither by *Ioan* late queen of Sicilia, the Kings ſiſter. And ſo diſpoſing of all things as he thought beſt, for the ſafe keeping of the Iſland, ſet forward again with his fleet towards Syria: where by the way hee light vpon a great ſhip of the Sultans, laded with victuals and warlike prouiſions for the relieſe of the beſieged; all which became a prey vnto him. So holding on his courſe, he at length arri-
C ued at Ptolemais, where he was by the French King and the reſt of the Chriſtians there lying, moſt honorably receiued.

K. Richard reuengeth the injury don to his people by the Cypriots.

K. Richard ariueth at Ptolemais.

Now had the city of Ptolemais bin three yeares beſieged by the Chriſtians, and notably defended by the Turks: during which time, many an hot aſſault and bloudy skirmiſh had paſſed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two Kings of England and France, vnto whom all the reſt offered their obedience and ſeruice. The Chriſtian campe was great, compoſed eſpecially of Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almanes; not them that were left of the Emperor *Fredericks* army, (for they were for the moſt part dead, or els returned home again into their countries) but of ſuch, as mooued with the zeal they bare to this religious war, came daily in great numbers thither; as did alſo many others of diuers nations,
D deſirous in ſome meaſure to be partakers of ſo honorable a war.

Theſe religious and worthy Chriſtians thus lying at the ſiege, had with much painfull labor vndermined one of the greateſt Towers of the city, called the accurſed Tower, with ſome part of the wall alſo; by means wherof they were in hope to find a way into the city. Wherefore all things being now in readineſſe for the firing of the mine, it was thought good by generall conſent, that an aſſault ſhould alſo at the ſame time be giuen vnto the city: and thereupon euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wal to aſſail, which they all with great courage vndertook. In the heat of which aſſault, the aforeſaid vndermined tower, with ſome part of the wall (the timber whereon it ſtayd, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a fair breach for the Chriſtians to enter: wherwith the Turkes diſmayed, forthwith
E craued to come to parley, which granted, they for ſafegard of their liues yeelded forthwith to giue vp the city, and to reſtore to the Chriſtians the holy Croſſe, with two thouſand captiues and 200 horſemen, ſuch as they ſhould require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; beſides 200000 Conſtantinopolitan ducats to be by him giuen to the two Kings, for the coſt by them beſtowed in the ſiege. For paiment whereof the Turks in the city were to remaine as hoſtages vnder the ſafe keeping of the Chriſtians: ſo that if all the couenants aforeſaid were not within forty days performed by *Saladin*, they ſhould all for their liues be at the kings mercie. So was this ſtrong city, after it had bin almoſt three years beſieged, deliuered vp vnto the Chriſtians the 12 of Iuly, *Anno* 1191. The firſt that entred were the Germanes of Auſtria, who 1191
as if they had bin the only men by whoſe valor the city was won, at their firſt entry preſump-
F tuouſly aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the wals, to the great offence of all the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of King *Richard*, who (not vnworthily for his princely courage, commonly called *Richard Cueur de Lyon*) not brooking ſo proud an indignitie, cauſed the enſignes of *Leopold* their Duke to be puld down and foiled vnder foot; which ſhortly after gaue him occaſion of repentance, as ſhall hereafter be ſeen.

The

The two Kings poſſeſſed of the city, diuided the ſame, with all the people and ſpoil therof betwixt them, without regard of the reſt of the other noble Chriſtians that had ſuſtained the whole trauel of that long ſiege: for which cauſe moſt of them, ſeeing themſelues ſo deluded, withdrew themſelues from them, & with one conſent ſent them word, that they would forſake them, except they were made partakers of the gains, as they had bin of the pains. Which the two Kings to content them promiſed they ſhould; howbeit they ſo long delayed their promiſes, that many worthy men, conſtrained by pouerty, departed diſcontented from them, into their own countries. G

But long it was not that this one city ſo lately gained could contain theſe two kings, whom two large kingdoms could not retain in peace: for abeit they were in body together preſent, and in one, and that a moſt honourable action, combined, yet were they in hearts far aſunder, and their ſecret deſignes much different; envy and diſtruſt ſtill reuiuing vnkindnes paſt, and miniſtring new matter of greater diſcontentments. King *Richard* according to his noble nature, was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue had the war continued vntill they had made a full conqueſt of Syria and the land of Paleſtine; and for that cauſe requeſted the French king to bind himſelfe together with him by ſolemne oath, there to ſtay yet three years, for regaining thoſe countries. But he in mind long before eſtranged from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpoſe, would by no means be perſuaded ſo to do, but ſtill found one occaſion or other for to colour his departure. And ſhortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extremely ſicke, he requeſted King *Richard* and the other Chriſtian princes to come vnto him: vnto whom being come, hee in few words declared his purpoſe of return, as followeth: H I

I cannot (my Lords) longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the aire in this extreame hot ſeaſon. If my death might profit the Chriſtian Religion, or any one of you, or the Chriſtian Commonweale, there ſhould be no diſtemperature whatſoeuer, that could ſeparate me from you, or could draw mee from hence. But more may the life of one abſent, ſerue and profit you, than the death of him preſent. I muſt of neceſſitie depart; yet at my departure I will leaue you fiue hundred men at armes, and ten thouſand footmen, the floure and choice of all the Forces of France, vnder the conduct of my Couſin Odo *duke of Burgondie, vnto whom I will giue pay and entertainment, with a continuall ſupply of all things for them neceſſary.* K

This excuſe of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part: but ſaid, That it was apparant to all men, that he abandoned the wars in Syria, to return into France, for no other end or purpoſe but the more eaſily to inuade the prouinces of Guyen and Normandy, now diſfurniſhed of their garriſons, and ſo ſubject to his malice. Which point hee ſo vrged, that the French King could haue no leaue with his honor to depart, vntill ſuch time as he had by ſolemn oath bound himſelfe vnto King *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud, againſt him or any thing of his, vntill fifty daies were expired after King *Richard* his return home: which how well it was by the French King obſerued, I leaue to the report of the hiſtories of that time. And ſo the French King, not to be intreated any langer to ſtay, leauing behind him the aforeſaid number of men he had promiſed, imbarking the reſt of his army, and accompanied with three tall ſhips of the Genoa's his friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their Admiral, departed from Ptolemais to Tyre, the firſt of Auguſt, and two daies after looſing thence, ſailed alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and cutting through the Mediterranian, arriued at length in the mouth of the riuer of Tyber, and from thence went to Rome; where after hee had viſited Pope *Celeſtine*, and the famous places of that moſt renowned city, hee returned again vnto his fleet, and ſo by ſea arriued ſafely in France; hauing in that great expedition, ſo honorably by him vndertaken, performed nothing anſwerable to that the world looked for.

The King of France ſweares to K. Richard, in his abſence not to inuade his Territories in France.

L

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, with his Germans: and not long after him the Venetians alſo, with them of Piſa and Genoa. Of whoſe departure *Saladin* vnderſtanding, & that the Chriſtian forces were thereby much impaired, refuſed either to pay the money, or to reſtore the priſoners, as was promiſed at the giuing vp of Ptolemais; threatning moreouer to chop off the heads of all ſuch Chriſtian captiues as he had in his power, if the King ſhould ſhew extremity to the pledges of the city. Neuertheles ſhortly after he ſent his M

Embaſſa-

A embaſſadors with great preſents vnto the King, requeſting a longer time for the ſparing of his pledges: which his requeſt, together with his gifts, the King refuſed to grant or accept. Whereupon *Saladin* forthwith cauſed ſuch Chriſtian captiues as were in his power, to be beheaded: which albeit King *Richard* vnderſtood, yet would he not preuent the time before agreed vpon for the execution of his priſoners, being the twentieth day of Auguſt; vpon which day he cauſed the Turks priſoners (to the number of 2500 (or as the Germanes and French write, to the number of 7000) in the ſight of *Saladins* army to be executed.

The loſſe of the ſtrong town of Ptolemais much impaired the reputation of *Saladin*, euen among his own people: as it commonly falls out, that the euill ſucceſſe of a great Commander in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, eſpecially of the vulgar ſort,
B which iudge of all things by the euent. And albeit that his loſſes were great, and ſuch as much daunted him; yet he thought it beſt, as the caſe then ſtood, to make them greater, and with his own hands (as it were) to ruinat and ouerthrow ſuch towns and cities as as he ſaw he could not keep, rather than to ſuffer them whole and vndefaced to fal into the enemies hand. So carried headlong with diſpaire, he cauſed all the towns he had along the ſea coaſt in Syria and Paleſtine, to be ſacked and ruinated, and their walls ouerthrown; eſpecially ſuch as were of moſt importance, and like to ſtand the Chriſtians in ſtead, namely Porphiria, Cæſarea, Ioppa, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Elam, with diuers other caſtles and citadels in the countries thereabouts; moſt part whereof were again by King *Richard* and the Templers fortified and repeopled, although *Saladin* in the mean time did what he might to haue letted the ſame.

C Nothing more hindered the good proceeding of the Chriſtian Princes in this and other their moſt honorable expeditions againſt the Infidels, than the diſcord amongſt themſelues, one ſtill enuying at at anothers honour, and euery one jealous of his owne. Great ſtrife and heart burning there had been betweene the two Kings of France and England, during the time they were together in this ſacred expedition, to the great hinderance of the ſame. No leſſe contention had there been betwixt *Guy* the late King of Ieruſalem, and *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, about the title of that loſt kingdom; whereby the whole power of the Chriſtians in Syria was diuided into two factions. *Richard* King of England, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, *Henry* Earle of Champaign, the Knights Hoſpitallers of S. *Iohn*, the Venetians, and Piſans, taking part with *Guy*: and *Philip* the French King, *Odo* Duke of Burgondie, *Rodolph*
D Earle of Claremont, the Templers, the Genoa's, the Landtgraue of Thurin, *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, and *Robert* County of Naſſau, taking part with *Conrade* the Marquis. But *Conrade* ſhortly after the taking of Ptolemais being ſlain by two of the deſperat Aſaſſines, or (as ſome others ſay) by two deſperat ruffians, (ſuborned therunto by the Prince of Tyrone, in reuenge of the deſpight done vnto him by the ſaid Marquis, by taking from him *Iſabel* his eſpouſed wife) as he was walking in his city of Tyre, and doubting no ſuch treaſon: King *Richard* ſeeing now a fit occaſion offered for the vtter extinguiſhing of that claime, and how to intitle himſelfe vnto that kingdome; perſuaded the aforeſaid *Iſabel* (the widow of the late Marquis, and in whoſe right he had laid claim vnto the Kingdom) to relinquiſh that ſo troubleſome a title, and to take to her husband *Henry* Earle of Champain his nephew, vnto whom he gaue the ci-
E ty of Tyre: *Guy* the King exclaiming to the contrary, as of a wrong done vnto himſelf. Shortly after he began alſo to temper with *Guy*, perſuading him to reſigne vnto him that little right and intereſt he had in the kingdome of Ieruſalem, and in lieu thereof to receiue at his hands the kingdom of Cyprus: which his offer the poore King was glad to accept. By which exchange, *Guy* became King of Cyprus, and *Richard* King of Ieruſalem: which honorable title he afterwards (as ſome report) vſed in his ſtile, as did ſome others his ſucceſſors, the Kings of England after him. So *Guy* with all his wealth paſſing ouer into Cyprus, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, where he liued not long. Neuertheleſſe that pleaſant kingdome continued in his family of the Luſignans by the ſpace of about 283 years after: vntill at length that family failing in the poſthumus ſonne of *Iames* the baſtard, laſt King of that Iſland, it fell into the
F hands of the Venetians; by whom it was holden as a part of their ſeigniorie almoſt an hundred yeares, vntill it was in our freſh remembrance again from them taken by *Selymus* the ſecond, great Emperor of the Turks, in the yeare 1571, as in the proces of this hiſtorie ſhall in due place (God willing) be declared.

King Richard marcheth with his army towards Ieruſalem.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increaſe of his honor, more deſirous than before of the city of

of Ieruſalem, as the moſt pretious and honorable priſe of all that religious war. And thereupon with all the power of the Chriſtians then at his command, ſet forward from Ptolemais, and was come on his way as far as Arſua, a towne ſcituated betwixt Cæſarea and Ioppa. In the vauward was King *Richard* himſelfe with the Engliſhmen: after whom followed *Odo* Duke of Burgondie, with his French: and in the rereward *Iaques de Auenes*, with the Flemings, Brabanders, and Wallons, who after the death of their County *Philip* at the ſiege of Ptolomais, had put themſelues vnder his regiment. *Saladin* with a great army ſtil at hand, and as it were tending vpon them, firſt with certain ambuſcado's charged the rereward, and ſo afterwards came on with his whole power: vpon whom *Iaques* turning himſelfe, with his Flemings receiued the charge with great aſſurance, and ſo long themſelues endured the ſame, vntill the French came in to their ſuccours, and after them the Engliſh alſo. There was fought a notable battell, and great valour ſhewed both on the one ſide and on the other, but eſpecially by them of the Turks part, who knew well the purpoſe of the Chriſtians for the beſieging of Ieruſalem, and that thereon depended their onely hope, and that hee that could hold the ſame might almoſt aſſure himſelfe to carry away the glory of that war. The French and Engliſh in that battell honorably ſtroue who might ſhew the greateſt valour: neither would the Low-Countrey men vnder *Iaques* their Generall ſeem to be any thing behind them. This ſharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going down of the Sunne. King *Richard* (as ſome write) was there wounded with an arrow: and *Iaques* valiantly there fighting, was ſlaine, hauing ſold his life deare, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the victory vnto the Chriſtians. It is reported, That in this battell was ſlaine more Turkes and Saraſins, than in any one battell within the memory of man before. Of the Chriſtians were not loſt any great number, either any man of name, more than the aforeſaid *Iaques* the valiant General of the Flemings.

A notable battell fought betwixt king Richard and Saladin.

The next day the Chriſtians remoued to Bethlem, a town about the mid way betwixt Ioppa and Ieruſalem. But Winter now comming faſt on, and want of victuals like enough to increaſe, the King changing his mind for the ſiege, returned with the greateſt part of the army to Aſcalon, which hee that Winter newly fortified, the walls thereof beeing before by *Saladin* in his diſpaire demoliſhed. The Duke of Burgondy with his French men all that while quietly wintring at Tyre. In the mean time the power of the Chriſtians was greatly diminiſhed, ſome one way departing from the camp, and ſome another. The Italians for the moſt part, with them of Piſa (who in theſe three yeares wars had ſtriuen with the Venetians for the honor of their ſeruice) were now returned home, as were the Venetians themſelues alſo. Neuertheleſſe, Winter now paſt, and the Spring time come, King *Richard* tooke the field again, and came to Bethlem; where by the way he met with an exceeding great number of Camels, charged with great ſtore of victuals and munition, ſent by *Saladin* out of Egypt to Ieruſalem, all which he took: but purpoſing to haue gon on to the ſiege of Ieruſalem, he was by the backwardneſſe of the French glad to change his purpoſe, and to returne to Ptolomais. For the French men, perſuaded by the Duke their Generall (who well knew the French Kings mind) that if any thing worth remembrance were done, it was to be done by them, and that the glory thereof ſhould wholly redound vnto the King of England, as there in perſon preſent, and to his Engliſh men; ſhewed themſelues ſo vnwilling to the ſiege, as therein was nothing don, to the great griefe of that worthy Prince. At which time alſo newes was brought vnto King *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetfull of his ſolemne promiſe made before his departure out of Syria) had now inuaded the Countrey of Normandie, and excited Earle *Iohn* the Kings brother (a man of an haughty and aſpiring nature) to take vpon him the kingdom of England in his abſence; as had before in like caſe *William* the yonger brother ſerued Duke *Robert* his eldeſt brother, then abſent at his father the Conquerors death, in the firſt ſacred expedition vnder *Godfrey* of Buillon. Wherefore King *Richard* beſides the preſent difficulties, fearing leſt while he was ſo far off in wars for defence of the Chriſtian commonweal, he might loſe his kingdom at home; thought it beſt to grow to ſome good end with *Saladin*, and ſo to make his return. But the politique and wary Sultan, not ignorant of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, and that their forces daily decaied in Syria: either of the troubled eſtate of the Kings affairs at home in his own kingdom, or of his deſire to returne, would not hearken to any other conditions of peace, but ſuch as might both for the preſent weaken the forces of the

King Richard purpoſing to beſiege Ieruſalem, is by the backewardnes of the French inforced to retyre.

King Richard glad vpon hard conditions to conclude peace with Saladin.

A the Christians in Syria, and discourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, when they should see that for nought they should trauell to conquer that, which in the end they must of necessity restore againe. The conditions he offered, were, That the Christians should forthwith restore whatsoeuer they had woon in those three yeres wars, Ptolemais only excepted; and from thenceforth for the space of fiue yeres, the Turks should not in any thing molest the Christians, but to suffer them in peace to liue by them: which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the King was glad to accept, and so concluded a peace. Wherby the labor and trauell of the two great Kings, and so many nations with them, were all become frustrate and vain; hauing now to no purpose lost their men, their mony, their time, their hope, their bloud, their long trauell, to gaine that they must now in one houre forgo; nothing more
B left vnto the poore Christians in Syria, than the cities of Antioch, Tyre, and Ptolemais.

This done, King *Richard* leauing the affaires of Asia vnto the charge of *Henry* County of Champagne his nephew, shipping the greatest part of his people, with his wife *Berengaria*, first for Sicilia, and from thence for England, (where they in safety at length arriued) followed shortly after with some few himselfe; where by the way, by extremitie of weather he was in the Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coast of Histria: where trauelling with a small retinue homewards in the babit of a Templar, he was discouered and taken prisoner by *Leopold* duke of Austria, whom he had before disgraced at the winning of Ptolemais, as is before declared: who now glad to haue him in his power, made prise of him, and sold him to *Henry* the Emperor, for forty thousand pounds; by whom he was kept prisoner by the space of a yere and three
C moneths, and then ransomed for the summe of an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

King Richard returning out of the Holy-land taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria.

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greatest terrour of the Christians: who mindfull of mans fragility, and the vanity of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no solemnity to be vsed at his buriall, but only his shirt in manner of an ensigne, made fast vnto the point of a lance, to be carried before his dead body as an ensigne, a plaine Priest going before, and crying aloud vnto the people in this sort: *Saladin Conqueror of the East, of all the greatnesse and riches he had in his life, carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his shirt.* A sight worthy so great a King, which wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, more than the true knowledge of his saluation in Iesus Christ. He raigned about sixteene yeares with great honour, and dying left nine sonnes, which were all murthered by *Saphradin*
D their vncle, excepting one called also *Saphradin* Sultan of Aleppo; who by the fauor and support of his fathers good friends, saued himselfe from the treacherous practises of his vncle. Of this *Saphradin* the vncle, descended *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, and *Coradin* Sultan of Damasco and Ierusalem: *Saladin* his great Kingdome being by them now againe rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in short time bruited abroad, with the discord amongst the Turks and Sarasins about his dominions, put *Celestinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the city of Ierusalem might in that change and hurly be easily againe recouered, and that kingdome established. But when he had in vaine dealt to that purpose with the Kings of France and England, (then altogether busied in their wars the one against the other) he persuaded *Henry* the sixt, then Emperour, to take the matter in hand: who (for that he well could not, or else would not
E himselfe in person vndertake that long expedition) sent *Henry* Duke of Saxonie his Lieutenant, with a great army into Asia: vnto whom were joyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbishop of Mogunsia another of the Electors, and *Conradus* the Bishop of Herbipolis. At which time also many other great Princes tooke vpon them that holy war; namely, *Herman* Lantgraue of Thurin, *Henry* Palatine of Rhine, *Henry* Duke of Brabant, *Conrade* Marquesse of Morauia, *Fredericke* Duke of Austria, and *Albertus Hapspurgensis*, with some others: vnto whom also joyned themselues the Bishops of Rheme, Halberstat, and Ratisbone, with diuers other great Prelats. Who hauing passed thorow Hungary and Thracia, and by the Greeke Emperor *Alexius Angelus* relieued with all things necessary, were by the Græcian ships transported vnto Antioch, and so by land came to Tyre, and from thence to Ptolemais, with purpose to haue gone to re-
F lieue the Germans besieged in Ioppe; who before their comming were all by treason slaine, and the city rased: wherefore being come to the ruines thereof, they departed thence to Sidon, which they found also abandoned by the Turks. After that, they tooke Berithus, which city they fortified, and so went to besiege Torone; which city when they had brought to the extremity, as that it must needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or be taken, the Turkes came

on ſo faſt to the reliefe thereof, that the Chriſtians were glad to raiſe their ſiege and to be gone: which they in garriſon at Berithus perceiuing, and ſeeing the enemy to approch them, they abandoned the city, and joyning themſelues vnto the reſt of the army, marched all together to Ioppa, a little before ruinated, which they now againe fortified. But the enemy comming to Berithus, and finding it forſaken, raſed it downe to the ground, and ſo in few moneths
1197 ſpace was Berithus both repaired and raſed, in the yeare 1197.

But whilſt the Chriſtians were repairing the city of Ioppe, the Turkes proud of that they had done at Berithus, came now to diſturbe alſo the fortifying of that place. Of whoſe comming the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, remoued by night about fiue miles from the city, of purpoſe to draw the Turks vnto a conuenient place for battell. The Turks thinking them to haue been fled for feare, ſent part of their army to aſſaile the city; and with the other followed after them diſorderly, as if it had bin after men they had had in chaſe. Vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, had with them at the firſt a ſharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight: in which conflict certain thouſands of the Turks fell; of whom the Chriſtians taking the ſpoile, and hauing put the reſt to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the city. But the joy of this victory was by the ſudden death of two of the greateſt Princes in the army greatly diminiſhed: for the Duke of Saxonie hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a worthy Generall and valiant ſouldier, had ouer-heated himſelfe, and thereupon without regard of his health taken cold, died of a feuer the fourth day after. The Duke of Auſtria mortally wounded in the battell, died alſo the night following.

The Turks ouer throwne by the Chriſtians.

Ioppe repaired by the Chriſtiãs.

About this time or not long after, died *Celeſtinus* the Pope, author of this expedition, and *Henry* alſo the German Emperour: after whoſe death great troubles began to ariſe in Germany about the chuſing of a new Emperour. Whereof the Biſhop of Mogunſia (then chiefe Commander of the Army of the Chriſtians in Syria) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, hauing intelligence, could not by any intreaty of the poore Chriſtians (in whoſe quarrell they were come) be perſuaded longer ro ſtay, but that needs home they would, and indeed home they went the ſame way that they came. After whoſe departure the Turkes tooke Ioppe, hauing one of the ports betraied vnto them by one of the City, at ſuch time as the Germans there in garriſon, after the manner of their country, vpon S. *Martins* day were careleſly making merry together in their pots: vpon whom ſo ſurcharged with wine, the Turks entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the reſt of the Chriſtians to the ſword, and ſo afterward raſed the city downe to the ground. Of which victory they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to haue driuen the Chriſtians quite out of Syria: but by the comming of *Simon* County of Mont-Fort (a moſt valiant and expert captain, ſent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a regiment of tall ſoldiers, at the inſtance of *Innocentius* 3, that ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* in the Papacie) and by ciuill diſcord then raigning amongſt the Turks themſelues for ſoueraigntie, their fury was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of ten yeares; during which time the Turks
1199 promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in Tyre or Ptolemais: which hapned in the yere 1199, or as ſome others ſay, 1198. After which peace ſo concluded, the worthy County returned againe with his ſouldiers into France: with whom we alſo will repaire vnto the leſſer Aſia (whither the courſe both of the time and of the Hiſtory now calleth vs) to ſee the other great affaires of the Turks in thoſe Eaſterne countries; leauing for a ſeaſon theſe poore remainders of ſo many Chriſtians in Tyre and Ptolemais now for awhile in peace, but to be ere long deuoured of the Infidels their enemies, as in the proces of this Hiſtory ſhall in due time and place appeare.

The Germane Princes return home.

The

The ruine of the Turks first Empire in PERSIA: with the succesſe of their ſecond Kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, vnder the Aladin Kings.

AS no Kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer ſo flouriſhing or great) was euer yet ſo aſſured, but that in the reuolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a ſicke body beene ſubject vnto many ſtrange innouations and changes, and at length come to nothing: ſo fared it now with the Turkiſh Empire, which firſt planted by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia, and the other farre Eaſterne Countries, increaſed by *Axan* his ſonne, and ſo by the Turkiſh Sultans their Succeſſours (although their names and doings, as too farre off, be not vnto vs all knowne) for the ſpace of one hundred and ſeuentie yeares continued, muſt now (I ſay) giue place vnto a greater power, and ſettle it ſelfe elſewhere, the ineuitable deſtiny thereof ſo requiring. It fortuned, that about this time (when in the ſpace of a few yeares ſuch mutations as had not before of long beene ſeene, chanced in diuers great Monarchies and States) that the Tartars, or rather Tattars, inhabiting the large, cold, and bare Countries in the North ſide of Aſia (of all others a moſt barbarous, fierce, and needy Nation) ſtirred vp by their owne wants, and the perſuaſion of one *Zingis* (or as ſome call him, *Cangis*) holden amongſt them for a great Prophet, and now by them made their Leader, and honoured by the name of *Vlan-Chan*, that is to ſay, The mighty King, (commonly called the great *Cham*) flocking together in number like the ſand of the ſea, and conquering firſt their poore neighbours, of condition and qualitie like themſelues, and eaſie enough to be entreated with them to ſeeke their better fortune, like ſwarmes of Graſhoppers ſent out to deuoure the world, paſſed the high Mountaine Caucaſus, part of the Mountaine Taurus, of all the Mountaines in the world the greateſt; which beginning neere vnto the Archipelago, and ending vpon the Orientall Ocean, and running thorow many great and famous kingdomes, diuideth Aſia into two parts: ouer which great Mountaine, one of the moſt aſſured bounders of nature, that had ſo many worlds of yeares ſhut vp this rough and ſauage people, they now paſſing without number, and comming downe as it were into another World, full of ſuch Natures pleaſant delights as neuer were to them before ſeene, bare downe all before them as they went, nothing being now able to ſtand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate Leader dead in this ſo great an expedition, *Hoccata* his ſonne, eldeſt of his twelue bretheren, a man of great wiſdome and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who ſending part of his great Army for the ſubduing of the Countries Weſtward, turned himſelfe with a world of people toward the Eaſt: where hauing ſubdued the Bactrians and Sogdians, with diuers others, he entred into India, and ſubduing that rich country on both ſides the riuer Indus, euen to the Eaſt Ocean, there in the country of Cathai built the famous city of Cambalu, in circuit eight and twenty miles about; for pleaſure and plenty of all things neceſſary for the life of man, of all the cities of Aſia the chiefe: where the great *Cham* of Tartarie ſtill reſiant, as in his Imperiall City, commandeth ouer one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Empires of the World. In whoſe Kingdome alſo, in the Prouince of Mangy more towards the Eaſt, he hath another moſt famous City called Quinſay, of all the Cities in the world the greateſt, in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himſelfe dwelt therein about the yere 1260. It is ſcituate in a lake of freſh water, and hath in it twelue thouſand bridges; of which ſome are of ſuch an heigth, that tall Ships with their ſailes may eaſily paſſe vnder them. In this populous city the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof alwaies thirty thouſand men in garriſon. The Tartar Kingdome thus planted in Cambalu, *Hoccata* contenting

Kingdomes after the manner of other things, haue but their time to flouriſh in, and ſo again decay.

ting himſelfe with the rich pleaſures of India, afterward managed his wars by his lieutenants, being for the moſt part his brethren, or other his nigh kinſmen; of whom he ſent out with his armies ſome Northward, ſome Weſtward, and ſome toward the South: by whom he ſubdued the Arachoſians, Margians, and diuers other great nations; and entring into Perſia, ſubdued the country, with all Parthia, Aſſiria, Meſopotamia, and Media. At this time in the city Balch or Belch in the country of Choraſan in the fartheſt part of Perſia, reigned ouer the Turks one *Curſumes*, of the Greekes called *Corſantes*; who finding himſelfe farre too weake to ſtand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leauing vnto them both the city and the country, which hee and the Turkes his predeceſſors had euer ſince the time of *Tangrolipix* poſſeſſed: which city the Tartars raſed, and tooke the Country vnto themſelues. In this generall flight of the Turks, when as euery man was glad to make what ſhift he might for himſelfe, *Curſumes* their Sultan died, the laſt of the Kings of the *Selzuccian* family that reigned ouer the Turks in Perſia: whoſe ſonne *Vgnan-Chan* taking vpon him the leading of ſuch multitudes of Turks as followed his father, ſeiſed vpon the great city of Babylon, now called Bagadat, neere vnto the ruines of the old Babylon: where hauing put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, he there and in the country thereabout ſeated himſelfe with the Turks his followers: but long he had not there reſted, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, purſued him, tooke him priſoner, and expulſed thence all his people. There was at the ſame time alſo another kingdome of the Turks at Nachan a city in Perſia, giuing name vnto the country wherein it ſtood, not farre from Choraſan: wherein then raigned one *Solyman*, of the *Oguzian* family, as had diuers other of his progenitors before him; who terrified with this dreadfull ſtorme ſo ſuddenly riſen out of the North, and warned by the ſudden fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultan and his kingdom, of far greater fame and power than himſelfe or his, fled alſo with ſuch his ſubjects as would follow him, into the leſſer Aſia. But of him and his proceedings more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the riſing of the victorious *Othoman* family, as deſcended from him. After this, the Tartars together with their good fortune ſtill extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered Armenia the greater, with the Countries of Colchis and Iberia: ſo that now their Empire was become of all others the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing. This great Conquerour the Tartar, had in his proud conceit purpoſed to haue ſubdued all Aſia, and to haue made the ſea the only bounder of his Empire: but ouercome with the delicacies of India, hauing diuided amongſt his people thoſe great prouinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities & pleaſant fields, he ſo reſted, embracing the manners and ſuperſtition of the people he had ouercome. Long it were, and far from our purpoſe, to recount all the famous victories and conqueſts of this bare Northerne people: ſufficeth it to the Hiſtory we haue in hand, that the Turkes were by them then driuen out of Perſia, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as they call it) firſt founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguiſhed, about the yere of our Lord 1202. The Turks thus driuen out of Perſia, and their kingdome ouerthrowne, retired themſelues into the leſſer Aſia, poſſeſſed by the Turks their country-men, long before brought thither by *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons, (as is before declared) and by them euer ſince in ſome part, though with diuers fortune holden. Where theſe Turks now arriued out of Perſia vnder the leading of *Aladin* the ſonne of *Kei Huſren*, deſcended alſo of the *Selzuccian* family in Perſia, and taking the opportunitie offered them by the mortall diſcord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greeks among themſelues, ſeiſed vpon Cilicia with the countries thereabouts, and there firſt at Sebaſtia, and afterward at Iconium, erected their new Kingdome; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the Kingdome of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all ſo.

The Turkes driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars.

1202

The beginning of the Aladinian kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, at Sebaſtia and Iconium.

Now about this time, and within the courſe of ſome few yeres after, ſuch great and ſtrange mutations happened in the Conſtantinopolitane Empire, as had not therein any time before bin ſeene: whereby the whole eſtate of that great Empire, which ſometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almoſt vtterly ſubuerted, and a fit opportunity giuen vnto the Turks and infidels for the ſure ſetling of themſelues, and eſtabliſhing of their kingdoms both in Syria and the leſſer Aſia: which briefly to run thorow ſhall not be from our purpoſe; their affaires proſpering by theſe troubles, and their proud and ſtately Empire that now braueth all the reſt of the world, being raiſed out of the ruines of that Chriſtian Empire; and at this preſent triumphing euen in the ſame Imperiall city wherein theſe ſo great innouations hapned through

A through the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and deſtruction of a great part of the Chriſtian Common-weale.

Alexius the vſurper, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traiterouſly to haue depriued *Iſaac* his elder brother of his Empire and ſight together, ſought alſo after the life of the yong Prince *Alexius* his brothers ſon, and heire apparant of the empire; who ſeeing the villany committed in the perſon of his father, ſaued himſelf by flight from the fury of his vncle, and ſo accompanied with certaine great Lords of the Greeks his fathers friends, fled to craue aid of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, whom the Grecians commonly call the Latines. And firſt he took his way to *Philip* the German emperor, who had married *Irene* his ſiſter, the Emperor *Iſaacs* daughter, by whom he was moſt honourably receiued & entertained. This
B great lady not a little moued with the miſery of her father, and the flight of her brother, ceaſed not moſt inſtantly to ſolicite the Emperor her husband, not to leaue vnreuenged ſo great a villany, by the example thereof dangerous vnto himſelfe, and others of like majeſty and ſtate. She declared to him what an execrable indignity it was, to ſee her father the Emperor vnworthily impriſoned, depriued of his empire and ſight, and of the ſocietie of men, by his brother that had by him receiued and recouered his life, his light, and his liberty: and to ſee the heire apparant of the Empire baniſhed by the wickednes of his vncle, to wander vp and down here and there like a begger: a great part of which diſgrace, as ſhe ſaid, redounded vnto her ſelfe the daughter of *Iſaac*, and ſiſter to the young wandring Prince, and to himſelfe alſo, the ſon in law vnto the vnfortunat Emperour her father. Moreouer ſhe ſaid, that the murdred *Alexius* durſt
C neuer haue bin ſo hardy as to commit ſo great and deteſtible a villany, if he had not lightly regarded and contemned the majeſty of the ſaid *Philip*; whom if he had had in any reuerence or honor, or at all feared, he durſt not haue attempted ſo villanous an act. This Greeke lady, mioued with juſt griefe, with theſe & ſuch like complaints ſo preuailed with her husband, that he promiſed her to be in ſome part therof reuenged; which he could not for the preſent perform, letted by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitor of the Empire. At the ſame time it fortuned, that great preparations were making in France and Italy, and diuers other places of Chriſtendome, for an expedition to be made againſt the Turks into the Holy land. The chiefe men wherin were *Theobald* County of Champaigne, (a man of great fame, and General of the Chriſtian army) *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders and Henault,
D and *Henry* his brother Earle of S. *Paul*, *Henry* Duke of Louain, *Gualter* Earle of Breame, with diuers other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious: vnto whom reſorted alſo many valiant and deuout Chriſtians out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, ready to haue ſpent their liues iu that ſo religious a war: ſo that now the number of them was great, and the army right populous. But being thus aſſembled together, they thought it not beſt to take their way to Conſtantinople, thorow Hungary and Thrace, and ſo to paſſe ouer into Bythinia, for that the Greeks had ſtill in all former times ſhewed great vncourteſie vnto the Latines, in paſſing with their armies that way: and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of Italy to take their journey by ſea into the Holy-land; and for their tranſportation, eſpecially to vſe the helpe of the Venetians, whom they found much the eaſier to be intreated, for that by the
E means of ſo great an army, they were in hope to ſcoure the Adriaticke (then much infeſted by the Dalmatians) as alſo to recouer Iadera, with ſome other cities vpon the coaſt of Sclauonia, before reuolted from their ſtate to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterwards did. But by the way as this army was marching out of France, and come into Piemont, the noble County of Champaigne Generall therof, there fell ſicke & died, to the exceeding griefe & ſorrow of the whole army: in whoſe ſtead, the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, a man of great nobility, and wel acquainted with the wars of the Eaſt, was choſen Generall. This great army, tranſported by the Venetians into Sclauonia, tooke Iadera, with diuers other port townes along the ſea coaſt, and hauing there done what the Venetians moſt deſired, was about again to haue bin imbarkt for Syria, & ſo into the Holy-land. But the yong Prince *Alexius* in the mean time had by himſelfe
F and the noble Grecians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) ſo wrought the matter with the Latin Princes of the Weſt, eſpecially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperor his brother in law, & *Philip* the French king, that they pittying his eſtate, & induced alſo with ſome other conſiderations more proper to themſelues, tooke him as it were into their protection, commending by letters & meſſengers for that purpoſe ſent vnto the army, (which they

Alexius the young Prince craueth aid of Philip the Emperour and the Latine Princes, againſt his Vncle the Vſurper.

Great preparations made by the Chriſtians, for an expedition into the Holy-Land.

might command) the defence both of himſelfe and his cauſe: who with the commendation of three ſo great Princes, comming to the army yet lying at Iadera (expecting but a faire wind to haue paſſed into Syria) was there of them all moſt honorably receiued, as the ſon of an Emperor, and as became one to them ſo highly commended. And he himſelf alſo, as one knowing his good, was not wanting vnto himſelfe, but recommended his perſon to their protection, as a poore exiled Prince in diſtreſſe; yet was he of a liuely ſpirit, gratious in ſpeech, beautifull to behold, and very young, and withall fully inſtructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might ſerue to further his purpoſe. And foraſmuch as this great Army conſiſted of diuers nations, ſpecially of the French, Italians, & Venetians, not all to be by one mean moued; he fitted euery one with ſuch motiues as he thought might beſt preuaile with them: Vnto the French he promiſed to pay the great ſums of money they had borrowed of the Venetians for the furniſhing of themſelues in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promiſed recompence for all the injuries they had ſuſtained by the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, eſpecially by the Emperor *Emanuel* (who for that they refuſed to aid him in his wars againſt *William* king of Sicily, did in one day confiſcat al the goods of the Venetian merchants within his empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the law of nations, ſhamefully intreated their embaſſadors ſent vnto him, amongſt whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the army: who moued as well with the wrong in particular done vnto himſelfe, as with the common, deſired to be reuenged both of the one and the other; which although he could not haue of *Emanuel* himſelfe, being long before dead, yet was he ſtill deſirous to haue it of ſome one of the Greeke Emperors, whoſoeuer he were:) Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he and the noble men with him, had before promiſed, that the Greek church ſhould euer acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Church of Rome, and from thenceforth ſubmit it ſelfe therunto, as vnto the ſoueraign judge of all the Chriſtian Churches: which cauſed the Pope *Innocentius*, by letters, by legats, by embaſſadors, and by all other means poſſible, to further the cauſe of the yong Prince *Alexius*, ſo combined with his own; alledging the diuerſity of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to haue been the chiefe cauſe that the Mahometans had not been long agoe by their vnited forces ſubdued, or vtterly rooted out. In briefe, the young Prince ſpared not to promiſe moſt bountifull rewards in generall, to all that ſhould take his part againſt his vncle the vſurping Emperor.

Alexius commeth vnto the Army.

By this means, the deuout war taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Chriſtians in Syria, was laid aſide, and the ſame forces that ſhould haue bin therin imploid, now conuerted againſt the Greeke empire, to the great weakning of that ſide of the Chriſtian commonweale, and aduantage of the common enemy; who might then eaſily haue beene oppreſſed, had he with the vnited forces of the Chriſtians bin on this ſide charged home, as he was one the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian war thus reſolued vpon, it ſeemed beſt vnto the great Commanders of the army, to march directly to Conſtantinople, as to the head of the Grecian ſtate, and place where the tyrant whom they ſought after was reſiant. In the meane time it was by them giuen out thorow all the Greeke cities which the Emperor had ſtrongly manned and fortified for the ſtaying of their paſſage, that their purpoſe was not to make war againſt the Grecians their friends, but only to reſtore their lawfull Emperor vnto his former ſtate and honor: And that foraſmuch as euery city and town in antient Greece had appointed rewards, and almoſt diuine honours vnto ſuch as had deliuered them from tyrants, they ſhould now more fauourably receiue and intreat them that came to reſtore vnto euery city, and to euery man in generall, their former liberty and honor. And ſo vpon the reſolution for Conſtantinople imbarking their army, and paſſing thorow the Ionian ſea into the Ægeum, and ſo without let thorow the ſtreits of Heleſpontus into Propontis, and entring the ſtreits of Boſphorus Thracius, which diuide Europe from Aſia, they came to an anker euen in the face of the city. In this fleet were two hundred and forty ſaile of tall ſhips, ſixty gallies, ſeuentie ſhips for burthen, and one hundred and twenty ſaile of Victualers: which all together made a moſt braue ſhew, couering that ſtrait in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed rather a wood than a part of the ſea. Thus for a ſpace they lay facing the City, attending if happily vpon the comming and ſight of ſo great a fleet, and the report of ſo puiſſant an army as the young Prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any tumult or ſedition might ariſe in the City. But the wary Tyrant had ſo well prouided therefore before hand, that the Citiſens, although they in heart fauoured the young Prince, and wiſhed him

A great fleet of the Latines before Conſtantinople.

A him well, yet durſt they not once moue or ſtirre in his quarrell. Whilſt the fleet thus lay, Embaſſadors came from the Iſle of Creet, in two great gallies, with three banks of oars, yeelding vnto the young Prince that goodly Iſland, with all the towns and cities therin: which he forthwith gaue vnto the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the army, thereby to encourage the other great commanders of the army to do the vttermoſt of their deuoire, in hope of recompence and rewards anſwerable to their deſerts and valour.

The Latines by force enter the hauen of Conſtantinople.

Before the arriuall of this fleet, *Alexius* the Emperour had with a great chaine made faſt the entrance of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, and appointed twenty great gallies well manned for the keeping therof: but a great gale of wind ariſing, the Generall ſent out the greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhip in the fleet (of her greatnes and ſwiftnes called the Eagle) which
B with all her ſailes vp, carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chane, and made a way for the reſt of the fleet to enter; which the Greeks in their gallies ſeeing, for feare fled, leauing the gallies for a ſpoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The hauen thus gained, *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Emperors ſon in law, was preſently ready vpon the ſhore with a ſelect company of the braueſt gallants of the city and of the court, to haue hindred the Latines from landing; who running their ſhips a ground, landed with ſuch cheerfulnes and courage, and with ſuch haſt, that in one moment you might haue ſeene them leape out of their ſhips, take land, enter into the battell, and lay about them like mad men. This hot skirmiſh endured a great while, for that they were only footmen that ſuſtained this brunt, for the horſes could not ſo ſoone be landed, and the Greeks were brauely
C mounted. All this great fight the Conſtantinopolitans beheld, with doubtfull hearts, expecting what ſhould be the euent thereof. There were in the city ſix thouſand of the flower of Greece, which brauely ſallying out, made the battell much more doubtfull; yet ſuch was the valour and reſolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greeks diſcomfited, were glad to retire themſelues againe into the city, but with what loſſe was not certainely knowne: eaſie it were to gueſſe, that it was right great, for that the old tyrant *Alexius* diſcouraged therewith, and doubtfull of his owne eſtate, with *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſon in law, and ſome few others of his truſty friends (hard to be found in ſo dangerous a caſe) the next night following ſecretly fled out of the city, carrying away with him a wonderfull maſſe of treaſure (which he againſt all ſuch euents had cauſed to be ſecretly hidden by his daughter *Irene*, in a monaſtery of Nuns
D within the City, whereof ſhe was the abbeſſe) and ſo ſaued himſelfe.

A hot skirmiſh betwixt the Greeks and the Latines at their landing.

Iſaac the old Emperor taken out of priſon, & againe ſaluted Emperor, together with yong Alexius his ſon.

The flight of the tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Conſtantinopolitans taking the old Emperor *Iſaac* out of priſon, ſaluted him againe for their Emperor, rejoycing greatly for his deliuerance and the ſafegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the city to the Latines, calling and ſaluting them by the names of the reuengers and ſauiors of the liberty of the Greekes, as alſo of the life and majeſtie of their Emperor: they requeſted them that they might ſee and ſalute *Alexius* their young Prince, whom they had ſo long deſired: and ſo was the city of Conſtantinople, by the ſubmiſſion of the Citiſens, for that time ſaued from ſackage and ſpoile. The old Emperor thus deliuered, and together with his ſon *Alexius* again placed in the imperiall ſeat, gaue the moſt hearty thankes that poſſibly he could vnto the Latine
E Princes, for that by their bounty, charity, and valor, the Greeke Empire had bin deliuered out of a long and miſerable ſeruitude: and for his own particular, that he had receiued of them ſo great good, that albeit his ſight could not be reſtored to him againe, neuertheleſſe he acknowledged his life, his liberty, his empire, his country, his ſon, to haue bin vnto him by them reſtored, and he likewiſe to them; for which their ſo great deſerts he could not (as he ſaid) render them condigne thanks, or deuiſe rewards or honors anſwerable to their demerits and valour: and that therefore he did ratifie and confirme whatſoeuer his ſon had before promiſed vnto them for his deliuerance: and not only that, but further promiſed, That if they were not therewith contented, hee would of his owne bounty giue them better contentment, not meaning they ſhould go diſcontented, that had ſaued his life, and otherwaies ſo highly pleaſured him.
F Hereupon this good old Emperor began to conſult with his friends about the meanes whereby he might ſatisfie & content the Latines in ſuch things as the yong Prince his ſon had vnto them promiſed. And to the intent that the Citiſens of Conſtantinople might the more willingly doe that he was to command them, and the more cheerefully pay ſuch impoſitions as he was to lay vpon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themſelues out of the city into

their

their campe or about their ſhips,which they accordingly did. But the impoſition being ſet G
downe,and what euery man was to pay,ſeemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accuſtomed to receiue tribute of others,and not to pay tribute to others) a matter moſt heauie and intollerable. In this very inſtant that this exaction was required, died the old Emperor *Iſaac*,who hauing of long beene kept in a darke and ſtinking priſon in continuall feare of death,and now deliuered and reſtored to his Empire, could not indure ſo ſudden and vnexpected a change, both of the aire and of his manner of liuing,but ſo ſuddenly died.

At this exaction impoſed for the contentment of the Latines,the light Conſtantinopolitans grieuouſly murmured and exclaimed, ſaying, That it was a villanous thing to ſee the Greeke Empire ingaged and bound (by a yong boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation, and ſo to be ſpoiled and bare of coyne: That the great and rich Iſland of Creet lying in the midſt of H
the ſea,was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the city of Conſtantinople and the Greeke Church, had by him beene enforced and conſtrained to yeeld vnto the See at Rome, to receiue the opinions of the Latine Church, to ſubmit it ſelfe vnto the obeyſence of old Rome,from whence it had once happily departed euer ſince the time that the Empire was by *Conſtantine* the Great tranſlated thence to them. Thus euery one ſaid for himſelfe in particular: thus all men ſaid in generall. And therof the noble men in their aſſemblies,and the vulgar people in their meetings,grieuouſly complained: whereupon a great ſedition and tumult was raiſed in the city. Some preſently tooke vp armes,and the common people all enraged ran furiouſly diſordered vnto the palace,with a purpoſe ro haue committed ſome great outrage vpon the perſon of the yong emperor *Alexius*: who in that ſo ſudden an inſurrection, as might I
well haue troubled a right conſtant man,without longer ſtay reſolued vpon a moſt wholſome and neceſſarie point for the appeaſing of the peoples fury; vnto whom (aſſembled in a wonderfull multitude) he ſhewed himſelfe from aboue in his palace,promiſing them to remain in their power, and not from thenceforth to doe any thing without their aduice and liking, but wholly to depend vpon them: with which good words the people held themſelues well content,and ſo was the tumult for that time appeaſed. But forthwith the yong Emperor conſidering the iniury done vnto him,began to burn with the deſire of reuenge,and to change his purpoſe. He could not together ſatisfie the citiſens and the Latins: for if he would keepe his promiſe with the Latines, he muſt of neceſſitie offend his owne people; neither was there any
Alexius ſeeketh to bring the Latines againe into the Citie. means to be fonnd to ſatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himſelfe more bound K
to keep his promiſe with the Latines, whoſe forces he knew not how to withſtand, he ſent ſecretly to requeſt the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the army,to ſend him about midnight certaine companies of ſoldiers vnto the city, aſſuring him to receiue them in by a gate neere vnto the palace, which ſhould be opened vnto them by certaine of his truſtie ſeruants there left for that purpoſe. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle browes ſurnamed *Murzuſle*, whom of a baſe fellow the Emperor *Iſaac* had promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aſpiring mind,and in thoſe troubleſome times hauing long thirſted after the Empire, tooke now this occaſion to worke vpon.

The Conſtantinopolitans againe in an vprore. The night following,he by his agents,men inſtructed for the purpoſe,raiſed a tumult in the
city,not inferiour vnto that which had hapned the day before: and at the ſame inſtant,as if he L
had had nothing to do in the matter,came ſuddenly to the yong Emperor in the dead time of the night (which he might at all times do, by reaſon of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a ſad countenance told him, That the people were vp againe in an vprore,and eſpecially they of his guard,& that they were comming toward him to do him ſome violence for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected news the yong Emperor tertified, demanded of him as of his his moſt faithfull counſellor, What were beſt in that caſe for him to do? Who preſently embracing him in his night gowne, led him out by a ſecret doore into a tent he had of his owne in the court,as if he would there haue kept him ſafe: but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him,as if he had gone to appeaſe the
tumult,had before taken order,that he ſhauld preſently after his departure,be caſt into bonds, M
& ſo be clapt vp into a cloſe ſtinking priſon: which done,the falſe traitor openly ſhewing himſelfe,made an oration to the people,wherin he ſhewed himſelf to haue great compaſſiou of the Greek empire,& of the Greeks his countrymen themſelues,ſpecially in that they were gouerned by a youth vnfit for the gouernment,who ſuffered himſelfe to be miſ-led according to the

pleaſure

A pleasure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the city of Constantinople, the seat of the Greeke Empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eie vnto it selfe, sith it was betraied and sold by them which ought to preserue and keepe the same: that they had now need of a man that loued his country and countrymen, before that which yet remained of the Græcian name were vtterly extinguished by the Latines.

This his speech, fitted of purpose vnto the humour of the seditious, was receiued with the great outcry and applause of the windy headed people. Some cried out, that he, and none but hee, was to be made chiefe of the common-weale that was by them to be established: othersome cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the state: but the greatest cry was to haue him chosen and created Emperour; whereunto the rest giuing
B place, he was by the generall consent of the tumultuous people, without longer stay, chosen and proclaimed Emperour.

Alexius the traitour, by no lawfull election or rightfull succession, but onely by the fury of the tumultuous people, thus created Emperour; was of nothing more carefull than how to breake the forces of the Latines, of whom only he now stood in dread. And therefore to begin withall, he first attempted by certaine gallies filled with pitch, flax, brimstone, and such like matter apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which gallies so set on fire and carried with a faire gale of wind among the fleet, had bin like enough to haue done great harm, had it not by the warinesse of the Venetians bin preuented: who being good sea-men, and not vnacquainted with such deuices, easily and without danger auoided the same, by keeping themC selues aloofe one from another in the sea. This finenes sorting to no purpose, he to color the matter sent certaine messengers to the Generall, and other commanders in the army, to giue them to vnderstand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had bin done without his priuity, by the malice of the tumultuous people, and that for his part he would be glad of their fauor & friendship, assuring them likewise of his, and promising them to aid them both with men and mony, and whatsoeuer els they should haue need of in their wars against the infidels. Whereunto an answer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, that he would beleeue it, when *Alexis* the son of the Emperor *Isaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire, should assure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage was laid: which answer the more moued the traiterous tyrant, to rid himself cleane of the feare
D of the yong Prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the people of the hope and great desire they had to grow to some peace with the Latines, by taking him out of prison, and receiuing him again for their Emperor: For the people (by nature mutable, and not desirous of the good of themselues, but according to the occurrents present, without any great regard of that they had already done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themselues of that they had done against the yong emperor *Alexis* in the fauor of the tyrant, and commonly said, That they must finde some meanes, whatsoeuer it were, to remedy their fault together with their troubles. Wherefore *Murzufle* fearing the sudden mutation of the people, with his own hands most villanously strangled the young Prince *Alexis* in prison, hauing as yet not reigned much aboue six moneths, and immediatly after caused it to be bruited abroad, That
E the said young Prince despairing of his estate, had as a man desperat hanged himselfe.

Murzufle attempteth to burne the Venetian fleet.

The tyrant in vain hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, & stil fearing the reuenging sword of the Latines, resolued now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to dare them battell. So hauing made ready and armed the whole strength of the imperiall city, he with cheerefull speech encouraged his soldiers, requesting them valiantly to maintain and defend their country of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glory of their ancestors, their present honor, and the future hope of their posterity: that hauing before their eies the wals of their city, within which they were borne, nourished, and brought vp in hope of great matters, they would haue pity and compassion of their temples, their wiues, their children, and in no case to suffer them to fall againe into so miserable and wretched a seruitude, but rather
F to die a thousand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterprise taken in hand for the defence of his country (as he would haue the world to beleeue it) with the colour of a superstitious deuotion also, he caused the Priests in their ecclesiastick attire and ornaments, to march forth in the army, with an ensigne, hauing in it displayed the picture of the virgin *Mary*. So couragiously marching forward, hee first charged that quarter of the campe where *Baldwin*

Murzufle encourageth his souldiers.

the

the County of Flanders lay, where at the firſt was fought a right fierce and doubtfull battell. G
But afterward the alarum running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new ſupplies comming in on euery ſide, the Greeks were put to the worſe, and inforced againe to retire into the city, hauing loſt a great number of men, together with their ſuperſtitious enſigne. It was a wonderfull thing to ſee, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of diuers nations, continued this expedition vndertaken againſt the Greekes. Seuenty two daies was this City of
Conſtantinople hardly beſieged. Conſtantinople ſtreightly beſieged by the Latines both by ſea and land, without giuing any time of reſt or repoſe day or night to the beſieged, freſh men comming ſtill on to the aſſault, as the other fell off, and in ſuch ſort troubled the Greekes in the city, that they knew not well what to do or which way to turne themſelues. The Venetians vnto whom was committed the charge to aſſault that ſide of the City which was toward the hauen, vpon two great gallies H
made faſt together, built a ſtrong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiars of the towne, out of which they both with ſhot and fireworks much troubled the defendants, where-
Conſtantinople ſet on fire. with they in the time of the aſſault approching the wall, by their fine deuices fired that ſide of the city: by the rage whereof, a great number of houſes were burnt, with many other ſtately buildings and ancient monuments of that famous city: and had at that preſent gained a great tower neere vnto the port, deſtitute of defenders, had not the tyrant himſelfe in good time come with new ſupplies to the reſcue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the reſt, aſſayled the other ſide of the city by land, where they were to fight not againſt the defendants only, but againſt deepe ditches, high and ſtrong wals, and bulwarkes alſo: neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the valour and fury of the Latines, with the deſire of victory, as that they were not with any I
difficulties to be diſmaied; but preſſing ſtill on, by a thouſand dangers, at length after a moſt ſharpe aſſault, they gained one of the greateſt baſtilions on that ſide of the city, called the Angels tower, and ſo by plaine force opened a way both for themſelues and the reſt into the city. Whereof *Alexius* vnderſtanding, and ſtrucke with preſent deſpaire both of his ſtate and life, the night now comming on, fled with *Euphroſina* the Emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudocia* her daughter, whom he had married when he had raigned about a moneth and ſixteene daies.

The tyrant, author of all this miſchiefe, and of the calamities enſuing, thus fled, and the Latins furiouſly entring; the Prieſts and religious men in their ſurplices, and other eccleſiaſticke ornaments with their croſſes & banners (as in ſolemne proceſſion) met the Latines: and falling
downe at the ſoldiers feet, with flouds of teares abundantly running downe their heauy coun- K
tenances, beſought them, but ſpecially the captains and commanders, to remember the condition of worldly things, and contenting themſelues with the victory, the glory, the honour, the empire, the immortality of their name, to abſtain from ſlaughter, from burning, from ſpoiling & ranſacking of ſo beautifull a city: and that ſeeing they were themſelues men, they would alſo haue pity of men: and being themſelues captains and ſoldiers, they ſhould alſo haue compaſſion vpon captaines and ſoldiers; who although they were not ſo valiant and fortunate as they were, yet neuertheleſſe were both captains and ſoldiers: and that they would keepe and preſerue their city, whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might haue much more pleaſure and commodity, than if they ſhould deſtroy the ſame: which as it had bin the principal ſeat of the
Greek empire, ſo might it now be of the Latines: That ſeeing they had thereof a carefull re- L
gard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now vpon better reaſon to haue more care thereof, being their own: That the authors of all thoſe troubles and miſchiefes, *Alexius* the elder, and *Murzufle*, had already receiued a reward anſwerable to their follies, in that they were driuen into exile: That they would haue pity and compaſſion of an innocent and vnfortunate multitude of poore people, oppreſſed and grieuouſly tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous lords and gouernors: That in ſo doing, God the Lord of hoſts, the giuer and guider of battels, the God of mercy, would therefore reward them: To conclude, they humbly beſought them to pardon their citiſens, to put on the hearts of gratious & mercifull lords and fathers, not of enemies and rough maſters; of forgiuers, not of reuengers; and to vnderſtand by
their tears, their miſerable eſtate and woes paſſed. With this ſo humble a ſubmiſſion & com- M
plaint of the religious, ſome of the better ſort were happily moued: but with the common ſoldiers, breathing nothing but victory, with their weapons in their hands, & the ſpoile of an empire in their power, what auaileth praiers or tears? Euery man fell to the ſpoile, and in ſo great choiſe & liberty of al things, fitted his own diſordred appetite, without reſpect of the wrong

or

A or injury done to others: onely from the effusion of innocent bloud they abstained; they whose liues they sought after, being already fled, together with the tyrant. Other injuries and outrages (so great, as that greater none could be) were in euery place so rife, that euery street, euery lane, euery corner of the City was filled with mourning and heauinesse. There might a man haue seene noble men earst of great honor, and reuerend for their hoary haires, with other citizens of great wealth, thrust out of all they had, walking vp and downe the city weeping and wringing their hands, as men forlorne, knowing not were to shroud their heads. Neither staied the greedy rage of the insolent souldiers within the wals of mens priuate houses, but brake out into the stately palaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes also, where all was good prize, and nothing dedicated to the seruice of God, left vnpolluted and defaced, no
B place vnsought, no corner vnrifled: right lamentable and almost incredible it were to report all the miseries of that time. Some of the Greeke Historiographers, men of great marke and place, and themselues eie-witnesses and partakers of those euils, haue by their writings complained to all posterity, of the insolencie of the Latines at the winning of the City, to their eternall dishoner: but that disordered souldiers in all ages in the libertie of their insolent victory, haue done such outrages, as honest minds abhorre to think vpon. Thus Constantinople the most famous City of the East, the seat and glory of the Greeke Empire, by the miserable ambition and dissention of the Greekes for soueraigntie, fell into the hands of the Latines, the twelfth of Aprill, in the yeare 1204, or after the account of others, 1200.

Nicetas Choniates, annalium, fol. 180.

1204

Constantinople thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great commanders
C of the Army held a counsell, to consider what were best to be done concerning the City and the new gained Empire: for after so great a victory, they thought it not good to rase so ancient and important a City, seated as it were a watch tower vpon the theatre of the World, ouerlooking both Asia and Europe from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuersall, and so commodiously planted, as was no other city of the world, for the keeping vnder of the enemies of the Christian Religion: but that it were much better to place there a Latin gouernor, to establish there the Latine lawes and customes, and to vnite the Greeke church as a member vnto the Church of Rome. In which consultation, some were of opinion, not to haue any moe Emperours in Christendome but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the Germane Emperour, author of this warre, whose wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of
D the late Emperour *Isaac Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers Empire belonged. But the greater part, considering that the troubled affaires of Greece, in so great a change and newnesse of the Empire, had need of the personall presence of a Prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themselues, who there still resiant in that place, might at all times giue aid vnto the Latines in their sacred wars, taken in hand against the Infidels: which opinion as the better, was approued of them all. The chiefe men in this election of the new Emperour, were *Baldwin* County of Flanders and Hainault, *Henry* his brother, *Lewis* County of Bloys, *Symon de Montfort*, *Iohn de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* County of S. *Paul*, *Iohn* County of Brenne, *Boniface* Marquesse of Mont-Ferrat, *Stephen* County of Perch, and fiue gentlemen of Venice; vnto whom also were joyned two Bishops
E of Syria, the one of Bethlem, the other of Ptolemais, who had oftentimes come to the campe of the Latines, to stirre them vp for the taking in hand the sacred warre in Syria; with two Bishops of France also, namely, of Soisson and Troy in Champagne, and the Abbot of Lemely. These great Lords and Prelates assembled into the Church of the holy Apostles, after they had there with great deuotion craued of God to inspire them with his spirit for the choice of a good and just Prince fit for so great a charge; with one consent made choice of *Baldwin* County of Flanders and Haynault, for Emperour of Greece: a braue and valiant Prince, about two and thirty yeares old, who was afterward the sixteenth day of May in the yeare 1204 (or after the computation of others, in the yeare 1205) in the great Temple of S. *Sophia* solemnly crowned by *Thomas Maurocenus* a Venetian, first Patriarch of the Latines
F in Constantinople. From which time the Greeke Church in Constantinople began to receiue the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

The Greeke empire diuided amongst the Latines.

It was not long after that Constantinople was thus taken by the Latines, but that they diuiding their forces, without any resistance tooke in the most part of the great countries

and

and prouinces on Europe ſide, belonging to the Greeke Empire in the time of *Iſaac Angelus* G
the late Emperour: the fortune of the whole Empire, as it were following the fortune of the imperiall city. Which large countries ſo gained from the Greeks, the Latins diuided amongſt themſelues, as good prize taken from their enemies. Vnto *Baldwin* the emperor and his ſucceſſors in the Empire, was aſſigned the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, and the countrey of Thracia, with a limited ſoueraigntie ouer all the reſt of the prouinces by the Latines already or afterwards to be gained. Vnto the Venetians in this diuiſion of the Empire, was allotted for their ſhare all the rich Iſlands of the Ægeum and Ionian, with the famous Iſland of Candie alſo; which although it were before by the young Emperor *Alexius* in the beginning of theſe warres, giuen vnto the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, yet in this diuiſion of the Empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and giuen to the Venetians, as for them H
more fit: in ſtead and lieu whereof, the Marqueſſe had the city of Theſſalonica with all the kingdome of Theſſalie, and a great part of Peloponeſus aſſigned vnto him, with the Royall title of a King. Of the aforeſaid Iſlands in (number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the ſtate, fortified ſome few of the greateſt with conuenient garriſons, the reſt they left to be poſſeſſed and defended by the better ſort of the citizens at their priuate coſt and charges; who according to their ability, tooke into their poſſeſſion, ſome one Iſland, ſome another, and ſome two or three, one, as they were able to ſet out their gallies, one, two, or moe, for the keeping of the ſame: ouer all which, the ſeigniorie neuertheleſſe had a generall care, ſtill keeping a fleet with one of their Admirals at Sea: by whom they not onely repreſſed the Genoa pirats then buſie in thoſe ſeas, but alſo tooke in certaine ſtrong townes in the I
maine vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, namely, Modon and Corone; all which they of long time after held as a part of their ſeignorie. Some other particular places, yet parts alſo of the empire, were giuen vnto particular men: as the dukedom of Athens vnto one *Geffrey* of Troy in Champaigne, a French man, a Valiant Captaine, whom they alſo made Prince of Achaia: Another Dukedome was alſo giuen vnto the County of Bloys; as were diuers other countries and townes alſo vnto other more priuate men: who neuertheleſſe were bound to hold the ſame of the Emperor, as of their Lord, and to pay him yerely a fourth part of the reuenue ariſing thereof, towards the maintenance of his ſtate. Yea the Greekes themſelues in this ſhipwracke of their ſtate and empire, although they diſdained nothing more than the ſtrange gouernement of the Latines, yet could they not be perſuaded to joyne together in ſo common K
a calamitie, but after their wonted manner ſought euery man how to ſhare out ſomthing for himſelfe, without regard of the common good: one ſeized vpon one ſtrong Towne or Citie, and ſo likewiſe another; which for all that, they held not long, driuen thence for the moſt part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their owne countrymen.

The man whom the diſcontented Greekes moſt looked after, was *Theodorus Laſcaris*, the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* his ſonne in law; who at the taking of the city, fled to Adrianople, and afterward into Bythinia, where he was of the people, not of that country onely, but of others alſo farther off, joyfully receiued and honoured as their Emperor. So taking into his hands the countries of Bythinia, Phrygia, Miſſia, Ionia, and Lydia, euen from the windings of the famous riuer Mæander Southward, vnto the Euxine Sea Northward; he with L
the generall good liking of the people, tooke vpon him the eſtate of an Emperour, and ſo in the renowned city of Nice made the ſeat of his Empire. At the ſame time alſo *Dauid*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the nephewes of the tyrant *Andronicus* (ſometime Emperour of Conſtantinople) by his ſonne *Manuel*, poſſeſſing the more Eaſterne countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Capadocia, erected vnto themſelues another Empire in Trapezond, where their poſteritie of the honourable houſe of the *Comneni* raigned in great glory many yeares after, vntill their Empire, together with the Empire of Conſtantinople, was by the great Emperour of the Turkes, *Mahomet* the ſecond, ſubuerted and brought to nought, as ſhall hereafter in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greeke Empire expoſed (as it were) to the generall ſpoile, M
was no longer one, but many Empires: *Baldwin* raigning in Conſtantinople, the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat in Theſſalie, *Theodorus Laſcaris* at Nice, *Alexius Comnenus* in Trapezond, and the Venetians in the Iſlands, all in royall dignitie. Beſides whom were many other leſſer Princes, which had heere and there according to their abilitie ſeiſed vpon ſome one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, raigning therein as petty

The beginning of the empire of Trapezond by the Comneni.

A petty Kings: as did *Aldebrandinus* in Attalia, *Michael Angelus* in Epirus, with diuers others too long to rehearse.

Baldwin, as is aforesaid, created Emperour of Constantinople, by the help of the Venetian Admirall *Dandulus*, and other great commanders of the army; in short time brought vnder his obeisance all the cities of Thracia, except the city of Adrianople, wherunto the better sort of the discontented Greeks, together with *Theodorus Lascaris* (disdaining the gouernment of the Latines) were fled, as vnto a most safe sanctuarie. Which *Baldwin* knowing, and withall desiring whilest yet he had his friends about him, to set his new Empire in some good stay, without farther delay laid hard siege to the same. Now the Greekes generally euill entreated by the Latines, and grieued to be gouerned by them, some were fled into their neighbour prin- B ces countries, but especially into Bulgaria, otherwise called Mysia, a large kingdom lying betwixt the great mountain Æmus and Danubius: by whose persuasion, *Iohn* king of that country, aided by the Scythians (a fierce Northern people but lately come into those quarters) and by the fugitiue Greeks themselues, tooke vpon him to relieue the City: and so with a great army approching the same, sent before certain troups of Scythian archers on horsebacke, to fetch in such booty of horses or cattell as they should find neer vnto the Emperors camp; and withall commanded them, that being charged by the Imperials, they should forthwith retire, so to draw them out of their trenches, into the place where the King with the greatest part of his Army lay couertly to intrap them. Which the Scythians (wel acquainted with such seruice) so well performed vnder the leading of one *Cozus* their Generall, that hauing once or C twice drawn their enemies vnto some light skirmishes, and so retiring, and ere long again with a greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the Emperor with all his army (in hope to do some great matter vpon them euen as they wished) into the place wheras the king with his army lay in wait among the woods and mountains for them; where they, wearied and out of breath with the former pursuit, and now on euery side beset with fresh enemies, were ouerthrowne with a great slaughter. In which conflict, to encrease the losse, *Baldwin* the Emperor himselfe was taken, and sent prisoner in bonds to Ternoua; where afterwards by the commandement of the barbarous King he was most cruelly put to death, hauing his hands and feet cut off, and so dismembred was cast out into a deep valley, where hee yet lay miserably breathing three dayes after, and so died; leauing his body as fortunes scorne, for a prey D vnto the wild beasts and birds of the aire, no man vouchsafing to bury it. Thus perished this worthy Prince, for his vertues commended euen of the Greekes themselues, (beeing about the age of three and thirty yeares, and not hauing reigned yet a full yeare) in the yeare of our Lord 1206. 1206

Adrianople besieged by the Emperor Baldwin.

The victory thus gained, and the city relieued, the barbarous King with his sauage souldiers hauing tasted the wealth of the Latines ouerthrown in the late battell, and the pleasures of Thracia now subject to their lust; greedily pursued their good fortune without respect of all humanity: the open countrey they ouer-ran, spoiling whatsoeuer came to hand; the rich and famous cities they rifled, and afterward rased them downe to the ground: namely Serræ, Philippopolis, Apri, Rhedestum, Perinthus, Daonium, Arcadiopolis, Mesena, Zurulus, & Athyra. E The citizens and country people fled into the cities for refuge, they put all to the sword, without respect of age, sex or condition, except some few, whom they caried away with them prisoners; so that of all the prouinces of that rent and ruinated empire, the countrey of Thrace was most miserable, as first spoiled by the Latines, and now laid desolate by the Bulgarians and Scythians. Only some few of the strongest cities, as Didymoticum and Adrianople (valiantly defended by the Greeks and Latines) escaped this fury of the Barbarians, all the rest that fell into their hands being laid wast and desolate.

In this so troubled a state of the new erected empire of the Latines in Constantinople, the Latines made choice of *Henry* the late emperor *Baldwins* brother, as of all others the fittest to succeed him in the empire: who aided by the Marquis, now King of Thessaly, and the other F Latine princes, notably repulsed the Barbarians, and left them not vntill that at length he had recouered from them all such towns and cities as they had before taken, & driuen them quite out of the country, and so well established himselfe in his new empire.

Henry second Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople.

But to leaue this dismembred empire now in the hands of many, and to come neerer to our purpose: *Alexius Angelus* the Vsurper, driuen out of the Imperial city by the Latins, to saue

himſelfe,fled into Theſſaly,and from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among G
the Greeks) who tyranniſing at Nauplus, as had his father before him, was in theſe trouble-
ſome times grown greater,by ſurpriſing of the two famous Cities of Argos and Corinth : by
whoſe means he cunningly intrapped *Alexius Ducas*, ſyrnamed *Murzufle*, the traitor, and for a
ſecret grudge not commonly known,put out his eies : himſelfe an exiled man beeing a moſt
heauy enemy vnto the other alſo exiled : and himſelfe thruſt out of the empire, a deadly foe
vnto the other oppreſſed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which loſſe of his ſight, hee
was by chance taken by the Latines,and ſo brought backe to Conſtantinople, where hee was
for murthring the yong Emperour *Alexius*,worthily condemned vnto a ſtrange and horrible
kind of death ; for caſt off from an high tower, and tumbling heels ouer head downward, he
was with the weight of himſelfe and violence of the fall cruſhed all to pieces, and ſo miſera- H
bly died,a death too good for ſuch a traitor. Not long after it fortuned alſo, That *Alexius*
himſelfe wandring vp and down in Thracia,was by the Marquiſſe of Mont-Ferrat (going a-
gainſt *Scurus*) taken and ſtript of his great treaſure,and whatſoeuer elſe hee had, and ſo ſent
away naked;long time after in beggars eſtate wandring about in Achaia and Peloponneſſus,
now far vnlike that *Alexius* which ſomtimes proudly reigned in Conſtantinople : but ſuch is
the aſſurance of euill gotten honor. He hearing that *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſon in law reigned
in Aſia,and there held the ſtate of an Emperor,rejoiced not therat as a kind father in law, but
inwardly grieued thereat as an enemy ; ſory that any other but himſelfe ſhould be honoured
with the title of the Greek Emperor. In which malicious humor he ſailing out of Greece in-
to Aſia,ouer the Ægeum,came ſecretly vnto the Turks Sultan *Iathatines* his old acquaintance I
then lying at Attalia, (which famous city he had not long before taken from the Chriſtians)
vnto whom he declared his heauy eſtate,and how his empire had bin rent from him,as well by
the Greeks as the Latines,requeſting that by his means he might be reſtored again into ſome
part thereof,eſpecially that in the leſſer Aſia, which was by *Theodorus Laſcaris*, together with
the honour of the Greeke Emperour, vniuſtly (as he ſaid) detained from him. This *Iathatines*
now Sultan of Iconium, was the younger ſonne of Sultan *Aladin* ; who not long ſuruiuing
his father *Cai-Choſroë*,left his Kingdom vnto his two ſonnes *Azadin* and *Iaſſadin*,of the Greeks
called *Azatines* and *Iathatines* : where long it was not, but that theſe two brethren falling out
for the ſoueraignty (which admitteth no equalitie) *Iathatines* was by *Azatines* his elder bro-
ther driuen into exile,and for the ſafegard of his life glad to fly vnto this *Alexius* then reig- K
ning at Conſtantinople,by whom he was honourably entertained,and as ſome write, conuer-
ted and baptiſed. But *Azatines* the Sultan ſhortly after dying,this *Iathatines* returning home
again,and renouncing the Chriſtian religion,was by the Turks receiued for their Sultan : of
whom the Emperor *Alexius* now in the like extremitie craueth aid. The Sultan not forget-
full of his own troubles before paſſed,or of the kindneſſe he had receiued, and mooued with
the pittifull complaint of his old friend,together with his large offers, beſides that he was in
hope to ſhare out ſome good part of whatſoeuer he got, for himſelfe ; took him into his pro-
tection,and forthwith ſent Embaſſadours to *Laſcaris*,threatning vnto him all extremities,ex-
cept he did forthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law,vnto whom as vnto the Greek
Emperor,thoſe countries which were by him poſſeſſed, of right (as hee ſaid) appertained. L
With which vnexpected meſſage *Theodorus* was not a little troubled,as fearing both the Sul-
tans power,and the inclination of the people to their old Emperour. Neuertheleſſe hauing
propounded the matter in Councell,and finding the minds of his ſubjects well affected to-
wards him,and a readineſſe in them,in his quarrell to aduenture their liues ; hee encouraged
therwith, accompanied only with two thouſand choice horſemen, together with the Sultans
Embaſſadour, without further ſtay ſet forward to Philadelphia : the Sultan at the ſame time
with *Alexius* (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceiue the people withall) and twenty
Antioch beſie-ged by Iathatines. thouſand Turks beſieging the city of Antioch,ſcituate vpon the winding banks of the Riuer
Mœander. Which the Emperor *Theodorus* wel vnderſtanding,and that the Sultan by gaining
that ſtrong city (ſtanding on the paſſage of the great riuer the bounder of his Empire) ſhould M
open a faire way for himſelfe into the heart of Romania Aſiatica, to the great hazard of his
whole Empire ; reſolued with thoſe few he had to do what he might to relieue his beſieged
city: and ſo ſetting forward vpon the ſpur,carying nothing with him more than a little vic-
tuall ; and now come neere vnto the City,ſent before the Sultans Embaſſadour, following him

at

A at the heels. Who comming to the Sultan, and telling him of the Emperors approch with so small a power, could hardly persuade him that it was so, although hee bound it with many oathes: yet at length persuaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was so, he in all hast put his army in the best order he could vpon such a sudden, but not to his best aduantage, being hindred so to do by the streitnesse of the place wherin he lay. Of the two thousand select horsmen in the Emperors army were eight hundred Italians, all most resolute men, who giuing the first charge, brake through the midst of the Sultans Army, disordering his whole battell as they went: after whom followed also the Greekes, though not with like courage. But those Italian horsemen now diuided from the rest, and in number but few, in comming back again, were by the disordered Turks, some on horsebacke, some on foot, so beset on eue-
B ry side as that there was no way left for them to passe, but valiantly there fighting, were all together slain, hauing both before and at the time of their deaths made such a slaughter among the Turks, as is hardly to be beleeued to haue bin possible for so few men to haue made. The Greeks also hardly laid to by the Turks, and discouraged by the slaughter of the Latins, were euen at the point to haue fled: when as the Sultan, now almost in possession of a certain victo-
rie, descrying the Greek Emperor, and trusting to his own great strength, singled him out, be-
ing as ready as himself to meet him; when as at the first encounter, the Sultan with his horsmans mace gaue him such a blow vpon the head, as might haue killed a Bull: so that the Em-
peror therewith astonied, fell down from his horse; who yet euen in the fall comming some-
thing again to himselfe, and although dismounted, yet quickly recouering his feet, with his
C faulchion hoxed the hinder legs of the Mare wheron the Sultan rid, beeing a most beautifull beast and of a wonderfull height: which now suddenly falling vnder him, and so the Sultan tumbling down as from an high tower; before he could recouer himself, had his head cut off by the Emperor, which by and by put vpon a lance and so holden vp, with the sight thereof so dismaied the Turks, that striken with a sudden fear they presently fled, leauing the victory to the Emperor, before more than halfe ouercome: who for all that, considering his small num-
ber, durst not farther pursue them, but entring the city, gaue thankes to God for so great a victory. Vnto whom the Turks shortly after sent their Embassadors, and so upon such reasonable conditions as it pleased him to set down, concluded with him a peace. *Alexius* himselfe author of these troubles, taken in this battell and caried to Nice, was by the Emperor his son
D in law, notwithstanding his euill deserts, wel intreated and vsed.

Iathatines the Sultan slain by Theodorus Lascaris the Greek Emperor.

Whilst the Latines thus spend their forces in subuerting the Greek empire, which should haue bin imploid for reliefe of the Christians in Syria, and that the Greek Emperor *Lascaris* was thus troubled with the Turks, the Christians affairs in Syria and the Holy land grew stil worse and worse. Wherof the Knights Hospitalers and Templers (the chief Champions of the Christian religion in those countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* King of Cyprus, for that he being so neer at hand, and hauing married *Isabel* the heir of that kingdome, and so in her right taken vpon him the title of King of Ierusalem, gaue himselfe wholly vnto pleasure, doing nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poor distressed Christians, or repressing the In-
fidels; who although they were yet in league with the Christians there, and at some discord
E also amongst themselues, yet spared not as occasion serued, still more and more to incroach vpon them, and by building of new Castles and fortresses to cut them short. Of all which things the aforesaid Knights by their Embassadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requesting his Fatherly care for the remedie thereof: Certifying him withall, that there was yet liuing one *Mary*, the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, a Lady of rare beauty, whom they as her Tutors had brought vp in hope of the Kingdome, and now were ready to bestow her vpon some such man as he should thinke worthy of her, together with the right shee had vnto the Kingdom. Herupon *Innocentius* discharging *Almericus* of the title of the kingdom of Ierusa-
lem, gaue it to *Iohn* County de Brenne of Daulphine in France, a man of great fame and va-
lor then in arms with the other Latin princes against the Greeks. Who now returning home
F commended his Earldom unto his brother, and with such power as he was able to make, set-
ting forward, came first to Venice, where he was roially entertained: and from thence sailing to Constantinople, was with like honour receiued by the Emperour *Henry*; and so at length the fift of September arriued at Ptolemais in Syria, where he was with the great applause and rejoycing of the people receiued as their King. And the last of the same moneth marrying

Iohn Brenne by Pope Innocentius appointed K. of Ierusalem

the aforeſaid Lady *Mary* at Tyre, was there together with her with a great ſolemnitie crowned King in the yeare 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of Cyprus hearing, ſhortly after died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honored with the title of a kingdom, ſome that enuied at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in deriſion, a King, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, Without a town. G

1209

Now was the ten years peace, before made betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians in Syria, at the comming ouer of *Symon* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat (as is before declared) almoſt expired: which had not ſo much giuen to thoſe poor remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord among the Turks themſelues, which hauing for the ſpace of nine years continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the ſoueraignty, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelfe with the gouernment of Aleppo, and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two ſons of *Saphadin* diuiding their fathers kingdome betwixt them, the one taking to himſelf Damaſco and Syria, and the other the great kingdom of Egypt, but all enemies vnto the Chriſtians. H

Corradin and Meledin diuide their fathers kingdom betwixt them.

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, ſummoned a generall Councel to Lateran, wherunto, beſides a multitude of great Biſhops and other reuerend prelats, repaired alſo the honorable Embaſſadors of moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom. Vnto whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, and how the ſame was by the help of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt to be relieued. Wherunto all the Fathers and Princes there aſſembled eaſily gaue their conſent; and therupon were ſome appointed in euery country and prouince, to publiſh this Decree of the Councel, for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtirre vp the deuout people for the vndertaking of ſo religious a War. The chiefe furtherers of this ſacred expedition, to be thus taken in hand againſt the Infidels, were the Biſhops of Germany, eſpecially the three great Biſhops of Mentz, Cullen, and Triuers, whoſe example mooued alſo many others, all which to rehearſe were tedious. Out of France alſo were ſent *Henry* the County of Niuers, and one *Gualter* the King's great Chamberlaine, with a great number of the gallant youths of France, and ſo out of diuers other places alſo: ſo that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at diuers ports of the Adriatick, as made vp a fleet of 200 ſail: which with a proſperous wind caried ouer into Syria, ariued in ſafety at Ptolemais the chief city of the Chriſtians, now that Ieruſalem was loſt. After whom followed alſo *Andrew* King of Hungary, long before bound both by his fathers commandement and his owne promiſe, for the vndertaking of that ſacred Expedition: with whom came alſo *Lewis* Duke of Bavaria, and *Leopold* duke of Auſtria, with their forces all well appointed: vnto whom alſo *Iohn* King of Ieruſalem joyned himſelfe with his power. Great hope and expectation there was for ſome great matter to haue been done, now that ſo great forces of the Chriſtians were thus met together. Who ſetting forward from Ptolemais, and the firſt day marching into Galile, by the way met with certain companies of the Turks, whom they eaſily ouerthrew and put to flight. The next day they came to the riuer of Iordan, where they alſo diſtreſſed certaine of the Turkes garriſons. There the King of Hungary bathing himſelfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one diſcharged of his vow and promiſe) returned with all his power vnto Ptolemais, and ſo from thence backe again into his own country, all the reſt of the army of the Chriſtians crying out to him to the contrary: who after the Kings departure ſtill marching on, came to the mount Thabor. But ſhortly after, Winter now comming on, and many of their cattell dying for cold and want of meat, they returned, ſome to Ptolemais, and ſome to Tyre, and there wintred. King *Iohn* and the Duke of Auſtria in the meane time tooke a Caſtle betwixt Cæſarea and Caipha, called the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts all that winter. Vpon the appearance of the Spring, and the army again met together, it was thought beſt by all the great Commanders, That foraſmuch as the kingdom of Egypt was the chiefe maintenance of the Mahometan ſuperſtition againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts, and that ſo long as it ſtood vpright, they ſhould not be able to do any great matter in Syria, to attempt the conqueſt therof, as an exploit beſt beſeeming their valour and ſo great preparation: for that that land being once ſubdued, the city of Ieruſalem with all the land of Paleſtine would of themſelues without more adoe ſtraightway yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous City of Damiata, called in antient time Peluſium, not much inferiour vnto Alexandria, I K L M

A andria, was the first and most commodious port for their purpose, as neerest vnto Syria; and that by the taking thereof they should haue a fair entrance into the great Riuer Nilus, with the command of a most rich and pleasant countrey about it; they resolued there to begin the war. And therupon imbarking themselues with all things necessary for so great an enterprise, at Ptolemais, and caried with a fair wind, they in short time ariued at the desired port. Now that rich and antient city, the key of that side of the kingdom, stood about a mile from the sea and somwhat distant also from the great riuer, invironed with a nauigable ditch or cut drawn out of the Nile in maner of an Island, as a man commeth from Syria by land; and compassed about with three strong stone walls, the worke of that good Emperor *Ælius Pertinax*, and of him, as some affirm, called also Æliopolis. At the mouth of this cut, as you should enter into
B the city, stood a strong watch-tower for defence therof, and round about it a number of faire houses, in manner of a pretty town intrenched. Besides that, for the more safety thereof, the same cut was barred with a great strong iron chaine, in such sort as that it was impossible for any ship without breaking the same, to enter. The Christians with their fleet entering the mouth of the riuer, and comming to this cut, by great strength brake the chain. But thinking so to haue made their passage to the city, they found a greater stay at the watch-tower, which strongly built of square stone, and well stored with warlike engins of all sorts, and a good garrison of valiant soldiers, stayed their farther passage, ouerwhelming them as they approched, with shot, fire, stones, timber, and such like, before prouided for that purpose.

The situation of Damiata in Egypt.

The Christians, after the maner of the fight of that time, had vpon certain flat vessels built
C certain high towers of wood for the assailing of the watch-tower: in the approching wherof, they were not only troubled with the enemy, but with the tumult and stir of their owne people also; some crying that they should yet draw neerer vnto the tower; othersome crying out as fast, to haue the bridges cast out, therby to enter: and the enemies likewise with much clamor encouraging one another for the repulsing of the Christians. So the soldiers hindred the mariners to do their busines, and the mariners the soldiers. In the midst of this hurly-burley and tumult, one of the woodden towers surmounting the rest in height, ouercharged with the presse of men, fell, and in falling made such a noise, as if heauen it selfe had fallen: where in a moment as it were was presently to be seen a most heauy spectacle; many ouerwhelmed with the fall of the tower, lay there crushed to death; some grieuously hurt, and yet not dead, lay
D oppreast with the timber, crying out for help; others bruised or hurt, but not ouerwhelmed, for fear of further harm, leapt some into the Nile, some abord the other ships neer by, some crying out of his arm, some of his leg, some of his head or other part of his body, to the great discomfort of the rest, insomuch that the assault was for that time giuen ouer.

King *Iohn* (as well for his valor, as for the title of the King of Ierusalem, chosen General of the army) after he had appeased this tumult, and giuen the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, vnto skilfull surgeons, and buried the bodies of such as were found drowned or ouerwhelmed; with cheerfull speech incouraged the rest of his soldiers, persuading them not to be discouraged with the accident of the fall of a tower, which was neither to be imputed vnto their cowardise, or the valor of the enemy, but only to the chance of war.

E In the mean time *Meledin* the Egyptian Sultan had with a great Army incamped himselfe within the sight of Damiata, therby to encourage the besieged, and to fill them with hope of reliefe; sending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, messages, victuals, soldiers, armour, and whatsoeuer else they wanted. The chief cause of his staying there, was to take occasion for the surprising of the Christians, if any should be offered either by chance or their own negligence. Euery day some skirmish or other passed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, ours still carying away the victory: yet could these Barbarians neither be drawn forth to battell, nor could our men keepe them from victuals, forasmuch as they had the riuer Nile at command, wherby victuals were out of the vpper part of Egypt in great abundance conueighed into the Sultans Campe. Whereas on the contrary part, the same Riuer diuiding it selfe in-
F to many armes, in some places here and there ouerflowing, in another cut into many Ditches and channels, and in some other pent vp by walls and causies, gaue to our men a thousand displeasures. And therfore seeing that the Sultan would neither giue nor accept of battel, they resolued againe to lay siege to the Tower. Wherefore hauing with great cunning, vpon two ships fastned together, framed a tower of most strong timber in hight equall to the Watch-

tower,they brought the ſame neer vnto the Turks tower,and the ſuburbs adjoining therunto, G
after which followed alſo the reſt of the fleet well appointed for the aſſault. At which time all the reſt of the army at land ſtood in battell ready ranged, as well to diſcourage them of the town, as that the Sultan ſhould not be able to help them without the haſarding of battell. There began a fierce and cruell aſſault, they of the ſuburbs right valiantly defending themſelues againſt their enemies. Within theſe ſuburbs, the tower, and the trenches, dwelt not only Egyptians(the naturall inhabitants of the country)but alſo Arabians, Perſians, Syrians, Indians, Moores, and Ethiopians, who were there reſiant; becauſe that City was a publique mart,wherunto al ſorts of merchandiſe was brought from far out of the remoteſt parts of the world,and ſo from thence in like maner tranſported alſo: which incouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their liues and goods,the two things which men hold moſt deare; H
& in like ſort animated our men to the aſſault,as wel in the quarrel of the Chriſtian religion as to inrich themſelues with the ſpoils of thoſe rich nations. The Chriſtians with their ſhips drew as neer as poſſibly they could vnto the land,to the intent that vpon the bank of the riuer they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and ſo come cloſe vnto their Enemies: but the Barbarians on the other ſide ſought by ſhot and all other means they could, to keep them farther off,and ſo from landing.

A deſperat act of a Chriſtian.

That which moſt feared the Egyptians,was,that as one of our ſhips by chance ran aground vpon that ſide of the riuer where the enemy lay,and being borded by the enemy,thronging in as faſt as he could,and there making a cruell ſlaughter; one of the Chriſtian ſouldiers going down vnder hatches made there a great hole,wherby the water abundantly comming in,ſunk I
the ſhip before the enemy was aware, and ſo drowned a great number of the Egyptians together with the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the high tower built vpon the two ſhips,joining now cloſe to the Watch-tower,and mating the ſame, diſmaied the defendants with the ſtrangeneſſe therof as with a miracle,in ſuch ſort as they now ſtriken with a great fear,as beeing to fight with a ſtrange,hardy,and cruell kind of men,without any great reſiſtance forſook the tower and fled. The watch-tower thus taken,& they that ſhould haue defended the ſame, ſome taken,ſome ſlain,and ſome fled; they in the ſuburbs diſcouraged, and flying away,were many of them wounded from aboue,out of the watch-Tower but now gained by the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the other ſhips landed the ſouldiers,who entring the ſuburbs,put all they found there to the ſword,euen vnto the laſt man. There was found great abundance of vi- K
ctuals,but far greater ſtore of riches, inſomuch as it ſeemed to haue bin the ſpoil of Arabia, Perſia,and the rich Indies.

Damiata in vain aſſaulted.

Now yet remained the ſtrong Towne of Damiata, which was forthwith aſſaulted by the Chriſtians,more to proue if in that heate and ſudden fear it would be yeelded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both by ſcaling & other engins,they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds,and ſo retyred. Neuertheleſſe they lodged themſelues in the ſuburbs,and laid a great part of the army betwixt the Sultan & the beſieged city,to the intent that no ſupply of victuals ſhould be brought vnto it: yet both the enemy oftentimes attempted to haue entred the city,and the beſieged to haue ſallied out;but both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, and that not with- L
out great loſſe of their men: for why,the town was now on euery ſide ſo incloſed by the Chriſtians,as that no man could enter in or out therof. Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege it fortuned that the riuer of Nile ſwelling with a great Eaſt wind,roſe aboue the banks, and ſo ouerflowed the places wherin the Chriſtians lay, that they could keep nothing dry, moſt part of their victuals being therwith ſpoiled. With which vnſeaſonable riſing of the riuer the Chriſtians not a little troubled,by commandement of *Pelagius* the Legat,gaue themſelues to faſting and prayer by the ſpace of three daies. But the wind falling the fourth day, and the riuer again decreaſing, they gaue themſelues more earneſtly to prayer than before,thanking the Almighty,that as hee had put them in a great fear, ſo he had in mercy againe comforted them. M

Now with long lying,victuals began to grow ſcant in the Sultans Camp, ſo that hee was glad to ſend away halfe his Army vp againe into the Country of Caire. At which time alſo it chanced (as if it had been an extreame and common danger of the Mahometane ſuperſtition) that Embaſſadors ſent from *Corradin* Sultan of Damaſco and Ieruſalem, vnto the

Princes

A Princes of the Christian Army, came to sue for peace both for himselfe and his brother the Egyptian Sultan; promising in regard therof againe to restore vnto them the Holy-Crosse, and whatsoeuer elsse himselfe, his father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them. Of which their offer most part of the Army liked well, saying, That they had therefore taken vp arms for the recouery of that which had bin before gotten & gained by the valor of the worthy Christian captains, and had of late been taken from them; and to blot out the ignominy of the losse thereof, to the end it should not be said, that they could not leaue whole & entyre vnto their children, what their fathers had got, when they had the keeping therof; neither hauing lost it, be able again to recouer it: that all these things beeing restored, there rested not any further occasion of war, or let to stay them as most victorious conquerors to return home

B Neuertheles *Pelagius* Pope *Honorius* his Legat (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the wars was before dead at Pelusium) with King *Iohn*, the Masters of the Knights Hospitalers and Templers, the Duke of Austria, and the Germans were of opinion to the contrary: alledging That this sacred Warre was vndertaken generally against the Infidels, and for religions sake, against the Mahometan superstition, wherof the kingdom of Egypt was the chiefe seat and stay, and that therefore they ought especially to impugn that. Which persuasion, together with the authority of the persuaders, so preuailed, that the Sultans large offers were rejected, & so the Embassadors dispatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Wherupon *Corradin* fearing that the Christians would at length come to Ierusalem, as the place they most desired, and doubting how he should be able to defend the same, forthwith rased

C the walls thereof, and the more to deface it, ouerthrew and pluckt downe most of the goodly houses and other stately buildings therin; sparing yet the tower of *Dauid* and the holy sepulchre; which he is said to haue done at the humble request and intercession of the Christians of diuers countries, which yet dwelt there, mixt with the Turks and Sarasins.

A faire offer euill refused.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Damiata, the plague began to arise in the camp, wherof so many died, that it began to repent the great Commanders of the army, that they had so much hearkened to the persuasion of the Legate (a man making no profession of arms) rather than to the sound aduice of others, who by long experience taught the sudden alteration of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers. So began *Pelagius* the Legat to be generally euill spoken of. There were now already six moneths

D past since the beginning of the siege, and the Sultan lying in sight had not with him so great an army as before, but only the floure and choice of his people, hauing (as is before said) for want of victuals sent away the rest vp again into the country. Now it fortuned that the Christians, as men weary of the long siege, stood not so carefully vpon their gard, with watch and ward as before, but gaue themselues more to ease: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew neerer to the town, in hope vnder the couert of the silent night to send new supplies to the besieged; which companies by him appointed for that seruice, couragiously set forward, in hope to deceiue the Christian sentinels, and so indeed came neer to the town unseen or discouered: and now the formost of those companies were already entred the town; when the Christians perceiuing them, raised an alarm, and put themselues in arms, and so furiously assailed the hind-

E most of them, and in such sort, that they which were before within, and those that were but now entred, fearing lest the enemy in that hurly burly should pell mell enter in with the rest, shut them out of the gates, exposed to the butchery, where all were presently cut in pieces.

Succours sent vnto the besieged.

The Christians incouraged with this victory, the next day leauing a great part of the army before the town to continue the siege, presented themselues before the Sultans camp to giue him battel. Who for all that, well considering that the losse of a battell might endanger the whole state of his kingdome, would by no means be drawne out of his trenches, but lay still: Wherwith the Christians, especially the French men (in the first charge naturally furious) greatly incouraged, attempted to haue forcibly entred their rampiers, but not with succes answerable to their courage. For the Egyptians perceiuing the small number of their enemies,

F notably repulsed them, and in fine forced them to retyre, hauing lost *Gualter* one of their chief commanders, with diuers others: yea King *Iohn* in assailing the campe lost many of his men, and grieuously burnt in his face, hardly escaped himselfe with life. After which discomfiture they resolued not to think of any thing elsse but of the siege, and aboue all things to prouide that no succours should be brought into the town. They in the city more streitly beset and

besieged

beſieged than before,and now brought vnto extreme neceſſity and famin,and out of all hope G
of reliefe,aſſembled themſelues to conſult of their affairs, and what were beſt for them to do
in ſo dangerous a ſtate; ſome one or other of them by night or otherwiſe ſecretly flying into
the camp. And that more was, the city had vndoubtedly bin yeelded by the greater part,had
not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates, and commanded that none of the in-
habitants vpon pain of death ſhould come vpon the wals or rampiers, to the intent that they
ſhould not get out,or caſt themſelues from aboue ouer the wals into the ditches. The chiefe
commanders and captains went here and there vp and down the City, to ſearch and view all
things,eſpecially the ſhops and ſtore houſes,where finding ſmal ſtore of wheat,they diuided
it in ſmal portions among themſelues. The common people inforced with want,eat whatſoe-
uer came to hand, were it lawfull or vnlawfull, or elſe forbidden by their ſuperſtition, whole- H
ſome or vnwholſome,good or bad,ſalt or freſh, roſt or raw; and ſo prolonged their liues with
ſuch things as they could find. Now the beſieged not able to endure theſe extremities of the
famin (being the paſſion that moſt grieuouſly and often troubleth mankind) they were alſo
attached by the wrath of God: for the plague (the fury wherof had before attainted the camp
of the Chriſtians,and afterward quite ceaſed) was now got into the city,where it made great
ſlaughter; which mortalitie day by day in ſuch ſort encreaſed,that men were not onely now
no more to be found,to viſit,comfort,ſuccor,ſerue,and help the ſick; but were wanting alſo
to bury them, to draw them out of their beds and houſes,and to ſeperat the liuing from thoſe
that were dead: the ſtreets and houſes being full of dead bodies, gaue forth a moſt horrible
ſtinke,with a moſt grieuous & infectious aire: there was not any place cleer from the plague I
or any man that could boaſt he had not bin attainted therwith, or the fear therof,and remedy
was there none. The rage and fury of theſe two deuourers, the famin and the plague, deuou-
red them without number,chuſing rather ſo to die,than to ſubmit themſelues vnto their ene-
mies,or to humble themſelues ſo low as to craue their fauor. That they within were thus pin-
ched with famin the Chriſtians knew,but that the plague ſo raged amongſt them they knew
not. Now the Chriſtians had of purpoſe caſt vp certain trenches and barricado's, for the kee-
ping in of ſuch as the famin ſhould inforce to come out of the town; thinking that the beſie-
ged,to eaſe their wants,would thruſt the baſer ſort of people and vnprofitable mouthes out of
the city,vnto whom the Chriſtians meant not to giue any paſſage: for they hauing long be-
fore ſo ſtreitly inuironed the city,as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it,lay now ſtill ex- K
pecting when the beſieged, inforced by neceſſitie, ſhould yeeld themſelues, and ſo without
loſſe of any man,to become maſters of ſo ſtrong and rich a town. It was now more than a year
that the Chriſtians had thus lien at the ſiege of Damiata; when as certain of the ſoldiers vp-
on a brauery aduentured with a few ſcaling ladders to mount the wal: in which doing,finding
no reſiſtance,and withall hearing ſo great ſilence as if there had bin no body within the city,
they ſtood ſtill a great while hearkning: but ſeeing that dumb ſilence ſtill to continue, they
returned vnto the camp, giuing the captains to vnderſtand how the matter ſtood: who at the
firſt thought it to be ſome policie and fineneſſe of the deceitfull enemy; yet afterward they
thought it good to aduenture certain men,to proue their fortune, and to cauſe certain Com-
panies well appointed to ſcale one of the bulwarks of the City,in ſuch ſort as if they ſhould L
haue gon againſt a puiſſant enemy that had had power to reſiſt them. And hereupon were ſca-
ling ladders brought forth,and all things made ready as for a great aſſault. So the Chriſtians
Damiata being vnpeopled by the plague, is without reſiſtance taken by the Chriſtians: couragiouſly mounting the ladders,without reſiſtance took the bulwarke. But as they were
entring farther into the town, a ſmall company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the ſoldiers
that the fury of the plague had left,and they alſo with the famin and infection of the air very
weak and feeble) met them,and began to make ſome ſmal reſiſtance,but to no purpoſe,being
forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done,the matter wherwith the gates of the city were mu-
red,was preſently remoued,the gates ſet open,and the Chriſtians with enſignes diſplayed let
in. But euen at the very entring in at the gates they were attainted with a moſt grieuous and
horrible ſtink,they ſaw a fair city diſpeopled,and that which was moſt fearfull to behold,the M
ſtreets couered with bodies of the dead,and ſuch a dreadfull deſolation,as might moue even
the enemy himſelf to compaſſion. The Chriſtians were entred as men appointed to have don
a great execution,and to haue made the chanels run with bloud, as men juſtly prouoked with
the long ſiege and the pains they had endured; they had their ſwords and weapons in their
hands,

A hands,but found none against whom to vse them;for a man could not enter into any house,or go into any street, but he must passe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether dead,were miserably drawing toward their end. Of seuenty thousand persons in the city were not found aboue three thousand aliue,and those for the most part yet yong children ; for all the rest were dead;taken away either with the sword,famin,or the plague,the greatest part of which lay yet stinking aboue the ground vnburied. These three thousand that were left were so megre and poor,that pitty it was to behold them : vnto whom their liues were granted,vpon condition that they should make clean the city,and bury the dead,which they were three moneths in doing.

Thus was Damiata taken by the Christians the fift day of Nouember, in the yeare 1221, 1221
B after it had bin more than a yeare by them besieged. The spoil there taken was great, for besides the rich merchandise brought thither from far,was found great store of gold, siluer,and pretious stones. The Christians thus inriched,and the city made clean,stayd there more than a year after,as in a Colony wherin they had bin willing to dwel,forgetfull of their own country. In the beginning of these wars,the Princes of the army had with one consent agreed,that whatsoeuer city or territory should by them be taken from the Turkes or infidels,should bee giuen vnto the King of Ierusalem , whom after the departure of the King of Hungarie they had made Generall of the whole army. But now that the City was taken, *Pelagius* the Legat pretending, That by vertue of his Legation it belonged vnto him to dispose of all things taken in that sacred war ; as a man not vnmindfull of his master,adjudged the city from thence-
C forth to belong vnto the See of Rome. With which indignitie and wrong the King inwardly discontented,and yet for the Legats authority dissembling the matter,withdrew himselfe, and so retyred to Ptolemais.

The year following, *Pelagius* weary to see the Arms of the Christians to corrupt with rust, 1222
and nothing doing,considering the desire and hope he had vtterly to haue ruinated the Infidels,together with their superstition;commanded that euery man should again take vp arms for the prosecuting of this war against the Sultan,and the besieging of Cair. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would or could,the soldiers little regarding his command, with one voice cried out,that they would not be commanded by any but by the King of Ierusalem only. So that the Legat,inforced by the soldiers,was glad to send vnto the King to re-
D quest him again to return vnto Damiata,and to take vpon him the charge for the mannaging of that war,taken in hand for the defence of the Christian religion. Who for all that, excused himselfe from so doing,one while by his own particular affairs,another while by his own indisposition : yet in fine,pressed and ouercome by the prayers and requests of the other Latine Princes,he returned to Damiata at the selfe same time that the Duke of Bavaria arriued there with a goodly company of braue men,brought thither out of his own country,after hee had bin now from thence ten moneths absent.

Pelagius the legat perswadeth the Princes of the Christian Army to proceed for the conquest of Egypt.

The Legat desirous of the prosecution of this War,requested and vrged the King,with the rest of the Princes and great Commanders,without delay to take the field ; telling them that the enterprise of the Holy war was grown old and cold,by those long delayes and protracting
E of the time : and that they which kept wars so far from home,ought to make hast to force the Enemy,to take all occasions,to lose no time,but euer to be doing,and to proue all things for anoying the Enemy. And that that was the way wherby the Worthies of antient times,both Kings and Emperours, had gained unto themselues Empires, glory, greatnesse and wealth : That it was for them that were inuaded and assailed,vpon whose liues depended the safety of their country,their wiues,children, and goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might, to delude the enemy,to frustrat his designes,to defeat his attempts, and with delaies to dally him off,till that hauing therby weakned his forces, he should together with his courage lose also his hope. Cair indeed (he said) was a great city, but yet that the greatest cities that euer were,had by wars become great desarts,forced by the power of their puissant and speedy ene-
F mies : and that great empires (as were those of the Sultans) ought not to be inuaded or assailed by any forrein force, if they were not at the first onset ouerthrown, or at least so weakned, as that they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recouer themselues : for otherwise, They which had prepared a destruction for others,should fal into the same themselues. That it behoued either not to haue attempted or assailed Egypt at all ; or else now,after it had bin

once

once aſſailed, not ſo to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The King of Ieruſalem, whether G
it were that he were pricked with grief, that being called the King of the Holy land, he could not haue the city of Damiata (vnder his leading and conduct won by the Chriſtians come to the ſacred War) giuen vnto him by the Legat; or that he had before proued, that the higher Country of Egypt was not without great and manifeſt danger to be attempted; ſaid, That he would not go: alledging that honorable and ſacred War to haue bin taken in hand onely for the recouery of the Holy land, and not for the winning of Memphis, Babylon, or Thebes in Egypt; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their fidelitie and obedience, nor could they poſſibly be kept by force. Wheras Syria, by *Godfrey* of Buillon and other great Princes his aſſociats entred into, conquered and poſſeſſed, and ſince his time by diuers other Chriſtian Kings and Princes holden, was in right their own: And that there- H
fore he greatly commended the forwardneſſe, the diligence, the courage, the deſire, and whatſoeuer thing elſe *Pelagius* commended; but that he ought to employ the ſame in Syria, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawn or expected. Neuertheleſſe the Legat, wedded to his own opinion, by the power of his Authoritie commanded the King of Ieruſalem, the Duke of Bavaria, with the reſt of the great Commanders & Captaines, to take vp their Arms, to get them into the field vpon the expedition by him appointed againſt the Sultan; threatening the paine of the high ſentence of Excommunication againſt him or them that would ſhew themſelues backeward or vnwilling to do what hee had commanded. So as it were inforced by the Legat, they began with euill will & worſe ſpeed to ſet forward in Auguſt, in the very hotteſt time of the yeare. At which time the Sultan be- I
holding the great army of the Chriſtians, in number about ſeuenty thouſand, retyred as a man afraid, into ſuch places as he thought beſt, farther off. Which the Legat ſeeing (as one not acquainted with the feats of war) rejoiced greatly, as if the victorie had bin already more than half gained; commending to the heauens them that he ſaw couragiouſly marching forward, ſaying, That fortune alwaies fauored the Valiant, and that vnto Cowards all things fell ſtill out to the worſt. By the way the Chriſtians ſeiſed vpon a bridge which the Enemy had made ouer the Nile, and cut in pieces ſuch companies as were left for the keeping therof. So marching on they drew neer vnto Cair, and there in the ſight of that great and rich City incamped: where running vp and down, the more to terrifie them of the city, prouoked them to battel, vpbraiding vnto them their lazineſſe, cowardiſe, and ſloath, brauing them (if they were K
men) to come out. Yet for all that, they would not ſo do, but keeping themſelues cloſe & couert within the city, let them alone to brag and boaſt at their own pleaſure. This ſiege continued long, of purpoſe protracted ſtill from day to day by them of the city: and the great opinion the Chriſtians had of their own valor, with the ſmal regard they had of the enemies, made them ſo proud and careles, that they remembred no more to take good care of the war, of their duty, their watch or their ſentinels: their confidence was in their own valor and good fortune, not conſidering or remembring that they were come into Egypt, or that they had put themſelues within the trenches, ſallies, channels, and cuts of a deceitfull riuer, which not only brought victuals vnto their enemies, but alſo fortified them; who by how much they were the leſſe valiant, and leſſe vnderſtood the art of war, the more they vſed craft and ſubtil- L
tie for their own preſeruation: ſo the cunning enemies drew the Chriſtians out at length, abuſing them with many delayes and deceits, ſhewing ſemblance of great fear, to make themſelues the leſſe to be feared, and the more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the paſſages and ſtreits of the country, and reſeruing themſelues vnto the occaſions and aduantages both of the time, and of their enemies, might circumuent them and intrap them at ſuch time as they leaſt feared any ſuch matter. The Chriſtians at all aduenture had incamped in a low ground within the banks and cauſies of that fenny country, vnder the couert therof thinking themſelues ſafe as in their trenches, againſt al ſudden ſallies or attempts of their enemies. But theſe places wherin they lay were ſoft & durty, foraſmuch as the country people vſed at their pleaſure to water them by channels and ſluces out of the riuer Nile; M
The Chriſtians entrapt within the Sluces of the riuer Nile. which now pluckt vp and opened, the riuer began to riſe and ouerflow all. Then too late they perceiued themſelues taken as in a grin, without power to defend themſelues, or to make any reſiſtance, or by any other means to ſhew their valor. So the riuer ſtill ariſing and ouerflowing, gaue to the Turks and Egyptians good hope of their wars, and of a victory more deſired

than

A than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Christians lay incamped was couered with water, so high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to stand or lie dry in.

Now at the same time the Egyptians had taken the high places, with the passages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned country, to the intent that the Christians should not be able to retyre or saue themselues out of the bogs and marishes couered ouer with water. So was their rash valour and presumptuous confidence in themselues, exposed vnto the enemies shot and fury; and when they would by force haue defended themselues, their hardinesse was ouercome by the crafty subtiltie of the weake enemy. Then began euery man to cry out against *Pelagius* the Legat, accusing, condemning, and railing at him: the King himselfe they blamed
B not, for that he had done his duty in dissuading of this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himselfe drawn into this war, the charge wherof he had not without great intreatie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit well complain of this misfortune, lest in so doing he might seem to haue had no comfort in himselfe. But as for the Legat, What counsell could he then giue? What counsell could he then take for himselfe? They of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, left at Damiata, were indeed strong at sea, but how could they come to relieue him at Cair? And how or by what forces could the Christians break out of the banks and sluces of the cuts and channels, which winding in and out with a thousand inextricable turnings, inclosed them, beset also on euery side with the victorious enemy? After they had bin thus coupt vp and enuironed with the waters 3 daies, you might haue seen the poor soul-
C diers in euery place fall down dead for want of food and sleepe, and so perish in the water: the like miserable kind of death the rest were also in short time after to expect: other helpe there was none, but to yeeld vnto necessitie, and to accept of such conditions as it should please the proud enemy to propound. Now the Sultan desired not so much their liues, as the liberty of his Country; and therefore required to haue the City of Damiata again restored vnto him, and all things else in such sort as were before the besieging thereof: and so the Christians without more ado to depart his Countrey. Hard conditions, if a man respect the hope wherupon the Christians had vndertaken this War, and were so come into Egypt; with the toyle there by them endured. But vnto him that will but enter into the consideration of mens affairs, and especially in martiall matters, it will seem but an accident to be yeelded to, the like
D wherof hath oftentimes hapned vnto the greatest men of the world. These conditions (such as they were) were by the distressed Christians accepted of. But when they were brought to Damiata, and there propounded to the Christians there left, a great contention began to arise among them; some said they would not accept of them, or surrender the towne, which beeing kept would be a stay for all the affairs of the Christians in the East, and a most commodious place for them to haue recourse vnto: but being restored and lost, caried away with it all the hope of the Christians: and that therfore it were better to endure all extremities, than to receiue such dishonorable and hurtfull peace. Others of the contrary opinion said, That they ought not to forsake them that were in danger before Cair, nor to expose them to the butcherie, but to haue a Christian compassion of so many thousand souls as there lay distressed, see-
E ing they might be saued by surrendring that one town: Townes, as they said, consisted of the number of men, and not men of the inclosures of walls and ditches. They that were of this opinion for the deliuering vp of the town, seeing the other obstinately set down to the contrarie, withdrawing themselues from the councel, presently took vp arms, and by force entred the houses of them of contrary opinion, and took from them their weapons, by that means & perforce to constrain them to yeeld to their desire. As soon as they that lay before Cair (almost drowned in the waters) vnderstood of this dissention at Damiata about the deliuerie of the town, they sent them word, that if they would not yeeld the Towne to the Sultan, they would forthwith send to Ptolemais, which would not fail to do what should be commanded, to haue it in stead of Damiata rendred to the Egyptians. So was Damiata again yeelded to the In-
F fidels, and so great labors of the Christians taken at the siege & winning therof, all lost. That which made this indignity more tolerable, was, that Sultan *Meladin* hauing without bloudshed gained so great a victory, did neither by word or deed any thing in despight or reproch of the Christians, but vsed them with all curtesie, relieuing them also with victuals and other things as they wanted, and by faithfull guids conducting them in safety out of the Country.

The miserie of the Christians in the drowned land.

In

In like maner also *Corradine* his brother, Sultan of Damasco, made truce with the Latins for G
eight years. Wherupon the King of Ierusalem went ouer into Italy, and there by the persua-
sion of *Honorius* the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter *Yoland* (now crowned
Queen of Ierusalem in the right of her mother) in marriage to *Frederick* King of Sicilia, and
Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to stir him vp for the taking in hand of the sacred
war. Euer since which time, he and his successors Kings of Sicilia haue bin called Kings of
Ierusalem, albeit they haue euilly prosecuted that their pretended right and title, as stil busi-
ed in more prophane wars against other Christian Princes. King *Iohn* afterwards departing
from Rome for France, was by the way honourably entertained at Pisa: but arriuing at the
French court, he found *Philip* the French King desperatly sick, who by his last will and Testa-
ment gaue vnto the Knights Hospitalers and Templers sixty thousand crownes for the main- H
tenance of their wars against the Infidels; which mony was to their vse afterward payd vnto
King *Iohn*. Who shortly after, to discharge himselfe of a vow he had made, to visit the pilgri-
mage at Compostella; going into Spain, by the way married *Berengaria* the King of Castiles
daughter: and there staying a great while, returned again into France, where he lay long, ex-
pecting the setting forward of the Emperor *Frederick* his son in law, for recouery of his wiues
right to the kingdom of Ierusalem: which although hee solemnly vowed at such time as hee
with all princely magnificence maried the said Lady at Rome, yet otherwise letted with trou-
bles neerer home, performed not the same vntill almost seuen years after. All which time the
Christians in Syria enjoying the fruit of the late concluded peace for 8 yeares, liued in great
rest and quietnes: where so leauing them vntill the arising of new troubles, let vs in the mean I
time return again vnto the troubled affairs of the Turks, Greeks, and Latins at Constantino-
ple and in the lesser Asia.

The death of Henry emperor of Constantinople. *Henry* the second Emperor of the Latines at Constantinople, after he had (as is aforesayd)
with much ado represſed the fury of the Búlgarians and Scythes his barbarous enemies, and
so giuen peace to the miserable country of Thracia, died, hauing reigned a most troublesom
Peter Emperor. reign about the space of eleuen yeares. After whom succeeded *Peter* County of Ausserre,
his sonne in Law, third Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople. Who in the beginning
of his Empire, willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himselfe of *Theodorus Ange-*
lus a great Prince of Epirus, Competitor in his empire, besieged him in Dirrachium; which
strong City the said *Theodorus* had but a little before surprised, belonging vnto the Venetian K
Seigniory. At which siege *Peter* the Emperour lying, was so cunningly by the wyly Greeke
vsed, that a peace was vpon most honorable conditions betwixt them concluded, and a famili-
ar kind of friendship joined. Insomuch that the Emperour at his request, not well aduised,
came vnto him as a guest: who now of his enemy became his host, entertaining him with all
the formalities that feigned friendship could deuise. But hauing him now in his power, and
fearing no harme, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hospitalitie, he most traiterously
slew him as he was yet in the midst of his banquet. Of whose end some others yet otherwise
report, as that he should by the same *Theodore* haue bin intercepted about the pleasant woods
of Tempe in Thessaly, as he was trauelling from Rome to Constantinople, and so afterwards
to haue bin by him cruelly put to death. Of whose misfortune *Tepulus* Gouernor of Constan- L
tinople vnderstanding, for the more safety of the state in that vacancie of the Empire, made
peace with *Theodorus* for fiue years, and with the Turks for two. Shortly after came *Robert*
Robert Emperor of Constantinople. (son to the aforesaid vnfortunat Emperour *Peter*) with his mother to Constantinople, and there in
his fathers stead was solemnly saluted Emperor, but not with much better lucke than was his
father before him: for shortly after his comming, he took to wife a fair yong Lady, the daugh-
ter of a great rich and noble matron in the city, but before betrothed vnto a gallant Gentle-
man a Burgundian born. With whom the old Lady broke her promise, and more carefull of
her daughters preferment, than her fidelity, gaue her in marriage vnto the yong Emperour.
The ioy of which so great an honour was shortly after conuerted not into a deadly heauines,
but euen into death it self: for the yong Burgundian more inraged with the wrong done him, M
than discouraged with the greatnesse and power of the Emperor, consorted himselfe with a
An horrible outrage committed vpon the person of an Empresse. company of lusty tall souldiers acquainted with his purpose, and awaiting his time when the
Emperor was absent, by night entred the court with his desperat followers, and first meeting
with the beautifull yong Empresse, cut off her nose and her ears, and afterward threw her old
mother

A mother into the sea,and so fled out of the city into the woods and mountains,with those desperat cut-throats the ministers of his barbarous crueltie. The Emperor pierced to the heart with this so great a disgrace, shortly after went to Rome, to what purpose was not certainely known;but in returning back againe thorough Achaia,he there died,leauing behind him his yong son *Baldwin*, yet but a childe, begotten by his first wife, to succeed him in the empire; who by the name of *Baldwin* the second, was crowned the fift and last Emperor of the Latins in Constantinople. And for because he was as yet but yong and vnfit for the gouernment,he was by consent of the Nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the younger daughter of *Iohn Brenne* King of Ierusalem,a worthy old captaine,(but as then Gouernour of Rauenna,which city,he being certaine yeres before sent for out of France for that purpose,by B *Honorius* the Pope,he notably defended against the emperor *Frederick* his son in law,but that affinity was before broken off by the death of the said Emperors wife) who now sent for out of Italy vnto Constantinople, had committed to his charge and protection, both the person and empire of the yong Emperor *Baldwin*,now his son in law. Which great and heauy charge he for certain yeares after worthily and faithfully discharged, vntill such time as that *Baldwin* was himselfe grown able to take vpon him the gouernment. Now although the imperial city of Constantinople,with the countries of Thracia, Thessalia,Macedonia, Achaia, Peloponesus,and the rest of the prouinces of Greece;were alor for the most part vnder the gouernment of *Baldwin* the Emperour, the Venetians, or other the inferiour Latine Princes; yet were the oppressed Greekes, the naturall inhabitants thereof,in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing more than that their forrein gouernment;but wholly deuoted to their owne natural Princes, C *Theodorus Lascaris* and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one raigning at Nice in Bithynia, the other at Trapezond in Pontus,both called by the Greeks,Emperours, and so of them generally reputed. *Lascaris* of the two the better beloued, and by farre of greatest power, had during the time of his gouernment fought many an hard battell, (as is in part before declared) and strongly fortified his chiefe cities against the inuasion of his enemies,as well the Turks as the Latins: and so hauing as it were erected a new empire in Asia,and there reigned eighteen yeres,died, leauing behind him one *Iohn Ducas Batazes*,that had maried the faire Lady *Irene* his daughter and heire, to succeed him in the Greeke empire in Asia. This *Iohn* was a man of a great wit and spirit,and of more grauity for his yeres,than was *Theodorus* his father in law,neuer vnder- D taking any thing before he had thereof well considered; and once resolued, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance therof:so that it was not vnfitly said of the Greeks, The planting of this new empire to haue required the celeritie of *Lascaris*,but the stay therof to haue been the grauity of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his reign in very short time hauing set all things in good order,greatly augmented his legions,and shooting at a fairer mark than the empire he held,euen the imperiall city it selfe, and the recouery of all Thracia & Grecia out of the hands of the Latines, which could not be done without a fleet at sea, built a great number of gallies in the ports of the lesser Asia. And so hauing rigged vp & manned a strong fleet,and scouring the seas, in one Summer took in most of the Islands of the Ægeum,namely Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Icaria, Coos, with the famous Island of the Rhodes,and many o- E thers also. And not so contented, to haue increased his empire, the next Spring crossing the Hellespont, and landing his forces first inuaded Chersonesus; and afterward to terrifie the Latines, forraged the countrey farre and neere, euen to the gates of Constantinople, no man daring to oppose himselfe against him. At which time also he tooke many cities and strong towns alongst the sea coast,as, Calliopolis, Cestus,and Cardia,with diuers others therabout, some by force,some by composition, the Greeks almost in euery place yeelding themselues, where they were not so oppressed by the Latines, as that they could not help him. Now by these proceedings of the Greek Emperor in Europe, was plainly to be seene again the ruine of the Latine Empire in the East, all things prospering in his hand according to his hearts desire. *Assan* the Bulgarian King (no small terror both vnto the Latines and the Greeks) mo- F ued with the fame hereof,by his Embassadors sent of purpose vnto *Iohn* the Greek Emperor, offered his daughter *Helena* in mariage with young *Theodore* his sonne:of which offer the Emperour gladly accepted. For being busied in his great affaires, he was loth to haue so great a King as was *Assan*,his enemy, able at his pleasure to call in the Scythes;who with their multitude,as a great floud breaking ouer the banks,had oftentimes carried away whole countries

Baldwin the last Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople.

Iohn Batazes made Emperor of the Greekes in Asia.

before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great Princes by appointment met G
togither about Cherſoneſus, where *Helena* king *Aſſans* daughter, being then about ten yeares
old, was with great ioy and triumph ſolemnly married vnto *Theodore* the Emperors ſon, much
of the ſame age. Not long after, Embaſſadors were alſo ſent vnto the Emperor from the Sul-
tan of Iconium, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the Tartars not con-
tented to haue driuen the Turks out of Perſia and the far Eaſterne countries, began now alſo
to cut them ſhort in their Prouinces in the leſſer Aſia. Wherefore the Sultan of Iconium,
fearing leſt whiles he had his hands full of thoſe his moſt dreadfull enemies, of themſelues
too ſtrong for him, he ſhould behind be ſet vpon by the Greeke Emperor, and ſo thruſt out of
all; ſent theſe his Embaſſadors vnto him for peace: which he for many cauſes eaſily granted.
Firſt, for that he foreſaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintaine warre at once H
both in Aſia againſt the Turks, and in Europ againſt the Latins: then by this warlike nation,
as by a moſt ſure bulwarke, to keep his owne countries ſafe from the incurſion of the barba-
rous Tartars, vnto whoſe fury he ſhould himſelfe lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of
their way. Both ſufficient reaſons for the Emperor to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: ſo
Plenty enſuing of peace. was the peace concluded, and the Embaſſadors diſpatched. This peace exceedingly comfor-
ted, and afterwards enriched the Emperors coũntries: for now the people generally deliuered
of the feare and miſery of continuall war, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours
of peace. Yea the Emperor himſelfe, to the ſtirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie,
cauſed ſo much land to be ploughed vp for corne, and ſo many vineyards to be planted, as
might plentifully ſuffice his owne houſe, and ſuch poore as he daily relieued; with a great o- I
uerplus, which he cauſed to be carefully layd vp in ſtore: hee kept alſo great herds of cattell,
flocks of ſheep, and fowles of all ſorts, without number. The like he cauſed his kinſmen and
other of the nobility to do, to the intent that euery great man hauing ſufficient for his owne
ſpending at home, ſhould not take any thing from the poore country men, that ſo euery man
contenting himſelfe with his owne, might liue in peace without the grieuance of others. By
which meanes in a few yeares euery barne and granarie was full of corne, euery cellar full of
wines, euery ſtable full of cattell, euery ſtore-houſe full of victuals; the fields were couered
with corn and cattel, and in euery mans yard were to be ſeen all kinds of tame fowles, without
number. About which time alſo there fortuned a great famine among the Turks, inſomuch
as that they were inforced to fetch their greateſt reliefe from out of the Chriſtian countries. K
Then might you haue ſeen euery way full of Turks, men, women, and children, trauelling too
and fro into the Emperors countrey for victuals; their gold, their ſiluer, their other rich com-
modities, they gaue vnto the Chriſtians for food; a little corn was worth a good commodity,
euery bird, ſheep, and kid, was ſold at a great rate: by which meanes the countrey mens houſes
were ful of the Turks wealth, and the emperors coffers ſtored with their treaſure: the greatnes
of the profit ariſing of this plenty of the Chriſtians, and penury of the Turks, may hereby ea-
ſily be gathered, for that of egges daily ſold, ſo much money was in ſhort time gathered, as
An Imperiall Crowne bought with egge mony made the Empreſſe an Imperiall crowne of gold, richly ſet with moſt orient pearle and preci-
ous ſtones of great price; which the Emperor called *Ouata*, for that it was bought with egge
money. Thus flouriſhed the Greeke empire in the leſſer Aſia, vnder the good Emperor *Iohn* L
Ducas: the Turks at the ſame time declining as faſt, daily pilled in one corner or another by
the Tartars, and conſumed with famine at home.

Frederick the German emperor had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition in-
to the Holy land; for performance whereof he was hardly called vpon, firſt by *Honorius quartus*
the Pope, & afterward for his long delay excommunicated by *Gregory* the ninth: not ſo much
for the zeale they had vnto the ſacred war, as to buſie the Emperour afar off in warres abroad,
whilſt they in the meane time, to increaſe their owne power, drew from him ſome one part or
other of his empire: which he not without cauſe fearing, from day to day, & yere to yeare, de-
layed the performance of his vow, ſo much vrged by the Pope; by his preſence & power ſtill
diſappointing all the ſlie deſignes of the Popes, conceiued or put in practiſe againſt him: but M
now at length mooued, or more truly to ſay, inforced with the thundering and lightning of
1227 Pope *Gregorie*, he reſolued to ſet forward in the yeare 1227. About which time, *Iolenta*, or *Yo-
land* his wife, the king of Ieruſalem his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of
a faire ſonne. Now were met togither at Brunduſium an exceeding great number of coura-

gious

A gious and deuout ſouldiers out of all parts of Chriſtendome, eſpecially out of Germanie, vnder the leading of *Lodwick* Lantgraue of Thuringe, and *Sigefride* Biſhop of Anguſta; al ſtirred vp with the fame of ſo notable an expedition. But whileſt they there ſtaid ſomewhat long, the plague aroſe among the Germanes, whereof in ſhort time after, both the Lantgraue and the Biſhop died, with many of the other beſt ſoldiers. The emperor himſelfe was vpon his way as far as Malea, vpon the further ſide of Peloponeſus, where falling deſperatly ſicke of a burning feuer, and put back with contrary winds, he returned againe to Brunduſium, and there ſtaid a great while after. Then began the Pope again to fret and fume, and to caſt out his excommunications againſt the emperor, as if it had bin thunder and lightning, accuſing him of periury, infidelity, and many other grieuous crimes; of all which the Emperor was ready to haue cleered himſelfe in an open aſſembly of the Princes of Germany to be holden at Rauenna, had it not bin by the Pope and the troubles of Lombardy diſturbed. Neuertheleſſe, he by open proteſtations and writings, fully anſwered all the Popes vniuſt accuſations, wherewith hee had been ſo hardly charged: and yet deſirous to performe the expedition by him taken in hand, hauing ſet all things in good order, and put himſelfe againe in a readines, he ſet forward from Brunduſium in Auguſt, in the yeare 1228, leauing the charge of his territories in Italy vnder the care of *Reynold* Duke of Spaleto. The Pope diſpleaſed, for that the Emperor at his departure had neither reconciled himſelfe, nor taken his leaue of him; and deeming therein his excommunications and fulminations to be contemned and ſet at naught, fell into ſuch a rage and choler, that he forbad all the Chriſtian forces that were in Syria, to follow him, or to yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters alſo vnto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the Emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy Land: which letters the Sultan afterwards ſent vnto the Emperor. Neither yet ſo contented, immediatly after his departure, ran vpon his kingdome of Naples, and ſo filled all Italy with troubles. Neuertheles the Emperour arriuing at Ptolemais, was there honorably receiued of the Chriſtian forces, notwithſtanding the Popes threats and curſings. Of whoſe arriual Sultan *Meledin* hauing intelligence, and loth to draw ſo mighty an enemy as was the emperor, vpon him, by his embaſſadors offered him moſt honorable conditions of peace, which before he would accept of, he by conuenient meſſengers ſent vnto the Pope, to haue his conſent and approbation. But ſuch was his rage, as that he would not ſuffer the Meſſengers to come into his preſence, or vouchſafe to read the Emperors letters, being brought vnto him, but like a mad man preſently rent them in pieces. All which indignities the Emperor neuertheleſſe took in good part, and concluded a peace with the Turks for ten yeares, vpon theſe conditions: Firſt, That he ſhould be anointed and accounted king of Ieruſalem: then, That the Holy City, with all the land of Paleſtine ſhould be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That he might at his pleaſure fortifie the cities of Nazareth and Ioppe: fourthly, That all ſuch places as were ſometime in the power of *Baldwin* the fourth King of Ieruſalem, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, ſhould be reſtored: and laſt of all, That all priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſome. So the peace concluded, the Emperor with his army came to the deſolate city of Ieruſalem, and there vpon Eaſter day with great ſolemnity was crowned king thereof, in the yere 1229. And
1228
1229
Fredericke the Emperor crowned King of Ieruſalem.
E ſo hauing repaired the wals of the city, with certain Churches, fortified Nazareth and Ioppe, and furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and appointed *Reynold* Duke of Bauaria, his lieutenant in Syria, he with two gallies only returned into Italy. Euer ſince which time the kings of Sicilia haue beene alſo called Kings of Ieruſalem, and haue oftentimes borne the armes of both Kingdomes.

The next yeare Pope *Gregory*, in deſpight of the emperor *Frederick*, more than for any zeale to the Chriſtian Religion, did by the Dominicans and Franciſcans (two orders of Friers but then lately erected) as by his trumpeters, ſtir vp a wonderfull number of zealous and deuout Chriſtians, almoſt in euery part of Chriſtendome, to take vpon them the croſſe (as they termed it) the cogniſance of ſuch as had by vow bound themſelues to take vp arms againſt the
1230
The vnfortunat expedition of the King of Navarre into the Holy Land.
F Turks and Saraſins, for a recouery or defence of the Holy land. Theſe deuout men met together in great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* K. of Nauar, *Almericus* County of Montfort, *Henry* County of Champaigne, and others too long to rehearſe, (of purpoſe ſtirred vp to trouble the ten yeares peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Turks in Syria) ſet forward, and after long trauell paſſing the ſtreight of Boſphorus, not far from Conſtanti-

nople into Bithynia,came to the riuer Sangarius,& there ſtaid a while to refreſh themſelues. G
Afterwards paſſing through Galatia,and ſo from country to country through the leſſer Aſia, they came at length to the ſtreits of the mountaine Amanus(a part of the mountain Taurus) which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of Iconium himſelfe not far off incamped with a ſtrong army. Neuertheleſſe the valiant County of Montfort,which had the leading of the vantgard,couragiouſly marching forward, by plaine force opened the paſſage of the mountain, hauing ſlain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof: the king of Nauarre in the meane time(though in vain)aſſailing the Sultan in his camp;who fearing the great power of the Chriſtians,kept himſelfe within his owne ſtrength, and would not ſtir. Wherefore the King ſeeing it to no purpoſe there longer to ſtay, diuiding his army into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the County, placing his baggage in the H
midſt,and the beſt of his ſouldiers in the rereward. But whilſt they thus march vp the great mountaine,the Turks better acquainted with thoſe paſſages,were ſtil at hand,aſſailing them ſomtime behind,ſomtime on the one ſide,ſomtime on the other, as they ſaw occaſion:and at length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine,ſet vpon them,now before almoſt ſpent with hunger and trauell,and there ſlew of them an exceeding great number. But by the comming on of the night the battell was broken off, and the Chriſtians repairing vnto their enſignes,paſſed the ſtreits,and ſo at length arriued at Antioch, hauing loſt by the way the greateſt part of the army, with all their wealth, their victuals, and moſt part of their horſes: the remnant yet left, hauing a little refreſhed themſelues, were by ſea tranſported to Ptolemais; from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to Gaza,where they lay,and of I
the ſpoyle of the countrey greatly enriched themſelues. As for any other great matters,they were not able of themſelues to take in hand;and help of ſuch forces as the emperor had before left at Ieruſalem, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expreſſe charge from the Emperor himſelfe,not to do any thing againſt the enemy, tending to the breach of the tenne yeares league: which the Turks well perceiuing, and that they had to do but with theſe new come gueſts,and ſome few others their partakers; hauing gathered together their forces,lay in ambuſh for them in euery corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that theſe of Gaza going far into the country,and returning laded with ſpoile,were ſet vpon by the Turks; whom they (caſting away the ſpoyle they had before taken)notably repulſed & put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeareda far greater number of K
Turkes than before; which now putting on, charged the Chriſtians, who all that night had ſtood watching in their armor,and ſo ioined with them a moſt cruel battell:wherin the Chriſtians ſhewed ſo much valour as was poſſible for men to do, but wearied with the long fight, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, they were ouercome and ſlaine almoſt euery mothers ſon. Among the reſt,the two Counties, *Americus* and *Henry* fell: the King of Nauarre himſelfe hardly eſcaped by the exceeding ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and by vncertaine wayes wandring vp and downe the countrey, not knowing well which way to take, after two dayes came by good fortune to Ioppe: ſome few others eſcaped by flight to Ptolemais, the heauy meſſengers of the misfortune of their fellowes. The King afterwards viſiting the holy places at Ieruſalem,returned home into his countrey,with ſome few of his followers, hauing L
performed nothing of that the world expected.

The Chriſtians by perſwaſion of the Templers breake their League with the Turks.

About foure yeares after,*Reynold* Duke of Bauaria,whom *Fredericke* the Emperor had left his lieutennant in Ieruſalem, died,hauing by the ſpace of fiue yeres peaceably gouerned that bruiſed kingdome. After whoſe death,the Templers (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes haue broken the League,but that they were by his wiſedome reſtrained) now tooke occaſion to ſtirre vp the people to take vp armes againſt the Turks,without reſpect vnto the league yet in force,or of the dangers like thereof to inſue. Wherof the Ægyptian Sultan hearing,raiſed a great army, ſending alſo for the Choraſines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto Babylon, to come vnto his aid. Thus become very ſtrong, hee firſt layd ſiege to Gaza, but a little before repayred and fortified by the King of Nauarre and the Templers, which he at length M
tooke by force,and put to ſword all that were therein,as well the citiſens,as the garriſon ſouldiers:in like manner he dealt alſo with them of Aſcalon and other places as he went. To repreſſe this his fury, the Templers and Hoſpitallers had aſſembled the whole ſtrength of that weake Kingdome, and neere vnto Tyberias came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon their

A their approch haſtily retyred,as if he had for feare ſhunned battell. But whiles the Chriſtians as victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the riuer ſide, hee returning backe again with his army,came vpon them before they were well aware,halfe ſleeping,halfe waking,but altogether vnarmed,with a moſt horrible outcry. The Chriſtians now altogether awaked,and not a little troubled with the ſuddennes of the matter,haſtily and diſorderly (as muſt needs in ſo great a confuſion) tooke vp their weapons,ſuch as came firſt to hand, and ſo couragiouſly oppoſed themſelues againſt their enemies. There was fought a moſt terrible and doubtfull battell,and that alſo for a long ſpace,the Chriſtians ſtill incouraging one another to do their laſt deuoir:but the Turks ſtil keeping their order againſt the diſordred Chriſtians,and far moe alſo than they in number,preuailed,and there ouerthrew them with a great
B ſlaughter, but not without the loſſe of many thouſands alſo of their owne men, which there lay dead vpon the ground. Moſt part of the beſt commanders both of the Templers and Hoſpitallers were there ſlaine, ſuch as eſcaped fled to Tyre.

The Sultan incouraged with ſo great a victory,marched forthwith to Ieruſalem, which he tooke without reſiſtance, and there put to ſword all that he found therein, men, women, and children,without reſpect of ſex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the ſame,raſed it downe to the ground, burning the buildings, and ouerthrowing the wals not long before repaired by the emperor *Frederick*,and much beautified by his lieutenant *Reynold*. And carried with an infernall fury,defaced and moſt ſhamefully polluted the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauior,neuer before then violated or defiled,but of all nations vntouched & reuerenced;which for all that
C may ſeem to haue bin done not ſo much for the hatred vnto the Chriſtian religion,as for that it was the place of all others moſt deſired of the Chriſtians; and for the gaining wherof they had vndertaken ſo many hard aduentures,and ſo much troubled the Saraſins and Turks. 1234 *Ieruſalem takē and raſed by the Turks.*

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league,the moſt antient and famous city of Ieruſalem,ſometime the terreſtriall ſeat of the moſt Higheſt, and glory of the world, fell againe into the power of the Turks and Infidels,in the yeare 1234, in whoſe hands it hath euer ſince remained euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous city, gouerned by one of the Turks Sanzacks,and for nothing now more famous,than for the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauiour againe repaired and much viſited by the deuout Chriſtians, and not vnreuerenced by the Turkes themſelues.

D The loſſe of this ſo famous a city, together with the dangerous ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, much grieued the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, eſpecially *Fredericke* the Emperor,by whom it had bin but a few yeares before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedy the matter according to his deſire,being himſelfe grieuouſly intangled with the endles troubles which Pope *Gregory* had as it were by tradition left vnto the other Popes his ſucceſſors, for the troubling of his ſtate, vntill at length they had depriued him of his Empire, and not long after of his life alſo. Among other the great Princes, carefull for the poore Chriſtians in Syria, was *Lewis* the ninth, the French King, a Prince of great power, but of all others of that time moſt famous for his zeale vnto the Chriſtian Religion, and for his deuout maner of life: who abounding in wealth and all things elſe of a great Prince to be deſired, and often-
E times conſidering the notable expeditions many Chriſtian Princes had (to their immortall glory) made,ſome into Syria,ſome into Ægypt, againſt the enemies of Chriſt,and for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians,was many times about to haue taken vpon himſelf the like. But in theſe his deuout motions, before he could reſolue vpon ſo great an enterpriſe, hee fell dangerouſly ſicke, inſomuch that for certaine dayes he lay ſpeechleſſe, deuoid of ſence and motion,without any ſigne of life, but that he did a little faintly breath:when comming a little vnto himſelfe, (whether moued by deuotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weake braine,is vncertaine)the firſt thing he asked for was the Croſſe (the cogniſance of ſuch as vowed themſelues vnto the ſacred war) which he ſolemnly receiued at the hands of the Biſhop of Paris. At which time alſo his three brethren, *Alphonſus* County of
F Poitiers, *Charles* County of Aniou, and *Robert* County of Arthois, with *Hugh* Duke of Burgondy,*William* Earle of Flanders, *Hugh* County of Saint *Paul*, and afterwards moſt of the nobility of France,to accompany the King, tooke vpon them the ſame charge. Neuertheleſſe it was not by and by taken in hand,but ſome few yeres let paſſe in the conſultation and preparation for ſo great an enterpriſe:many in the mean time diſcharging their vow,by dying before 1248

King Lewis ſetteth forward toward the Holy Land.

at home in peace in their owne countries. At length the deuout King ſtill reſolute in his former determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readines for his iourney, came to Lyons to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, (who for feare of the Emperor *Frederick*, then lay there for his more ſafty) and from thence to Marceilles; where imbarking himſelfe with his army the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt, the yeare 1248, he the twentieth day of September following arriued in ſafety in the Iſland of Cyprus, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Luſignan* then King of that countrey. G

Now was the French King deſirous to haue gone directly for Ægypt, without longer ſtay in Cyprus, had he not been otherwiſe perſuaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yere began to grow vnſeaſonable, and the weather tempeſtuous: but whilſt he there ſtaid, paſſing the Winter, the plague (one of the ready attendants of great armies) began to ariſe in the camp, which daily increaſing, had in ſhort time taken away a great number of men, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort. Among whom were *Robert* Biſhop of Beauvais, *Iohn* County Montfort, the Counties of Vendoſme and Dreux, *Archambaut* Lord of Burbon, with diuers other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 240. ſo that by force of the infectious contagion, the King was conſtrained to diuide his army into diuers places of the Iſland, attending vntill the infection ſhould ceaſe. In the meane time the Templers hauing in ſuſpect both the French and the Turks, (the Turks, for feare they ſhould ouerrunne all; the French, leſt hauing gotten the victory, they ſhould take all into their own hands, and ſo diminiſh their power and authority wherewith they tyrannized ouer the other poore Chriſtians) ſent Embaſſadors ſecretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, to perſuade him betimes to come to ſome good agreement for peace, ſo to auert the power of the French King from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, ſent one of his noblemen to intreat with the maſter of the Templers concerning a peace, ſo that it might be by conſent of the French. The Templers glad of ſo honourable a meſſage, writ vnto the French king out of Syria, how the matter ſtood, perſuading him to accept of the peace offred, ſetting out in great words, the Sultans great preparations and power. And ſo indeed had abuſed the king, had not the King of Cyprus, acquainted with his doings, perſuaded him that it was but a fineneſſe of the great Maſter, and that he had firſt ſent vnto the Sultan, and procured that nobleman to be ſent: which the King vpon conſideration perceiuing to be true, fed the Turks Embaſſador with hope of peace, but writ to the Maſter of the Templers, vpon the price of his head, from thenceforth not to receiue any embaſſage from the enemy, or to haue any further intelligence with him. H I K

Winter now paſt, and the plague well ceaſed, diuers noble gentlemen and great commanders which following the king, and ſetting forth ſomwhat late, or for feare of the plague had ſtayed by the way, and wintred ſome in one place, ſome in another, began to repaire vnto Cyprus: as *Robert* Duke of Burgondy, who hauing wintred in Achaia, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the King, with a number of good horſemen; and with him, *William* Prince of Achaia, with a great fleet out of Peloponeſus, which countrey, with moſt part of Grecia, was then vnder the command of the Latines; among others came alſo *William* ſyrnamed *Longeſpie*, Earle of Salisbury, with a band of luſty tall ſouldiers. So the army being met together, and all things againe in readineſſe, King *Lewis* departing from Cyprus, and toſſed at ſea with contrary winds, about fiue days after fell with the coaſt of Ægypt, and there with all his fleet came before the ſtrong towne of Damiata, being (as we haue ſaid) the key of that kingdome. The Sultan long before vnderſtanding of the French Kings purpoſe for the inuaſion of his country, had ſtrongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them ſtrong garriſons, beſide the great power he kept with himſelfe in readineſſe at all aſſaies, as occaſion ſhould require. Vpon the Chriſtians approch, the Gouernour of Damiata was ready vpon the ſhore, with a number of braue ſouldiers to keep them from landing; who neuertheleſſe, reſolutely before ſet down for the performing of that they came for, manning forth their long boats with their archers and croſſebowes to beat the enemie from the ſhore, ranne a ground with their other ſmal boats, made of purpoſe for the landing of men; and ſo without longer ſtay came to handy blowes; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharp and cruell battell, the Chriſtians ſtriuing to land, and the Turks to keep them off, many falling on both ſides. But what ſhould an hand- L M

full

A full doe againſt ſo many? The Turks oppreſſed with the multitude ſtill landing more and more, and hauing done what was poſſible for them to do, fled into the towne, leauing behind them their gouernour, with fiue hundred of their beſt ſouldiers dead on the ſhore.

This city of Damiata was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not bin taken but by more than a yeares ſiege, (as is before declared) and that not ſo much by the valour of the Chriſtians, as by the extremity of the plague and famine: ſince which time it had bin ſtrongly fortified by the Turks, with deep ditches, high wals, and ſtrong bulwarkes, and was at that time wel ſtored with victuals alſo, and all things els for the induring of a long ſiege. Neuertheles, the ſoldiers that were left, and the citizens (diſcouraged with the loſſe of their gouernor, and remembrance of the miſeries before endured in the former ſiege, and ſee-
B ing the Chriſtians now ready again to beſiege the ſame) the night following, a little before the breake of day, ſet fire euery man vpon his owne houſe, and ſo by a bridge which they had made of boats fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare their enemies ſhould thereby haue followed after them. The Chriſtians perceiuing their flight, without reſiſtance entred the city, and being ſtrangers, did what they could to quench the fire, and to ſaue that which the inhabitants themſelues would fain haue with fire deſtroid; and ſo afterwards found great aboundance of riches, with plentifull ſtore of all manner of victuals, wherwith the ſouldiers both inriched and refreſhed themſelues. This ſo happy and vnexpected a victory hapned to the Chriſtians about the beginning of October, in the yeare 1249. Sultan *Meledin* himſelfe, diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo ſtrong a city, offered vnto the
C French King for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territory in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, than the Chriſtians had of long time before: which large offer was by the French, eſpecially by the Earle of Arthois the Kings brother, proudly reiected, and Alexandria, the moſt famous port and metropoliticall city of Ægypt, further demanded, to the great diſcontentment of the Turks and Saraſins. In theſe troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whoſe ſtead *Melech-ſala* (or *Melexala*, as ſome call him) a valiant and couragious Prince, well beloued of his ſubiects, and but euen then returned out of Syria and Arabia, where he had bin to craue aid of the other Mahometan Princes, was choſen Sultan. Which Princes, eſpecially the Sultan of Damaſco, although they had not of long bin at any good accord among themſelues, or with the Ægyptian; yet in this com-
D mon danger of their ſuperſtition, which by the loſſe of Ægypt was like to bee greatly weakned, they ioyned hands together, and ſo ſent him great ayd.

The citizens of Damiata ſet fire vpon the city, and ran away by the light.

The new Sultan thus ſtrengthned, drew neerer to the Chriſtians, which then lay encamped not far from Damiata, and had with them a hot skirmiſh, wherin he was put to the worſe, and ſo with ſome loſſe glad to retire. But the Chriſtians the next day, in hope of like ſucceſſe ſallying out againe, were ouerthrowne, with ten times more loſſe than was he the day before, and ſo fain to fly vnto the camp. By which victory the Sultan incouraged, began now to conceiue better hope of the ſucceſſe of his wars; and by ſtopping the paſſages both by water and land, to prouide, that no victuals could without great perill be brought either vnto the city or the camp, inſomuch that at length victuals began to grow ſcarce in both: whereof the Sultan was
E not ignorant, as being thereof throughly informed by ſuch fugitiues, as for want or other cauſes, oftentimes fled out of the French camp into his.

Winter thus paſſing, and wants ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that the gouernour of the great city of Caire (vpon the fortune whereof depended the ſtate of the whole kingdome) a man not euill affected to the Chriſtian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed; by ſecret meſſengers perſuaded the French king to come on with his army to the city, the regal ſeat of the Sultan, promiſing him to deliuer it into his power, with full inſtructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining therof. Wherupon the King, who had before of himſelfe purpoſed the ſame exploit, but now filled with a greater hope, aſſembled together the greateſt forces he was able to make.
F At which time alſo he ſent for the Earle of Salisbury, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen, who for many proud indignities offered them by the French (eſpecially by the Earle of Artois the kings brother) whereof they could haue no redreſſe, were gone to Ptolemais, without purpoſe to haue any more ſerued in thoſe wars: but now being ſent for by the King, with promiſe of better vſage and honorable recompence for the wrongs paſt, returned againe into Ægypt,

there

there to do their laſt endeuor. With whoſe comming the King ſtrengthned, but more by the new ſupplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonſus* out of France, leauing the Duke of Burgondy with a conuenient garriſon, with the Queene his wife, *Oao* the Popes Legate, and diuers other great Ladies in Damiata, he himſelfe ſet forward with his army toward Caire. Of whoſe comming the Sultan hearing, and loth vpon the fortune of one battell, to aduenture his whole eſtate, offred by his Embaſſadors to reſtore vnto him all the land of Paleſtine, with a great ſumme of mony for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars, and all the priſoners he had taken, ſo that he would redeliuer vnto him the city of Damiata, and ioyne with him in league and amity. Which faire offer for all that, the French King, by the perſuaſion of Legat and others, refuſed. So the King marching ſtill on, was to paſſe an arme of the great riuer Nilus (the Sultan on the other ſide ſtill ready with his army to ſtay his paſſage) which he had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the ſame purpoſe: but better conducted by a fugitiue Saraſin vnto a foord, before to him vnknowne, ſent his brother *Robert* Earle of Artois, with the third part of the army before him, accompanied with the maſter of the Templers and the Earle of Salisbury, with their followers. Who paſſing the riuer at the aforeſaid foord, ſuddenly aſſailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then abſent in ſolemniſing one of their prophane feaſts) & put them to flight. With which victory the French Earle aboue meaſure incouraged, would needs on forwards, as if hee would himſelfe alone haue carried away the glory of the whole conqueſt. Whom for all that certain of the antient Templers, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than hee, and better conſidering alſo of their owne ability and ſtrength, perſuaded him to content himſelfe with the honour he had already got, and not to proceed any further in proſecuting of the enemie, vntill the comming of the reſt of the army, eſpecially in that deſperat eſtate of the enemie, wherein he was to win or loſe all. Vnto whom the proud Earle in great deſpight replyed, that he would proſecute his victory, and follow his good fortune; calling them daſtards and cowards, opprobriouſly obiecting vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported, That the Holy land might long ſince haue been againe vnited vnto the body of the Chriſtian common-weale, but for the foule colluſion of the falſe Templers and Hoſpitallers with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull ſpeech, the maſter of the Templers not without cauſe moued, anſwered for himſelfe and his fellowes, that he ſhould, when he would and where he durſt, diſplay his enſignes, and he ſhould find them as ready to follow as he was to goe before them. The Earle of Salisbury alſo willing to ſtint this ſtrife, perſuaded Earle *Robert* not to be ſo wedded in his owne opinion, but to liſten to the graue and wholſom counſell of the Templers, being men of great experience: and ſo turning vnto the maſter of the Templars began likewiſe with gentle words to pacifie him alſo. But whilſt he was yet ſpeaKing, the Earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him daſtard and coward, and wiſhed that the army were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countreymen. Whereunto the Earle of Salisbury anſwered, *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and whereſoeuer you dare ſet your foot, mine ſhall be as far as yours; and I beleeue we go this day, where you ſhall not dare to come nigh my horſes taile*; as afterward indeed it proued. How be it the Earle ſo ſaid, for that Earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and diſdaine, after their manner called him and his followers Engliſh tailes.

A faire offer fondly refuſed.

The proud earle conſtant in his former purpoſe, and not to be otherwiſe perſuaded, ſet forward; and firſt aſſaulted a little towne or caſtle, not far off, called Manſor, wherunto he inconſideratly approching, was notably repulſed; and hauing loſt a number of his men, was as a man diſcouraged, about to haue retired. When ſuddenly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the Earle had thought, ſtirred vp with the noiſe of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding the army of the Chriſtians now diuided (as he had long wiſhed) with the multitude of his people incloſed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherin though the Chriſtians right worthily behaued themſelues, for the ſmall number they were, yet oppreſſed with the multitude, and on euery ſide beſet, they were ſlaine down right. Then but all too late, it repented the Earle of his fooliſh raſhnes, and that he had not harkened vnto better counſel, and ſeeing the Earle of Salisbury valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to fly, ſeeing God as he ſaid fought againſt them. Whereunto the noble Earle anſwered no more, but *God forbid that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Saraſin.* The French Earle thinking

A king by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe to haue ſaued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking the riuer of Thafnes, ouerladed with his armour, was there drowned. The Earle of Salisbury couragiouſly enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully ſlew many a Turke and Saraſin that day, vntill that at length hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe ſo wounded in the legs, as that he was not able longer to ſtand, yet vpon his knees laying about him like a deſperate man, and ſelling his life as deere as he could, was there ſlain, but not vanquiſhed. With him periſhed the whole army, ſo incloſed by the Sultan, that ſcarce any one eſcaped aliue, more than two Templers, one Hoſpitaller, and one common ſouldier, the meſſengers of this heauy newes.

Earle Robert in flying drowned.

The Earle of Salubury valiantly fighting ſlaine.

About the ſame time alſo ſicknes daily increaſing in the French camp, the king purpoſing
B to march forward to Caire, ſent a great number of ſicke and weake people downe the riuer of Nilus to Damiata: of whoſe going the Sultan vnderſtanding, cauſed a great number of ſmal boats to be carried in carts by land vnto the riuers ſide, which wel manned, and meeting them by the way, ſet vpon them, and burnt or drowned them euery mothers ſonne, ſauing one only Engliſhman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in fiue places of his body, eſcaped yet into the French camp, reporting there what had hapned vnto the reſt.

Now had the Sultan alſo got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernor of Caire and the King, for the betraying of the city: and thereupon had cauſed him to be ſuddenly apprehended and put in ſafe keeping, vntill he were at better leaſure to vnderſtand farther of the matter: which no leſſe troubled the French King, than did the former misfortune; al his hope
C for the yeelding vp of the city, being therby cut off: thus his hopes together with his ſtrength daily decreaſing, he would haue gladly accepted of the conditions which he before refuſed, which the Sultan, now growne very ſtrong, would by no meanes heare of, but in ſtead thereof, by way of deriſion ſent to know of him, what was become of all his mattockes, forkes, rakes, ſyths, plows, and harrows, which he had brought ouer with him? and why he ſet them not to work, but ſuffred them like an euil husband to rot and ruſt beſide him? All which with much more, the good king was glad to put vp: for now his forces greatly diminiſhed, as wel by ſickneſſe, as by the former loſſes, finding himſelfe far to weake, he would fain haue retired backe again to Damiata: which the Sultan foreſeeing, got ſo betwixt him and home, that now there was no remedy, but either to fight it out, or yeeld. The king himſelfe had bin often before in-
D treated by his nobility, whilſt the riuer was yet vnpoſſeſſed by the enemy, to haue conueyed himſelfe by water to Damiata, for that in the ſafety of his perſon conſiſted (as they ſaid) the ſafety of his kingdom, whatſoeuer became of them: whereunto he could neuer be perſuaded, ſaying, that he would neuer forſake his people, becauſe he would not be forſaken of them, but was reſolued to indure with them whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon him: ſo paſſing the riuer by the ſame foord wherby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly paſſed, and comming to the place where the battell was fought, he might ſee the dead bodies of the Chriſtians pitifully mangled, with their heads & hands cut off: for the Sultan, the more to incourage his ſoldiers, had before the battell proclaimed, that whoſoeuer ſhould bring him the head or hand of a Chriſtian, ſhould haue a great reward for his labor; in hope wherof, they had
E ſo diſmembred them. But long he had not there ſtaid, but that the Sultan began ſuddenly to appeare, with a moſt huge great army, as if he would euen with the ſight thereof haue diſcouraged the Chriſtians: againſt whom for al that, the French men in good order oppoſed themſelues, and for the ſpace of 3 houres made great reſiſtance: but what could one do againſt ten, & he alſo fainting for ſicknes & food? the hard plight wherin the greateſt part of the French army then was. In concluſion, oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, and no way left to flie, they were all ouerthrowne and ſlain, except ſome few, ſaued in hope of great ranſome. The king himſelfe, with his two brethren, *Alphonſus* and *Charles*, and ſome few others, were taken priſoners, and brought vnto the Sultan: who demanding of him, what had moued him ſo to make war againſt him? was anſwered by the King, that it was for religion, and the defence
F of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battel, fought the 5. of Aprill, in the yere 1250, beſides the common ſoldiers, were ſlain moſt of the nobility of France, & all their tents taken.

The Gouernour of Caire apprehended.

The Sultan preſently vpon this ouerthrow, ſent of his owne ſouldiers the like number that the French were of, with French enſignes, and diſguiſed in the attire of the ſlain Frenchmen, to Damiata, where the Duke of Burgondy, the French Queene, and the Popes Legate lay; in

hope

hope to haue bin ſo let in forfrenchmen:but they were not ſo wel masked,but that they were G
by them of the city diſcouered for enemies, and ſo kept out and deceiued of their purpoſe.

The Chriſtians thus ouerthrown, and the French King taken priſoner, *Melech-ſala* the Sultan taking compaſſion vpon him,and yet minding of his life to make his own gain;cheering him vp with comfortable ſpeeches, began to talk with him of his deliuerance, and of a good attonement to be made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan were,That the King ſhould forthwith deliuer again vnto him the city of Damiata,and moreouer pay vnto him for the ranſome of himſelfe and his, and for the charges of the war, eight thouſand pound of gold:That all priſoners ſhould on both ſides be frankly ſet at liberty,and ſo a peace to be taken for ten yeres:for the more aſſurance wherof, the Sultan offred to ſwear, That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his *Mahomet:* requiring alſo of the H
king to ſweare,If he failed in any thing that he had promiſed,to deny his Chriſt to be God: which prophane oath the King deteſting,and wiſhing rather to die than to giue the ſame;the Sultan wondring at his conſtancy, tooke his word without any oath at all, and ſo publiſhed the league. But whilſt they were comming together to Damiata,*Melech-ſala* now in the pride of this victory,fearing nothing leſſe than the ſudden change of fortune,or the miſchief haning ouer his head,was in the preſence of a number of his noblemen ſuddenly ſlain by two deſperat Mamulukes; and one *Turquiminus* a ſturdy ſlaue of their owne order and vocation (by whoſe procurement it was ſuppoſed to haue beene done) by the conſent of the whole armie created Sultan in his ſtead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-ſala*, made another in his owne name with the King, much vpon the ſame conditions that the other was; I
which after he had receiued Damiata,he cauſed openly to be proclaimed. Neuertheles after that King *Lewis* had payed his ranſome, and was with the remnant of his army by the Genowaies tranſported from Damiata to Ptolemais, the falſe miſcreant performed not the half of that he had promiſed,of twelue thouſand Chriſtian captiues that ſhould haue beene ſet free, ſcarce inlarging foure thouſand; and killing all the ſicke ſouldiers whom by his promiſe hee ought to haue relieued,neither ſuffering any Chriſtian to cary any of his goods with him out of Ægypt,which by the league he ought to haue done alſo.

The French King comming to Ptolemais, and purpoſing to haue returned home, was intreated by the maſter of the Templars and Hoſpitalers,and other the nobility of the Chriſtians, to ſtay, which he did almoſt by the ſpace of foure yeres: in which time he repaired the K
cities of Cæſarea and Ioppe, and fortified many ſtrong places for the defence of the Chriſtians againſt the infidels:and ſo commending the protection thereof vnto the Knights of the ſacred war,and ſending his brethren away before him, followed after himſelfe,greatly lamented for by all the Chriſtians in Syria,and ſo arriued in France the ſixt yeare from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the French King,wherin as ſome write,were eighty thouſand Chriſtians loſt:howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating their loſſe,report,of two and thirty thouſand French, ſix thouſand to haue returned againe into France. The City of Damiata in the ſpace of a few yeares twice woon,and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, was ſhortly after the deliuering vp therof,by the Sultan raſed down to the ground, becauſe it ſhould no more ſerue the Chriſtians for an entrance L
into his kingdome.

The beginning of the Mamalukes and their kingdome.

The late Ægyptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Chriſtian princes,& repoſing no great aſſurance in the prowes of the effœminate Ægyptians, a people fitter for merchandize and other baſe occupations than for chiualry and war,had for the ſtrengthening of their kingdome,bought an infinite number of ſlaues,eſpecially of the poore and hardy Circaſſians, called in antient time *Getæ* & *Zinchi*,neer to Cholchis & the Euxine ſea,brought vnto Alexandria and other ports of Ægypt out of thoſe bare cold countries, by Merchants, and from thence tranſported to Caire & other cities of Ægypt:of which poore ſlaues, the late Ægyptian Sultans taking their choice,& culling out from the reſt ſuch as were like to bee of greateſt ſpirit & ability of body,deliuered them vnto moſt skilful and expert teachers;by whom M
they were carefully taught to run,to leap,to vaut,to ſhoot,to ride,with all other feats of actiuity,and withall cunningly to handle all manner of weapons,as wel on horſeback as on foot, and ſo inſtructed,and become cunning, were taken out of their ſchooles into pay, and inrolled together as the Sultans choice horſemen, and commonly called by the name of Mamalukes.

A lukes: in whose good seruice the late Sultans finding great vse, spared for no cost, both for their maintenance and increasing of their number; daily erecting new nurseries stored with yong frie, which growing vp and ready, was still ioined to the other. It is wonderfull to tell, vnto what a strength and glory this order of the Mamalukes was in short time growne by the care of the Ægyptian Kings: by them they mannaged their greatest affaires, especially in time of wars; and by their valor, not only defended their countrey, but gained many a faire victorie a-gainst their enemies, as they did now against the French: but as too much power in such mens hands, seldome or neuer wanteth danger, so fel it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech sala*, and those masterfull Mamuluke slaues; who proud of their preferment, and forgetful of their duty, and seeing the greatest strength of the kingdom in their hands, traiterously slew *Melech-*
B *sala* their chiefe founder, setting vp in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turquiminus*, a base slaue, one of their owne order and seruile vocation, but indeed otherwise a man of a great spirit and valour. This *Melech-sala* murthered by the Mamalukes, was the last of the free borne kings of Ægypt; in whom the Turks kingdome in Ægypt, erected by *Saracon* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before said) and in his stock and family euer since continued, took end, as did also al the power of the Turks in that great & rich kingdome. For the proud Mamalukes hauing now got the soueraignte into their hands, & exalted a Sultan out of themselues, imperiously commanded as great Lords ouer the rest of the people, not suffering them to haue the vse ei-ther of horse or armor, or to beare any sway in the common-weale: but keeping them vnder with most heauy impositions, and still preferring their owne slaues (wherwith the countrey of
C Ægypt now swarmed) made the natural countrey people, of all others most miserable, not da-ring to meddle with any thing more than Merchandise, their Husbandry, or other their base mechanicall occupations: whereof the greatest profit still came vnto the Mamalukes, who as Lords of all, with great insolency, at their pleasure tooke it from them as their owne. As for the great Sultan, they still chose him from among themselues, not suffering any the Sultans children to succeed their fathers in the kingdome; for feare lest they in the processe of time, proud of their ancestors and parentage, should reckon of them as of his slaues (as indeed they were) and so at length bring in another more free kind of gouernment.

The ruin of the Turks kingdom in Ægypt.

Against which they prouided also, not only by this restraint of their Sultans children, but of their own also: taking order and establishing it as an immutable law, That though the sons
D of the Mamalukes might enioy their fathers lands, and wealth after their death, yet that it should not be lawfull for them in any case to take vpon them the name or honor of a Mama-luke: so debarring them from all gouernment in the common wealth, to the intent it might still rest with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahometane parents (which could not be slaues) or of the race of the Iews, to be admitted into that order; but only such as being borne Christians and become slaues, had from the time of their captiuity been instructed in the Mahometane superstition; or else being men growne, and comming thither, had abiured the Christian Religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right strange it is to consider, vnto what honour and glory this slauish empire in short time grew: many of these poore slaues by rare fortune or secret diuine power, exalted out of the dust to
E the highest degree of honor, prouing most excellent and renowned Princes, of such strength and power, as was dreadfull euen to the greatest Princes of the world. In which great glory, this seruile empire (to the worlds wonder) flourished from this time among the greatest by the space of 267 yeares; vntill that hauing run the appointed race, it was with a great destru-ction by *Selymus* the victorious Emperor of the Turks, ouerthrown in the yeare 1517, and the kingdome of Ægypt, with all Syria and the land of Palestine, brought into the forme of pro-uinces, vnited vnto the Turks empire, as they are at this day, and as in the course of this histo-ry shall in due time and place (God willing) at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdome of the Turks thus ouerthrowne in Ægypt, and the Mamalukes there triumphing, the French King returned into France, & the Christians in peace in Syria,
F let vs againe returne into the lesser Asia, and vnto the imperiall City of Constantinople, whether the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Christians now call vs. All this while the Greeke Empire (for so the Greekes will haue it called) flourished both in peace and plenty in the lesser Asia, vnder their Emperour *Iohn Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the meane time declining as fast at Constantinople, vnder the gouernment of the Latine Emperour

Baldwin

Baldwin the ſecond. As for the Turks whom we left grieuouſly troubled both with famine G
and the often incurſions of the Tartars, they had all this while,and yet alſo, enough and more
than enough to do to withſtand the ſame enemy. At length it fortuned that *Iohn Ducas* the
Greeke Emperor died,being at the time of his death about threeſcore yeares old,whereof he
had happily reigned three and thirty : by whoſe good and diſcreet gouernment, the Greeke
empire before brought low and almoſt to nought by the Latines, began againe to gather
ſtrength and to flouriſh both in Aſia and ſome little part of Europ alſo. Of him are reported
many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpoſe I could willingly paſſe ouer,
were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them ſtaid a while by the way.

This noble and famous Emperour hauing long lamented the death of the faire Empreſſe
Irene his firſt wife, at laſt married another young Lady, the ſiſter of *Manfred* King of Sicilie, H
called *Anne*, with whom amongſt other honourable and beautifull dames, ſent by the King
The Emperor in loue with Marceſina. her brother for the acompanying of her to Conſtantinople,was one *Marceſina*, a rare paragon,
of ſuch a feature as if nature had in her meant to beſtow her greateſt skil. From whoſe mouth
alwaies flowed a fountaine of moſt ſugred words,and out of her eyes iſſued (as it were) nets to
intangle the amorous in: vpon this ſo faire an obiect, the Emperor not fearing further harme,
took pleaſure oftentimes to feed his eyes,vntill that at length caught with her looks,he had
loſt his liberty,and was of a great Emperor cocome her thrall,in ſuch ſort,as that in compari-
ſon of her he ſeemed little or nothing to regard the yong Empreſſe his wife;but ſo far doated
vpon her,that he ſuffered her to be attired and honored with the ſame attire and honour that
the Empreſſe was her ſelfe;whom ſhe now ſo far exceeded both in grace and fauour with the I
Emperor,and honor of the people,as that ſhe almoſt alone enioyed the ſame, without regard
of her vnto whom it was of more right due. Whilſt ſhe thus alone triumpheth, at length it
fortuned that ſhe in all her glory, attended vpon with moſt of the gallants of the court, and
ſome of the Emperors guard,would needs go (whether for her deuotion or for her recreation,
I know not) to viſit the monaſtery and fair church,which *Blemmydes* (a noble man of great re-
nowne,both for his integrity of life,and learning) had of his own coſt and charges but lately
built in the country,where he together with his monks,as men weary of the world,liued a de-
uout and ſolitary contemplatiue life,after the manner of that time,with the great good opi-
nion of the people in generall. This *Blemmyaes* was afterward for his vpright life & profound
learning choſen Patriarch of Conſtantinople : which great honor,next to the Emperor him- K
Marceſina the Emperors concubine ſhut out of the Church. ſelfe, he refuſed,contenting himſelfe with his cel. *Marceſina* comming thither in great pomp,
and thinking to haue entred the church,had the doores ſhut againſt her by the Monks,before
commanded ſo to do by *Blemmydes* their founder : and ſo was to her great diſgrace kept out.
For that deuout man deemed it a great impiety, to ſuffer that ſo wicked and ſhameleſſe a wo-
man, againſt whom he had moſt ſharply both ſpoken and written,with her prophane and wic-
ked feet to tread vpon the ſacred pauement of his church. She inraged with this indignitie,
hardly by ſo proud a woman to be with patience diſgeſted, and prickt forward by her flatte-
ring followers alſo,returning to the court,grieuouſly complained thereof vnto the emperor,
ſtirring him vp by all means ſhe could to auenge the ſame,perſuading him to haue bin there-
in himſelfe diſgraced. Whereunto alſo were ioyned the hard ſpeeches of her pickthanke fa- L
uorites,who to curry fauor,ſpared not as it were to put oyle vnto the fire,for the ſtirring vp of
the Emperor to reuenge. Who with ſo great a complaint nothing moued to wrath,but ſtruck
as it were to the heart with a remorſe of conſcience, and oppreſſed with heauineſſe, with
tears running down his cheeks,and fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *Why prouoke you me to puniſh ſo de-
uout and iuſt a man ? Whereas if I would my ſelfe haue liued without reproch and infamy, I ſhould haue
kept my imperiall majeſty vnpolluted or ſtained. But now ſith I my ſelfe haue been the cauſe both of mine
owne diſgrace, and of empires; I may thanke mine owne deſerts, it of ſuch euill ſeed as I haue ſowne, I now
reap alſo an euill harueſt.*

Theodorus Laſcaris choſen Emperor. After the death of this good Emperour, *Theodorus* his ſonne, borne the firſt yeare of his fa-
thers reigne, being then about three and thirty yeares old, was by the generall conſent of the M
people ſaluted Emperor in his ſtead: who in the beginning af his empire renewed the league
which his father had made with *Iathatines* the Turkiſh Sultan : & ſo hauing prouided for the
ſecurity of his affairs in Aſia, he with a puiſſant army paſſed ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus,
into Europe, to appeaſe the troubles there raiſed in Macedonia and Thracia, by the King

of

A of Bulgaria his brother in law, and *Michael Angelus* the Deſpot of Theſſalia; who vpon the death of the old Emperor began to ſpoile thoſe countries, not without hope at length to haue joyned them vnto their own: by whoſe comming they were for all that diſappointed of their purpoſe, and glad to ſue to him for peace. But whileſt he was there buſied, he was aduertiſed by letters from Nice, that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left their gouernor in his abſence, was ſecretly fled vnto the Turks: with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cauſe of whoſe flight, as *Paleologus* himſelfe gaue it out, was, for that he perceiued himſelfe diuers waies by many his enemies brought into diſgrace, and the Emperors eares ſo filled with their odious complaints, ſo cunningly framed againſt him, as that they were not eaſily or in ſhort time to be refelled: and therfore fearing in the Emperors heauy diſpleaſure to be ſuddenly
B taken away, to haue willingly gone into exile, if ſo happily he might ſaue his life from the malice of them that ſought after it.

At his comming to Iconium, he found *Iathatines* the Sultan making great preparation againſt the Tartars; who hauing driuen the Turks out of Perſia and other the far Eaſterne countries, (as is before declared) and running ſtill on, did with their continuall incurſions ſpoile a great part of their territories in the leſſer Aſia alſo; and now lay at Axara, a towne not far off from Iconium: againſt whom the Sultan now making the greateſt preparation he could, gladly welcommed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthy captain, commending to his charge the leading of certaine bands of Greekes, whom he had retained to ſerue him in thoſe wars, as he had others of the Latines, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Moline* a Nobleman
C of Venice: and ſo hauing put all things in readineſſe, and ſtrengthned with theſe forrein ſupplies of the Greekes and Latines, ſet forward againſt his enemies the Tartars: who at the firſt ſight of the ſtrange enſignes and ſoldiers were much diſmaied, fearing ſome greater force had bin come to the aid of the Turks; neuertheleſſe, joining with them in battel, had with them at the firſt a moſt terrible and bloudy conflict, wherein that part of the army that ſtood againſt *Paleologus* and his Greeks, was put to the worſe, to the great diſcomfiture of the Tartars, being euen vpon the point to haue fled, had not one of the greateſt Commanders in the Turks army, and a nigh kinſman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare vnto the Sultan, with all his regiment, in the heat of the battell reuolted vnto the Tartars: whereby the fortune of the battel was in a moment as it were quite altred, they which but now were about to haue fled, fighD ting like lyons; and they that were victors now glad to turne their backs & fly: in which flight a great number of the Turks fell, the fierce Tartars moſt eagerly purſuing them. *Paleologus*, with the Generall of the Turks, hardly chaſed by the Tartars, and glad euery houre to make a ſtand, and to fight for their liues, with much adoe, after many daies flight recouered a caſtle of the Generals, neere vnto Caſtamona, and ſo ſaued themſelues. The Tartars after this ſo great a victory (wherein they had broken the whole ſtrength of the Turks, and brought in hazard the whole ſtate of their kingdome) without reſiſtance forraged all the countries and prouinces ſubject vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, making ſpoile of whatſoeuer they light vpon: inſomuch that the Sultan diſcouraged, and hauing now no ſtrength left to oppoſe againſt them, fled vnto the Greeke Emperor *Theodorus* for aid; who moſt honourably entertained him, with
E all his traine, and comforted him with ſuch ſmall aid as he thought good then to ſpare him: which for his more ſafety he ſent home with him, vnder the leading of *Iſaacius Ducas*, ſyrnamed *Murtzufle*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindneſſe, the Sultan gaue vnto the Emperor the city of Laodicea, whereinto he preſently put a ſtrong garriſon: neuertheleſſe, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the Turks, being a place not to be holden by the Greeks. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himſelfe ſtil too weak to withſtand the continuall inuaſions of the Tartars, and weary of the harmes he dayly ſuſtained, by the aduice of his chiefe counſellors made a league with them, yeelding to pay them a certaine yerely tribute, thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks as of their tributaries and vaſſals.

F Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperors' kind and gratious letters called home; with his faithfull promiſe alſo before giuen for his ſecurity: who before his return bound himſelfe alſo by ſolemne oath, to be vnto the Emperour and his ſonne alwaies loyall, and from thenceforth neuer to ſeeke after the Empire, or giue cauſe of new ſuſpect for ſuch matters as he had beene before charged with: but for euer to yeeld vnto the Emperour, his

ſon,or other his ſucceſſors in the Empire, his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which G
conditions he was again made great Conſtable,and ſo receiued into the Emperors fauor, and liued the reſt of his reign in great honor and credit with him.

The death of Theodorus the Greek emperor.

Now *Theodorus* the Emperor hauing reigned 3 years,fell ſick and died,leauing behind him his ſon *Iohn*,then but a child of 6 years old,to ſucceed him in his empire: whom he vpon his death bed,together with the empire,commended to *Arſenius* the Patriark,and one *George Muzalo* his faithfull counſellor,as to his truſty tutors,to ſee him ſafely brought vp,and the Empire well and peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of mean parentage,but for his familiar acquaintance and ciuil behauior,of a child brought vp in the court with the Emperor as his play-fellow:with whom he growing vp,ſo framed himſelfe to his maners and diſpoſition,that he alone was to him in ſtead of all, ſtill at hand, ready to ſay or do whatſoeuer might H
be gratious or pleaſing to the Emperor. And the elder they grew,ſo increaſed this their mutual affection and loue: in ſuch ſort,that with him now Emperor,he was of all others in greateſt fauor & authority,a wary obſeruer of his delights, a ready miniſter of his affairs,& faithful partaker of his ſecrets: for which he was in ſhort time promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court,and honorably maried to one of the Emperors nigh kinſwomen; and now at his death,by his laſt will,with the reuerend Patriark appointed tutor to the yong emperour and his two yong ſiſters. And for more aſſurance therof,a ſolemn oath of obedience to the yong Prince as emperor,and vnto them as his tutors,was exacted of all ſorts of men,both high and low,of what condition ſoeuer;and that not once,but firſt a little before the Emperours death, and again after he was now dead:for many of the nobilitie honorably deſcended, ſeeing the I

Enuy in Court.

ſudden change of *Muzalo's* fortune, amongſt themſelues murmured thereat,as grieuing at his preferment,ſeeing there were many among them,to whom both the tuition of the yong Emperor and adminiſtration of the empire of better right appertained, ſeeing they were both neerer of kin to the Emperor,and fitter (as they thought) for ſo great a charge than was *Muzalo*,whom(as they ſaid)they had many cauſes both to contemn and hate: for, beſide that he was not honorably born,and had ſerued the late emperor *Theodore* as the miniſter of his wrath againſt ſome of the nobility (cauſes ſufficient for the peoples hatred) if he ſhould now alſo in ſo great authoritie affect the empire,it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted,that he would not ſpare to commit any maner of villany for the effecting of his inordinat deſire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant,a man at all other times of a moſt quick apprehenſion for K
ſuch matters, but as then eſpecially, his wits being awaked with theſe ſo great motiues and dangers. Wherfore ſpeedily calling together all the nobility into the court,hee welcommed them one by one,and curteouſly diſcourſing with them,offred to diſcharge himſelfe both of the adminiſtration of the Empire,and tuition of the yong Emperor,& willingly to yeeld the ſame to any one of them,whom the reſt ſhould think fitteſt for ſo great a charge. Which although they all with one conſent as it were refuſed, ſaying, That hee of all others was to bee preferred,vnto whom the Emperor,lord both of the empire and the child,had committed the ſame:yet *Muzalo* erneſtly requeſted the contrary,and ſtifly withſtood their deſire,wiſhing indeed rather to haue led a quiet priuat life in ſecuritie,than to haue bin ſo ouercharged;not ſo much for doubt of the enuy then ariſing,as for fear of ſome great danger therof to enſue. But L
would he,would he not,remedy there was none,but that as the late emperor had appointed,ſo muſt he take the charge vpon him. And now was euery one,as well the nobility as the inferior ſort,again with greater ſolemnity than before,the third time ſworne,to their vtmoſt power to defend the yong emperor in his empire,and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him, and adminiſtration of the affairs of ſtate, and faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience: which if they ſhould fail religiouſly to perform,they wiſhed to themſelues euery man,and to all theirs,a ſhamefull end and deſtruction. Yet notwithſtanding all this ſolemn ſwearing, mixt moſt times with much forſwearing,there was not fully 9 daies paſt, but that certain of the chief nobility,forgetfull or els careleſſe of their Oath, and full of enuy, ſeldom ſatisfied but with bloud, conſpired the vnworthy death of *Muzalo* the Protector both of the Emperor M
and the Empire. The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the Emperor was now come; at which time were met together at Soſandra (an Abbey by himſelfe built in the honor of the Virgin *Mary* at Magneſia) many great Ladies and graue Matrons, to mourne as the manner was; all the great Princes of the Nobility,and among them the conſpirators alſo: thither repaired

A paired alſo a number of ſoldiers prepared for the ſlaughter, with an infinit number of the common people, as at ſuch ſolemnities is vſuall. But what needs many words? whileſt the Hymns were yet in ſinging, and the obſequies performing, the ſouldiers as before inſtructed, ſuddenly breaking into the Church with their drawn ſwords in their hands, ſlew *Muzalo* (then fled to the altar for refuge) with his two brethren *Andronicus* & *Theodorus*, both men of great account, and diuers others appointed for the ſlaughter. So the matrons & the reſt of the multitude breaking off their mourning, and for fear thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as faſt as they could, ſome one way, ſome another, as they thought for their beſt ſafety. But the Prieſts and Monks thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious ſouldiers again inforced into the church; where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with great force
B and violence, and ſcarſe able to ſtand by reaſon of the ſlipperines of the bloud there ſhed vpon the pauement, they in great fear made an end of thoſe bloudy obſequies. This outrage appeaſed, *Arſenius* the Patriarch and only Tutor of the yong Emperour now left, was therewith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the perſon of the yong Prince, & peace of the ſtate: but what good courſe to take therein he could not tell; for as hee was a man for his learning, and integritie of life not inferior to the beſt, ſo in matters of ſtate he was as far to ſeek. As it commonly hapneth, the contemplatiue man buried in his meditations, to be vnfit for temporall gouernment: wheras he that ſhould perform both, muſt to his rare vertues and great learning join a ciuill conuerſation, with great experience in worldly affairs, not to bee learned but by great and long practiſe. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wiſhing
C all wel) calling together the nobility, conſulted with them what were beſt to be done for the gouernment both of the yong Emperor and the empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead: not conſidering in the mean time, who they were with whom he conſulted, or, That counſell grounded vpon no wiſe foreſight or approued experience, was more dangerous to him whom he would haue prouided for, than all the enemies murthering ſwords, as ſhortly after appeared.

Muzalo traiterouſly murdered in the Church.

Among others of the nobility called to councell, was *Michael Paleologus* (of whom we haue before ſpoken) much ſuperior to the reſt, as deſcended from the Imperiall houſe of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerfull countenance, gratious and curteous, and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall, wherby he eaſily won the hearts of all men in generall, but eſpecially of the Colenels, Captains, and other martial men commanders in the army: of whoſe aſpiring to the
D empire, many preſages and common rumors (not alwaies vain) had formerly paſſed alſo, to the mooning of many; yea the Patriark himſelfe, not conſidering his hauty and aſpiring nature, made no leſſe account of him than did the reſt, but vpon an eſpecial fauor, committed to his only truſt the keys of the common treaſure, at ſuch time as mony was to be deliuered out for paiment of the armies, or other like great occaſions of the ſtate; the moſt effectual meanes for the furtherance of his ſecret practiſes, and the readieſt way to effect that which hee had ſo long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as he might wel haue wiſhed, but neuer reaſonably hoped for, he poured it out as it were by buſhels, among the nobilitie and martial men, and ſuch others as he thought were able to do moſt with the people; amongſt whom were many of the Clergy alſo. Of which his fauorits were made many mee-
E tings, and by them was the Patriarch continually ſolicited, but yet in general terms, without delay (according to the neceſſitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the ſtate, which now as a great ſhip in the midſt of the ſea without a maſter, was (as they ſaid) in danger to periſh, and being once loſt, was not again to be recouered. At which time alſo the name of *Paleologus* was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wiſdom and experience fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the Empire vntil the yong Emperor were come to age. Vnto which common good liking the Patriarch alſo (ſeeing no more, or peraduenture not ſo much as the reſt) gaue his conſent; and ſo without longer ſtay, to the great content both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him Gouernor of the empire, and Tutor to the yong Emperor, wanting nothing now of an Emperor himſelfe, more than the ti-
F tle and Imperial ornaments. This was the firſt ſtep whereby the aſpiring man (twice before in diſgrace with the two late Emperors, *Iohn Ducas* and his ſon *Theodorus*) mounted at laſt to the Empire.

Michael Paleologus aſpireth.

It was not many days after but that his fauorits held another councel, wherein it was alledged, That it was not ſeemly for him that was Tutor vnto the Emperour, Gouernor of the ſtate

and empire,and to giue audience vnto the Embaſſadors of forrein Nations, to want the honour next vnto the Emperor, as well for the magnificence of the ſtate, as for the credit of his place. Whereupon he was both by the Patriarch and the yong Emperor honored with the title of the Deſpot, another ſtep vnto the Empire. But what contentment find the Ambitious euen in the greateſt honours, ſo long as there is one aboue them? Little ſure, or none at all, more than that it ſerueth them to ſtep at next vnto the higheſt: as did this new made Deſpot, who was ſhortly after by certain of the Nobility his great Fauourits, neere vnto Magneſia,with the great applauſe of the people, hoiſed vp and ſaluted Emperor. Whereof *Arſenius* the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the yong childe the right heir of the Empire. And firſt he was about to haue excommunicated as well him that was made Emperor, as them that had ſo made him. But afterward changing his purpoſe,for fear of greater troubles, he thought it better, by ſolemne Oath to binde both him and the reſt,that they ſhould not ſeek after the life of the Child, or by any force or colour go about to depriue him of the Empire; which was ſo done. Yet it was not a ful moneth after,but that euen he that had ſo great a care of the yong child, and ſo prouided for his ſafety, (perſuaded by them of the Nobility and Clergy) with his own hands,and all the accuſtomed ceremonies,ſet the Imperiall Crown vpon this Vſurpers head;yet not as vpon him that ſhould ſtill enjoy the empire,but as vpon a man according to the preſent neceſſity of the time and ſtate,thought fitteſt for ſo great a charge vntill the yong Child came to age; vnto whom then he was to giue place and reſigne the empire. All which being by more ſolemne oath than before confirmed,good news (as the certain ſign of his fortunat gouernment) were brought vnto him, of a great victory obtained by his captains againſt *Michael Angelus* deſpot of Ætolia and Epirus; who hauing maried the late Emperors daughter, and hearing of his death,with the troubles in Aſia,aided by the King of Sicily and the Prince of Peloponeſus and Achaia his ſon in law, had thought in that hurly and perturbation of the ſtate, to haue taken to himſelfe the greateſt part of the Emperors Territories in Macedonia and Thracia; and for the ſame purpoſe was with a great Army entred into them, burning and ſpoiling the country before him: wherof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Deſpot) vnderſtanding, ſent his brother *Iohn* with ſome other his beſt captains, with a great army againſt him, by whom he with his Complices were put to the worſe, and not without great loſſe inforced to retyre: the joyfull newes whereof he receiued euen as he was crowned. Which was ſhortly after confirmed by the comming of the great Commanders themſelues,bringing with them the Prince of Peloponeſus and Achaia,by them taken priſoner; who for his ranſome was afterwards glad to giue vnto the Emperor *Paleologus*, Monembaſia, Main, and Sparta, three of the beſt cities of Peloponeſus: whereinto he put ſtrong gariſons vnder the command of *Conſtantinus* his brother by the mothers ſide,a right valiant captain: by whoſe good ſeruice, and the commodious ſcituation of the places,hee gained diuers other townes and Cities, and at length the greateſt part of Peloponeſus,out of the hands of the Latines. For the vtter rooting out of whom,he ſhortly after with a great army paſſed ouer into Thracia, with purpoſe (as was thought) to haue beſieged Conſtantinople: but finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was before ſuppoſed,he left that,and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Pera ouer againſt it on the other ſide of the hauen, in hope by winning of that caſtle to haue become maſter alſo of the towne; where he was notably repulſed, and inforced with loſſe to retyre. So riſing with his army,he fortified diuers caſtles and ſtrong holds in the country about Conſtantinople,and putting into them ſtrong garriſons, charged them with continual incurſions,to trouble the Conſtantinopolitans,and to cut them ſo ſhort (if it were poſſible) as that they ſhould not dare to look out at the gates of their city. Which they ſo well performed, that in ſhort time the Latines in the city were driuen to ſuch extremity, that for want of wood they were fain to burn many of the faireſt houſes in the city,in ſtead of fuel. Which done,he returned again to Nice,the chief ſeat of the Greeke Emperors euer ſince that Conſtantinople was taken by the Latines.

Michael Paleologus crowned emperor by Arſenius the Patriarch.

Now reigned in Conſtantinople the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the ſecond (as is before declared) a man of ſmal courage and leſſe power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greeks or Latines: who for the maintenance of his ſtate was glad to ſell the publique Ornaments of the City, and to pawn his ſon vnto the Bruges merchants for money; by whom he

was

A was left at Venice to be brought vp: which gaue occasion for some writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the Venetians.

About this time *Mango* the great Cham of Tartary, stirred by *Aitonius* the Armenian King, (by whose persuasion he had also receiued the Christian Religion) sent his brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great Army against the Turks and Sarasins in Syria and the land of Palestine. This *Haalon* (conuerted also to the Christian faith by his wife) setting forward with a world of people following him, in the space of six moneths ouer-ran all Persia with the countries adioyning, excepting one strong place in the mountains (which some say was Samarchand, afterward the royal seat of the great terror of the world, the mighty *Tamerlane*) which besieged by ten thousand horsemen by him appointed for that purpose, and so continued by
B the space of seuen and twenty years after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himselfe writeth) yeelded by the defendants, only for want of cloaths to couer their nakednesse. *Haalon* (in whose Army those ten thousand left behind were not missing) marching on, and as a violent tempest bearing all down before him) entred at length into Assyria, and there layd siege to the great city of Babylon, then the Seat of the great Calyph; whom all the Mahometane Princes honoured aboue all others, as the true successor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth the interpretation of their Law as most diuine Oracles. Which great City *Haalon* won, and putting to sword al he found therin, men, women and children, with the spoil therof and the rich treasures of the Calyph inriched his soldiers. The Caliph himselfe (reserued for that purpose) he commanded to be set in the midst of the infinite Treasure which
C he and his predecessors had most couetously heaped vp together, and that hee should of that gold, siluer, and pretious stones, take what it pleased him to eat; saying by way of derision, that so gainfull a guest should be fed with nothing but things of greatest price, whereof hee willed him to make no spare. In which order the couetous wretch kept for certain dayes, miserably died with hunger in the middest of those things whereof he thought he should neuer haue had enough: which though they were in value great, and with care layd together, yet serued they him not now to suffice nature, best contented with a little. Babylon thus sacked and almost rased, the Tartar marching on thorow Mesopotamia, took the City Rhoais: where *Aiton* the Armenian King, and author of this the Tartars expedition, came to him with twe lue thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot, as reporteth *Aiton* the Armenian
D Kings Nephew then there present. So entring into Syria, he in few dayes took Aleppo, which Towne hee sacked and rased, in the yeare of our Lord 1260: with diuers other strong towns somtime belonging vnto the kingdom of Antioch. Then was one *Malaeuesar* Sultan of Damasco, commanding ouer all Syria and the land of Palestine: who terrified with the losse of his Cities, and the feare of further danger, with his wife and children came and humbled himselfe before the Tartar Prince, in hope so to haue saued to himselfe some good part of his Kingdom: wherin he was much deceiued, being (as some say) caried away afar off into exile, because he should not hinder the Tartars further proceedings. Or as others report (and haply with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his prisoner, and afterwards to the terror of his son, cut in pieces in his sight vnder the walls of Damasco, after that it had in vaine
E bin twice assaulted by the Tartars. Which strong City for all that, hee afterwards tooke by strong hand, and sacked it, and by the persuasion of his Wife, ouerthrew all the Mahometan Temples, as he had before done in euery place where he came. But purposing to haue gon on forward to Ierusalem, and to haue conquered the whole land of Palestine, newes was brought him of the death of his brother *Mango* the great Cham. Wherupon he stayd his journy, and returned back again, in hope of that great Empire; hauing in this expedition spent almost six years.

1260

Haalō the Tartar sent with a great Army against the Turks.

Aleppo rased by the Tartars.

Damasco won.

Thus by the Tartars was the Kingdom of the Turks at Damasco ouerthrown. At which time the broken affairs of the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine might easily haue bin repaired, and those two goodly kingdomes againe restored vnto the Christian Common-
F wealth, had the Christian Princes of the West then in time put to their helping hand on the one side, as did the Tartars on the other. But they then at fatall discord among themselues, and busied with their Wars at home, let slip that so fair an opportunity, the like wherof they seldom or neuer had since. *Haalon* the Tartar Prince, in token of his good will towards the Christians and their affairs, at his departure from Damasco left his sonne *Abiga* there with

twenty thouſand horſemen to aid them in the Wars, if they ſhould come (as was expected) G
for the recouery of the Holy land; who hauing there ſtayd ſome while, and hearing of his fathers troubles at home, followed himſelfe after him; but yet left behind him *Guirboca* a valiant captain, with ten thouſand of his horſemen, to like purpoſe as his father had him. Who by the inſolencie of certain Chriſtian ſoldiers in garriſon about Sidon, was of a friend, togethe with his Tartars made a foe. Theſe garriſon ſoldiers hauing by chance fet in ſome bootie out of the Tartars territory, not only refuſed to reſtore the ſame again, but alſo foulely intreated ſuch as the Tartar had ſent for the demanding therof. Wherupon further quarels ariſing, it fortuned a nephew of *Guirboca's*, a valiant yong gentleman, to be ſlain: in reuenge wherof he beſieged Sidon, and hauing taken it, ſacked it, and burnt it down to the ground. After which time he and his Tartars became vtter enemies vnto the Chriſtians, doing them all the H
harm they could deuiſe.

The Egyptian Sultan invadeth Syria.

This diſcord betwixt the Tartars and the Chriſtians gaue occaſion to *Melech* the Egyptian Sultan, now jealous of the Tartars neerneſſe, with a great army of his Mamalukes & others to enter into Syria and to ſpoil the countrey of Damaſco. Againſt whom *Guirboca* with his Tartars, although both in ſtrength and number far inferior, went out. But joining battel with him at too much ods, and the victory inclining to that ſide where moſt ſtrength was, he there valiantly fighting was ſlain, with moſt part of his Tartars: ſuch as eſcaped fled into Armenia vnto the friendly King. By this victory, all Syria with the land of Paleſtine, excepting ſome few places holden by the Chriſtians, fel again into the hands of the Egyptian Sultans, as did ſome of them ſhortly after alſo. For *Bandocader* ſucceeding *Melech* in the Mamaluke King- I
dom, comming into Syria with a great army, tooke Antioch from the Chriſtians, and with it moſt of the places before by them defended. The city he burnt, and raſed the caſtle down to the ground; and afterward entring into Armenia, did there great harm alſo.

Antioch taken from the Chriſtians.

Whilſt the Turks kingdom thus goeth to wrack in Syria, ruinated by the Tartars, but poſſeſſed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the leſſer Aſia, now the whole hope of that Nation, went not at that time much better. For *Iathatines* the Turks Sultan, there alſo inuaded by the Tartars, and hauing loſt Iconium his regall City, fled with his brother *Melech* to the Greeke Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in hope to be of him relieued for the kindneſſe he had not long before ſhewed him in like caſe, when as he fled from the late Emperor *Theodore*; wherof now putting him in remembrance, he requeſted him either with ſome conuenient force to aid him K
or els to aſſigne him ſome corner in his large Empire, where he might in ſafety reſt, with his wife and children, and other followers, whom with much wealth he had brought with him in great number. The Emperor on euery ſide himſelfe incumbred with wars, thought not good in ſo great newneſſe of his empire to diminiſh his owne forces; and to aſſigne vnto him any place to inhabit, ſeemed no leſſe dangerous: for that he hauing bin a great Prince, and commanding ouer many great Countries, and brought vp in all princely royalty, was not like to content himſelfe with a little: beſides that, his nobility diſperſed by the Tartars, were likely enough to reſort vnto him as vnto their head, ſo ſoon as they ſhould once heare that hee was ſeated in any place: and vnkindely to caſt him off, that had ſo nobly vſed him in like extremitie, the Emperor was loth. And therfore feeding him vp with fair words, and foording him L
on from time to time with delayes, he held him a great while as a man in ſuſpence, betweene hope and deſpair. At length in the abſence of the Emperor (though haply not without his priuity) he was commanded with all his train, in number about twelue hundred, to get him to Ænus a city of Thracia ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt: where he much diſcontented, liued like an honorable priſoner at large; but with the watchfull eies of ſo many vpon him, as that hee could by no means, as he deſired, eſcape. In which caſe we will for a while leaue him, to feed vpon his own melancholy thoughts.

1261 Now had *Michael Paleologus* the emperor reigned at Nice two years, when new troubles began again to ariſe in the Weſt part of his Empire on Europ ſide, by the treachery of *Michael Angelus* Deſpot of Epirus. For the ſpeedy repreſſing wherof he ſent one *Alexius Strategopulus*, a worthy captain, and a man of great nobility (who for his good ſeruice againſt the ſaid M
Deſpot, he had in the beginning of his reign made *Cæſar*) with little aboue 800 Bithynian Souldiers, and Commiſſion for the taking vp of ſo many more as he ſhould want for that ſeruice, in Macedonia and Thracia. Commanding him when hee had paſſed the ſtreight with

thoſe

A thoſe ſoldiers, to take his way through the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, to terrifie the Latines whom he was loth to ſuffer too long to liue in reſt and quiet, and to ſtirre too far out of the gates, but to keep them as priſoners coupt vp within the walls of the City. This warlike captain with this handfull of men paſſing ouer Propontis, incamped at Rhegium not farre from Conſtantinople; where by chance lighting vpon certain labouring men, Greeks born in the City, and there dwelling, he diligently inquired of them the ſtate therof, and of what ſtrength the Latines were, with many other things ſuch as he was deſirous to know. Who not onely told him that the ſtrength of the Latins was but ſmall, but alſo that the greateſt part therof was gon to the ſiege of Daphnuſia, a Town not far off, vpon the ſide of the Euxine ſea. And withall (as Greeks euill affected to the gouernment of the Latines, and deſirous of the liber-
B ty of their Countrey) offered of themſelues to ſhew him a means how to giue him entrance into the City. Theſe poore men dwelt within the City, cloſe by one of the Gates, neere vnto which place by an old ruinous mine almoſt ſwarued vp, was a ſecret vnſuſpected way into the City, not known to any but to themſelues. By this blinde hole they promiſed him by night to receiue in fifty of his beſt ſoldiers, which ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Watch faſt by, and diſpatching them out of the way, might preſently breake open the gate, and ſo let in the reſt of the Army. Wherunto they promiſed themſelues with their friends to put to their helping hands, aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof. This plot for the betraying of the City thus laid and agreed vpon, *Alexius* and *Cæſar* well rewarding the men, and filling them with greater promiſes, ſent them away. Who as if they had bin about their countrey work,
C were after their wonted maner receiued into the city without ſuſpition at all. And within a few dayes after, according to their promiſe, at an appointed hour receiued in by night the aforeſaid fifty ſoldiers; who aided by them, preſently ſlew the watch, and brake open the gate; wherby *Alexius* entring a little before day, in conuenient place put his men in order of battel, and afterward to the greater terror of the Latines, cauſed the city to be ſet on fire in four places, which increaſing with the wind burnt in moſt terrible maner, and was in ſhort time come almoſt to the Emperors palace. Who ſcarſe well awaked, and ſeeing the city all on a fire about his ears, and the enemy comming on, was about at the firſt with thoſe few Latines that he had (for Greeks he had none) to make reſiſtance. But better aduiſed, and perceiuing it to be now to no purpoſe, he (the laſt of the Latine Emperors that euer reigned in Conſtantino-
D ple) with *Iuſtinian* the Latine Patriarch and ſome other of his friends, fled by ſea into Eubœa, and ſo from thence afterwards to Venice, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French King, in hope to haue bin by him and the Venetians relieued. After whom fled alſo all the reſt of the Latines. Thus the Imperial city of Conſtantinople by great fortune fell again into the hands of the Greekes, in the yeare 1261, after that it had bin in the poſſeſſion of the Latines about 58 years.

The joyfull newes of the recouery of the Imperial City was in ſhort time carried vnto *Michael Paleologus* the Greeke Emperour at Nice, who at the firſt beleeued it not, as thinking it ſcarſe poſſible, ſo ſtrong a city to haue bin by ſo weak a Power ſurpriſed; whereas he himſelfe not long before was not able with a right puiſſant Army and much other like prouiſion, to
E win the Caſtle of Galata ouer againſt it. But afterwards aſſured of the truth therof, with his hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen gaue moſt hearty thanks vnto God therefore, cauſing Hymns and Pſalms of thankſgiuing to be ſolemnly ſung in euery Church, with all the other ſignes of joy and triumph that could be deuiſed. So ſetting all other things apart, he wholly buſied himſelfe in making preparation for his going vnto Conſtantinople, now once againe the ſeat of the Greek Empire: wherin and in trauelling hauing ſpent many daies, he at length with the Empreſſe his wife, and *Andronicus* his ſon, then but two years old, as if it had bin in ſolemn proceſſion, on foot entred into the City by the Gate called the Golden Gate; and ſo after prayers and thankſgiuing went to the place prepared for him neere vnto the Tilt-yard: for the other Imperial Palaces of far greater beauty (ſomtime the ſtately dwellings of the
F greateſt Emperors of the Greeks) had now of long during the reign of the Latines lien ruinous, or altogether defaced. And ſhortly after, becauſe Vertue and true Deſert ſhould not want their due honour, he cauſed the aforeſaid *Alexius Cæſar* (by whoſe means the Citie was recouered) in ſolemn triumph in his robes of honour, with a Crown vpon his head not very much inferior vnto the Imperiall Crowne, with great pomp to bee carried thorowout all the City:

Paleologus the Greek emperor takes poſſeſſiō of Conſtantinople.

city: and further commanded, that his name for one year next following, in all ſolemn prayers and hymns of thankſgiuing, ſhould be joined with the name of the emperor himſelf. And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, cauſed his liuely image afterward to be moſt curiouſly made, & as a trophy to be ſet vpon a fair marble pillar before the great church of the holy Apoſtles, in perpetuall remembrance of him and that he had don for the deliuery of his Country; which ſhortly after ouerthrown by an earthquake, was by his ſon againe reſtored. G

Now was this great and famous city, ſomtime the beauty of the world, by theſe ſtrange and fatall mutations wonderfully defaced, and brought to great deſolation. In euery place was to be ſeen great heaps, or rather (to ſay the truth) great hills of rubbiſh, the eternall witneſſes of the ruin therof: the houſes ſtood, ſome quite fallen down, ſome ready to follow after, & ſome other great and ſtately buildings now the ſmall reliques of great fires: for the chiefe beauty therof was before, at ſuch time as the Latins took it, moſt defaced with fire; who all the time they had it, ceaſed not night and day to deſtroy ſome part or other of it, as if they had known they ſhould not long keep it. Neither did this laſt fire, raiſed by the Greeks themſelues to terrifie the Latins, a little deform it: for which cauſe the Emperors chief care now was to cleanſe the city, in beſt ſort he could to reform ſo great a confuſion of things, not to be all at once amended: firſt beginning with the Churches, which ruinous or ready to fall he repaired: and next to that, filled the empty houſes with new inhabitants. And albeit the chiefe of the Latines were together with the emperor fled and gon, yet was the moſt part of the artificers and tradeſmen in the city, Venetians and them of Piſa mingled together; vnto whom alſo to join the Genoa's, and ſo to fill the city with Latines, he thought it not altogether ſafe, although that by them he reaped great profit: wherfore he aſſigned to them the city of Galatia, now called Pera, on the other ſide of the hauen, for them to inhabit, granting them great priuiledges, and euery of thoſe companies to be gouerned by a Conſul or poteſtate of their own. As for the Imperial city it ſelfe, he ſtored it as neer as he could with natural Greeks born. H I

Paleologus jealous of his ſtate

Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the Emperor could himſelfe haue wiſhed, yet could he not reſt ſo contented, for fear leſt thoſe which now did eat their own hearts, and with great griefe ſmouldred their anger, ſhould at length as the rightfull heires of the Empire by him vſurped, break out into open force, and ſo breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps work his confuſion. For ſuch is the tormenting ſtate of vſurping Tyrants, neuer to thinke themſelues ſafe ſo long as any one liueth whom they may ſuſpect. Wherfore at once to rid himſelfe of this feare, he thought it beſt ſo to diſpoſe of the children of the late Emperour *Theodorus Laſcaris*, as that he ſhould not need of them to ſtand in doubt. To take them out of the way, beſides that it was a thing odious, he ſaw it likewiſe to be vnto him dangerous; *Mary* and *Theodora* (two of the eldeſt daughters) being before by their father maried to two great Princes (the Deſpot of Epirus and the Prince of Bulgaria) with whom he had before much to do, and of them yet ſtood in ſome doubt; but theſe were ſafe enough out of his reach. Other two yonger ſiſters there were in his cuſtody, *Theodora* and *Irene*, with their brother *Iohn*, the onely heir of the Empire: *Theodora* he maried to one *Belicurt* a gentleman of Peloponeſus; and *Irene* to one *Vigintimilio* of Genoa: both Latines, men of no great birth or power, ſuch as he needed not to ſtand in doubt of. Theſe two Ladies, the daughters of ſo great an Emperour as was *Theodor*, thus baſely beſtowed; there remained only their brother *Iohn* ſole heir of the empire, then but ten years old, whom *Paleologus* long before, euen in the beginning of his reigne, had ſent vnto Magneſia, there to be ſafely kept far off from the court, for fear leſt in his right and quarrell ſome diſcontented perſons deſirous of innouation, ſhould now begin ſome new ſtirs which might bee dangerous vnto his eſtate. Which indignitie done vnto the yong Prince, *Arſenius* the Patriarch (put in truſt by his father for the bringing of him vp) took in ſo euil part, that he forſook the Court with all his Eccleſiaſticall dignity, and as a man weary of the world, retyred himſelfe vnto a little Monaſtery of *Paſcaſius* in the country, there to ſpend the remainder of his dayes. From whence for all that, he was after the taking of Conſtantinople from the Latines, almoſt againſt his will drawn thither by *Paleologus* the Emperor, and made Patriarch therof, there together with ſo great an honour to find his greater diſcontent. For *Paleologus* the Vſurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith ſo ſolemnly before giuen for the ſafety and preſeruation of the yong Prince, and the reſtoring vnto him of his Empire; and K L M

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A now fully reſolued to eſtabliſh to him and his poſteritie the ſoueraignty of ſo great an Empire, howſoeuer it was got, cauſed the yong Princes eyes moſt cruelly to be put out: the vſual practiſe of the Tyrants of the Eaſt vpon ſuch as they are loth or feare to kill, and yet would make them vnfit for gouernment. Of which barbarous cruelty his ſiſter *Theodora* (maried to *Conſtantinus* Prince of Bulgaria) hearing, ceaſed not with tears and prayers, and all other Womanly perſuaſions, to ſtir vp her husband in reuenge thereof. Whereunto alſo *Iathatines* the Turks Sultan gaue no ſmall furtherance; who weary of exile, and to be ſo into a corner confined as into a priſon from whence he might not ſtart; by ſecret meſſengers intreated the Bulgarian Prince to make war vpon the vſurping Emperor: promiſing him a great ſum of mony, if by his help he might recouer his former libertie. Wherwith he the rather moued, with a B great power of his own, and aboue twenty thouſand Tartars which then lay by the riuer Iſter, ſuddenly brake into the Emperours territories, and in ſhorter time than was to haue beene thought, ouer-ran all the Countrey of Thracia, euen vnto the ſea ſide, leauing neither man nor beaſt in all the Countrey as hee went: in good hope alſo to haue by the way ſurpriſed the Emperor himſelfe, euen then returning from his Wars againſt the Deſpot in Theſſaly. Who hearing of his ſpeedy comming, beeing got vnto the ſea ſide, and hauing no way left to haue eſcaped by land) ſhipped himſelfe into a Galley of the Latines, which with another her conſort bound for Conſtantinople, by good hap put in there for to water, and ſo within two days after arriued in ſafety at the Imperiall City. Thus diſappointed of the Emperour, all his care was for the deliuery of the Turks Sultan. Wherfore marching in haſt to Ænum, he ſo C terrified the Citiſens with his comming, that they without further delay deliuered him into his hands, that they might therby redeem their owne peace. In his returne you might haue ſeen the Souldiers, eſpecially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men and Cattel, in ſuch ſort as that in the open Countrey of Thrace for a ſpace was hardly to bee ſeen either Countryman or beaſt, it was ſo clean ſwept both of inhabitants and likewiſe of Cattell.

Paleologus cauſeth the young Emperors eys to be put out.

Iathatines the Sultan by the Tartars caried ouer Iſter, and ſo by them ſet at liberty, ſhortly after died. In whoſe kingdom ſucceeded not his ſon *Melick* (as ſome write) but two others (as the Turks themſelues report) the one called *Meſoot*, the ſon of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other *Kei-Cubades* the ſon of *Feramcine*, born alſo of the *Selzuccian* Family, as were all the other D Turks Sultans; but how neer in bloud they were vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they make no mention. Betwixt which two as his Vaſſals, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whom they were ſo preferred) for the paiment of a yearly tribute diuided the Turks Kingdom; apportioning vnto *Meſoot* the Cities of Amida, in antient time called Amiſus, and Aminſus, in Galatia; Melatia, otherwiſe called Meletine, in the leſſer Armenia; Siuaſte, in antient time Sebaſtia, and Harbarie, before Satabria, both in Cappadocia, with all the Countrey about them. And vnto *Kei-Cubades*, Iconium the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all Rumilia Aſiatica, or the Countries of the leſſer Aſia alongſt the ſea Coaſt: Which theſe two Princes held as the Tartars Tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill ſuch time as he was by the ſame Tartars again expulſed. So that the Turks kingdom, which E had of long time formerly flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* Family, in Perſia, Syria, Paleſtine, and Ægypt, were quite ouerthrown by the Mamalukes and the Tartars (as is before declared) and now brought vnder foot in the leſſer Aſia likewiſe, where only reſted all the hope of that Nation, was now at a low ebbe, diuided betwixt two weak Princes reigning but at the deuotion of the Tartar Chan. In which confuſion of the Turkiſh Empire, ſo rent, not only diuers men of great power and authority mongſt them, ſhared vnto themſelues, ſome one corner of the declining kingdome, and ſome another; but many of the obſcure and baſeſt people alſo, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the ſtrait paſſages of the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incurſions, did much harme in the countries of the Chriſtians joyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the F garriſons which were wont to defend the ſame, beeing for want of pay quite disbanded, and the Caſtles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the firſt, as a thing of ſmall importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cauſe of the ruine and decay of the greateſt part of their eſtate in Aſia. Theſe miſchiefes vnregarded, grew dayly more and more, the Turks ſtill gaining vpon the Greekes what they loſt vnto the Tartars. Whoſe

Iathatines dieth

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inuasions (the glory of the kingdom only excepted) was not so hurtfull to them, as the cause G
of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned that a great power of these aduenturous Turks meeting together in Paphlagonia, were about to haue inuaded the territories of the Christians: against whom *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor sent out a strong and puissant army to stay their further comming on, lest breaking in that way, they should without resistance at their pleasure forrage the country before them. Which army conducted by vnskilful captains, incountring with the Turks, was by them in a great battel ouerthrown and vtterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude escaping: for whilst the Greeks vnaduisedly pursued the Turks, retyring of purpose before them, they were by them drawne into the danger of a great power lying in ambush for them, and so intrapped, were slain with an exceeding great slaughter. After which so great a victory (the beginning of the misery of the H
Christians in the lesser Asia) the Turks without let or stay ouer-ran all the country vnto the riuer Sangarius, vpon the banks wherof the Greek Emperor was glad to fortifie diuers towns and forts to keep them out of Bithynia. Neuertheless they in short time after subdued all the countries from Pontus and Galatia, vnto the Lycian and Carian sea, and the riuer Eurymedon, which they diuided among them into diuers Toparchies; little or nothing acknowledging the soueraignty either of *Mesoot* or *Kei-Cubades*.

Whilst the Turks in the lesser Asia thus win from the Christians on the one side, and lose to the Tartars on the other, many an hard conflict in the mean time passed betwixt the Ægyptian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the soueraignty of Syria: the poor remainder of the Christians all that while there in doubt both of the one and the other; from I
whom and from the Armenians (then also much infested with the Mamalukes) diuers Embassadors were sent vnto the Pope and the Christian Princes of the West, to craue their ayd and help in that their hard estate. Whose prayers little preuailing with the rest, yet so moo-ued *Lewis* the French king, and *Henry* the third then reigning in England, that they both promised them aid. Whereupon *Lewis* a man of great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that seruice against the Infidels, took vpon him the Crosse, the cognisance of the sacred War; causing his three sons, *Philip* that succeeded him in the kingdome, (syrnamed the Faire) *Peter* County of Alanson, and *Iohn* County of Nevers, syrnamed *Tristan* (for that his mother was in her greatest heauinesse for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in Egypt) and most of the Nobilitie of France to do the like. Vnto whom also *Theobald* King of Navar his K
son in Law, *Alphonsus* his brother, and *Guido* Earl of Flanders, joined themselues. And so hauing put all things in readinesse, took his way to Marseilles, and from thence embarking himselfe with his Army in the Genoa ships hired for that purpose, set forward the first day of
1270 March, in the year 1270. But being at sea, he was by force of weather constrained to land in
Carthage besieged by K. Lewis Sardinia, and there to stay a while. Departing thence, he at length arriued at Carthage, the place by him desired: where in the entrance of the hauen he surprised certain of the Enemies ships; but landing his men, and assaulting the town, he was notably repulsed. This is not that antient, great, and famous City, which somtime stroue with the proud Mistres of the World for soueraignty, but another built long after in the ruines, or at least not far from the ruines of the same. In the besieging wherof the Frenchmen found such resistance, as wel put them L
in remembrance of the antient glory of the Carthaginians. One day it hapned as the king lay thus at the siege, that the defendants made a great and fierce sally out vpon the Frenchmen; who before commanded so to doe, by little and little retyred, to draw their enemies further on. Betwixt whom and the City the Constable with a great power comming and charging them behinde, and they which were before retyred, now standing close vnto them, they were on both sides hardly beset; who for all that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themselues, and made there a great fight, though not without extream perill. Which they in the City beholding, gaue out a most hideous and pittious cry, a certaine signe of their hard estate within; astonying with the suddennesse thereof both their friends and enemies. But whilest they of the Towne betwixt hope and despair stood thus beholding the fight at land, M
the French-men by sea assaulting a Bulwarke on that side of the Towne, tooke it with-
Carthage won. out resistance. Which so dismayed them without, that they forthwith began to flie; of whom the greatest part casting away their weapons, were by the Kings commandment receiued vnto mercy. And they likewise of the Town vpon promise of their liues, yeelded the same

A same vnto the King. Carthage thus won, the King layd siege vnto Tunes, the chiefe City of that Kingdom, being not far off. Where by the way he was encountred by the King of that Countrey, who hauing there lost ten thousand of his Moores, betook himselfe to flight with the rest. Who thus ouerthrowne, resolued no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himselfe safe within the walls of his city, if happely so he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his enemies by lying still and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which their purpose King *Lewis* perceiuing, resolued not to stir from thence vntill that hee were become master of the City, which as it seemed could not hold out for want of victuals, considering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuertheless thus besieged both by sea and land, and so streitly hemmed in on euery side, as that no reliefe could possibly bee
B brought vnto it, yet held it out by the space of six moneths. After which time, wants dayly more and more encreasing amongst the besieged, Embassadors were sent out to the King, to intreat with him of peace. But whilest these Embassadors go to and fro, and reason vpon the capitulations of the desired peace, behold, a great and furious plague arose in the French Camp, which began to cut them down by heaps: There died *Iohn Tristan* County of Nevers, the Kings yongest sonne, born in the first expedition that the said King his father made into the Holy land, euen at such time as he was taken prisoner; which *Tristan* died the twenty fift day of August, in the year of our Lord 1270. The good King hauing scarsely performed the obsequies of his son, fell sick of the bloudy flix, whereof he there shortly after died also. A-
C bout which time arriued there *Charles* King of Sicilie, the French Kings brother, with a great number of fresh soldiers; whose comming somwhat lightned the Frenchmens hearts (heauy for the death of their King) and daunted the Moores, before brag of the same. Shortly after whom arriued therealso Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the third his eldest son; who trauelling thorow France, and taking shipping at Aquesmort, not far from Marseilles, was now in ten dayes with a braue company of English men come to Tunes; and there of the other Christian Princes, namely of *Philip* the French King (his father *Lewis* being now dead) of *Charles* King of Sicilie, and of the two Kings of Navar and Arragon, ioyfully receiued. But these princes had a little before his arriuall concluded a peace with the Moores King and the Infi-
D dels, vpon condition that he should pay a yearly tribute of forty thousand Crownes vnto the King of Sicilie, and to suffer the Christian Religion to bee freely preached within his Dominions, by such deuout persons as should be there left for that purpose: and that vnto such as should by their preaching be conuerted vnto the Faith in Christ Iesus, it should be lawful for them to be baptised, and to professe the Christian Religion.

Of which Peace Prince *Edward* vnderstanding, did what he might to haue dissuaded them from the same; saying, That the War was by them all taken in hand against the Infidels, as enemies vnto the Crosse of Christ (with whom they were not to haue peace) and for the recouery of the Holy City. But say what he would, and do what he could, the peace to his great discontentment was now concluded, which they might not (as they said) again break. And therupon with the first fair wind hoised sail and returned towards Sicilie, with purpose the next Spring to haue gon into Syria. Which their determination was shortly after by the
E hand of God disappointed: for beeing come vpon the Coast of the Island not far from Drepanum, most of the great Princes and other Nobilitie in their long boats went on land, the rest of the Fleet lying at Anker about a league off; for that being for the most part ships of great burthen, they were not able to put into the Harbor. But as they so lay, by force of a violent and sudden Tempest then arising, some were eaten vp with the rough sea; some falling foule one of another, there perished together; others driuen vpon the Main, were there beaten in pieces. So that of that great Fleet, before the storme ceased, perished about an hundred and twenty sail, with all the people as well mariners as souldiers left in them, and great store of Armour and munition. In such sort that most of the common Souldiers and Mariners which had escaped the Plague at Tunes, there vpon the Coast of Sicilie perished by
F shipwrack. Only Prince *Edwards* fleet, beeing in number but thirteene ships, escaped free without losse either of ship or man. Neither were they that were got to land at Drepanum in much better case, the plague still following them; wherof died *Theobald* King of Navar, and *Isabel* his wife, King *Lewis* his daughter, *Elizabeth* the French queen, with a maruelous number of Noble Gentlemen and other common Soldiers; in such sort, that *Philip* the French King

The Christian Princes returning from Tunes, suffer shipwracke vpon the coast of Sicily.

discouraged

discouraged with the greatnes of the mortalitie, and the miserable losse at sea, resolued there G
to make an end of the intended war, and so returned into France, as did the rest that were lesr,
1271 euery man into his own country. Only Prince *Edward* hauing passed that Winter in Sicilie,
Prince Edward arriueth at Ptolemais. with the first of the next Spring set forward again on his voyage, and in 15 dayes ariued with his fleet at Ptolemais: where after he had by the space of a month rested himself and his soldiers after their long trauel, and fully inquiring of the state of the country, he with six or seuen thousand soldiers marching from Ptolemais about twenty miles into the land, took Nazareth, and put to sword all them he found therein, and so again returned. After whom the enemies following, in hope to haue taken him at some aduantage, he vnderstanding thereof, turned back vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the rest to flight. And after that about Midsummer, vnderstanding that the Sarasins were again making head at a place called H
Cakhow, about forty miles off, he set forwards toward them, and comming vpon them early in the morning before they were aware, slew aboue a thousand of them, and dispersed the rest. Aided also by the Nobilitie of Cyprus, he with like successe as before, made a third expedition against the Turks and Infidels: insomuch that his fame began to grow great amongst them, and they to stand of him in no little dread. But whilst he thus preuailed, he was by foul treacherie almost taken out of the way. The Admirall of Ioppa feigning himselfe desirous to become a Christian, and willing to further the princes proceedings, had by a secret messenger and letters sundry times intelligence with him, as well concerning his own good entertainment, as the effecting of that which hee had promised. This messenger by the Admirall thus employed, was (though to the Prince vnknown) one of the Assasines, a company of most I
desperat and dangerous men amongst the Mahometans, who strongly deluded with the blind zeal of their superstition, and counting it meritorious, by any meanes to kill any great enemy of their Religion; for the performance therof, as men prodigall of their liues, desperately aduenture themselues vnto all kinds of dangers. So now this messenger being resolued to die, comming the fift time vnto the Prince, and being searched for hauing any weapon about him (as the manner was) had accesse vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon his bed, in his jerkin bare headed, because of the heate of the weather. Where after due reuerence done, hee pulled out certain letters from his Lord to the Prince, which hee read with great delight, as penned of purpose for to please. But as hee was further questioning with him of many matters, and all the company voided, the desperat messenger making as though hee would haue K
pulled out some other secret letters, suddenly pluckt out an invenomed knife which hee had
Prince Edward wounded. secretly hidden about him, thinking to haue struck him into the belly as he lay, for the auoiding of which stroke the Prince lifting vp his arm, was therein grieuously wounded. But as the Villaine was about to haue doubled the stroke, the Prince with his foot gaue him such a blow that he felled him to the ground; and with that starting vp, caught him by the hand, where in strugling with him for the knife, in wresting it out of his hand, hee hurt himselfe therwith in the forhead: but getting it from him, presently thrust it into the murtherers belly and so slew him. The Princes seruants being not far off, and hearing the bustling, came running in; where finding the messenger dead on the floor, one with a stool beat out his brains; wherat the Prince took some displeasure for so striking a dead man. This danger of the prin- L
ces much troubled and grieued all the Christians in Syria; and the more, for that the wound in his arm, after it had bin certain daies well dressed by the skilfull Surgeons and Physitians, began to mortifie and grow blacke, insomuch that they and others about him began to mutter amongst themselues, and to looke heauily vpon the matter, as not without great danger. Which Prince *Edward* perceiuing, sayd vnto them, Why whisper ye thus amongst your selues? What see you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth and feare not. Whereunto one of them answered, May it please your Highnesse, we doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painfull for you to suffer. If suffering (sayd hee) may again restore my health, I commit my selfe vnto you, worke on me your skill and spare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poisoned flesh that was in his arm, and within fifteene dayes M
after perfectly cured his wound, to the great rejoicing of all his people. The great Sultan to cleere himselfe of this so dishonorable a treacherie, sent three of his Noblemen vnto the Prince, calling to witnesse his false Prophet *Mahomet*, That the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which his Embassadours the Prince honourably vsed, but suffered them

A them not to come nigh him. So hauing tarried eighteene moneths at Ptolemais, and no ayd comming from the other Christian Princes, as was expected, he tooke shipping, and returning homeward, landed first in Sicilia, and from thence crossing ouer into Apulia, and so trauelling to Rome, was there honourably entertained by *Gregory* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence by the way of France arriued in England, where he was shortly after crowned King, in the yere 1272, his father the old King, *Henry* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

The yeare following, *Gregory* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard estate of the Christians in Syria, (as hauing there beene of late himselfe with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his absence elected Pope) and now desirous to procure them some reliefe, ratified the election of *Rodulphus* of Hapspurge vnto the Empire; vpon condition, That he should promise to take
B vpon himselfe the Crosse, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof he offered vnto the Emperour two hundred thousand crownes, with the tenths both of the Clergie and Temporaltie for six yeres: and many goodly blessings were in his name also, by the preachers of that time, promised vnto all such as should with him take vpon them that sacred warre. Whereupon the Emperour with all his family tooke vpon them the Crosse, the signe of the sacred expedition intended: as did also the Duke of Lorraine shortly after, with some others. Neuertheless the Emperour, otherwise busied in warres against the Bohemians and Bauarians, and delaying still the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him so long and dangerous a journey, and the Pope still threatning his high sentence of excommunication, the time passed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the Emperour hauing
C happily finished his warres in Bohemia, and finding himselfe at some good leisure in some part to discharge his vow, and to satisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of him, sent *Henry* Prince of Megapolis, or as the Germanes call it, Meckelbourg, with a strong power into Syria, to performe what himselfe had promised. Who comming to Ptolemais, made many notable incursions into the country about Damasco, with fire and sword destroying all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at length he was by the Mamalukes circumuented and taken prisoner, and so carried vnto the Sultan at Caire, where he remained in strait prison six and twenty yeares after; vntill that by chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate Germane) being chosen Sultan, caused him to be brought before him, and at his comming demanded of him, If it would not do him good to
D celebrate the remembrance of the natiuity of his Christ with his friends in Germany? (for now that time of the yere was at hand) And I know (said the Sultan) that thou art so addicted vnto thy superstition, that thou respectest the same more than thy liberty. Truth (said *Henry*) mighty Prince; for liberty would auaile me nothing, if Christ by his most mild incarnation had not taken away our captiuity: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, ô King, didst also vnderstand; which as I most heartily wish, so I would I could thereof persuade thee. God forbid (said the Sultan) for I remember that when as I was a chiefe enginer vnto thy father at Knese-Fenicke in Liuonia, and there did him good seruice, I was altogether of the Christian persuasion; but now hauing left that common error, haue therewith also changed my priuate fortune. But as for thy Reli-
E gion I haue nothing to say, my talke is onely concerning thy liberty: Wouldest thou therefore gladly be free, and so returne home to thy friends? That, Nature craueth (said *Henry*) although my fortune gainesayeth, which yet dependeth of your pleasure: I desire indeed to returne home, which if you should deny me, I must as I haue done, take it in good part; assuring my selfe, that my wife *Anastasia*, with my beloued sons, *Henry*, *Leo*, and *Iohn*, haue long since celebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceiued (said the Sultan) for I am sure that they know thou yet liuest, and pray most heartily for thy returne. Truly I owe much vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy liberty. And hauing so said, furnished him with all things necessary, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin* his seruant, who taken with him, had borne him company all the long time of his captiuitie.
F So taking his leaue of the Sultan, he came to Ptolemais: but shipping himselfe for Cyprus, he was by the way, by certaine Pyrats taken at sea, and as a fugitiue Captiue brought backe againe vnto the Sultan: who pittying his hard fortune, set him againe at liberty, and by a ship set out for that purpose, transported him into Cyprus: where he was by the Queene of that

1273 *Rodulph the Emperour taketh vpon him the Crosse.*

Henr. the prince taken prisoner, & sent to Caire

Iſland his aunt (as ſome ſay) honourably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his G
eſtate. Departing thence he came to Marſeilles, where after he had ſome few daies refreſhed himſelfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his own Country: where at the firſt he was not knowne of his owne children and friends, as being growne old in priſon, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found againe, and by them knowne, he was of his children joyfully receiued as their father, and of his ſubjects as their Prince. Howbeit he ſhortly after died, and was honourably buried in the Monaſtery of Dobran.

Thus in the whole courſe of this Hiſtory it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions euen the greateſt Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to their immortal glory, from time to time vndertooke againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and his moſt ſacred word, & for the reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine: whereof as H
diuers of them had right glorious ſucceſſe, vnto the great profit of the Chriſtian Commonweale; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too ſmall ſtrength, or otherwiſe ouerthrowne by the diſcord or malice of the Chriſtians themſelues, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuertheleſſe, how vnfortunatly ſoeuer they fel out in the hands of ſuch worthy men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glory, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the Son of God, Chriſt Ieſus, and the defence of his verity, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, and his moſt blaſphemous doctrine; ſo honorable and juſt a quarrel as might well beſeeme the greatnes of the greateſt Prince, yea, of all the Princes of Chriſtendome. Yet could not the worthines therof, euen in thoſe more zealous times, or the dangerous eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian commonweale, euen then like I
to periſh, (as ſome others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, crying out vnto their Chriſtian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Chriſtian Princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any ſuccor or reliefe: for they little feeling thoſe harmes ſo far off, and more regarding their owne hereditary quarrels, employed thoſe forces one againſt another, vnto the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud, as might haue ſufficed not for relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria onely, but alſo to haue regained whatſoeuer had beene before from them taken by the Turks or Saraſins. The German Princes were ſtill at a jarre about the choice of their Emperors: the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low-countries: neither the Engliſh with the Scots: the Arragonians were at odds with the French: and in Italy were al- K
moſt as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt occaſion of their ruine and decay) *Melechſares* the Egyptian Sultan vnderſtanding by his eſpi-
1289 als, raiſed a great army of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpoſe to haue vtterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, and ſo to haue entirely joyned thoſe two great countries vnto his owne kingdome. But what he had ſo miſchieuouſly deuiſed, hee liued not to bring to paſſe, being in the midſt of thoſe his great deſignes taken away by ſudden death. After whom *Alphix* (or as ſome call him, *Elpis*) ſucceeding
Tripolis woon and raſed by Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan. him in the kingdome, & with a puiſſant army entring into Syria, laid ſiege to Tripolis, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to ſword all the Chriſtians therein (except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight had in time got themſelues out of the danger) & raſed the city down L
to the ground: which calamitie betided vnto the Chriſtians the ninth of Aprill in the yeare 1289. Preſently after, he had the ſtrong caſtle of Neleſine yeelded vnto him, whereinto he put a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building again the late deſtroied city. In
Sidon and Berythus raſed. Tyre yeelded. like manner alſo he took the cities of Sidon and Berythus, which he ſacked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, he remoued to Tyre, which after three moneths ſtrait ſiege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of reliefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. With like good fortune hee in good time, and as it were without reſiſtance, tooke all the reſt of the ſtrong Townes and Caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, excepting onely the Citie of Ptolemais; whereunto all the poore Chriſtians fled as vnto a Sanctuarie, to be there M
defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that ſtrong City, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the ſpace of fiue yeares, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Chriſtian

Princes

A Princes of the Weſt, if he ſhould at once haue then vtterly rooted out all the Chriſtians in thoſe countries together.

The Chriſtians affaires thus brought to the laſt caſt in Syria, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the laſt obtained peace; *Peter Beluiſe* maſter of the Templars, with the grand maſter of the Knights Hoſpitallers, ſuddenly paſſed ouer (as Embaſſadors from the reſt) into Europe, vnto *Nicholaus quartus* then Pope, crauing his fatherly aid. Who moued with ſo great miſeries of the poore afflicted Chriſtians, ſolicited the other Chriſtian Princes to haue ſent them reliefe; eſpecially *Rodolph* the German Emperour, who then buſied with the affaires of the Empire, and his troubles neerer home, (as were the other Chriſtian Princes alſo) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet ſome of them vnder the colour thereof, got from
B their ſubjects great ſummes of money, which they employed to their other worſe vſes: onely the Pope ſent fifteene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout perſuaſion, and much earneſt preaching, he had induced to take vpon them that ſacred expedition, & entertained them of his owne charge: vnto whom alſo many others out of diuers countries, vpon a religious zeale, joyned themſelues as voluntary men: who meeting together at Brunduſium, and there imbarked with the two grand maſters of the Templars and Hoſpitallers, in ſafety at length arriued at Ptolemais. There was then in the City a great number of people of all ſorts: of able men there was about fifty thouſand, and about forty thouſand of the weaker ſort: amongſt whom, diuers murders, felonies, rapes, and ſuch other ſhamefull outrages, (all haſting the dreadfull judgements of God) were dayly committed, and let paſſe vnregarded, more than
C of them that were injured. For all the chief commanders were then at variance among themſelues, euery one of them laying claime (not worth a ruſh) vnto the vain title of the kingdome of Ieruſalem. *Henry* King of Cyprus comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Templars to deliuer him the Crowne of that kingdome, which they had (as he ſaid) wrongfully taken from *Almericus* and *Guy* his Anceſtors. And *Charles* King of Sicilia by his Embaſſadors laid claime vnto the title of that Kingdome, as due vnto the Kings of that Iſland: and vnderſtanding it to be giuen vnto *Henry* King of Cyprus, cauſed all the reuenues of the Templars within his dominion, to be brought into his Treaſuries, and their lands and houſes to be ſpoyled. *Hugh* alſo, Prince of Antioch, laboured with tooth and naile, to defend the ouerworne right that his father and grandfather had vnto that loſt kingdome. And the County of
D Tripolis layd in for himſelfe, that he was diſcended from *Raymund* of Tholous; and that beſide himſelfe, remained no Prince of the antient Nobility, which had woon that Kingdome out of the hands of the Saraſins, and that therefore that regall dignity did not of better right appertaine vnto any other than vnto himſelfe. Neither did theſe foure Princes more ſtriue for the title of the loſt Kingdome, than for the preſent gouernment of the City, ſtraightway about to periſh. The Popes Legate pretending thereunto a right alſo; for that King *Iohn Brenne* had before ſubjected it vnto the See of Rome. As for the claime vnto the City of Ptolemais, the Patriarke of Ieruſalem challenged vnto himſelfe the preheminence, for that the Metropoliticall city of Tyre (vnder which the City of Ptolemais was the third Epiſcopall Seat) was vnder his juriſdiction, euen by the Decree of the Weſt Church. The Tem-
E plars alſo, and the Knights Hoſpitallers, whoſe power in the City was at that time farre the greateſt, pretended the gouernment thereof of beſt right to belong vnto them, as the juſt reward of their bloud, already and afterward to bee ſpent in the defence thereof: promiſing great matters if it might be wholly referred vnto them. Neither ſpared the French King, or the King of England, by their meſſengers to claime the ſoueraigntie of the city, by their predeceſſors ſometimes won. And they of Piſa hauing ſtill a Conſull therein, and by often marriages with the naturall inhabitants, grown into great affinity with them, did what they might to get the gouernement into their hands. The Venetians alſo by their authoritie and great wealth, laboured to gaine the good will of the people, ſparing therein no coſt. And they of Genoa, no leſſe cunning than the reſt, ſupplanted the ſtrongeſt factions, by giuing aid both ap-
F pertly and couertly vnto the weaker; that ſo hauing weakned the faction they moſt doubted and hated, they might by the joynt fauour of the weaker, aſpire vnto the gouernement of the ſtronger, and ſo conſequently of the city it ſelfe. The Florentines alſo by their continuall traffique thither, were not out of hope, by one fineneſſe or other, amongſt ſo many competitors,

The miſerable eſtate of a city about to periſh.

to find a meane to ſtep vp aboue the reſt. But the greateſt part of the people for all that were G
moſt inclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their neerneſſe and power moſt like
of all other to ſtand them in ſtead. All theſe aimed at one marke, which was, the gouernment
and command of the City; and moſt of them had in the ſame their owne proper lawes and
courts, to decide their cauſes and controuerſies in. Whereby it came to paſſe, that euery man
might without checke or controlement almoſt do what he liſt, the offendors from one court
to another remouing their ſuits as beſt ſerued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is before
ſaid) dayly committed in the ſtreets, men abuſed, houſes robbed, ſhops broken vp, and many
other outrages done, to the haſtning of the wrath of God, and griefe of all good men.

1291 Diuiſion and diſſention (the ruine of all Common-weales) thus raigning in the City, the
ſouldiers of late ſent thither, or in zeale come of themſelues for the defence thereof, gaue H
occaſion for the more ſpeedy deſtruction of the ſame: ſuch is the power of the Almightie,
in his wrath and judgements for ſinne, euen by thoſe things wherein we moſt truſt and joy, to
worke our vtter ruine and deſtruction. Theſe ſouldiers, for want of ſuch pay as was promiſed
them, were enforced to ſeeke abroad; and therefore contrary to the league before made with
the Ægyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties vnto the frontiers of his territo-
ries, taking the ſpoile of ſuch things as they light vpon. Whereof the Sultan vnderſtanding,
demanded by his Embaſſadors, That reſtitution might be made, and the offendors deliuered
vnto him to be puniſhed, according vnto the League. But in that ſo ſicke a ſtate of a dying
Common-weale, neither was reſtitution made, as reaſon would, or yet the Embaſſadors cour-
teouſly heard. With which inſolencie the Sultan prouoked, ſent *Emilech Araphus* a nota- I
Ptolemais beſieged. ble Captaine, (and as ſome ſay, his ſonne) with an hundred and fifty thouſand men, to be-
ſiege the City: who comming thither, and hauing made his approches, had by a mine in
ſhort time ouerthrowne a piece of the wall; but in ſeeking to haue entred by the breach, he
found ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, that he was glad with loſſe to retyre. Whileſt *Araphus* thus
lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Alphir* the Sultan died at Damaſco: in whoſe ſtead the Mama-
lukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan; who more deſirous of nothing than of
the glory of the vtter rooting vp of the Chriſtians in Syria, was ſo farre from raiſing of his
ſiege, (either for the death of the Sultan, or the newes of his Kingdome) that he more ſtraitly
beſet the city than he had in the three moneths ſpace that he had there lien before. Now had
they in the city choſen *Peter* the maſter of the Templars, their gouernor; a man of great expe- K
rience and valour: vnto whom, and the reſt of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards,
and vnto the ſoldiers their pay, with free liberty to depart, ſo that they would without more
adoe yeeld vnto him the city, which they could not long hold. Which his offer the maſter re-
jected, and flatly told him, that he had not learned of his anceſtors, to ſell for mony vnto the
Infidels a City bought with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; either did ſo much regard his vaine
threats, as therefore to forget his ſeruice due vnto his Sauior Chriſt and the Chriſtian Com-
monweale. With which anſwer the tyrant inraged, the next day with all his forces aſſaulted
Ptolemais in vain aſſaulted by the Sultan. the city, and that in ſuch deſperat and furious manner, as if he would euen then haue carried
it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promiſed the ſpoile vnto his ſouldiers, the more to
encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could, and loſt a number of his men, ſlaine both in L
the aſſault, and in a ſally which the Chriſtians made out at the ſame time, he was inforced to
retyre backe againe into his trenches. In this ſo terrible an aſſault, not repulſed without ſome
loſſe alſo of the Chriſtians, the grand maſter and gouernour of the city was wounded with a
poiſoned dart, wherof he in three daies after died. With whom the courage of the Defen-
dans fainted alſo, no man being left like vnto him to vndertake ſo great a charge, although
many there were, that ouerweening of themſelues deſired the ſame. In the beginning of this
ſiege the Chriſtians had ſent away all their aged and weak people vnfit for ſeruice, into Cy-
prus, where they in ſafety arriued. But now many of the better ſort both Captains and others
diſcouraged, one after another conueyed themſelues away out of the City. Of whom a great
number in paſſing thence to Cyprus, were vpon the Coaſt of the Iſland together with the M
Patriarch drowned. In the City remained only twelue thouſand, which were thought ſuf-
ficient for the defence thereof. Who afterwards (as ſome report) fled alſo by ſea after their
Fellowes, and ſo left the City empty vnto the barbarous Enemie. Some others reporting

of

A of them more honorably, as that they ſhould right valiantly defend the city againſt the aſſault of their enemies, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them being ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt by force driuen from the wals into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themſelues, in flying thence vnto the ſhips, were by the way all cut in ſunder, or els drowned. But howſoeuer it was, the Sultan entring the city (by the Chriſtians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers; who after they had rifled euery corner thereof, by his commandement ſet it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, Churches, and other publike or priuate buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no ſigne of any city at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the ſtones and rubbidge left of the raſed city, made it a fit place for husband-
B men to plow and ſow corne in; which he did both there, at Sydon, Beritus, and other Townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer more ſerue for a refuge vnto the Chriſtians, or giue them footing againe into thoſe Countries. Thus together with Ptolemais was the name of the Chriſtians vtterly rooted out of Syria and the Land of Paleſtine, in the yeare 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of Ieruſalem by *Godfrey* of Buillon and the other Chriſtian Princes his confederates.

Caſſanes the Emperour inuadeth Syria.

This loſſe, as tending to the great diſgrace of the Chriſtians in generall, moued not a little euen the greateſt of the Chriſtian Princes; wronged all or moſt part of them in the perſons of the Templars or Knights Hoſpitalers, their ſubjects, ſo ſhamefully now quite caſt out of Syria and the land of Promiſe; howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires
C at home or with their neighbour Princes not farre off, none of them once ſtirred for the redreſſe or reuenge thereof. Onely *Caſſanes* the great Tartar Prince, hauing of late ſubdued the Perſians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometane became a Chriſtian) at the requeſt of his wife and his father in law, tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpoſe hauing raiſed a moſt puiſſant army of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and ayded by the Armenians and Georgians, paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus into Syria, not farre from the City Hama met with *Melcenaſer*, the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, with a mighty army, whom he ouerthrew in a great and mor-
tall battell, wherin forty thouſand of the Ægyptians are reported to haue beene ſlaine, and ſo
D draue him quite out of Syria: ſending *Molais*, one of his Captaines, with part of his Army to purſue him, who neuer left him vntill he had chaſed him ouer the deſart ſands into Ægypt. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the City of Hama, where lighting vpon the great treaſures of the Sultan, hee bountifully diuided it, together with the ſpoile, amongſt his ſouldiers; reſeruing nothing thereof vnto himſelfe, more than a ſword and a casket full of ſecret letters. The Ægyptian thus put to flight, he without reſiſtance tooke in moſt of the Cities of Syria, with the City of Ieruſalem alſo; which in many places by the Turks and Ægyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the Temple of our Sauiour gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Chriſtians, repairing thither out of Cyprus, Creet, and other places, to inhabit. And hauing himſelfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his army to Damaſco, which was forthwith deliuered vnto
E him. But lying there, with purpoſe in Autumne following to haue gone into Ægypt, and to haue vtterly deſtroied that kingdome, he was certified of new troubles ariſing in Perſia, and ſome other parts of his Empire: for repreſſing whereof, he with the greateſt part of his Army returned himſelfe into Perſia, leauing one *Capcapus* gouernour of Damaſco; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans Army had reuolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before ſpoken) Gouernour of Ieruſalem: commanding them at his departure to re-edifie the City of Tyre, and to ſend Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to joyne in league with them, for the more ſure holding of thoſe new gained countries. And ſo Tyre was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and deliuered to the Chriſtians, with a conuenient garriſon for the keeping thereof: but the Embaſſadors comming to the proud Biſhop *Boni-*
F *face* the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it beſeemed to haue furthered their buſineſſe, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For hee at the ſame time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his excommunications, diſcharging his ſubjects of their loyaltie, and ſo much as in him was, depriuing him of his Kingdome, had giuen the ſame vnto *Albertus* Duke of Auſtria, whom he had declared Emperour: whereof

Ieruſalem taken and repaired by Caſſanes.

ariſe great troubles. Beſides that, he being of the *Guelphes* faction, was not in any thing more carefull, than of the vtter extinguiſhing of the contrary faction of the *Gibellines*, eſpecially of the moſt honorable family of the *Columnij*, of whom ſome he had ſlaine, ſome he had depriued of their honours, ſome he had impriſoned, and driuen otherſome into exile; ſo that thus wickedly buſied for the maintenance of his owne proud eſtate, he had no leiſure to further the good of the Chriſtian commonweale: which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulneſſe of duty long eſcaped not the reuenging hand of God; being when he thought leaſt, ſuddenly taken priſoner at his fathers houſe in the city of Anagnia (where he was borne) by *Sara Columnius* his mortall enemy; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirats gally, the French King had ſent for that purpoſe, with one *Longaret* (or as ſome call him, *Nogaret*) a French Knight: by whom the proud Prelat brought to Rome, in the caſtle of S. *Angelo*, within fiue and thirty daies after moſt miſerably died, in his madnes (as ſome report) renting himſelfe with his teeth, and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthy Tartar Prince *Caſſanes* (by whom the Chriſtian commonweale might haue againe riſen in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, had not the pride of the great Biſhop, and the diſſention of the Chriſtian Princes hindred the ſame) was (as *Aitonus* writeth, who was preſent in this war, following his vncle the Armenian King) a man of a very ſhort ſtature, and exceeding hard fauor; but with valor, bounty, and other vertues of the minde, plentifully recompencing what wanted in the feature of his body. After whoſe departure into Perſia, *Capcapus* Gouernour of Damaſco, conſidering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt; to recompenſe his former treaſon of reuolting from the Sultan, with a new reuolt from the Tartar, roſe vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely the city of Damaſco, but the greateſt part of Syria alſo. Whereof *Molois* gouernor of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding, was about to haue gone againſt him with his Tartars; but aduertiſed by his eſpials, that *Capcapus* in this his conſpiracie had compacted with the Ægyptian Sultan alſo, perceiuing himſelfe too weake to withſtand ſo great a power, retyred with his Tartars into Meſopotamia, there expecting new ſupplies both from *Caſſanes* and the King of Armenia. Of whoſe departure out of Syria the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding, came directly with his army to Ieruſalem, which he tooke, (being forſaken of the inhabitants) and prophaned the temple, ſparing onely the Sepulchre of our Sauiour, at the humble ſuit of the religious, making there a greater ſhew of deuotion, than of cruelty. After that, he woon all the other leſſer townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themſelues, or giuen to the other Chriſtians, and vtterly raſed all the forts of the Hoſpitallers and Templars, which valiant men, without other helpe, for the ſpace of almoſt a yeare held out againſt the tyrant, in which time moſt of them were honorably ſlaine: the reſt that were left aliue being taken by the enemy, had neuertheleſſe leaue giuen with bag and baggage in ſafety to depart, hauing before by ſolemne oath for euer abjured the country of Syria: and ſo theſe worthy men, the great ornaments of the Chriſtian commonweale, the Hoſpitalers and Templars, which to the vtmoſt of their power had by the ſpace of 300 yeres right worthily defended both the Chriſtians and the Chriſtian religion, againſt the Infidels in Syria and the Holy-land, were now for euer driuen out thence about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great diſhonour of all Chriſtendome.

The deſcription of Caſſanes.

The citty of Ieruſalem, with all Syria again recouered by the Ægyptian Sulan.

1300

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of Syria and the Holy-land, leauing the ſame in the poſſeſſion of the Ægyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were ſhortly after like enough to haue bin againe recouered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar Prince *Caſſanes*, and their domeſticall troubles letted: we will againe returne to the troubled affaires of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, whither the courſe of the time had ſomewhat before called vs, with the occurrents thereof, more proper to our purpoſe and the argument we haue in hand, but that all cannot be at once told: and for the better vnderſtanding of the deſirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the courſe of the aforeſaid Hiſtory, drawing ſo neere to an end, but to make him partaker of the heauineſſe thereof.

The death of Meſoot and Cei-Cubades.

Now had the Turks no kingdome left in the leſſer Aſia, and that alſo at the pleaſure of *Gazan* the great Tartar *Chan* diuided betwixt *Meſoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his vaſſals, bound vnto him by a yerely tribute, as is aforeſaid: who both kept in awe by the greatnes of the Tartar, did nothing worth the remembrance, but as they liued, ſo alſo died, almoſt buried in obſcurity. Of theſe two, *Meſoot* died without iſſue; but *Cei-Cubades* departing, left behind him his ſonne *Aladin*,

A *Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the ſecond ſucceeding in the Kingdome, vnited againe the ſame before diuided, yet paying ſtill tribute vnto the Tartar his Soueraigne, as had his father with the other late Sultans of the Turks before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin* did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, and not to lie ſo heauy vpon the Turks as before. He was a man of a quiet ſpirit, and therefore much delighted in peace: a great friend vnto *Othoman* the firſt founder of the glorious and mighty *Othoman* Empire, as in his life ſhall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the laſt of the Turks Sultans of the *Selzucian* family, dying without iſſue; one *Sahib* his Veſir-Azemes or chiefe Counſeller, and then a man of greateſt authority, aſpired vnto the kingdome, which he had for moſt part himſelfe ſwaied all the reigne of the late Sultan his maſter: which vſurped ſoueraigntie, no way vnto
B him due, he could neither himſelfe long hold, or deliuer vnto his poſterity; for that many others of the nobility, men of great power, and borne of greater families than he, enuying at his honour, and diſdaining to be gouerned by him, or any other no greater than themſelues, layed hold ſome vpon one country or prouince, ſome vpon another, where they were able to do moſt, erecting vnto themſelues greater or leſſer Satrapies, according to the meaſure of their owne ſtrength and power, without reſpect of any ſuperioritie one ſhould haue ouer another, but euery one of them abſolutely commanding ouer ſo much as he was able by ſtrong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchies deſtitute of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preyes vnto ſuch as could firſt lay ſtrong hand vpon them; euen ſo fell it now out in the great kingdome of the Turks, euery one
C of their great Princes, meaſuring the greatneſſe of his territory, not by the meaſure of his right, but by the ſtrength of his owne power. Wherein they ſhared ſo well for themſelues, that *Sahib* at firſt in poſſeſſion of all, was in ſhort time thruſt quite out of all: and ſo the great kingdome of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, brought tnto a meere Anarchie; no King now left among them, the whole kingdome being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other leſſer Toparchies. The greateſt of thoſe Princes that thus ſhared the Turks kingdome amongſt them, was one *Caraman Aluſirius*; who as ſtrongeſt tooke vnto him the city of Iconium, the regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all the great country of Cilicia, and ſome part of the frontiers of the countries of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia, as farre as Phyladelphia, and the city of Antioch vpon the riuer Mæander: all which large territory,
D was of him afterward called Caramania, and by the ſame name is commonly at this day knowne, and by our late Geographers deſcribed. Of this *Caraman* alſo deſcended the Caramanian Kings, who of long time after vnfortunately ſtroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the Soueraigntie of their Empires; vntill that at length they with their Kingdome, and all the reſt of the Turkiſh Satrapies, were in the fatall greatneſſe of the *Othoman* Empire, ſwallowed vp and deuoured, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall (if God ſo will) in due time and place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Sarchan*, of whom the Countrey of Ionia-Maritima was and yet is called Saru-Chan-Ili, and Saru-chania, that is to ſay, *Saruchans* Countrey. The greateſt part of Lydia, with ſome part alſo of the greater Myſia, Troas, and Phrygia, fell to *Calumus* and his ſonne *Caraſius*, of whom it is
E called Caraſia, or Caraſi-Ili, (or as we might ſay) *Caraſius* his Countrey. The greateſt part of the antient Miſia, with ſome part of Lydia, was poſſeſſed by *Aidin*, and was of him called Aidinia, or Aidin-Ili, as his Country. Some part of the great Countrey of Pontus, with the Cities of Heraclea-Pontica, Caſtamona, Synope, and others neere vnto the Euxine, and the Countrey of Paphlagonis, fell into the hands of the ſonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes call him, *Amur*: of whom that Countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of ſuch Princes as poſſeſſed them, but is commonly called Bolli, of a City in that Country by the Turkes ſo named. As was alſo Mendeſia, or as ſome call it Menteſia, a Countrey in the leſſer Aſia, ſo by the Turkes called of Mendos or Myndus, a City in Caria. There were beſide theſe, diuers other places and Toparchies in the leſſer Aſia, which in the renting of this
F great Kingdome, from the Turkes receiued names, before vnto the World vnknowne; all which to proſecute were tedious. Sufficeth it vs, for the manifeſting of the Turkes Anarchie, and the ruine of their Kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, as in part alſo for the more euidence of the heauy Hiſtory following, to haue remembred theſe as the chiefeſt; eſpecially ſuch as tooke their names from ſuch great Princes or Captaines as in that ſo great a confuſion of the

The Turks kingdome rent in ſunder by themſelues.

The Turkes Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Caraſia.

Aidinia.

Bolli.

Mendeſia.

the Turks kingdome, by ſtrong hand firſt ſeiſed vpon them, and ſo left them to their poſteri- G
tie of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter. Theſe Princes one and all that thus ſhared the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were deſcended of the better ſort of the Turks, which with the *Selzuccian* and *Aladinian* Sultans driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars, had vnder them ſeated themſelues in the leſſer Aſia, as is before at large declared. Now among theſe great men that thus diuided the Turks kingdome, moſt of them that write of the Turks affaires, both Greeks and Latines, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiſer of his houſe and family) for one, who indeed in the latter time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flouriſh, and was of him for his valour extraordinarily fauoured (as in this Hiſtory ſhall appeare) but of his kingdome held no more than one poore lordſhip, called Suguta in Bythinia, not farre from the mountaine Olympus, (long before giuen vnto his father *Erthogrull*, for his good ſeruice) with ſuch other ſmall holds there- H
about, as he had himſelfe gained from the weake Chriſtians his neighbours. For although he were a Turke borne, yet was he not of the *Selzuccian* family, as were the reſt, but of another houſe and tribe, and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue ſo good right to any of the late Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who being of his houſe, and holpen with the preſcription of time, enuied at the ſudden riſing of this *Oguzian* Turk, being to them as it were a meere ſtranger: whoſe fortune for all that (I know not by what ſecret foreknowledge) they ſeemed to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their poſteritie; wherein they were no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be ſaid hereafter: leaue we him now therefore with the reſt vnto their fortunes in this the Turkes Anarchie, and ſo conclude this part of our Generall Hiſtory: Glad when I looke backe I
to haue waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; ſuch a ſea of matter and world of troubles yet remaining, not without much labour and toile, and that in long time to be paſſed through.

Othoman none of the Selzuccian family.

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FINIS.

THE LIVES OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS.

FAITHFVLLY GATHERED OVT OF the beſt Hiſtories both antient and moderne, and digeſted into one continuat Hiſtory.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

ECCLES. 10. 4.

The gouernment of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, [and all iniquity of the nations is to be abhorred:] and when time is hee will ſet vp a profitable Ruler ouer it.

LONDON,
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1638.

Laurentius Jhonsonus sculpsit. 1608

Phi. Lonicerus Hist. Turc. Lib. 1.

Multiplici lassatæ Asiæ res clade premuntur:
Hinc Sarracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Christicolæ gladios in vulnera stringunt:
Græcia funesta seditione perit.
Impiger interea noua concipit Ottomannus
Concilia, & valida surgit in arma manu.
Et vasta tricis regno fundamina turbæ
Ponit: & in multo sanguine sceptra lauat.

With endlesse wars the Asian state farre spent and ouerworne,
By Sarasins and Tartars force, is all in pieces torne.
The Christians draw their bloudy swords, wherewith themselues to wound:
And Greece with ciuill discord seekes it selfe for to confound.
Meane while the warlike *Othoman*, new counsels doth deuise,
And with a crue of Martiall men doth vp in armes arise:
And layes the fatall plot whereon the wastfull Turkes should raigne,
And bathes his scepter in much bloud of people by him slaine.

THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF THE TVRKES VNDER *OTHOMAN*, FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF: WITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.

C

HAT ſmall aſſurance there is in mens affaires, and how ſubject vnto change euen thoſe things are wherein we for the moſt part repoſe our greateſt felicitie and bliſſe, (beſide that the whole courſe of mans fraile life, by many notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainly manifeſt the ſame, than the heauy euents and woefull deſtructions of the greateſt Kingdomes and Empires: which founded vpon great fortunes, increaſed with perpetuall ſucceſſe, exalted by exceeding power, eſtabliſhed with moſt puiſſant armies, wholeſome lawes, and deepe counſels; haue yet grown old, and in time come to nought: So that euen as men, all things elſe belonging vnto man, are ſubject vnto the ineuitable courſe of deſtinie, or more truly to ſay, vnto the fatal doome of the moſt Higheſt, prefining vnto euery thing that in time begun, a time alſo wherein to take heed, being himſelfe without time, the great commander thereof, and of all things elſe done therein. The fame of the firſt Aſſyrian Monarchy, is very antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuertheleſſe found an end; and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with ſo much glory and valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with ſhame and cowardiſe by *Sardanapalus* ſubuerted. With like neceſſitie fell the great empire of the Medes and Perſians, the time thereof being come. And after them, the Macedonians alſo. Neither hath the great Roman Empire, or the proud City of Rome it ſelfe (ſometime the miſtreſſe of the world) herein found any exemption, but run the ſame courſe with the reſt: which grown great with continuall triumphs, and ſo ſtrong as that it was not with forrein power to be ſhaken; conuerted the forces of it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, to the ouerthrow of the antient liberty thereof, together with the vtter ſubuerſion of the ſtate. After which time that mighty Monarchy (of all that euer yet were, the greateſt) vnder the Romane Emperors felt many an hard and perillous ſtorme, and by little & little ſtil declining (though ſometime like a ſicke aged body, by the valor or vertue of ſome one or other her worthy Emperors, a little relieued, and by and by againe caſt downe by the folly or negligence of ſome others ſucceeding) it became at length a prey vnto a fooliſh, rude, & barbarous nation, which it had before oftentimes ouercome, and ouer which many the Roman captains had triumphed, and thereof taken their glorious ſurnames: which now again without compaſſion, burning and ſacking it, cauſed it to ſtoop, and to yeeld vnto the ſeruile yoake which it had in former time proudly impoſed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then ſitting at the helm (although that may alſo much help the

All worldly things ſubject to change.

The greateſt kingdoms haue in time taken end, & ſo come to nought.

D E F

the matter as a meane) but the inſtabilitie of wordly things neuer permanent, but alwaies G
changeable,and the ſooner for their height;and that ſo forcibly,as that no man knoweth how
to remedy the ſame,either if he did,were he able to performe it;the greateſt means that men
could poſſibly deuiſe for the ſtay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from aboue,
conuerting vnto the more ſpeedy effecting of that,againſt the which they were by mans wiſe-
dome prouided. The like might be ſaid of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians,the Thebanes,
and of whom not? What maruell then,if the ancient kingdomes of the Turks likewiſe in Per-
ſia,and the leſſer Aſia,in Syria,Paleſtina,and Ægypt,hauing run their appointed times,migh-
tily impugned by the Chriſtians, oppreſſed on the one ſide by the Tartars, and on the other
by the Mamalukes,and at length by themſelues rent in ſunder(their deſtiny ſo requiring) loſt
at laſt their wonted majeſty,and ſo fell into a meere Anarchy,as in the former part of this Hi- H
ſtory is at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other people fortunate,That after the
ruine of their former kingdomes, ſtraight way out of themſelues ariſe another, namely, this
Othoman monarchy, the chiefe obiect of this Hiſtory : which at the firſt ſcarce of the world
perceiued, or of themſelues regarded, in ſhort time ſo proſpered, as that the power and glory
thereof obſcured not their former kingdomes only (nothing, in compariſon of this)but euen
the greateſt monarchies of the world ; ouer a great part of which, it now ſo proudly triumph-
eth,as if it ſhould neuer haue end:at the beauty wherof the world wondereth,and at the pow-
er thereof quaketh: within the greatneſſe whereof are contained no ſmall portions of Aſia,
Europe, and Africke, but euen the moſt famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof : no part of
the world left vntouched but America onely ; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than I
in that ſhe is ſo farre from ſo great and dangerous an enemy. The foundation of this ſo great
a kingdome (and now ſo mighty an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was firſt laid by the
valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turks call him, *Oſman* ; not deſcended of the *Selzuccian* family, as
were al the former Turks Sultans,but of the *Oguzian* tribe & kindred : in whoſe line this glo-
rious empire hath euer ſince, by the ſpace of three hundred yeares and three, to the aſtoniſh-
ment of the world,wonderfully flouriſhed ; and ſo yet doth at this day,vnder the gouernment
of *Mahomet* the third,which now raigneth thirteenth in deſcent from him, knowing none in
this world greater than himſelfe. But foraſmuch as both his greatneſſe, and the greatneſſe of
the reſt of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors his progenitors,tooke their beginning from this
worthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whoſe life and doings we purpoſe to begin this part of our K
Hiſtory,it ſhall not be amiſſe both for the continuation of that we haue in hand,with that we
haue already written,and for the more manifeſting of that which hereafter followeth, a little
farther to fetch his race and deſcent alſo:not meaning with a long and faigned pedegree to fet
him out of *Noah* his arke,(which continuall ſucceſſion of Princes, no nation of the world, be
it neuer ſo antient,the Iewes only excepted, and they alſo by writings and Hiſtories as much
as was poſſible eternized,could truly and juſtly chaledge) but onely ſo farre as ſhall be perti-
nent vnto our purpoſe,and by the authority of good Hiſtories to be auerred.

At ſuch time as the Turks kingdom founded by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia,flouriſhed in the *Sel-*
zuccian Princes his ſucceſſors, there was alſo another kingdome of theirs at the city of Ma-
chan,as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other either in glory or power. In L
this city,and ouer this ſmall kingdom,raigned one *Solyman*, by his ſubiects honored alſo with
the name of a Sultan or King;at the ſame time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old *Zingis*
their great Captaine, leauing their own countrey, and beating downe the world before them,
hauing conquered the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt,and there ſeated their kingdome,turned their
forces into Perſia, and there ouerthrew the Turkes kingdome at Balch in Coraſan, and draue
the Turks with *Curſumes* their laſt King, out of the country : after that they had there from
the time of *Tangrolipix* reigned about an hundred and ſeuentie two yeres.

Solyman, Sultã of Machan forſaketh his kingdome for feare of the Tartars.

This *Solyman* of whom we ſpeake,then raigning at Machan,was not of the *Selzuccian* family
(as were all the other Turks Sultans,the ſucceſſors of *Tangrolipix*) but of the *Oguzian* tribe, a
family famous alſo amongſt the Turks;who ſeeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Curſumes* (or as ſome M
call him,*Cuſſumes*) his countryman,beaten out of his kingdom by the Tartar,and his country
ouerrun, and the great Caliph of Babylon alſo ouerthrowne ; thought it not good longer to
ſtay in that countrey which he could not hold, but by ſpeedy flight betimes to prouide for
the ſafety of himſelfe and of ſuch his ſubiects as would follow him : and hearing that *Aladin*
the

A the ſon of *Kei-Huſreu*, or as the Grecks call him, *Cai-Coſroe* (a great man of the *Selzuccian* family, & neere of kin vnto the late Sultan *Curſumes*) who for feare of the Tartars but lately come into Romania Aſiatica, had there by force of armes moſt honourably ſeated himſelfe and the Turks his followers, among the Chriſtians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale towards his ſuperſtition (accounting all wel gotten that was gained from the Chriſtians) took his way after him, with ſuch of his kinſmen and ſubiects as would accompany him in his new aduentures. And comming to Artezerum, a city in the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia, thereabout in the countrey according to the ſeaſon of the yeare ſeated himſelfe with his followers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children, after the manner of the Tartar Nomades their anceſtors, in poore tents and carts couered with a courſe kind of cloth,
B had followed him, being indeed nothing els but a very rude and rough kind of ſturdy heardſmen, not wedded to any place, but ſtill remouing with their tents and carts vp and downe, as beſt ſerued for their purpoſe and the feeding of their cattell, as do the Turcoman nation, the true diſcent of the Turks, in many places of Aſia at this day, and were thereof not only called Nomades, that is to ſay, Herdſmen, (by which name the proud Ianizaries will oftentimes in contempt call euen the greateſt of the naturall Turks) but *Hamaxophoreti*, and *Hamaxobij*, that is to ſay, people carried or liuing in carts. *Solyman* hauing ſtaid a while about Erzerum, remouing thence came to Amaſia; and there ſpoyling the country, then inhabited by the Chriſtians, did them much harme, oftentimes encountring them in the plaine field, and ſometimes ſeiſing vpon their towns and cities, vntil he had ſubdued vnto himſelfe a right large territory:
C yet at length hauing in ſo many battels by him fought, and cities by him beſieged, loſt a great number of his people, and ſo wearied the reſt, as that they were not willing further to follow him; and fearing alſo with ſuch ſmall power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the country by him already gotten, in the midſt of ſo many enemies, he thought it beſt to depart thence, and to ſeek his better fortune elſewhere. At the ſame time it was rifely reported, that the affairs of Perſia, after ſo long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow again to ſome good quiet, the fury of the Tartars being now well abated, and that ſtorm ouerblown: wherefore *Solyman* reſolued now to returne home again, and to viſit his natiue country,
of him and his people aboue all others deſired. So paſſing through Syria, (for thas was now his way) neer Aleppo he ſeiſed vpon a caſtle called Ziaber-Cala, and there ſtaid a ſpace for the
D refreſhing of his people. Afterward ſetting forward again, he came at length to the great and famous riuer Euphrates, ouer which he muſt needs paſſe, but finding there neither bridge nor foord, or other meanes to get ouer, he ſtood ſtill as a man diſmaid, not knowing what to doe. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not: his deſire bid him go, but the great riuer ſaid not ſo. In this perplexity *Solyman* himſelfe with his horſe oftentimes taking the riuer, in hope to haue found ſome paſſage; but finding none, aduenturing too far, was with the force of the ſtreame carried away, and ſo together with his horſe drowned. His body after long ſeeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people buried neere vnto the caſtle Ziaber, not long before by him taken: whereof they ſay the place is now in their tongue called *Meſari-Zuruc*, (*viz.*) the Turks Graue. Some of theſe *Oguzian* Turks, after the
E death of their Sultan, weary of their long trauell, ſeated themſelues in the countrey thereabouts, vnto whom the Turks that now hold that caſtle do refer their beginning. The reſt of that great tribe and family diuerſly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their fortunes led them; ſome of them into the waſt ground and deſarts of Arabia and Syria, and are at this day called the Damaſcene Turcomans: other ſome returned back againe into Romania, the ſame way that they came; of whom are diſcended the Turcomans of Iconium, and Anatolia: who yet with their wiues and children, as heardſmen in great companies wander vp and downe the countrey, after the manner of their anceſtors. *Romania Aſiatica.*

Solyman thus loſt, left foure ſons, *Sencur-Teken*, *Iundogdis*, *Ertogrul*, of ſome called *Orthobules* (the father of this *Othoman* founder of the Turks empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With theſe
F foure brethren, moſt part of theſe *Oguzian* Turks that were left, returning into Romania (as is aforeſaid) after they had there reſted themſelues a while, marching vp along the riuer Euphrates, came to a place called Paſin-Ouaſi, about ten miles aboue Arterum, where *Ertogrul* and his brother *Dunder*, with foure hundred families, not willing to goe any further, ſtayed with their tents and carts, their beſt dwellings. *Sencur* and *Iundogdis* their other two bre- *The ſonnes of Solyman, and their firſt aduentures.*

thren,

thren in the meane time passing the riuer, returned with the rest into Persia : whom we there G
leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his brother and his three sons staid a while, and had diuers conflicts with the country people therabout, vntill that at length he thought it best to returne again into Romania. So setting forward, he came to Ancyra, and from thence vnto the blacke mountaines, and so to a plaine called of the Turks *Sultan Vngi*, about 75 miles Eastward from the city of Nice in Bithynia, where he had many skirmishes with the Christians.

Now a great while before this, *Aladin* the elder (of whom we haue before spoken in the former part of this history) fled out of Persia, had subdued diuers great prouinces and countries in Romania Asiatica, or the lesser Asia, for so it is more truly called : so that he was of all the people thereabouts accounted a great Prince, and of the Turks themselues honored with the H
name of their *Vlu Padischach, viz.* their great King or Emperor. Hauing placed his regall seat first at Sebastia, and afterwards at Iconium, which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein reigned, as did some few of his posterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the honor, glory, and power of this great Sultan : but hauing three sons, namely *Iundus*, *Serugatin*, and *Othoman*, sent *Serugatin* his second son (a bold well spoken man) to him, to request him in that his so large a kingdome, as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to grant vnto them his poor exiled countrymen, of long time oppressed with diuers fortunes, some small corner for them with their families and cattell to rest in. Which his request, the Sultan not forgetfull of his owne distresse sometime in like case, graciously heard, and with great courtesie vsed the messenger. Now for the furtherance of his suit it fortuned that this I
Sultan before driuen out of Persia by the Tartars, and by them also much troubled in these his new gotten countries in the lesser Asia, had with them diuers hot skirmishes and sharpe conflicts : in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himselfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beset by his enemies, and in danger to haue lost the day: when as *Ertogrul*, but newly come into the country, and willing to do the Sultan seruice, and awaiting all opportunities for the commending of himselfe and his followers; vpon the sudden vnlooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs of the Tartars, then almost in possession of a great victory, and so forcibly charged them, that vnable to endure the charge, and to maintaine the fight against the Sultan (whose men encouraged by this vnexpected aid, as by succour sent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage, being both before and behind hardly beset) K
they as men in dispair of the victory they had before assured themselues of, turned their backs and fled. After which good seruice, the Sultan honorably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kisse, as the manner of the nation is ; and highly commending his valor, commanded a rich cloake to be cast vpon him (amongst those Eastern nations a great honor) and all his souldiers to be bountifully rewarded ; and presently after gaue vnto *Ertogrul* and his Turks a country village called Suguta, betwixt the castle Belezuga and the mountain Tmolus in the greater Phrygia : in which village they might liue in Winter, and vpon the aforesaid mountain, and the mountain Ormenius, betwixt the riuers Sangarius and Licus, feed their cattell in Summer. And yet not so contented thus to haue honored him, in whom he saw such approued valor, committed to his protection that side of the countrey wherin he dwelt, L
being in the very frontiers of his kingdome : which his charge he so well looked vnto, that all the countrey thereabout, before much infested with the often incursions of the enemy, was by his vigilant care and prowesse well secured.

Thus is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely heardsmen, become a petty Lord of a country village, and in good fauour with the Sultan : whose followers, as sturdy heardsmen, with their families, liued in Winter with him in Suguta ; but in Summer in tents, with their cattell vpon the mountains. Hauing thus liued certaine yeres, and brought great peace to his neighbors, as wel the Christians as the Turks, before much troubled with the inuasion of the Tartars ; it fortuned that the Christians of Cara-Chisar (a castle thereby, called by the antient Greeks, *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time *Maurocastron*, that is to say, the blacke tower or castle) M
weary of their owne ease, and of the peace they had by his cares enioyed, fel out with him, and euill intreated both him and his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euil part, therof and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turkes, so grieuously complained vnto the Sultan, that hee therewith mooued, raised a great army, and so himselfe in person came and

The Christians of Cara Chisar fall out with the Turks.

besieged

A beſieged the caſtle. But lying there at the ſiege, news was brought him, that the Tartars with a great army, vnder the leading of one *Baintzar*, were entred into Caria, and there ſpoiling the country, had taken Heraclea. For the repreſſing of whom, the Sultan was glad to riſe with his army; yet leauing a ſufficient ſtrength behind him for the continuing of the ſiege, vnder the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for ſo the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountring with the Tartars at Baga, ouerthrew them in a great battell: whilſt *Ertogrul* in the mean ſpace hardly beſieged Cara-Chiſar, wherein fortune ſo much fauoured him, that at length he took the caſtle, the ſpoile whereof he gaue vnto the ſouldiers, reſeruing only the fift part thereof, as due vnto the Sultan; which he ſent him for a preſent, together with the Captain of the caſtle, who he had taken aliue: which Captaine the Sultan afterward inlarged, and reſtored again to
B him his caſtle, for the payment of a yerely tribute, which he truly payd during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two yeares after, he refuſed any more to pay it, and ſo reuolted from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the Aladinian kingdome (for ſo the Turks call it) being dead at Iconium, after him ſucceeded *Azatines* his eldeſt ſon, and after him *Iathatines* his yonger brother: who ſlaine by *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Greeke Emperor, (as is before declared) after him ſucceeded in that kingdome another *Iathatines*, the ſon of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars expulſed, and his kingdome ſubdued, as in the former part of this hiſtory it appeareth. After which time alſo the *Selzuccian* family there by the Tartars in the leſſer Aſia depreſſed, retained ſcarce the name and ſhadow of their former maieſty and glory. In which troubleſome
C times, and confuſion of the ſtate, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe at Suguta, as well contented therewith as with a kingdome; ſeeking by all means to keep peace on euery ſide with his neighbours, as well Chriſtians as others. In which quiet kind of life he ſweetly paſſed ouer the troubleſome times of *Meſoot* the ſon of *Kei-Cubades*, and of *Kei-Cubades* the ſon of *Feramuzin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars tributaries, and reigning but at their pleaſure, vntill the time of the ſecond *Aladin*, the ſole and laſt heire of the Iconian kingdome, before by the Tartars diuided; which was no few yeares. All which time *Ertogrul* liued quiet at Suguta, as one amongſt many other of the Iconian Sultans ſubiects, wiſely conſidering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in Perſia and at Iconium; as alſo the ruine of his own houſe and family, both from royall ſtate brought almoſt to nothing:
D and therfore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of neceſſity, contenting himſelfe with a little, bare himſelfe kindly towards al men. In which contented kind of life he grew to great yeares, with his three ſons, great beloued and honored of their neighbors, as well Chriſtians as Turks; and no leſſe fauoured by the ſecond *Aladin* then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him: whom the young men his ſons, after the manner of their nation (forbidding them with empty hands to ſalute their Princes) oftentimes viſited with one preſent or other. In all which his ſons were many good parts to be ſeen, yet ſo, as that in *Othoman* was eaſily to be ſeene a greater courage and ſpirit than in the other two his brethren: which was the cauſe that he was the more of them of his tribe regarded, but eſpecially of the youthfull and warlike ſort, which commonly reſorted vnto him when he went to hawke
E or hunt, or to other delights of the field (the counterfeits of war) and was of them commonly called *Oſman Gazi*, *viz*. *Oſman* the Warlike.

In this frontier countrey neer vnto Suguta, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* diuers lieutenants and captaines, gouernors of his caſtles and ſtrong holds vpon thoſe frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendſhip ſake oftentimes reſorted: but eſpecially to the captain of In-Vngi, for that he knew himſelfe to be of him well beloued, and therfore vnto him very welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *Othoman*, being yet but yong, was going to make merry with the gouernor of Eski-Chiſar (a caſtle about 24 miles off, called of the Greekes, *Palæocaſtron*) by the way as he went, at a place called Itburne (a towne in Phrygia) chanced there to ſee, and afterwards to fall in liking of a
F faire maiden, called *Malhatun*: vnto whom his affection dayly increaſing, he without his fathers knowledge ſent a ſecret friend of his to intreat with her of marriage. Which after long diſcourſe to her made concerning *Othomans* affection and requeſt, gaue him anſwer, that betwixt *Othoman* and her was great inequality, a thing eſpecially to be regarded and eſchewed of ſuch as wiſhed to liue a happy life in wedlock bands: ſhe was (as ſhe ſaid) but meanly born,

Small things in time of trouble yeeld vnto the Wiſe great content.

Othoman amarous of Malhatun a Countrey Maid.

and therefore was not to expect so great a match : whereas he could not want choice of other maids of more worth, & in all respects more answerable vnto himselfe. But among other causes why she gaue him this answer, one was, for that some that wished her wel, had put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but vnder that color to obtain of her some few days pleasure, and so hauing dishonored her, afterward again to cast her off: which was indeed far from his thought ; for he the more inflamed with her modest deniall, the more desired her for his wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going againe to the gouernor of Eski Chisar, and courteously by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar friends in their merriments) to fall in speech of his Loue, with greater affection than discretion, commending her beauty, her feature, and gracious perfections, not dissembling also, to her greater praise, the repulse by him receiued at her hands : which the gouernor hearing, seemed greatly to like of his choice, saying, that she was by the diuine prouidence (for so the Turks religiously vse to speake) appointed only for him to haue. But in the meane time secretly inflamed with the immoderat commendation of *Othoman*, without respect of friendship, hee began to grow amorous of her himselfe, whom he had neuer seen ; so light is that foolish affection: and that so farre, as that being otherwise a man of good discretion, he was not able to conceale or couer these new conceiued flames, but that *Othoman* by certain coniectures & tokens perceiued the same: and yet dissembling the matter, as if he had suspected nothing, being risen from the banquet, calling vnto him one of his trusty seruants, secretly sent him away to certain of the maids friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, presently to send her away to some place further off, for feare she were not ere long taken from them by a great man more amorous of her person, than respectiue of her honour. And by and by after taking leaue of his vnfaithfull friend, and bidding him farewell, tooke his way to the Captain of In-Vngi, whom he knew to be his deere friend. But whilst he there stayd certaine days, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthful disports, with the captain his friend; the gouernor of Eski-Chisar, who commanded all the country therabout called Sultan-Vngi, sent one of his trusty seruants to Iburne, to see faire *Malhatun*, and how all things went there. Who comming thither, and vnderstanding of her secret departure, and that by the aduertisement from *Othoman* she was conueighed to certaine of her friends afar off, at his returne, from point to point certified his master thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting aboue measure to see himselfe so deluded by *Othoman*, presently sent vnto the Captaine of In-Vngi, (being within his iurisdiction) to command him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreaty be persuaded so to do. Wherefore the gouernour in a great rage presently raising the greatest power he was able to make, came to the castle of In-Vngi, requiring to haue *Othoman* forthwith deliuered vnto him. Where among the souldiers there in garrison with the captaine, began to arise diuers opinions ; some wishing, for the auerting of the present danger for which they were now vnprouided, to haue him deliuered ; and other some abhorring so treacherous a fact, willing rather to indure all extremities. In the end, after much consultation honesty preuailed, and it was generally resolued, that he should be defended, who could not without their great infamy be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuersity of opinions, which had euen at first shewed it selfe; and thinking it not for his safety, to commit himselfe to the trust of such wauering men, entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a sudden sally to make himselfe way through the midst of his enemies. Wherewith hauing made his brother *Iundus* and those few his followers there present acquainted, & therupon resolued; he fiercely sallyed out, and by plain force brake through the midst of them, and so took his way towards Suguta, still notably repulsing them that were sent to pursue him: but being come into the frontiers of his fathers territory, & the report of his dangers known, and that being but weakely accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies pursued; presently all the lusty youths and such as loued him well, tooke horse to come to his rescue: who meeting with the gouernors soldiers, that had *Othoman* in chace, in a sharp conflict slew diuers of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken prisoners, & among the rest one *Michael Cosse* a Christian, Captain of a little castle in that country, called Hirmen-Caia, or the rocke of *Ormeni* : Of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which vnexpected courtesie he was so moued, that euer after he tooke part with him,

A folly common vnto Louers.

No friendship in Loue.

Othoman besieged, & in danger for his loue.

A him,and did him great ſeruice in his wars:whoſe poſterity hath euer ſince euen vntil this our age continued,next vnto the *Othoman* family,moſt honourable and famous among the Turks, by the name of *Michael Oglies, viz.* the ſons or poſterity of *Michael.*

Ertogrul,now ſpent with age,ſhortly after died,in the yere of our Lord 1289. hauing liued 93 yeares,and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* family after the death of his father *Solyman*,52. His death was of all his tribe and kinred generally lamented, and his body after the Turkiſh manner honorably buried at Suguta,where he had of long time liued.

After whoſe death, theſe plaine *Oguzian* Turkes, in a generall aſſembly conſulting whom they might chuſe for their Lord and gouernor in ſtead of old *Ertogrul*; caſting their eyes eſpecially vpon two, ſtood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although moſt men *The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whome to make choice for their gouernor.*
B were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of body as mind, was to be preferred before the reſt of his brethren the ſons of *Ertogrul*; yet were there ſome, and they alſo men of great grauity and experience,who had in ſuſpect the yong mans age,as of it ſelfe ſlippery,and for the moſt part prone to vice,eſpecially in the liberty of great power,and therfore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauity,iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himſelfe being indeed a wiſe man,and far from all ambition,perſuaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all to his honor or preferment,but to conſider what were beſt for their ſtate and welfare in generall. For he prouidently foreſaw in what danger the *Oguzian* ſtate ſtood, expoſed on the one ſide to the mortall hatred and trecheries of the Greeks,grieued to ſee themſelues ſpoyled by the
C Turks,and naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion:and on the other ſide not ſurely backt by the Sultans of Iconium,brought in thraldome to the Tartars,and dayly grown weaker & weaker. Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he ſaid) an old, weake and ouergrown body (as his was) could giue no help or remedy at al,but required the help of a wiſe,politick, vigilant,ſtirring, and valiant man, ſuch as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers ſonne. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* family: and afterward at their requeſt comming to the generall aſſembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he firſt of all (by his example to encourage the reſt) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his antient houſe and family, ſaluted him their great Lord and Gouernour,promiſing vnto him all loyalty,with the vtmoſt of his ſeruice: whereunto by
D and by enſued the great applauſe of the reſt of the people,as vnto a Gouernor ſent vnto them by God; vnto whom they ioyfully wiſhed all happy ſucceſſe, with long life, and a proſperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turks,and ſo became among them a great commander, and honoured with the title of *Æſman-Beg*,or the Lord *Oſman*. Yet was this his honor included in a ſmall circuit,plain and homely,without any great pomp or ſhew,as commanding amongſt rough & rude heardſmen and ſhepheards, not acquainted with the courteſie of other more ciuil nations:for as yet they were the ſame homely Scythian Nomades that they were before,and could not as yet be perſuaded to forſake their woonted rude and vnciuill manners, by long tradition receiued from their anceſtors,and ſo beſt agreeing with their nature & calling. Amongſt which rude herdſ-
E men,this new gouernor himſelfe, not too far exceeding the reſt in ciuility,commanded much like to another *Romulus*; of whom alſo the Turks report many ſuch things as do the Romanes of their founder, which for breuity I thought good to paſſe ouer.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment fell firſt at oddes with one *Hagionicholaus*, or S. *Nicholas* (captaine of Einegiol, a caſtle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpoſe troubled and moleſted theſe *Oguziun* heardſmen, in paſſing to and fro with their cattell by his caſtle. For which cauſe *Othoman* was inforced to requeſt the captain of Bilezuga (another caſtle therby, alſo his neighbor and friend) that his people in paſſing that way to the mountains,might with their goods and cattel,as occaſion ſhould require,take the refuge of his caſtle; which the courteous captain (wel acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans*
F father) eaſily granted: yet with this prouiſo, that none ſhould with ſuch goods or cattell haue acceſſe into his caſtle:but the Turks women only:which his courteſie *Othoman* refuſed not:ſo was the caſtle of Bilezuga from that time forward a refuge to the Turks women, who paſſing that way,and there ſhrouded with their goods and cattell,vſually preſented the captain with ſome one homely countrey Preſent or other, which afterwards was the loſſe of the caſtle.

Yet was not *Othoman* vnmindfull of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbor G
the captain of Einegiol: but purposing to be thereof reuenged, made choice of seuenty of his best and most able men, whom he appointed secretly to passe the mountain Ormenius, and so if it were possible, to surprise or set on fire his enemies castle. Of which his designement the wary Captaine hauing intelligence by one of his espials, in place conuenient vpon the mountain laid a strong ambush for the cutting off of such as were by *Othoman* sent to haue surprised his castle: whereof *Othoman* (no lesse wary than he) before warned by his scouts, and augmenting the number of his men, marched directly to the place where the enemy lay. Where betwixt them (for so small a number) was fought a right bloudy and cruell battell, and many slain on both sides; amongst whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victory neuertheles fell vnto *Othoman*: after which time his people in much more safety, fed their cattell in the H
Summer time on the mountains, as the manner was, and so in quiet passed to and fro.

The Castle of Chalce surprised by Othomã.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night surprised the little castle of Chalce, not far from Einegiol; and there without mercy he put to the sword all the Christians he found therein, and so afterward burnt the castle: which outrage was the beginning, and occasion of great troubles therof ensuing: for the Christians of the countries adioyning, much grieued therewith, and assembling themselues together, complained vnto the Captaine of Cara-Chisar the greatest commander thereabout, That these Turks, which not many yeres before were of meer pitty receiued as poore heardsmen into that country, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the antient lands and possessions of the Christians; which insolency (as they said) if it were longer winked at, and suffered by him, and other such men of account and authority as I
were to reforme the same, they would no doubt in short time driue both them and all the rest of the Christians out of their natiue countries: wherefore it were now high time, and more than necessary for him, and all the rest, to awake (as it were) out of the dead sleep wherin they had long time drowsily slept; and ioyning their forces together, to expulse those vnthankfull, incroching, and mercilesse strangers out of their countries: the mischief (they said) being now spred far, therefore needed speedy remedy; and that repentance would come too late when it was past cure. The Captaine moued with the indignity of the late fact, and iust complaint of the poore country people, sent with all speed a strong company of souldiers, vnder the leading of *Calanus* his brother; with commandment that they should march to the castle of Einegiol, and there to ioyne with the rest of the Christian forces. K

Othoman vnderstanding of this preparation made against him, gathering his soldiers together, marched to a place called Opsicium, neere to mount Tmolus in Phrygia; where between him and the Christians was fought a sharp battell, wherin he lost his brother *Sarugatin* (whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day) with many other of his soldiers. In this battell was also *Calanus* slaine, whose belly *Othoman* caused to be ripped, and his intrals to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried, *Mesari Repec*, *viz.* the Dog-graue; by which name the place is at this day known. The body of his brother *Sarugatin* he carried to Sugura, and there honorably buried it neer to the body of his father *Ertogrul*. *Aladin* Sultan of Iconium vnderstanding of this conflict, was very sorry for the losse happened vnto *Othoman*, being a
Mahometan of his owne religion: wherefore in token of his good wil and fauour, he gaue vnto L
him the city of Paleopolis, with all the territority thereunto belonging, giuing vnto him also leaue to besiege, take or spoile, the seigniory and castle of Cara-Chisar: for accomplishment whereof he sent vnto him both souldiers and munition. *Othoman* incouraged with this great bounty of the Sultans, straightly besieged the castle of Cara-Chisar, which at last he woone, and slew all the Christians therein: the captain he tooke aliue, whom he cruelly executed: the spoile of the castle he gaue vnto his soldiers, reseruing only the fift part therof, which he sent for a present to the Sultan. All this hapned in the yeare of our Lord 1290. This castle of Cara-Chisar, with the rest of Einegiol, Bilezuga, Chalce, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all scituate in the borders of the greater Phrygia, or els neere therunto in the confines of Bithynia and Mysia: In which pleasant countries (but lately M
part of the Constantinopolitan empire) the Christians the antient inhabitants thereof, as yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks at the rising of the *Othoman* empire; with whom they liued at continuall jarres, vntill that at length they were by them altogether vtterly oppressed and extinguished.

Othoman

The Christians complain of the wrong don vnto them by the Turks.

Othoman encouraged with this good succeſſe, and ſupported by the great Sultan of Iconium, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit great matters, for the further increaſe of his honor and territory: yet not truſting altogether to his owne aduice, he entred into conſultation with his brother *Iundus*, which way was beſt to take to diſtreſſe and bring in ſubiection his neighbous the Chriſtians. In which caſe, *Iundus* a man of greater courage than diſcretion, aduiſed him with al celerity to vrge his good fortune, and preſently to inuade the Chriſtians already diſcouraged with the loſſe of Cara-Chiſar. But this counſell altogether pleaſed not *Othoman*; for (ſayd he (the caſtles and forts by vs gained, muſt be kept with ſtrong garriſons, otherwiſe they will againe be recouered of the enemy; which garriſons cannot be maintained and kept, if we ſpoyle or diſpeople the countries adioining vpon vs, for in ſo doing we ſhal (as it were) with our hands cut our owne throats: wherefore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amity and friendſhip with the Chriſtians round about vs; which league we will keep with ſome, and break with others, as ſhall ſerue beſt for our purpoſe. And according to this reſolution, he made peace indeed with all the Chriſtians, but ſpecially with *Michael Coſti*, captain of Hirmen-Caia caſtle, of whom we haue before ſpoken, who afterward ſerued him to great vſe in the managing of his wars, and became alſo a renegat of the Mahometan religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, becauſe he was then at great variance with one *Germean Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzuccian* family) who enuying at the riſing of *Othoman*, fought by all means poſſible to hinder his greatnes, as did alſo the others his quietneſſe: which diſcord the Chriſtians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more reſt by.

Othoman conſulteth with his brother Iundus what courſe to take for the oppreſſing of the chriſtians his neighbors.

In the meane time, *Othoman* deuiſed with all carefulnes to beautifie and ſtrengthen his new common people: and for the greater concourſe of people, built a faire temple in Cara-Chiſar for the exerciſe of the mahometan religion; appointed markets to be kept in al peaceable maner, in his great townes, granting great priuiledges to ſuch as reſorted thither, as well Chriſtians as Turks: vſing therein ſuch juſtice, that all ſorts of people without feare, in hope of gaine reſorting thither, furniſhed his countrey and towns with all things neceſſary: yet this care of ciuill policy and gouernment, could not ſo withdraw him, but that according to his aſpiring mind, he had alwaies a greater deſire and care to inlarge his poſſeſſions and territory. Wherfore intending to make a rode into Bithynia, he requeſted *Michael Coſti*, the Chriſtian captain before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was beſt to be done: who ſo politickly directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great ſpoyle and more honour. This road ſo terrified moſt of the Chriſtians therabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cauſe of offence, for feare leſt they ſhould by him be ſpoyled.

Othoman fetteth in order his little commonweale.

It fortuned about this time, that the captains of Bilezuga and Cupri-Chiſar falling at ods, he of Cupri-Chiſar firſt taking vp armes fiercely inuaded the captain of Bilezuga: who thereupon ſent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which he eaſily granted, and ſo without further delay preſently came to him with certaine companies of luſty tall ſouldiers. By whoſe comming, the captaine of Bilezuga not a little incouraged and ſtrengthened, ſet vpon his enemy: where betwixt them was made a ſharp conflict, and diuers on both ſides ſlaine: but the victory by the help of *Othoman* the Turke, at length inclining to the Bilezugian, the other vanquiſhed Captaine in all haſt fled vnto his owne caſtle. After whom *Othoman* following, layd ſiege vnto the Caſtle, which at length he tooke together with the Captaine, whom he cauſed to be preſently ſlaine. It is ſtrange to tell, how proud the Lord of Bilezuga was, to haue ſo reuenged himſelf of his enemy, and to haue gained the victory: although it were indeed gotten, not ſo much by his owne valour as by the proweſſe of the Turke: for whom and his followers in token of his thankfulneſſe, he cauſed a great feaſt to be prouided in the countrey there, whereby he honourably entertained them: and in the end of the feaſt, cauſed garments of great price (according to the manner of the Eaſterne nations) to be giuen to *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his ſouldiers to be alſo bountifully rewarded: but this was done with ſuch a preſumptious ſtate and grace, as if he had been ſome great Prince, offering vnto the common ſouldiers of the Turkes, in paſſing by them, his hand to kiſſe, as a great fauour. With which exceeding inſolency, *Othoman* was ſo much offended, that he had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repreſſing his anger, hee in ſecret imparted his diſcontentment vnto his couſin *Dunder*, his vncle *Dunders* ſonne, grieuouſly complayning of the intollerable pride of the Chriſtian captain, and of the diſgrace by him done to the Turks, in offering them his hand to

kiſſe:

kisse; requiring his opinion how he were for the same to be corrected: who but a little before, being by the said captaine made his lieutenant, franckely told his kinsman, That as then nothing was to be attempted against him: first, for that on the one side they had *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the *Selzuccian* Turks) their enemy, and round about them besides they were enuironed with the Christians, whom he should haue al in his neck at once if he should offer the Bilezugian captaine any wrong. By which answer, *Othoman* perceiuing his cosins great affection towards the Christian captain, and doubting to haue the mischiefe he had imagined against him, by him reuealed, or at leastwise hindered; without more ado suddenly taking vp his bow in his hand, with an arrow shot him quite through, and so slew him. G

Michael Cossi inuiteth Othoman to the mariage of his daughter.

Not long after, *Michael Cossi* the captaine of Hirmen-Caia, *Othomans* great friend, hauing concluded a marriage between a gentleman of that countrey and his daughter, inuited all the Christian captaines of the castles thereabouts, requesting them to come to the marriage; and the rather, that so they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whose power began now to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that such means might be found at that merry meeting, that all being made friends, euery man might in more security possesse his own without feare of being spoiled by him. Vnto this mariage came all these bidden guests, bringing with them such presents as they thought good to bestow vpon the new married folkes, according to the maner of the country: but *Othomans* gifts far exceeded al the rest, who besides many other rich things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of sheep and cattel: which thing drew all the Christian captains into no little admiration of his bounty; insomuch that they began to say among themselues, that *Othomans* wealth and good fortune did portend some greater matter, to their vtter ruin and fall: which to preuent, they thought it best by secret means to compasse his death. The execution of which deuice they referred to the captaine of Bilezuga, as vnto one with him best acquainted. This captain was of great wealth, credit, and authority among the Christian rulers thereabouts, but very full of craft and dissimulation: which his euill disposition, *Othoman* of long time well perceiued; yet hauing occasion to vse him, in subtill manner gaue him (in outward shew) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debasing himselfe as plaine and poore in comparison of him. But to giue a beginning to this trecherous deuise, the captaine meeting with *Othoman*, in friendly manner told him, how that he intended shortly to marry the daughter of the Captaine of Iar-Chisar, earnestly requesting him to honour that his marriage with his presence, of the time whereof, he said he would giue him farther knowledge afterwards: and all was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any such treason. *Othoman* vnderstanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, sent thither a present of certain fat oxen and sheep, in the name of his brother *Iundus*, for the captains prouision against the marriage; certifying him, that *Othoman* himselfe, with his simple retinue, would be present at the marriage; and then present him, not with such presents as were agreeable vnto his honour, yet such as his poore ability could afford. This message with the Presents were wonderfull welcome to the Captaine, hoping assuredly that his deuised trechery would take such effect as he wished: and therefore calling vnto him *Michael Cossi*, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust, declared to him his whole deuise (whereof he was not before altogether ignorant) requesting him to take the pains to go vnto *Othoman* to bring him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed & at hand; which he knew *Cossi* might easily do, being of his familiar acquaintance: and in token of great friendship, he sent to *Othoman* by the same messenger, a present of gilt plate. *Cossi* tooke vpon him this message, which when he had deliuer'd to *Othoman*, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doubting any harme. But *Cossi* inwardly grieuing to see so braue a man, and his kind friend, by such trecherous maner to be brought to his end, moued with compassion, discouered vnto him the whole conspiracy of the captaine against him, and of the plot laid for his destruction, willing him to take heed vnto himselfe: for which verture, *Othoman* gaue *Cossi* great thankes, as to his friend for sauing his life; and withall richly rewarded him, promising greater matters if he would continue that his faithfull friendship. Now concerning the captain of Bilezuga (saith he) at your return recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my selfe much bound vnto him for many courtesies, but especially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in most friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the safegard of his castle: which his friendship I most humbly request him to continue for one yeare more, inforced thereunto by rea- H I K L M

A reason of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the Prince *Germean-Ogli*, as he well knoweth: wherfore if it might so stand with his good pleasure, I would presently send vnto his Castle such things as I make most reckoning of, requesting him once more to be the faithful keeper therof, as he hath bin before: and telling him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter my wife, desire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honourable Lade his mother; for which cause, if it please him, I will bring them both with mee to the mariage. This *Othomans* request when the Captain of Bilezuga vnderstood by *Michael Cossi*, he sent the same *Cossi* back again to hasten his comming, willing him to bring with him what guests he pleased; appointing the certain time and place whenand where the mariage should be solemnised. And because the castle of Bilezuga was thought to be too little, con-
B ueniently to receiue the multitude of people that were expected at the mariage, there was an other open place of greater receit appointed in the country for that purpose, about 3 miles distant from the castle. The mariage day drew nigh, whereunto *Othoman* must repaire for his promise sake: and therfore prepared with all diligence to set forward, and to put in execution what he had deuised for his own safety, and destruction of his enemy. *Othoman* had of long accustomed in dangerous times to send by cariage the best of his things made vp in packs, to be kept in safety in the castle of Bilezuga: vnder colour wherof he now made great packs in form as he was wont; but in stead of his rich houshold stuffe and other things of price, he thrust in armed men, couering those packs with homely couerings, sending them by cariages to the castle of Bilezuga, charging that they should not come thither before twilight. After that,
C he apparelled certain of his best soldiers in womans attyre, as if it had bin his wife & mother in law with their women: so casting his journy, that he with these disguised soldiers and the other sent in packs, might at one instant meet at the castle aforesaid. The captain being now in the country, & vnderstanding that *Othoman* was comming in the euening with a great train of gentlewomen; thought the cause of his late comming to be, for that the Turkish women vse to shun the sight of Christian men by all means they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the country where the mariage was the next day to be solemnised, hauing done his humble reuerence to the Captain, requested him to do him the honor, that his gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be sent to his Castle, there to haue some conuenient lodging, where they might alight and bestow themselues apart from others, ac-
D cording to the homely manners of their nation, lest peraduenture the presence of so honourable a company of noblemen and gallants might put them out of countenance: Which the Captain granted, & hauing saluted them afar off after the Turkish maner, commanded them to be conueied to his castle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the same time that these disguised souldiers arriued at the castle, came thither also the other soldiers coue-red in packs in the cariages; who so soon as as they came into the castle, suddenly leaping out of the packs and drawing their short swords, with the help of their disguised fellows slew the warders of the castle, and without more ado possessed the same; the greatest part of the Captains people being before gon out of the castle to the place of the mariage. *Othoman* hauing taried so long with the Captaine, as he supposed the Castle at that time was by his men sur-
E prised; so soon as the Captain had taken his chamber, suddenly took horse with all his followers, accompanied also with *Cossi*, taking his way directly to the castle of Bilezuga. Of whose sudden departure the Captain vnderstanding, presently took horse and pursued him with all his train (which were for the most part drunk) and ouertaking him before he came to the Castle, set vpon him; in which conflict he was by *Othoman* slain, and the rest put to flight.

The captaine of Bilezuga treacherously seeking the death of Othoman, is by him, himself slaine.

The same night *Othoman* vsing great celeritie, early in the morning surprised the Castle of Iarchisar, where also he took prisoner the Captain therof, with his fair daughter *Lulufer* (who should haue bin maried vnto the Captain of Bilezuga the next day) with all her friends, as they were ready to haue gon vnto the mariage: which fair Lady he shortly after maried vnto his eldest son *Orchanes*, who had issue by her *Amurath* third King of the Turkes, and *Solyman*
F Bassa.

Othoman omitting no opportunitie, presently sent one of his Captains called *Durgut Alpes*, a man of great esteem and valor, to besiege the castle of Einegiol. Wherin he vsed such celeritie, that preuenting the fame of that was done at Bilezuga, hee suddenly enuironed the Castle in such sort that none could passe in or out; vntill such time as that *Othoman* hauing

brought

brought his prisoners and prey to the castle of Belizuga, and there hauing set all things in good order, came with the rest of his men of war to Einegiol, which he presently by force took promising the spoile thereof vnto his souldiers. The captaine called *Hagio Nicholaus* his antient enemy, he caused to be cut in small pieces, and all the men to be slaine: which crueltie he vsed, because they a little before had vsed the like tyranny against his Turks. G

Othoman by administration of iustice strengtheth his gouernment

When *Othoman* had thus got into his subiection a great part of the strong castles and forces of the greater Phrygia, with the territory to them belonging, he began with all carefulnes to make good lawes, and to execute justice to all his subiects as well Christians as Turkes: with great indifferencie studying by all means to keep his countrey in peace and quietnesse, and to protect his subiects from the spoile of others, as well Christians as Turks: whereby it came to passe, that the old inhabitants which had for the most part forsaken the countrey, by H reason of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their antient dwellings; and not only they, but many other strangers also, supplying the places of them whom the late warres had consumed. So that by his good gouernment, that wasted countrey in short time grew to be againe very populous.

The citty of Nice besieged by Othoman.

The ciuill gouernment of his countrey well established, he besieged the city of Isnica, in antient time called Nice, a city of Bithynia, famous for the generall Councell there holden against *Arius* in the time of *Constantine* the Great. This city he brought into great distresse, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euery passage and way leading to the same, so that nothing could be brought out of the countrey for the reliefe of the poore citisens. They in this extremity by a secret messenger certified the Emperour of Constantinople (vnder whose obedience they were) in what distresse the city stood; and that except he sent them present reliefe, they must of necessity either perish with famine, or yeeld themselues into the I hands of their enemies the Turks. The Emperor moued with the pittifull complaint of this messenger, with all expedition embarked certain companies of souldiers from Constantinople to relieue his besieged city. But *Othoman* vnderstanding by his espials, where these souldiers were appointed to land, in secret manner withdrawing most of his forces from the siege, lay in ambush neer to the same place where the Emperors soldiers (casting no perill) landed; who before they could put themselues in order of battell were by *Othoman* and his Turks in such sort charged, that most part of them were there slaine, and the rest driuen into the sea, where they miserably perished. *Othoman* hauing thus politickely ouerthrown the Constanti- K nopolitan souldiers, returning to the siege, continued the same in straiter maner than before. The besieged citisens driuen into great penury, and now dispairing of al help, yeelded themselues with the great and rich city of Nice into the hands of *Othoman*, with the spoile wherof he greatly inriched his men of war.

Aladin the great Sultan of Iconium, glad to heare of the good successe of *Othoman* against the Christians, in token of his fauour and loue, sent vnto him a faire ensigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a sword and princely robe, with large charters, That whatsoeuer he took from the Christians should be all his owne; and also that publicke prayers should be said in al the Turks temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and prosperous estate; which two things properly belonged to the dignity of the Sultan. These extraordinary fauours gaue oc- L casion for many to think, that Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue son and successor in his kingdome.

The presents and charters sent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, sending to *Aladin* the fifth part of the spoile of Nice, taken from the Christians; but the princely honors due to the Sultan only, he vsed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gon himselfe in person to visit the Sultan, and so to haue grown into his further fauor. But hauing prepared all things for so honourable a iourny, at what time as he was about to set forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sahib* (one of his great counsellors) had taken vpon him the dignity of the Sultan (as is before declared:) which newes much discontented the aspiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turk, in good hope to haue succeeded him in the kingdom, M or at leastwise to haue shared the greatest part thereof vnto himselfe, whereof he was now altogether disappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honours before graunted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modesty sake had forborn, *Aladin* yet liuing; wherefore he made one *Dursu* sir-

named

A named *Fakitche*, (*viz.* a man learned in the Turkish law) Bishop and Iudge of Cara-Chisar, commanding the publick praiers which were wont to be made for the health and prosperous reigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was first openly done by the said Bishop in the pulpit of Cara-Chisar. At the same time also he began to coin money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or a King: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Ertogrul*, and in the yere of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turks is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun. 1300

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the maiesty of a King, hee made his son *Orchanes* Prince and gouernor of Cara-Chisar; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours
B of other strong castles and forts, diuers of which places retaine the name of those captains at this day. He himselfe made choice of the city Neapolis, about twenty miles from Nice, to seat his regall Palace in; where also diuers of his nobility built them houses, and changed the name of the city, calling it Despotopolis, as who should say, the city of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceased not to deuise by all meanes he could, to augment his kingdome: and for that cause being accompanied with his son *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countries adioyning vpon him, surprizing such places as might best serue his purpose, for the enlargement of his kingdome, all which in particular to rehearse were tedious.

Neapolis the first regall city of the Othoman Kings.

The Christian Princes, rulers of the countries bordering vpon this new kingdome, fearing
C lest the greatnes of *Othoman* might in short time be their vtter confusion, agreed to ioyne all their forces together, and so to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne estates with his: according to which resolution, the Christian confederate Princes, which were for the most part of Mysia, and Bithynia, leuying the greatest forces they were able to make, with fire and sword inuaded *Othomans* kingdome: who hauing knowledge before hand of this great preparation made against him, had in a readinesse all his captains and men of warre: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with him in the confines of Phrygia and Bithynia, fought with them a great and mortall battell, wherein many were slain on both sides, as well Turks as Christians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloudy victory. In this battell *Castelianus*, one of the greatest Christian captains was slain: another called *Tekensis* of the countrey which he
D gouerned in Phrygia, chased by *Othoman* vnto the castle of Vlubad, not farre distant from the place where the battell was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the captaine of the same castle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commandement most cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his chiefe castle: which *Othoman* afterward subdued, with all the country thereabouts. The other Christian Princes and captaines saued themselues by flying into stronger holds farther off. The Prince of Bithynia chiefe author of this warre, fled into the strong city, Prusa, which the Turks now call Burusa, whether *Othoman* not long after led his army, in hope to haue woon the same: but finding it not possible to bee taken by force began presently at one time to build two great and strong castles vpon the chief passages leading to the city, which castles he with great industry finished in one yeare: and in the one, placed as captaine
E *Actemeur* his nephew; in the other one *Balabanzuck*, both men of great courage, and skilfull in feats of warre: and in this sort hauing blocked vp the city of Prusa, so that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he subdued the most part of Bithynia; and so returned home, leauing the two castles well manned with strong garrisons, vnder the charge of the captaines before named.

Prusa besieged by Othoman.

Othoman returning home to Neapolis, honorably rewarded his soldiers, according to their deserts, establishing such a quiet & pleasing gouernment in his kingdom, that people in great number resorted from far into his dominions, there to seat themselues: whereby his kingdom became in few yeares exceeding populous, and he for his politick gouernment most famous. And so liuing in great quietnesse certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled
F with the gout; his old soldiers accustomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came to him, requesting him as it were with one voice, to take some honourable war in hand, for the inlarging of his kingdom, with great cheerfulnes offring to spend their liues in his seruice, rather than to grow old in idlenes: which frowardnesse of his men of war greatly pleased him, and so giuing them thanks, for that time dismist them, promising that he would not be long vnmindfull

full of their requeſt. But yet thinking it good to make all things ſafe at home before he tooke any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Coſſi* the onely Chriſtian Captain whom for his great deſerts he had at all times ſuffred to liue in quiet with his poſſeſſions, as it were in the heart of his kingdome; and by faire means (if it might be) to perſuade him to forſake the Chriſtian Religion, and become a follower of *Mahomets*, ſo to take away all occaſion of miſtruſt: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then forgetting all former friendſhip, to make war vpon him as his vtter enemy. Wherupon *Coſſi* was ſent for, being perſuaded by the meſſenger, that *Othoman* had ſent for him, becauſe he had occaſion to vſe his wonted faithfull counſell & ſeruice in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Coſſi* thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which enſued, came accompanied with ſuch ſoldiers as he thought to vſe in that ſeruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnderſtanding the very cauſe why he was ſent for, and ſeeing danger eminent on euery ſide, kiſſing *Othomans* hand, after the maner of the Turks, requeſted him in courteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometan religion, which he promiſed euer after to embrace: And ſo saying certaine words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* & his nobility. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* preſently gaue him an enſigne and a rich robe, tokens wherby the Mahometan Sultans aſſure their vaſſals of their fauour and the vndoubted poſſeſſion of ſuch land and liuing as they then hold.

Michael coſſi turneth Turk.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his ſouldiers, inuaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many ſtrong caſtles and forts, ſubdued the moſt part of Phrygia, Miſia, and Bithynia, and other great regions, vnto the Euxin ſea: and being now very aged and diſeaſed as is aforeſaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to go into the field in perſon himſelfe, oftentimes ſent his ſonne *Orchanes* againſt his enemies; who to the imitation of his father atchieued many great enterpriſes, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the conſiderate reader (and not without iuſt cauſe) maruel, what dead ſleep had ouerwhelmed the Greeke Emperors of thoſe times; firſt *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his ſonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and ſtill reſiant at Conſtantinople, thus to ſuffer the Turks (not *Othoman* for he as yet bare no ſway; but others the ſharers of Sultan *Aladins* Kingdome) to take their cities, ſpoyle their countries, kil their ſubiects, and daily to incroch vpon them in the leſſer Aſia, and eſpecially in Bithynia, ſo neere vnto them, and as it were euen vnder their noſes: But let him with me, here as in a moſt conuenient place but breathe a little, and conſider the troubled ſtate of that declining Empire, now haſting to an end; and he ſhal plainly ſee the cauſes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diſeaſed body quite ouerthrown and ſicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aſpiring Turks. *Michael Paleologus* hauing by great trechery obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recouered alſo the city of Conſtantinople from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this Hiſtory declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the Weſt, but eſpecially of *Charles* king of Sicilia, then a prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Balawin* (the late Emperor) ceaſed not to ſolicite for the reſtitution of him againe into his Empire, and to haue alſo ioyned with him a neere bond of affinity, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his ſonne: to auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, by his Embaſſadors offered vnto *Gregory* the tenth, then Biſhop of Rome, to vnite and confirme the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the Biſhops ſupremacy, in ſuch ſort as that it ſhould be lawful for any man to appeale vnto the Court of Rome, as vnto the higher and moſt excellent Court; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promiſing to performe what he had before requeſted, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwiſe buſied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of Religion in the Greek Church ſhould be made, *Ioſeph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, and ſhortly after forſaking the city, retired himſelfe into a monaſtery neer vnto the ſtreit of Boſphorus, where he at quiet deuoutly ſpent the reſt of his life. The reſt of the clergy alſo diſcontented with this innouation, in their ſermons openly inueighed againſt it, perſuading the people not to receiue it; crying out, That now was come the time of their trial, the time of their martyrdome, and the time wherin they were to receiue the glorious crown of their painfull ſufferings; inſomuch, that great tumults were therupon raiſed, and all the city and country in an vproare: for it was not the clergy only, and the vulgar people by them moued, which diſliked & abhord theſe the Emperors proceedings,

Alteration of religion in the Greek Church.

A dings, & made theſe ſtirs, but many of the better ſort, yea, of the chiefe magiſtrats themſelues alſo. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor leauing all other forrein buſines, was enforced to conuert all his power and ſtudy vnto the appeaſing of theſe domeſticke troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than thoſe abroad. And firſt to perſuade his diſcontented ſubjects, he told them, That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto, but in reſpect of the dangerouſnes of the time: and that it was a point of wiſedome, to foreſee dangers hanging ouer our heads, & not to delay, if any thing were to be altred, for the auerting therof: for if the enemies (as he ſaid) ſhould come, the city yet in many places rent, or but lately repaired, and as it were but newly raiſed from death to life, the preſent miſchiefs would be far greater than thoſe forepaſſed, and that then their enemies would become lords not of their religion
B and ceremonies only, but of all at once, their wiues, their children, & whatſoeuer els they had: where their liberty changed into bondage, they ſhould be conſtrained to conforme themſelues not with their bodily ſeruice only, but euen with their minds alſo, vnto the wills of the Latines their enemies. And that ſo it would come to paſſe, that no man ſhould be able to keep the old cuſtoms and maners of their anceſtors, but ſhould ſee euen their moſt ſacred rites and ceremonies changed & quite ouerthrown. Which he carefully foreſeeing, had not (as he ſaid) refuſed to yeeld vnto neceſſity, and as wiſdome would, neglected a little harme in reſpect of a greater benefit; and in the leſſe to haue yeelded vnto his enemies, to enjoy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperors perſuaſion ſome were moued, and ſo held themſelues contented: and ſome others not; againſt whom he was inforced to vſe other more ſeuere reme-
C dies, as againſt his rebellious ſubjects: of whom ſome he impriſoned, ſome he baniſhed, ſome he tormented, ſome he diſmembred, ſome he bereft of their ſight, or confiſcated their goods, vſing (in briefe) all the means whereby the minds of the reſolute or the weake were to be moued. All which things, they whoſe zeale was grounded vpon knowledge (in number feweſt) with patience indured: but the greater part void of judgement, and the refuſe of the people in ſimple attire, ranne rogueing abroad, ſome into Peloponeſus, ſome into Thracia, ſome into Achaia, & ſome as far as Colchos, as men perſecuted for their conſcience, not regarding greatly whither, ſo it were out of the emperors juriſdiction, and ſomthing fitting their own humors; neither conforming themſelues vnto the religion then commonly by the emperor eſtabliſht, neither yet agreeing among themſelues, but taking vnto them diuers names, ſome as the diſci-
D ples of *Arſenius*, ſome of *Ioſeph*, and ſome of others; ſome of them, themſelues deceiued, and deceiuing others alſo. Thus for the auoiding of forrein danger out of the Weſt, was the Empire at home no little indangered, and the ſtate therof ſhaken. Wherewith the Emperor was ſo encombred, as that he had no leiſure to prouide for the tempeſt ariſing by the Turks out of the Eaſt, but was inforced wholly to imploy himſelf & al his indeauors to the keeping of his people & ſubjects in their due obedience at home. All whoſe deep deuiſes, firſt in aſpiring to the empire, no way vnto him due, & great trauels afterwards for the aſſuring of the ſame to himſelfe and his poſterity, againſt all right, euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeelding him in the winding vp of all, not ſo much as credit of an honorable ſepulture: but dying in theſe troubles not far from Liſymachia, as he was making preparation againſt the prince
E of Theſſalie, was there by his ſon *Andronicus* his commandement (for whoſe aduancement he had ſtrained both his faith and honor) obſcurely buried in a field, a good way from his camp, as vnworthy of a better ſepulture, for reuolting from the antient religion of his anceſtors, although his obſequies were for faſhion ſake afterward with ſome ſolemnity celebrated. This was the end of the great emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whoſe time the Turks, the ſucceſſors of *Aladin*, greatly incroched vpon him in the leſſer Aſia, as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the body and the mind, had he not for the aduancement of himſelfe and his poſterity, ſtained the ſame with foule treachery and apoſtacie: for which (as ſome ſay) he euer after liued in conſcience troubled, and dying was euen by his own ſon not thought worthy of an honorable funerall. *A notable example vnto all ſuch as with greedineſſe ſeeke after vaine glory, and fooliſhly expoſe themſelues vnto ſuch aduentures, as oftentimes ouerwhelme their deepeſt deuices, hauing in themſelues no certainty, preferring their inordinate deſires (either for themſelues or their poſterity) before that which is good and vertuous. Twice wretched in ſo doing; firſt in their folly, and then in their indeauors: who beſide that they finde God himſelfe againſt their deſignes and purpoſes, they by and by alſo euidently meet with other things than what they had for-*

Perſecution in the Greeke church for matters of religion.

caſted, contrary vnto them; and ſo themſelues oftentimes, contrary to their expectation, caſt headlong into extreame miſery: for lo, euen he of whom we now ſpeake, otherwiſe a man of great wiſedome, and happie in his doings, ouercome with his affection towards his children, in deſiring to leaue vnto them the Empire, when as he ought to haue caſt all the care both of himſelfe and of them, eſpecially vpon the prouidence of God; he like a blind man following his owne deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the feare of God, but vpon mans wiſedome onely, caſt himſelfe before he was aware, into miſerable troubles, and became odious euen vnto his ſubjects, and them alſo for whom he had forgot himſelfe. For whereas God had euen from his childhood allotted vnto him the Empire (as was by many euident ſignes and tokens to haue beene gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely deſires, kept his tongue from perjury, and his hands from bloud, and not turned out of the way after ſtrange doctrine; he had by many degrees excelled euen the beſt Emperors his predeceſſors: whereas now he lieth obſcurely buried, ſhrouded in the ſheet of defame, the report of his foule and faithleſſe dealings far exceeding all his other worthy vertues. G H

Andronicus Paleologus ſucceeding his father in the Empire, and thinking by reſtoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and cuſtomes of the Greeks, to haue appeaſed all ſuch troubles as were before by his father raiſed, by bringing in thoſe of the Latines; found himſelfe therein much deceiued, and his troubles no leſſe than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine cuſtomes, and well liking of them, with great obſtinacie defending the ſame; and the other of the contrary faction now countenanced by the Emperor, without modeſty or meaſure inſulting vpon them: whereof aroſe exceeding great ſtirs and troubles, eſpecially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the incroching Turks, who in the mean time ceaſed not by all means to increaſe their territories in Aſia; and not only there, but in the Iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea alſo. For *Andronicus* by the death of *Charles* King of Sicily, deliuered of the greateſt feare for which both he and his father before him had to their great coſt and charge both built and maintained a ſtrong fleet of gallies; now perſuaded by ſome, whoſe action and ſpeeches were after the manner of the Court, all framed vpon the Princes appetite, (as the readieſt way to thriue, without reſpect of the common good) to ſpare that needleſſe charge (as they termed it) which yerely coſt him more than any thing elſe; had diſcharged all his mariners and ſea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laid vp, ſome in one creeke, ſome in another; where neglected and not looked vnto, they in time for the moſt part rotted and periſhed. As for the mariners, they went ſome one way, ſome another, as their fortunes led them, to ſeeke for their liuings in forrein countries, euen with the Emperors enemies; and ſome gaue themſelues to husbandry, thinking it better by doing ſomething to liue, than by ſitting ſtil to periſh. Which good husbandry at the firſt ſeemed to be very profitable vnto the Emperour, but eſpecially vnto ſuch as being neere vnto him, and couetouſly giuen, made ſmall reckoning of all other the moſt neceſſary defences of the empire, in compariſon of hoording vp of mony, vntill that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to haue ſprung many great miſchiefes, vnto the great weakning of the Greeke Empire. For beſides, that the Turks without let did great harme on the ſea; the Pyrats now out of feare of the Emperours gallies, at their pleaſure tooke the ſpoile of the rich Iſlands in the Mediterranean, and robbed the towns all along the ſea coaſt, to the vnſpeakable griefe of the poore country people: and yet not ſo contented, came with their gallies, ſometime two, ſometime three, and ſometime moe, as it were in contempt, euen cloſe vnto the Imperiall city. Yea, the Venetians were ſo bold, as vpon a right ſmall diſpleaſure to rifle and afterward to ſet fire vpon the ſuburbs thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the Emperors fleet been preſerued and maintained in the wonted ſtrength. I L

Andronicus ſparing to maintain his nauy, weakneth his empire.

At the ſame time alſo *Andronicus* the Emperor (to the great hindrance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forrein enemy) was not a little troubled with a jealous ſuſpition of his brother *Conſtantine* (commonly called *Porphyrogenitus*) as if he had ſought to haue aſpired vnto the empire; ſeeking by all means to win vnto himſelfe the loue and fauor of all men, but eſpecially of the nobility both at home & abroad, and ſo by that means to mount vnto the height of his deſires: All which (as moſt men thought) were but meere ſlanders, maliciouſly deuiſed by ſuch as enuying at his honor, & taking occaſion by the emperors ſuſpition, ceaſed not to increaſe the ſame, vntill they had wrought his vnworthy deſtruction. The firſt ground of this falſe ſuſpition in the Emperors head, was, for that, that this *Conſtantine* euen from his childehood, was for many cauſes, better beloued of the old Emperour his father, than *Andronicus*, M

A *dronicus*, as better furnished with those gifts of nature which beautifie a Prince, and of a more curteous behauior than was his brother: insomuch that had he not bin the yonger brother, his father could willingly haue left him his successor in the empire. This was one and the chiefest cause of the emperors grudge, and the ground of his suspition. Yet was there another also, and that not much lesse than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue separated from the empire a great part of Thessalia & Macedonia, and to haue made him absolute Prince thereof; and had haply so done, had he not bin by death preuented: which thing also much grieued *Andronicus*, and the more insenced him against his brother. Which his secret hatred he for all that, according to his wisedome, cunningly dissembled, not only during the time that his father liued, but three yeres after his death also, making shew of the greatest
B loue and kindenesse towards him that was possible. *Constantine* in the meane time, of such great reuenues as were by his father assigned vnto him, reaping great profit, most bountifully bestowed the same vpon his followers and fauorits, and others that made sute vnto him, as well the meaner sort as the greater, and with his sweet behauiour woon vnto him the hearts of all men: for affability and curtesie in high degree easily allureth mens minds, as do faire floures in the spring the passengers eies. This was the precept of the wise Indians, That the higher a Prince was in dignity, and the more curteous he shewed himselfe vnto his inferiors, the better he should be of them beloued. He therfore that should for the two first causes blame *Constantine*, should do him wrong; as both proceeding not of himselfe, but of his fathers too much loue: but in the third he was not altogether blameless; for if for want of experience he
C prodigally gaue such gifts, as for the most part might haue beseemed the Emperor himselfe, he ignorantly erred, yet did he no little offend: but if he knew, that for his too profuse bounty he could not be vnsuspected of his brother, and yet without regard held on that course, he was greatly to be blamed therein. For if nothing else might haue moued him, yet he should haue considered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had sorted, and how many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that *Constantine* meant no harme vnto his brother, or any way to supplant him, yet did not these things a little increase and aggrauate the former suspitions, and open the eares of the Emperour his brother vnto such calumniations as commonly attend vpon immoderate bounty. But to returne to our purpose, this honorable *Constantine* then liued in Lydia, but lately married, and in good hope long to
D liue, being not past thirty yeres old: but pleasantly spending the time with his wife at Nymphea in Lydia, at such time as he was thus secretly accused vnto his brother, the Emperour thought it good, as vpon other occasions of businesse, to passe ouer into Asia himselfe, but indeed with a secret resolution, vpon the sudden to oppresse his brother vnawares, as by proofe it fell out. For at his comming ouer, *Constantine* fearing nothing lesse, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greatest fauorits, of whom one *Michael Strategopolus* (somtime a man in great authority with the emperor his father, and of all other, for wealth, honor, and noble acts most famous) was chiefe: who together with *Constantine* were fast clapt in prison, where we will leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiscated. But these worthy men, especially *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid fast: who many times in
E great battels discomfited the Turks, and notably defended the frontiers of the Empire a long the East side of the riuer Meander; they now finding none to withstand them, fortaged not only all the rich country beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude passing the same, did there great harme also: so that there was no remedy, but that the Emperor must of necessity make chice of some other worthy captaine for the defence of those his cities and countries, by the incursion of the Turks then in danger in that part af Asia.

Immoderate bounty in great men dangerous.

There was then in the Emperours court one *Alexius Philanthrepenus*, a right valiant and renowned captaine, and then in the floure of his youth; of him the Emperour thought good to make choice for defence of those frontiers of his empire in the lesser Asia (against the Turks) which were before, the charge of his brother *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*; joyning to him one
F *Libadarius*, an old famous captain, and a man of great experience also: appointing vnto him the gouernment of the cities of Ionia; and vnto the other the frontiers along the winding bankes of Meander. Where *Alexius* hauing now gotten a charge worthy his valor, and in many great conflicts with the Turks still carrying away the victory, became in short time of great fame: besides that, he was exceeding bountifull and curteous vnto all men; a costly, but a ready way

vnto dangerous credit and renown. Thus at the first all things prospered in his hand according G
to his hearts desire: yea the Turks themselues, bordring vpon him, hardly beset on the one side by the Tartars, & on the other by himselfe; and yet not so much feared with their enemies behind them, as moued with his courtesie, came ouer to him with their wiues and children, and serued themselues (many of them) in his camp. But as they say, That in *Iupiters* court no man might drinke of the tun of blisse, but that he must taste also of the tun of woe: so fell it out with this great captain, who hauing but tasted of the bitter tun, had the worse all poured full vpon his head. For *Libadarius* seeing all to prosper with him, and somewhat enuying thereat, began to feare & suspect, lest he, proud of his good fortune, and now grown very strong, casting off his allegiance, should aspire vnto the empire, and so first begin with him, as the neerest vnto him: which thing many of the nobility secretly surmised also, but how truly many doubt. But this H
enuious plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked vp in the ashes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropenus*, certaine companies of Cretensians, whom for their good seruice and fidelity he both honored and trusted aboue others, vsing them all for the gard of his own person. These men proud of their credit, hearing of the surmised aspiring of their Generall, & in hope by his aduancement to raise their own fortunes also, ceased not continually to suggest vnto him high conceits of himself, and to persuade with all speed to take the matter vpon him; the very conceit whereof (as they said) would be vnto him no lesse danger, than if he should enter into the action it selfe, as he might well see by the wofull examples of the noble *Constantine* and *Stratigopulus*, both in extreame perill but for the jealous conceit surmised against them. Which quicke suggestions wrought in his great mind diuers, & those most contrary motions, so that I
he scarce knew himselfe what he would or would not. *For they which are vnto themselues in conscience guilty of any grieuous crime, if any mischiefe hang ouer their heads therefore, it happeneth vnto them as foreknowing and expecting the same euen from the time that they offended: vnto whom, if nothing else, yet that same very foreknowledge easeth not a little the griefe and misery: whereas contrariwise, they which are with sudden mischiefes, and vnlooked for, ouerwhelmed, not knowing any just cause why, must needs stand as men dismaid, and almost beside themselues.* But at length after diuers great
Alexius Philanthropenus aspireth. conflicts with himselfe, the euill persuaders of rebellion preuailed with him. Yet did he at the first forbid any mention to be made of him in the army as Emperor: which caused the Cretensians, the chiefe authors of his rebellion, almost to force him forthwith to take vpon him the imperiall ornaments, therby to confirme the minds of his followers and fauorits: for that K
such resolutions were (as they said) forthwith to be put into execution, neither that any thing required so joynt celerity and dexterity both of the mind and the hand; and for that longer delay would but fill his soldiers heads with doubts, and discourage them with the feare of the vncertainty of the euent: all which for all that moued not him so to do, but whether for feare of the greatnes of the danger, or for that he secretly thought how first to circumuent *Libadarius*, of whom he stood most in doubt is vncertaine. The report of all which his doings and designes were in short time carried first vnto *Libadarius*, as the neerest, and so in post vnto the emperor: who were therewith not a little both disquieted. And had *Alexius* (as some persuaded him) at the first set vpon *Libadarius*, then vnprouided, no doubt but he had done much: but God, by whom all Princes reign, and whose power confoundeth the deuises of the proud, turL
ned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppressed, to follow after *Theodorus* the Emperors brother, of whom he was to haue feared no harme. This *Theodorus*, the first man that *Alexius* shot at, warned by his brother *Constantines* harme, liued a pleasant priuat life in Lydia, far from the ambition of the court, and therefore so much the more beloued of the Emperor: but *Alexius* fearing lest in that hurle many should resort vnto him, as vnto the Emperors brother, and so hinder his proceedings, thought best first to make him sure, and afterward to op-
Libadarius opposeth himselfe against the proceedings of Philanthropenus. presse *Libadarius*: not aware, that in stead of the body, he followed but after the shadow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his ouersight, and knowing mony to be the sinewes of warre, gathered together all the coyne he possibly could, both of his owne and his friends, sending also for the Emperours Treasures to Philadelphia, and M
with all speed raised the greatest power he possibly could out of Ionia, which he furnished with all things necessary, promising vnto his souldiers great matters, and filling them with greater hopes, and that within ten daies he would with a great army meet the Rebell in the heart of Lydia, and there dare him battell. But withall considering that the Cretensians, men

but

A but of a mercinary faith, had always the gard of *Alexius* his person, he thought good to make proofe if they might with gold be woon to betray him: and so well wrought the matter by great sums of mony presently giuen, and promises of greater preferments with the Emperor, that they (somwhat before discontented with *Alexius* his slacknes, and now doubting also his succesſe) yeelded vnto his desire, promising in the beginning of the battel to deliuer him into his hands; which they shortly after in the very joyning of the battell accordingly performed, deliuering him fast bound vnto *Libadarius* his enemy. Who not a little proud thereof, vsed him with great insolency, and within three daies after put out his eies, for feare the Emperor according to his curteous nature should haue giuen his pardon; and so kept him in prison vntill the Emperors pleasure were further knowne. Thus through false suspect and ambition
B were the greatest champions of the Greeke Empire brought to confusion.

Now after this rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became so jealous of his own people, as that he wist not whom to trust, reposing greater confidence in strangers, than in his own subjects, to the great hurt of his estate. At the same time it fortuned, that the Messagers (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond Ister, being Christians, but oppressed by the European Tartars, weary of their slauery, sent secretly vnto the Greeke Emperor *Andronicus*, offring that if he would assigne vnto them a conuenient place for them to dwell in, they would come ouer vnto him with ten thousand of their families, and faithfully serue him in his wars against the Turks (who then grieuously wasted his countries in Asia, destitute of good captains and commanders:) which their offer he gladly excepted, as standing then in need of aid, & not
C greatly trusting his own people. But when these Massagets, in number aboue 10000, comming ouer with their wiues and children, were to be furnished with all things, and specially the men with horses, armor, and pay, (all which the Emperor could not of himselfe doe) the subjects were therewith hardly charged, and Commission sent out into euery country and prouince, for the taking vp of horses and armor; euery city, euery country towne and village, euery gentlemans house and poore mans cottage, was searched and ransacked, and all things taken from them, that was there found fit for seruice, to their great discontentment, euery man murmuring and grudging to haue his armes taken from him, and giuen to strangers: but when they were also to be contributers vnto their pay, they then openly cursed and banned them euen vnto their faces. Yet at length (though with much ado) these strangers well furnished with all
D things necessary, were with some other forces also, shipped ouer into Asia, vnder the leading of *Michael Paleologus* the Emperors eldest son, and then his companion in the Empire. Who marching alongst the country, came and incamped about Magnesia. Where the Turks at the first, after their wonted manner retyred themselues into the high mountains and thick woods, that from thence they might more safely learne what strength their new come enemies were of, and what discipline of war they kept: for they knew that vpon the comming of great armies many false reports did run, and that things were made far greater than indeed they were, as did of these also, as of a people inuincible: and therefore they thought it best so to protract the time, vntill they might see in what sort best to deale with them. But so houering ouer their heads, and perceiuing them oftentimes without order to roame abroad in the country seeE king after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercinary men spoiled their friends no lesse than if they had beene their enemies) they came downe in good order from the mountaines, from whence at the first they aduentured but a little; but afterwards they came on further, and with greater confidence, in such sort, as that it seemed they would ere long assault the yong Emperor in his camp. Wherewith he with the rest discouraged, without any stroke giuen retyred; the Turks still following him at the heeles. For neither he, neither the rest, any thing considered the small number of their enemies: but as drunken men, whose heads filled with grosse vapors, are deceiued in the greatnesse of the object that they see, and oftentimes think one thing to be two; so were they also in like manner with their owne feare blinded. Beside that, most commonly it falleth out, that the army which insolencie and injury forerunF neth, is appointed to destruction, and by the fearefulnesse of it selfe ouerthrowne before the enemy set vpon it, they themselues becomming enemies to themselues and Gods just vengeance appointing vnto them such an end as their deeds haue deserued: neither was it like that they should doe any great good, that at their first setting forth, in stead of prouision, carried out with them the bitter curses and execrations of their friends. *Michael* the Emperor seeing

Andronicus the Greeke emperor reposing more trust in forrein aid, than in his owne Subjects greatly hurteth his state.

the Massagets fly, and not daring with those few hee had left, to oppose himselfe against his G
enemies,retyred himselfe into the strong castle of Magnesia, there to expect what would become of these mischiefes. But the Massagets spoiling the country of the poore Christians as they went, marching directly to the streit of Helespontus, and there againe passed ouer into Europe,as if they had beene therefore only sent for ouer the riuer Ister,to shew the Turks the sooner the way vnto the sea in Asia. For it was not many daies after,but that *Michael* the Emperor being returned to Constantinople,the Turks comming downe with a great power,subdued all the Countries,euen vnto the coast of Lesbos,to the great ruine and weakening of the Greeke Empire.

It was not long after these great stirs made by the Massagets,but that one *Ronzerius* (sometime a notable pirat,but as then a most famous Captaine) hearing of the great entertainment H
that the Greeke Emperor gaue vnto strangers, by messengers sent for that purpose offred vnto
Ronzerius what he was. him his seruice in his wars against the Turks,as had before the Massagets. This *Ronzerius* of whom we speake, had out of Catalonia a Prouince of Spaine, and out of that part of France which is called Narbonensis,aud some other places also, gathred together a great number of base needy naked men, yet lusty able bodies, and fit for seruice either by sea or land: with whom he manned foure tall gallies, and so as a notable pirat long time robbed, not onely the merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean,but landing his men oftentimes in the rich Islands, carried away thence much rich spoile also; vntill at length by the mischiefe he did being become famous, and great wars then arising betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and *Theodorus* King of Sicilia, he was by *Theodorus* sent for and requested of aid: which he (liuing of I
the spoile)easily granted, and so came vnto him with a thousand horse and as many foot, all old expert soldiers,whose good seruice stood the King in those wars in great stead. But as the end of war is peace,so at length vpon the euill successe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt the two Kings,and confirmed by a marriage betwixt their children;*Ronzerius* liuing altogether by his fortunes, was to seeke for new entertainment, both for himselfe and his men, as hauing neither house nor certain dwelling place to repaire to;but being as needy men met together, some out of one place, some out of another, in hope of booty as their fortune led them.In which case *Ronzerius* their Generall thought it best to offer his seruice to the Greeke Emperor in his wars against the Turks;whereof he gladly accepted,and so sent for him: vnto
whom he shortly after came with two thousand good soldiers,called(after the proud Spanish K
manner) by the name of Catalonians, for that they were for the most part Spaniards of the country of Catalonia. Of whose comming the Emperor rejoycing more than he had cause (as afterward by proofe it fell out)in token of his great fauor, honored him with the name of the Great Captaine,and afterwards gaue him his neece *Mary* in marriage. But within a while after, when as one *Tensa* another Catalonian Captaine sent for by *Ronzerius*,was come thither also with more aid, the Emperor to gratifie them both,gaue vnto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cæsar*, and vnto the other, the name of the Great Captaine. But when these new Captains with their followers were to be transported into Asia, it is not to be spoken what harme they did by the way vnto the country people, and in the villages alongst the sea coast; abusing the men and
women as their slaues, and spending their substance at their pleasure, for which they had ma- L
ny a bitter curse: and this was their first yeares entertainment. The next spring they set forward to relieue the great City of Philadelphia, being as then long besieged by the Turkes, and hardly bestead without with the enemy; and within, with extreame penury and famine: which good seruice they most valiantly performed, and raised the siege. For the Turks beholding the good order of these Latine souldiers, their bright armour, and couragious comming on,rose presently and departed, not only from the city, but quite out of the Emperours territorie. Besides that, in this army were joyned vnto these Catelonians great numbers of the best souldiers of the Greeks, and all the power of the Massagets:so that had not the Emperor expressely before commanded, not to pursue them too farre, it was by many thought,
all those cities and countries might then againe haue beene in short time recouered from M
the Turks, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdomes appointed vnto ruine, faire occasions helpe not for the stay thereof; yea the greatest helpes prouided by the worldly wise,by a secret commanding power aboue,being oftentimes conuerted to the destruction of that they were prouided for the safegard of; as it now fell out with the Emperour and

these

A theſe Spaniſh ſouldiers: for this ſeruice done, the Greekes returned home, as did the Maſſagets alſo. But theſe Catalonians with *Ronzerius* their Generall, roaming vp and downe the Emperours territories in Aſia, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies) vpon them whom they were ſent for to relieue: alleadging that they had not their pay according to the Emperors promiſe; and that therefore they muſt liue vpon them that had ſent for them and deceiued them. So were the poore people in euery place ſpoiled, their wiues and daughters rauiſhed, their Prieſts and aged fathers tortured to confeſſe ſuch ſecret ſtore as they had: all was ſubject to theſe diſſolute ſoldiers rage and luſt; yea many of them that had nothing to redeeme themſelues, vpon the greedy ſoldiers imagination, hauing their hands or feet, or ſome other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies ſide begging an halfepenny or
B a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themſelues with, more than their miſerable voice and fountaines of teares: with which their wrongs and miſeries, worſe than thoſe they had ſuſtained by the Turks, the Emperor much grieued, and well the more, for that they were done by him by whom he had entertained to relieue them: but what remedy, his coffers were ſo bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redreſſe thereof. *Ronzerius* hauing thus ſpoiled the Emperors country in Aſia, and left nothing that pleaſed either him or his, with all his power paſſed ouer into Europe: and leauing all the reſt his army at Calipolis, with two hundred of his men went to the young Emperour *Michael* (then lying with a ſmall power at Oreſtias in Thracia) to demand of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats: with whoſe inſolencie at his comming, the Emperor more offended than before, his
C ſouldiers there preſent perceiuing the ſame, with their drawne ſwords compaſſing him in, faſt by the court, ſlew him, with certaine of his followers, the reſt fled in all haſte to Calipolis to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Ronzerius for want of pay ſpoileth the Emperors ſubjects.

Ronzerius ſlain.

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the young Emperor had thought to haue diſcouraged the Catalonians and abated their pride, as like enough it was to haue done: yet in proofe it fell not out ſo, but was the cauſe of far greater euils. So when God proſpers not mens actions, the beſt falleth out vnto the worſt, and their wiſeſt deuiſes turn to meere follies: for the Catalonians at Calipolis hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their Generall, firſt ſlew al the citiſens in the city, and notably fortifying the ſame, tooke that as their refuge. Then diuiding their ſoldiers into two parts, with the one part of them manned with eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the
D great captain *Tenza*, robbed and ſpoiled all the Merchants ſhips, paſſing the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, to or from Conſtantinople: the other part left in the city, in the mean time forraging the country all about them. But *Tenza* ſhortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaies, well prouided for him, was by them ouerthrown, and moſt of his gallies ſunk, and himſelfe taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellows, and ſo againe inlarged. Now the Catalonians at Calipolis ſomwhat diſcouraged with the loſſe of their fleet and ſo many of their men, for certain days kept themſelues in quiet within their wals, not knowing wel what courſe to take, for they feared both the Maſſagets and Thracians: them for that they had vpon light cauſes abuſed them, and ſlain diuers of them in the late Aſian war; and theſe, for that they had but euen the other day burnt their houſes and ſpoiled their labors in the country there by: for
E which and other their outrages, they vtterly deſpaired of the Emperors fauor, whom they had ſo highly offended. But that which moſt of al terrified them, was; for that they looked for euery day, when *Michael* the yong Emperor, who as then lay not far off, ſhould with a great power come to aſſault them: for feare of whom they caſt a deepe ditch about the city, with a ſtrong counterſcarfe; ſo preparing themſelues, as if they ſhould haue beene euen preſently beſieged. But the time ſo paſſing, and the Emperor delaying his comming, they began to think of other matters: for being brought to that ſtreit, that they could not wel tell which way to turn them, but that they were on euery ſide beſet with danger, they vpon a malicious reſolution, and vnto the Greekes moſt fatall, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, craued aid of the Turks that dwelt on the other ſide of the ſtreit ouer againſt them, in Aſia; who preſently ſent them fiue hundred
F good ſoldiers, after whom followed alſo many other fugitiues and looſe companions, in hope of ſpoile; with whom the Catalonians for the preſent ſtrengthned, and being themſelues three thouſand ſtrong, iſſued out of the city, and forraged the country therabouts, bringing in with them great heards and flocks of ſheep and other cattel, together with their keepers: wherwith both the Emperors & their ſubjects incenſed, prepared themſelues for reuenge. This was the

firſt

The Turks first called into Europe by the Catalonians.

first calling in of the Turks into Europe (that I read of) and the beginning of those endlesse miseries wherewith the Christian commonweale hath beene euer since most grieuously afflicted, and a great part thereof ouerwhelmed; few or none grieuing thereat, but such as themselues feele the heauinesse thereof, whom God in his mercy comfort. G

The Turcopuli.

The Catalonians and Turks now lying about Cypsella and Apri in Thrace, *Michael* the Emperor with his Macedonian and Thracian souldiers, the Massagets and the Turcopuli encamped at Apri. These Turcopuli were Turks, also in number about a thousand (who as is in the former part of this History declared) beeing fled with their Sultan *Iathatines* vnto the Greeke Emperor, and left behind him at such time as he was by the Europian Tartars deliuered, had forsaken their Mahometane superstition, and so being become Christians, were inrolled amongst the Greeke soldiers. Shortly after the Emperor (aduertised by his scouts of the approch of his enemies) commanded euery man to be in readinesse, and his captaines to put his army in order of battell: who seeing the enemies battell diuided into three parts, put theirs also in like order, placing the Turcopuli & Massagets in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choice horsemen in the right wing, and the rest with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the Emperor himselfe riding from place to place, with comfortable speeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly against their enemies. The Sun rising, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferiour vnto the Emperors, yet in like order; the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians well armed in the midst. But the signall of battell being giuen on both sides, the Massagets, whether it were by agreement so before made with the enemy, or vpon a sudden conceiued treason, presently withdrew themselues aloofe off, and so stood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did also their Turcopuli their companions; which greatly dismaid the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes dismaied with that sudden defection of their fellowes, were euen in the joyning of the battell discouraged. Which the Emperour perceiuing, with great instancy intreated the captaines and commanders of his army, calling them oftentimes by name, not to be so suddenly discouraged: but they in so great a danger little regarding his words, and stil shrinking from him, when as the greatest part of the footmen were troden vnder foot and slaine, turning himselfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, he said, *Now worthy men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more better than death.* And hauing so said valiantly charged the enemy: in which charge his horse was slaine vnder him, and he in danger to haue bin taken, had not one of his faithfull followers remounted him vpon his owne horse, and so saued his life with the losse of his owne. The Emperor flying to Dydimotichum, where *Andronicus* his father then lay, was of him joyfully receiued, but sharpely reproued for aduenturing his person so far. The enemies pursuing the chace, slew some, tooke others, vntil that by the comming on of the night, and weary with the long fight they retired: and the next day diuiding the spoile, afterwards at their pleasure forraged the country. The renegat Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting to the Catalonians, were of them joyfully entertained, and inrolled into the regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks Generall.

Thevnfortunat battell of Michael the Emperor against the Catalonians and Turks.

H I K

Shortly after this victory, the Catalonians began to mutiny among themselues, the great captaine *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his companion, disdained to be commanded by *Recafort* their Generall: in which tumult, the matter comming to blowes *Tenza* was slaine, and *Pharenza* for safegard of his life glad to fly vnto the Emperor *Andronicus*; of whom he was, contrary to his expectation, right honourably entertained. About this time also the Massagets hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turks against whom they were entertained, and enriched themselues with the spoile of their friends both in Asia and Europe, were about with their wiues and children, and wealth, to returne again vnto their old dwellings beyond Ister. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderstanding, and bearing vnto them a secret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had of them oftentimes beene wronged in the diuision of the spoile of the Greekes, lay now secretly in wait for them, as they should passe the straits of the great mountain Hemus, which bounded the Greeke Empire from thn Bulgarians: where setting vpon them, fearing no such danger, they slew them almost all; and with the spoile of them, recompenced themselues for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued. L M

The Catalonians proud of their victory at Apri, and well strengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli with continuall rodes spoiled not onely all alongst the Sea coast of Thracia, but

A but all the inland country also, as far as Maronea, Rhodope, and Bizia, laying all waste before them. And hauing forraged most part of Thracia, brake into Macedonia, and there wintred about Cassandria, somtime a famous city, but as then all desolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they remoued thence, with purpose to haue spoiled the cities of Macedonia, and especially the rich city of Thessalonica, where the empresse *Irene* then lay: wherein they were by the Emperors good care and foresight preuented; who doubting such a matter, had fortified his cities in that country, and furnished them with strong garrisons, and all other things needfull for their defence: which they quickly perceiuing, and finding the country al desolate and forsaken by the inhabitants, were about to haue againe returned into Thracia: but as they were thereupon resoluing, they were informed by one that was with them captiue, how that the B Emperor by a mighty strong wall built at a place called Christopolis, from the sea side euen vnto the top of the mountains, had so shut vp the passage, as that it was not possible for them that way to enter. With which vnexpected news they were at the first exceedingly troubled, as foreseeing, That if they should there long stay in that spoiled country, they should in short time be driuen to exceeding wants (for they were now in number aboue 8000 fighting men) and afraid also by a generall conspiracie of the people about them, to be oppressed. Thus beset, and not well knowing what to doe, or which was to turne themselues, they desperatly resolued, no longer there to stay, but forthwith to set forward, and to breake into Thessaly, with the plentifulnesse thereof to relieue their wants, or into some other country further off, towards Peloponesus, and there to seat themselues, and to end their long trauels: or at leastwise, C if they could not so do, to enter into league with some that dwelt vpon the sea coast, and so returne againe into their owne country. Wherefore leauing Thessalonica, and deliuering the Emperour of a great feare, they in three daies came to the Thessalonian mountaines, Olympus, Ossa, and Pelius; where they at the foot of them found such plenty of all things necessary for their reliefe, that they there wintred. But Winter past, and the Spring being come, they passed ouer those high mountaines and the pleasant vallies called Tempe, and so at last came downe into the fruitfull plaines of Thessaly, where they spent that yeare at their pleasure without resistance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke of whatsoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the state of that country was but weake, the Prince thereof being but young, and withall very sicke and like to die, and the succession D so ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death should lay hand thereon; and euery man therfore more carefull of his own priuat than of the common good. Yet to auert these forreine enemies, who like a consuming fire deuoured the country before them; the nobility thought it good, with great gifts to ouercome their Captains and Commanders, and then to offer them guides to conduct them into Achaia and Bœtia, Countries more pleasant and fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in: promising also to giue them aid for the seating of them there, if they should so need. Of which their offers the Catalonians accepted, as thinking it better with their hands full of gold so easily gotten, to go seek their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and strong, and help also if need were, than to hazard all vpon the successe of a doubtfull victory, and so foolishly to preferre an vncertain E hope before a most certaine benefit. So making peace with the Thessalians, and the Spring being come, receiued of them their promised rewards, and guides to conduct them, passing ouer the Mountaines beyond Thessaly, and the streits of Thermopile, they encamped neere vnto Locris and the riuer Cephisus: which rising out of the Mountaine Pernassus, and running towards the East, hath on the North side of them Locris and Opus; and on the South the inland country of Achaia and Bœtia: and being a great riuer vntill it come to Lebadia and Haliartes, is there diuided into two riuers; the one called Æsopus, and the other Ismenus; whereof the former runneth thorow the Country of Attica, vntill it come into the Sea; and the other neere vnto Aulis (where the noble Græcians, as they say, being about to goe vnto Troy, met, and their staied) falleth into the Euboean Sea. But the Duke of Thebes and F Athens, and of all that Countrey, hearing of their comming, and (as he thought) well prouided also for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readinesse) with great pride and contempt denied them passage thorow his Countrey, at such time as they asked the same; making no more reckning of them, than as of a sort of loose wandering rogues that could find no place to rest or thriue in: wherewith they inraged, resolued

The Catalonians shut out of Macedonia.

Cassandria.

among

among themselues, either there to seat themselues in his country, or to die therefore. And so G
passing the riuer into Beotia, not far from the same encamped themselues, being in number
about 3500 horse, and 4000 foot. But so lying and expecting the comming of their enemies,
A notable stratagem of the Catalonians. they caused all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed vp,
which they with certaine small cuts out of the riuer so watered, as that it differed but a little
from a deepe marish or bog. Hither about the middle of the Spring commeth the Prince of
the Countrey, with a gallant army raised out of Athens, Thebes, Platea, Locris, Phocis, and
Megara, in number about 6400 horse, and 4000 foot, an army too strong he thought for so
contemptible an enemy. But the weakest enemy not feared, doth oftentimes the greatest
harme, as here by proofe was to be seene: for the Prince comming into the aforesaid plaine,
now growne greene with grasse, and casting no perill, encouraging his men, came brauely on H
with all his horsemen to haue charged his enemies: who stood fast vpon the firme ground, a
little without their trenches, as ready to encounter him. But before he was come to the mid-
dle of the plaine, his horses sinking deepe into the rotten and new plowed ground, and there
intangled as in a marsh, lay for the most part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders;
or else plunging in the deepe, and hauing cast them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune
led them; othersome sticking fast, stood with their riders vpon their backs, as if they had bin
very images, not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encou-
raged, ouerwhelmed them with all manner of shot, and slew them at their pleasure, vntill they
had almost made an end of them: and with their horsemen so speedily pursued the rest in
chace, euen vnto the cities of Thebes and Athens, that they without more adoe euen at that I
instant surprised them both, with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were
at a cast at dice won a most goodly country, garnished with faire towns and cities, which they
neuer built; and stored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer sweat for, there ended
their long trauels, and seated themselues: not ceasing (as saith *Nicephorus Gregorias*, the repor-
ter of this history, speaking of the time wherein these things were done, and wherein he him-
selfe liued in Constantinople) vnto this present day, by little and little to extend the bounds
of their territory. Where leauing them, with whom we haply haue too long straied from
our purpose, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

In the army of the Catalonians, at such time as they were about to haue besieged Thessa-
lonica, were three thousand Turks, of whom eleuen hundred were of them (as we said) which K
remained with *Melech* at Ænum, after the flight of *Iathatines* their Sultan vnto the Tartars, and
renouncing their superstition, became Christians; and so being baptized, and hauing wiues
and children, were enrolled among the Emperors souldiers; but at the battell of Apri reuol-
ted vnto the Catalonians, and were commonly knowne by the name of Turcopuli: the other
being the greater part, were such Turks, as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of Asia, being
sent for by the Catalonians. Now all these Turks, as well the one as the other, at such time as
the Catalonians were about to inuade Thessalia, and to seeke their new fortunes in the coun-
tries more Westward, and so farther off from Asia: partly distrusting the society of them, as
dangerous vnto them; and loth also further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into coun-
tries farther off, amongst people to them vnknowne, began to rise in mutiny, and to refuse to L
go. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requested of the Generall of the Catalo-
nians to giue them leaue with quietnesse to returne: which their reqnest he easily granted, (as
now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the Emperors domi-
nion) and so they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and spoiles they
had taken in that long war, according to the number of both parts.

The Turks diuided into two factions. These Turks after their departure from the Catalonians, diuided themselues into two parts,
the Turcopuli or renegat Turks following *Melech*, and the rest *Chalel* their General. But *Melech*
being before becom a Christian, as were his followers also; & after that hauing receiued most
honorable entertainment at the Emperors hands, and yet again most shamefully breaking his
faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had reuolted to his enemies; despairing of the M
Emperors further friendship, which he had so euill deserued, made choice rather to goe vnto
Charles Prince of Seruia, by whom he was sent for, than to come again into the sight of *Andro-
nicus* the Greeke Emperour. And so going vnto him with a thousand horse, and fiue hundred
foot, was there of him well entertained himselfe: but his souldiers all commanded to deliuer

vnto

A vnto the Prince both their horſes and armour, and to fall to other trades, and not to beare armes but at ſuch time, and ſo many of them as ſhould ſeeme good vnto the Prince, that had receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turkes his followers, in number about 1300 horſe and eight hundred foot, ſtaying at Macedonia, offered vnto the Greeke Emperour quietly to depart his country, ſo that he would giue him paſſage by the ſtreits of Chriſtopolis by him fortified; and in ſafetie tranſport him and his ſoldiers with all their ſubſtance, ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus into Aſia: vnto which his requeſt, the Emperour conſidering the great harme done in his prouinces, and deſirous alſo to be diſcharged of ſo great a burthen, eaſily granted; and ſo ſent *Sennacherib*, one of his moſt valiant captaines, to conduct them out of Macedonia into Thracia, vn-
B to the ſtreits of Helleſpontus. Where the Greeke captaines and ſouldiers ſeeing the great multitude of horſes, and abundance of money and other ſpoiles, which they hauing taken from the Greekes, were now about to carry away with them into Aſia, they thought it a great indignitie to ſuffer them ſo to do: and allured alſo with the hope of ſo rich a prey, as had bin of long in gathering, they entred into a deuice far different from that which was vnto the Turks before promiſed; neither prouiding them of ſhipping, neither carefull of their ſafety, but purpoſing vpon the ſudden by night to deſtroy them. Whereof the Turks hauing got vnderſtanding, ſuddenly riſing, ſurpriſed a caſtle in the country there by, which they notably fortified for the defence of themſelues, to the great aſtoniſhment of them that had purpoſed their deſtruction; who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farthar off, and to
C certifie the Emperor what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued cuſtome of the Greek Emperors his predeceſſors) ſlowly diſpatching things requiring greateſt haſt, careleſly delaid the time, to the great trouble of his ſtate, and aduantage of his enemies. For they wiſely conſidering the danger and diſtreſſe they were in, by ſpeedy meſſengers ſent ouer the ſtreit, craued aid of the Turks their countrymen in Aſia, which they preſently ſent them; wherwith they not a little both encouraged and ſtrengthned, with their often & ſudden incurſions grieuouſly waſted the country round about them, to the great diſcontentment of the Greeke captains, not able without greater help to remedy the ſame. Who thereof certified the yong Em-
D perour *Michael Palcologus*, requeſting him with all the power he could make, to come and beſiege the caſtle, and to ſuppreſſe theſe ſo dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof not only the captains with their ſoldiers, but the country people in generall with their ſpades and mattocks came flocking to the Emperor; not as if they would haue beſieged the caſtle, but haue digged it downe and ouerthrowne it together with the Turks their enemies.

The vnfortunat battell of the Emperour Michael Paleologus with the Turks in Cherſoneſus.

Now the Emperor with his captains and ſouldiers, and a multitude of thoſe country peo-
ple, being come thither, who all gladly followed him, moſt part of them fooliſh, thinking of nothing but of the ſpoile of their enemies; not conſidering with what danger the ſame was to be gained: ſo that the more the enemies prouided for the neceſſary defence of themſelues, as in number but few, and ſhut vp in their enemies country, the more careleſly & negligently, and without all order, the Greeks proceeded in their ſiege, for that they were in number far more, and better prouided of all things than their enemies: not reputing with themſelues, nothing in
E this world to be firm and ſure; and al worldly things (as ſaith the diuine Philoſopher) to be but the mockery of God, and to be haſtily turned vp-ſide downe, and with moſt vncertaine courſe this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the very fame of their comming, accounting themſelues rather among the dead than the liuing, ſeeing their confuſed and diſordered raſhnes; therewith much more than before encouraged, beſtowed all their wealth, their women, and other things vnneceſſary for battell, in good ſafety within their trenches: but themſelues, with eight hundred choſen horſemen onely, and they very well armed, ſallied out euen to the place where the imperial enſigne ſtood; being neither of any great ſafety, neither guarded with any ſuch ſtrength or carefulnes as beſeemed: with which ſudden and deſperat eruption of the enemies, the Grecians terrified, eſpecially that ruſtical and vplandiſh
F company, began to fly: after whom by little and little others followed, vntill at length all the reſt without further reſiſtance fled alſo: which the Emperor ſeeing, did what he might to haue ſtaid their flight: but in ſo generall a confuſion and feare, when euery man was to ſhift for one, who regarded him? wherefore wearied and ſeeing no other remedy, he was glad to take the ſame courſe and to fly with the reſt: yet many of the more expert captaines, aſhamed of ſo

foule

foule a flight, made diuers ſtands: and ſo ſtaied the barbarous enemy from further purſuit of the Emperour and the other flying Greekes. In which doing, many of them incloſed by the Turks, were of them taken priſoners: vnto whom all the Emperors treaſure became a prey alſo, and whatſoeuer honourable enſignes of the Empire elſe that were found in the Emperors tent; yea, the Imperiall crowne it ſelfe, richly ſet with pearle and pretious ſtones, was there taken alſo, which (they ſay) *Chalel* putting vpon his head, pleaſantly ſcoffed at the Greeke Emperor that but late before wore it. G

Thracia ſpoiled by the Turks.

After this victory, the Turks with great pride ſpoiled almoſt all Thracia, in ſuch ſort as that the people for two yeres together durſt ſcarcely go out of their ſtrong walled townes to plow and ſow their land; which exceedingly grieued both the Emperors, the father and the ſon: for in their owne power they had no great confidence, God hauing (as it were) taken from their people, both their hearts and courage, ſo that all their hope was to entertaine forrein aid (the miſerable ſhift of the great diſtreſſed ones) wherin alſo they found many difficulties and lets, whilſt they conſidered the greatnes of their charge, their coffers being then, if euer, empty by reaſon their territories were ſo long and grieuouſly by their enemies waſted: yet need admitted no law, *Andronicus* the old Emperour was glad to ſend to *Charles* Prince of Seruia, his ſon in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no haſt (as men in relieuing others commonly do) and the miſery more and more increaſing, it pleaſed God to ſtir vp the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the Emperours neere kinſman, to vndertake the protection and deliuerance of his Prince and Countrey; and was afterward for his great valour by the Emperour worthily made Lord great martiall of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now ſpeake, had all his life time bin brought vp in the court, and was for his vpright dealing and integrity of life beloued of all men, but ſpecially of the old emperor his kinſman, whom he with like affection honored; but was a man altogether vnskilful of the wars, as being by nature of a weake conſtitution of body, and ſo very ſickly, and withall more giuen to deuotion and the ſeruice of God, than the affaires of the world, oftentimes ſpending moſt part of the day at his praiers in the church. He now grieued to ſee the perplexed Emperor, and the miſery of his country, reque- H I

Philes Paleologus requeſted of the Emperor that he might goe againſt the Turks.

ſted of him that he might with ſome ſmall power, and ſome few captains of his owne choice, goe out againſt theſe proud Turks: hoping (as he ſaid) by Gods grace to reuenge the wrong by them done, and to returne to him againe with victory. Vnto which his requeſt, the Emperor eaſily yeelded, ſaying, that God was juſt, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the greatnes of any mans ſtrength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind: not ſo giuing his help vnto *Michael* the Emperour, his ſon, for the offences of his parents: as happily he might vnto this ſo vpright and deuout a man, regarding more his integrity of life, than his skill in armes: for turning me about, I haue ſeen in this world (ſaid he) I haue ſeene, the ſwift not to gaine the prize, neither the valiant the victory; wiſe men to want bread, and men of vnderſtanding, wealth; the ſimple to gain fauor, and the ſubtill to fall into diſgrace: ſuch alteration worldly things in time find. So the emperor (as is aforeſaid) yeelding to his requeſt, furniſhed him with mony, horſes, and armor, and ſuch a conuenient power, as he himſelfe deſired. Which he hauing receiued, firſt of all incouraged his captains and ſoldiers with all manner of courteſie and kindnes, giuing vnto them mony, horſes, armour, jewels; yea, ſometime he gaue vnto one his purſe, vnto another his cloke, his rapier, or ſome other ſuch thing, as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardnes: after that, he perſuaded them to an honeſt temperate courſe of life, and valiantly to play the men, promiſing according to their deſerts to reward euery one of them, the war once happily ended: and before his ſetting forth, vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Chalel* with a thouſand foot & two hundred horſe was forraging the country about Bizia, he haſted his departure, that ſo he might by the way encounter them, laded with the ſpoile of the country: and ſo ſetting forward, came the third day to a little riuer, which the inhabitants call Xerogipſum, and there in a great plain neer vnto the ſame, encamped. Where after he had ſet all things in order fit for battel, he with cheerfull ſpeeches as a great commander, encouraged his captains and ſoldiers; leauing nothing vnſaid or vndone, that might ſerue for the animating of them to fight. But he had not ſo lien two daies, but that his ſcouts about midnight comming in, brought him tidings, that the enemy laden with ſpoile, was euen faſt by at hand: who by the riſing of the Sun were come within ſight, and had themſelues a far off alſo diſcouered the Chriſtian army, all gliſtering in bright armor. Wherfore ſtaying a while to prepare K L M

them-

themselues for battell: and first of all compassing themselues round with their waggons and other cariages, they bestowed in them all their captiues fast bound together, with their booty taken; and afterwards as their manner was, casting dust vpon their heads, and their hands vp toward heauen, they came on. And now the Christian Army came on forward also; *Philes* still encouraging both the horsemen and the footmen, and right well conducting them, as the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing of the army, gaue the first charge vpon a squadron of the enemies, and at the first onset vnhorsed one of the enemies, and after him another. But hauing his horse sore wounded vnder him, he hastily retyred out of the battell: which somewhat troubled the Christians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcry began most fiercely to presse vpon the retyring Christians: *Philes* in the mean time with many cheerful words and comfortable persuasions still encouraging them to play the men; and with his eies oftentimes cast vp to heauen, with tears running down his face, most heartily besought God, the giuer of all victory, no longer to suffer those his enemies, and the ministers of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people: as did also the poor captiues which lay bound, doubtfully betwixt hope and feare expecting the euent of the battell. The Christian footmen at the same time encountring hand to hand with the Barbarians, assailed them, and were assailed; slew of them, and were themselues slain by them: so that there was a cruel fight made on both sides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men hauing almost incompassed the Barbarian horsmen, with a company of his most valiant soldiers broke in vpon the side of the enemies battel, and so made way thorow the midst of it: which so troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to stay, or what to do. So being on euery side circumuented and hardly charged, most of them there fell, except some few horsmen, whom the Greek horsmen pursued vnto the entrance of Chersonesus, with purpose there to shut them vp. *Philes* comming thither also, there vpon those streits incamped. At which time the Emperor presently sent out fiue gallies to keep the streit of Hellespont, so that no aid might be brought vnto these Turks out of Asia. Whilst these things thus went, two thousand choice horsmen came to the aid of *Philes* out of Servia: and the Potestate of Pera came by sea also with eight gallies more into Helespontus, to the aid of the Christians. Wherefore when the Grecians and Servians had thus on the one side shut them vp by land, and they that were in the gallies on the other side by sea; *Philes* with all his power came and camped about the town and trenches wherin the Turks lay; planting his battery against the castle, wherwith he greatly shook the same, and made great slaughter of the Turks and their horses, and that not only by day, but by night also. But the Turks seeing death now present before their eies, and no way left for them to escape, for that they were on euery side both by sea and land inclosed, thought good thus to aduenture their liues, resoluing by night to set vpon the Grecians, rather than vpon the Servians, whom they had hitherto accustomed to ouercome, and whom they had with often slaughters much terrified; that so the rest by them also haply discouraged, might so delay the assault. But in attempting the same they perceiued themselues much deceiued, finding them euen at their first sallying out ready in arms to receiue them: wherfore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt as against a strong fortresse, they were shamefully inforced to retyre. Yet were they not therwith so discouraged, but that the streit siege still continuing, they made the like attempt vpon the Servians: but being also by them in like maner with losse repulsed, they began now vtterly to despair. Wherfore the next day about midnight casting away their arms, they with their bosoms and pockets ful of coin ran down to the sea side towards the Gallies, with purpose to yeeld themselues vnto the Genowaies that were therin, as fearing of them lesse harm, as of men whom they had neuer hurt: but the night being dark and misty, and the Moon giuing little light, many of them vnawares came unto the Greek gallies, and there flying the smoke, fell into the fire: for being lightned of their mony, they were by them forthwith without any pitty slain also. But the Genowais slew not all their prisoners, but only such as had brought with them the most coin; lest afterward bewraying the same, it should haue bin sought after by the Greeks. The rest they cast into bonds, of whom some they sent vnto the Emperor, other some they kept to themselues as their own prisoners. Thus by the valor and good conduct of this worthy deuout Captain, the Turks were for that time again chased out of Europ, and the country of Thracia deliuered of a great fear.

The battell betwixt Philes and the Turks.

The Turks ouerthrowne.

The causes of the decay of the Greeke Empire.

Now by that we haue already written is easily to be seen the chief causes of the decay and ruin of the Greek Empire to haue bin, first, The innouation and change of their antient religion and ceremonies by *Michael Paleologus*, wherof ensued a world of wo. Then by Couetousnesse, couered with the name of good husbandry, the vtter destruction of the chief strength of the Empire. Next to that, by Envy, the ruin of the Great: by false Suspect, the loser of friends; Ambition, Honors ouerthrow; Distrust, the great minds torment; and Forrein aid, the Empires faithlesse porter, opening the gate euen vnto the Enemy himself: wherunto foul discord joined (as shall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemy could desire, for the helping of them in the supplanting of so great an empire? But again to our purpose. G

Michael companion with his father *Andronicus* in the Empire, had by his Wife *Mary* two sons, *Andronicus* who had afterwards the Empire, and *Michael* syrnamed the Despot, and two daughters, *Anne* maried to *Thomas* prince of Epirus, and *Theodora* maried to the prince of Bulgaria. Of all these, the old Emperor *Andronicus* their grandfather so intirely loued *Andronicus* his nephew, as that in comparison of him he seemed little to regard either his own children, or the rest of his nephews, wishing them all rather to perish than him. Which many supposed him to do, as purposing by him the better to establish the succession of the empire in his house, as also for his excellencie of wit, and comlinesse of person; the likenesse of name also haply furthring his kind affection. For which reasons he caused him to be honorably brought vp in his court, as not willing to spare him out of his sight either day or night. But when he was out of his childhood, and grown to be a lusty youth (at which time mens hot desires are commonly most vehement) he began to contemn all chastisement and gouernment, especially in so high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Besides that, his Companions became vnto him the ministers and persuaders of all those vain delights which vnstaid youth most desireth; and at the first began to lead him forth to walk the streets, to hawk, to hunt, and haunt playes, and afterwards to night walks also, not wel beseeming his state. Which riotous course of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine spare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himselfe with the rich merchants of Genoa which dwelt at Pera. Hereof arose hard taking vp of mony, great debt, fine deuices how to come by Coin, with secret consultations and purposes of flight. For when he saw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, and his father *Michael* like to succeed him, he had no hope of aspiring to the Empire: wherupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent desires long time tormenting his haughty heart, suggested vnto him such purposes. For when as he would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens counsels, as a child, he sought after the Imperial liberty, and abundance of wealth, that he might haue that was sufficient for himself, and wherwith to reward others as the followers of an Emperor. Which seeing he could not do, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father reigning, he sought after the soueraignty of other Principalities and Countries: one while after Armenia, as belonging vnto him in the right of his mother the King of Armenia's Daughter: Another while after Peloponessus; and somtimes he dreamed of Lesbos and Lemnus, and other the fruitful Isles of the Ægean sea. Which when it was secretly told, somtime to his Father, and sometime to his grandfather, he was now crossed and reproued of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to passe ouer many other his youthfull prancks, he vsed in his night walks secretly to repaire vnto a certaine Gentlewomans house, more honourably borne, than honestly qualified; which woman, a certaine Gallant (and another *Adonis*) no lesse affected than himselfe. Wherewith he highly offended, as with his Riuall, appointed certaine Ruffians and Fencers to watch her house. But vpon a certain time about midnight, *Manuel* the Despot (his yonger brother) seeking after him, chanced to passe that way where these Watchmen lay; who seeing him hasten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and supposing him to haue bin the man which they looked for, the Gentlewomans best beloued, set vpon him, and so wounded him that he fell down for dead from his horse: but beeing by and by after known by others comming in, he was taken vp and halfe dead caried vnto the Court. Which outrage in the morning beeing knowne vnto the Emperour, cast him into a great heauinesse, as beholding not the time present only, but wisely considering what was like to insue in the time to come also. But *Manuel* the Despot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report thereof brought vnto *Michael* the yong Emperor his father, then lying at Thessalonica, strooke him H I K L M

to

A to the heart with ſo great a griefe, that falling ſick with the conceit thereof, he ſhortly after died.

Andronicus the vnſtayd Youth neuertheleſſe holding on his wonted courſe, with a ſecret purpoſe to haue fled, became thereby ſtill more and more ſuſpitious to his aged grandfather, not a little carefull vnto what end thoſe his violent paſſions would at length tend. And therefore appointed one *Syrgiannes*, a man of great credit and authority in the Court (in whom as in a reconciled enemy, he had vnaduiſedly repoſed too much truſt) to inſinuate himſelfe into the youthfull Princes acquaintance and fauor; that ſo ſounding him and his ſecret deſignes, he ſhould not poſſibly be able without his knowledge to ſtep aſide: which of all things the old Emperor feared moſt, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgiannes* beeing a B man of great place, and of a ſubtill wit, was ſomtime himſelf ſuſpected of aſpiring, and therfore as vpon the miſpriſion of treaſon, was by the old Emperor impriſoned: but afterwards by him againe inlarged and receiued into fauour, was now by him put in truſt, warily to obſerue the doings of the yong Prince. But he not vnmindefull of the wrong before done vnto him, and in hope by troubling the State, either to aſpire vnto the empire himſelfe, or at leaſtwiſe to ſome good part therof; thought now a fit occaſion to be miniſtred vnto him, for him to work vpon, both for the one and the other, by ſetting the old Emperour and his ambitious yong Nephew together by the ears. Which opportunitie he not minding to let ſlip, taking the yong Prince one day aſide, diſcouered vnto him all his Grandfathers deuices, in briefe as followeth.

C

Your Grandfather, Noble Prince (ſaid he) *hath ſet me as a Watch ouer your actions, or more truly to ſay, as a Bloud-hound, to ſeeke after not your doings only, but if it were poßible, euen after your moſt ſecret thoughts alſo: and ſo whilſt he malicioufly prepareth for you ſnares and fetters, you not aware thereof, fooliſhly follow your ſhallow and childiſh conceits. For what ſhall it auaile you ſecretly to fly away? whereas if the beſt chance, yet muſt you (as the common ſaying is) put your feet vnder another mans table, and liue at his charge; if it fall not out worſe, that you be ſlain or made away by them you fly vnto for reliefe, or els fall into the ſnares by your Grandfather layd for you. But if ſo be that caſting behind you theſe your fond deuices, you will hearken to my counſell, I will ſhew you a ready way, how you ſhall in ſhort time, and without any danger, aſpire vnto the Imperiall ſeat and dignitie: The only way whereunto* D *is this, If you leauing the City of Conſtantinople, ſhall flie out into the Cities and Prouinces of Thracia: For ſeeing men are commonly by nature deſirous of change, and the miſerable Thracians are by often exactions grieuouſly vexed; if you ſhall but once proclaim a redreſſe of their grieuances, with immunity for euer, they will all with one accord follow you whitherſoeuer you will, your grandfathers long and heauy yoke being caſt off, as if it were* Siliphus *his heauy ſtone, which they had long rolled, and neuer the neere. If you like of this aduice, I will be vnto you both the Author and leader of this exploit, and will eaſily bring to good effect the whole matter: ſo that you again on the other ſide promiſe vnto mee vpon your Faith, to reward this my trauell according to my deſert therin. But what rewards ſhall theſe be? Honourable preferments, large poſſeſſions, great reuenues, the firſt place in your fauor, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my conſent and knowledge. For you ſee how willingly I make my ſelfe partaker* E *of your calamity, and companion of your dangers, no neceſsity inforcing me therunto; forgetting euen my very faith, in compariſon of the loue and Zeal I bear towards you; wherin if any miſhap ſhall by the mutabilitie of fortune betyde me, I haue ſet down my ſelfe with patience to endure it: all which conſidered, you need not to grudge to yeeld to my requeſts, if you tender your owne ſafety. And foraſmuch as the ſhortneſſe of time will ſuffer no long conſultations, and that delay bringeth extream danger; let vs ſpeedily impart the matter vnto ſuch others as for the hatred of the Emperor are like to keep our counſell, and may yet much further our deſignes.*

Syrgiannes his crafty ſeditious ſpeech vnto yong Andronicus.

The yong Prince mooued with this ſpeech as if it had bin with a Charm, eaſily conſented to his deſire, confirming the ſame by his Oath conceiued in writing. At which time were pre- F ſent ſuch as were eſpecially to be acquainted with the plot of the conſpiracie, namely *Iohn Cataczenus* and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honor, and the old Emperors antient ſuppoſed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himſelfe) and *Alexius Apocaucus* the third (not of like honor with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a moſt ſubtill and deep wit) who all vnderſtanding the matter, ſhewed themſelues not as miniſters, but as Ring-

leaders and captains of the intended rebellion. This conſpiracy with moſt ſolemn oaths and promiſes on euery part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter: and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and moſt gratious courtiers, procured to themſelues the gouernment of ſuch cities and prouinces in Thrace, as they thought fitteſt for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* hauing the gouernment of the ſea coaſt, and the inland country euen from the ſea ſide to the top of mount Rhodope; and *Catacuzenus* the gouernment of the country about Oreſtias. In all which places they muſtred ſouldiers, prouided armor, entertaining alſo ſtrangers and other vagrant and maſterleſſe men, as for ſome great War. Beſides that, in the gouernment of the Cities they placed their truſtieſt friends, remouing ſuch others as they had in ſuſpect. All which they colored by rumors falſly raiſed, one while of the comming of the Europian Tartars from Danubius, and another while by the comming of the Turks out of Aſia: againſt whoſe inuaſions theſe preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of ſuſpition; and the traitors for their prouident care highly commended euen by the Emperor himſelfe, againſt whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably diſſembled, oftentimes withall certifying the yong Prince, what he had done, and what was likewiſe of him to be performed. G H

But the old Emperor ſeeing his youthful Nephew not to hearken to his graue aduice, but ſtil to proceed in his diſſolute kind of life, was about ſolemnly to haue reproued him before the Patriark and ſome others of the chiefe nobility, if haply ſuch open reproofe might haue wrought in him ſome change of maners; if not, then to haue committed him to priſon. And like enough he was to haue ſo done, had he not bin otherwiſe perſuaded by *Theodorus Mitochita* (who of all others was able to do moſt with him) by reaſon of the liberty of the time; for then it was almoſt Shrouetyde, when as the people diſtempered with the exceſſe of meat and drink, were of all other times moſt fit, vpon any light occaſion to be drawn into a tumult or vprore: for fear wherof, he was contented at that time to let him alone. But Shrouetyde paſt, and a good part of Lent alſo; the old Emperor ſeeing no amendment in his Nephew, calling vnto him *Geraſimus* the Patriark, and the reſt of the reuerend Biſhops then preſent in the city, ſent for his Nephew, openly before them all to chide and ſchoole him for his diſorderly life, but eſpecially for his purpoſed flight; that aſhamed of ſuch open reproof before ſuch Reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at leaſtwiſe of all men be thought juſtly puniſhed for the ſame, if he ſhould ſtill proceed therin. So the yong Prince being ſent for, came, accompanied with many of his fauorits and followers, moſt of them being ſecretly armed, and he himſelfe not altogether vnprouided: for it was agreed among them, that if the Emperour ſhould vſe gentle and fatherly admonitions toward him, that then they ſhould bee quiet, without any ſhew of inſolency or diſcontent: but if he ſhould in anger reproue him, or threaten to puniſh him, then vpon a ſign giuen, forcibly with their ſwords drawn to break in vpon him, and to kil him in the Imperial ſeat, and without more ado to place yong *Andronicus* his nephew in his ſtead. But comming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next his aged grandfather, his deſperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grieuouſly blamed and reproued for his former follies and euil courſe of life; yet with ſuch moderation and grauity, as all ſeemed (as it did) to come of a moſt fatherly care and regard: ſo that then no ſuch outrage was committed as was by diuers his followers wiſhed; but the aſſembly quietly diſmiſſed, and a ſolemn oath taken on both ſides: of the grandfather, That he ſhould not appoint any but his nephew to ſucceed him in the Empire: and of the young Prince, That hee ſhould neuer ſeeke to attempt any thing to the ſhortning or hurt of his Grandfathers life or empire. But the conſpirators thronging about him at his comming out, fretted and fumed at him as if he had broken his faith and oath before giuen them; ſaying, *What greater wrong couldeſt thou do vs, than being by vs made ſtrong, and become dreadful to thine enemies, to diſpoſe of thine affairs at thy pleaſure, to thine own ſafety, and to leaue vs thy moſt faithfull friends and ſeruants in the Diuels mouth to be deuoured?* For now they both doubted & feared leſt their conſpiracie was diſcouered. With which ſpeeches he both diſcouraged and aſhamed, ſent for *Theodorus Metochita* his Grandfathers chiefe Counſellor, requeſting him to deal with his Grandfather for the pardoning of all his Followers, as he had done for himſelfe. Of which motion he diſliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks, for that he himſelfe had eſcaped ſo great a danger; and to him alſo, as a mean for the ſafegard of his life: although hee treated not for ſuch I K L M

Yong Andronicus commeth ſecretly armed to his grandfather.

traiterous

A traiterous persons, with whom if he were well aduised he would haue nothing to do, either thinke that they would euer be faithfull to him, who respecting neither God nor man, had so fouly broken their faith before giuen vnto the Emperour his Grandfather. With which vnexpected answer of so great and graue a Counsellor the Prince not a little troubled, & withall discontented, stood a while as in a muse all silent, reasoning as it were with his own passions: but afterwards commanding him without further reply to depart, and the old companions of his follies resorting vnto him, he by their persuasions entertained again his former disloyall thoughts and designements: which his grandfather vehemently suspecting, and therewith not a little grieued, would (as if it had bin by inspiration) oftentimes in his heauinesse say vnto them that were about him, *In our time is lost the Majesty of our Empire, and the deuotion*
B *of the Church.* Yet to preuent the worst, he thought it good betimes to lay hands vpon his suspected Nephew, and so to detain him in safe keeping: acquainting none therwith but *Gerasimus* the Patriarch, and his Ghostly Father; who presently acquainted the Prince therwith, and was the cause that he hastned his flight, flying himself before. For he now certainly vnderstanding the danger he was in, the night before he should haue bin apprehended, with all the rest of the conspirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the City, by the gate called Gyrolimnia; which Gate (all the rest being shut) was still at his command, for that he vsed commonly therby at his pleasure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to do; but the next day after, came to *Syrgiannes* and *Cataeuzenus* Camp, who then both lay with a great power at Hadrianople, expecting his comming. The old Empe-
C ror before the rising of the Sun aduertised of the flight of his nephew, the same day commanded him to be proclaimed Traitor, and proscribed, with all his Conspirators, and whosoeuer els should take his part. And for the more surety, euery man in the city was sworn to be loyall and faithfull vnto the old Emperor, and enemy vnto his Nephew and his adherents. But he on the other side proclaiming liberty and immunitie abroad in all the Cities and Villages in Thracia, so won the hearts of the Countrey people in generall, that they resorted vnto him from all places in great numbers, ready armed to do whatsoeuer he should command them. And to begin withall, they first layd hands vpon the Collectors of the Emperors mony (then abroad in the Country) whom they ill intreated, taking from them their money. After that, and yet not seuen dayes expired, almost an incredible number of horsemen, footmen, archers
D and others departed from Hadrianople toward Constantinople, vnder the leading of *Syrgiannes*, in hope at their first comming to take the City, being at discord within it selfe, and most part of the meaner sort, in hope of gain, fauoring their rebellious proceedings, such as the seditious find in such rebellious tumults. So hauing marched four days, they came and incamped at Selybia: but as they were about to haue gon on farther, the old Emperour doubting lest the citisens seeing so great an army before the City, should therein raise some tumult or stir to the indangering therof; thought good before to send Embassadors vnto his Nephew, to proue if haply these so dangerous troubles might by their means in some good sort be appeased. The chief of these Embassadors was one *Theoleptus* Bishop of Philadelphia, a man no lesse famous for his vertue than his wisdom, and yet for both of all men honored; & with him
E also was sent *Syrgiannes* his mother, as of all others fittest to appease her son, and to persuade him not to approch the city, for that therof might ensue much bloud-shed, and the destruction of the city, or at leastwise the vtter vndoing of many: wherof if he should bee the author, how could he euer after liue in conscience quiet, but that the torment therof would follow him euen into his graue; and therfore to request him to retyre a little, and so to come to talk and to demand what he pleased. *Syrgiannes* moued as well with the presence of the reuerend Bishop, as the prayers of his mother, retyred to the yong Prince which then lay about Orestias; whither the Emperors Embassadors came also: with whom, after long debating, it was agreed, That the yong Prince should in all royall maner hold all Thracia, from Cristopolis to Rhegium, and the suburbs of Constantinople: and withal, that such lands as the yong prince
F had already giuen vnto his followers, in Macedonia, should still remaine vnto them (which were such as yearly yeelded vnto them a right great reuenue:) And that the old Emperour should hold vnto himselfe the Imperiall City, with all the Cities and Prouinces of Macedonia beyond Cristopolis: and that he alone should haue the honour to heare Embassadors sent from forrein Princes, and to giue them their dispatch; for that the yong Prince took no plea-

Thracia reuolteth vnto Andronicus.

Articles of Agreement betwixt the old Emperor and his Nephew.

sure in those weighty affairs, as by nature more delighted in hawking, hunting, and his other youthfull pleasures. Vpon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the yong Prince than of the old Emperour, who although he was desirous otherwise to haue redrest so great wrongs, yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to what his nephew would request. Thus was the Greeke empire in Europe (as then all or the most part inclosed within the bounds of Macedonia and Thracia) now diuided betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: Asia in the meane time (wherein the Greek Emperors their predecessors somtime held great kingdoms) being left for a prey to the greedy Turks. *Othoman* on the one side euen in the heat of these troubles laying the foundation of his empire in Phrygia & Bithynia; and the other the Turks Princes the successors of Sultan *Aladin* encroching as fast vpon the emperors territories and countries on this side the riuer Mœander. And not so contented, at the same time also built great store of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Christian Merchants trading to Constantinople, and spoyled the coasts of Macedonia and Thracia, and the Islands of the Ægeum, and among others took the famous Island of the Rhodes; which they held not long, before they were againe driuen out of the same by the Kings Hospitallers, vnder the conduct of *William Willaret*, aided by the Genowaies and the King of Sicilia, which they from that time held (to the great honor and benefit of the Christian commonweale) by the space of 214 yeres, known by the name of the Knights of the Rhodes: vntill that in the memory of our fathers it was (I say no more, but grieue therefore) shamefully lost vnto the Turke, for want of reliefe; neuer place being more honorably defended, as in the processe of this History shall appeare: euer since which time those honorable men (the flower of chiualry) haue seated themselues in the Isle of Malta, which they to their immortall glory, and the comfort of all good Christians, haue most notably defended against the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, and all the fury of the Turks, as shall be also in due place declared.

The Greeke empire in Europe diuided.

Whilst the Grecians are at discord among themselues, Othoman layeth the foundation of the Turkes Empire, & the other Turks incroach vpon them also.

The Island of the Rhodes was by the Knights Hospitallers recouered frō the Turkes in the yeare 1308.

But to turne againe vnto the troubled estate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the Greeke captain & author of all the aforesaid stirs betwixt the old emperor and his nephew, had euen from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yong Prince, to haue ruled al with him at his pleasure, and that nothing either great or little should haue bin don without him: but seeing it now to fall out far otherwise than he had before expected, and the Prince to be wholly ruled by *Catacuzenus*, and himselfe of all others lest regarded, & not so much as called to any counsell; inwardly tormented with griefe and enuy, he began secretly with himselfe to deuise how he might be reuenged of the vngratefull Prince, which vnmindfull of his former promises, had so vnthankfully cast him off. Wherefore he resolued again to reuolt to the old Emperor, not doubting but so in short time to ouerthrow all the councels and deuices of the young Prince, together with his state also, by himselfe before raised. For he, as worldly wise, excluding God from his councels, had such an opinion of himselfe, that which way soeuer he went, thither must all things follow also. Wherfore by one of his trustiest friends he secretly made the old Emperor acquainted with his purposed reuolt, and how all things stood: for the greater credit thereof alleadging, That he could not abide the sight of him that sought to corrupt his wife, meaning the young Prince. This newes from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old Emperour most welcome: for it grieued him (as an old man of a great spirit) to see himself so contemned and deluded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old seruitors of all sorts, by him spoyled of their lands and possessions in Macedonia and Thracia. So a solemne oath in secret passed from the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer stay secretly fled to Constantinople: which there bruted abroad, reioyced many, now well hoping the whole gouernment would againe come vnto the old Emperour, and that so they should againe recouer their possessions wrongfully taken from them by his nephew. But God not seeing it so good, all this hope was but in vaine, as ere long it appeared: for the yong Prince, who of long knew how much he was beloued of the Constantinopolitans, and by them secretly sent for, taking occasion vpon the flight of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the city: and being come within sight therof, incamped, laying ambushes vpon euery way and passage therabout, for to haue intercepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at Perinthus, and the third night after, with three hundred select soldiers, deceiuing them that lay in weight for him as if they had bin all asleepe, before the rising of the Sun came to Constantinople: and if the old Emperor would haue giuen him leaue, he had suddenly charged them that did lie in wait for him, before they were

A were aware of his comming. But as soon as it was day, the Prince hearing of the escape of *Syrgiannes*, and no such tumult in the city as he had expected, presently without more ado retyred with his army the same way he came, back again into Thracia.

By and by after, *Constantine* the Despot was by the old Emperor his brother sent by sea to Thessalonica, to take vpon him the gouernment of Macedonia, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the Empresse, the yong Princes mother; and after, with all the power he could make, to inuade the yong Prince in Thracia: that so setting on him on the one side out of Macedonia, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turks (for the emperor in this ciuil discord was glad to vse their help also) and the Bithynian soldiers on the other, they might so shut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which resolution, the Despot comming to Thessalonica, there took
B the Empresse, whom with all her family he thrust into a gally, and so sent her to Constantinople, where she was in the palace kept close, as too much fauouring the Princes proceedings. And afterward raising all the power he could in Macedonia, inuaded the Prince in Thracia, breaking by force thorow the walls of Cristopolis.

The yong Prince seeing himselfe by this means now like to be driuen to a great streit, sent *Synadenus* with his Thracian army to defend the frontiers of his empire toward Constantinople, against *Syrgiannes* with his Turks and Bithynians: in hope himselfe by many subtle deuices and sleights to be able to incounter his vncle the Despot. And first he caused diuers Edicts and proscriptions to be written in hast, wherin great rewards and preferments were with great solemnitie of words promised to whomsoeuer could bring vnto him the Despot either
C quick or dead: which were of purpose giuen to the country people passing to and fro, to be dispersed abroad in the highways, and about in the country neer the Despots camp. And after that, he caused the death of the Emperor his grandfather to be euery where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Constantinopolitans in a tumult slain: which the deuisers thereof in euery place reported. Yea some there were that swore they were themselues present at his wofull death, and saw it with their eies: other some, more certainely to persuade the matter, shewed long white goats hair, or such like gathered out of white wool, as if they had been by the furious people pluckt from the old Emperors head or beard, at such time as he was slaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery town and village, but especially in the Despots camp, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers strange and doubtfull thoughts. Then
D diuers also of the dispersed edicts being found and brought to the Despot, struck him, and not without cause, into a great fear; insomuch that by the persuasion of his best friends, he without longer stay retyred in hast to Thessalonica: whither shortly after came a gally from Constantinople, with secret letters from the Emperor to the Despot, for the apprehension of twenty fiue of the chiefe citisens, vehemently suspected for the stirring vp of the people to rebellion, and so to haue deliuered the city to the Prince. All which persons the Despot should haue sent bound in that Galley to Constantinople. But they in good time perceiuing the danger they were in, secretly stirring vp the people, and by and by after ringing out the bells, (the signal appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a short time raised a wonderfull tumult within the city, insomuch that all the citisens was vp in armes, who running head-
E long vnto the house of the Despot, found not him (for he forewarned of their comming, was fled into the castle) but slew all they met of his, or els robbing them, cast them in prison. As for the Despots house, they pillaged it, & afterward pulled it down to the ground. Then comming to the castle they fired the gates: which the Despot seeing, and not able to defend the place, took horse and fled to a monastery not far off, where being taken by them that pursued him, he sore against his will, for the safegard of his life, tooke vpon him the habit of a Monk. Neuertheles he was from thence caried prisoner to the yong Prince his nephew, who shewed himself much more curteous to him than all the rest of the Nobilitie and Waiters; for they as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen forthwith ready to haue torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms saued his life. Yet the next day after, by persuasi-
F on of his Counsel, he sent him to Didimoticum, where he was cast into a most lothsome prison, being very deep and streit in manner of a Well, no body to attend vpon him but one boy; where he lay in miserable darknesse and stink: they which drew vp his ordure from him and the boy oftentimes (either by chance or of purpose) pouring it vpon his head. Where after he had lien a great while in most extreme misery (wishing to die, and could not) hee was at

length

length by the Princes commandement, intreated thereunto by certain Religious men, remoued into a more easie prison, where we will for euer leaue him. G

Andronicus the old emperor seeks counsel of the Psalter, as of an heauenly Oracle, and so maketh peace with his Nephew. Psal. 68. v, 14.

Things falling out crosse with the old Emperor, and although they were neuer so well deuised, still sorting out vnto the worst, he became very pensiue and doubtful what to do. So it fortuned, that one day in his melancholy minde hauing a Psalter in his hand, to resolue his doubtfull mind he opened the same, as if it were of that heauenly oracle to ask counsel: wherin the first verse that he light vpon was, *Dum cœlestis dissociat Reges, nive conspergentur in Salmon: When the Almighty scattered Kings (for their sakes) then were they as white as snow in Salmon.* The which he applying to himselfe, as if all those troubles and whatsoeuer els had happened, proceeded from the will of God, although for causes to him vnknown: hee by and by sought to reconcile himself to his nephew, contrary to the mind of *Syrgiannes*, who desired nought but H trouble. For (as we haue before said) the yong Prince, although he was desirous of the power and liberty of an empire, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: and had he not oftentimes and ernestly bin egged forward by his companions to affect the whole Empire, haply could and would haue contented himselfe with the former Pacification. For being now sent for, he came first to Rhegium, and there visited his mother (now set at liberty, and sent thither for the furtherance of the desired pacification) where he with her and by her counsel did whatsoeuer was there done. So within few daies the matter was brought into so good terms that an attonement was made, and he himselfe went and met the Emperour his grandfather before the gates of the city; the old Emperor sitting then vpon his horse, and the Prince alighting from his a good furlong before he came at him. And although his Grand- I father was very vnwilling, and forbad him so to do, yet he came to him on foot, and kissed his hand and foot as he sate on horseback; and afterward taking his horse, embraced him, & there kissed each other, to the great contentment of the beholders. And so hauing talked some few words, departed; the old man into the city, and the yong man into his campe, which then lay neer to Pega: where staying certain days, he came diuers times into Constantinople, and so went out again; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her son, lay at Pega.

But *Syrgiannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his nephew, walked vp and down sick in mind, with an heauy countenance, especially for that in time of peace his busy head stood the Commonweal in no stead. Wherfore in all meetings and as- K semblies he willingly conuersed with them who most disliked of the present state, & spake hardly as well of the Emperor as of his nephew, wronged (as he thought) by both; wheras in the time of their greatest distresse, he had (as hee said) stood them in good stead. But seeing one *Asanes Andronicus* walking melancholy vp and down as a man with heauines oppressed; who hauing don good seruice to the yong Prince, and not of him regarded, had fled to the old Emperor, and there found no such thing as he expected, for the ease of his grief, although hee were a man honorably born, and otherwise endued with many good parts: with him *Syrgiannes* acquainted himselfe, as grieued with the like griefe that hee himselfe was, with whome as with his friend, without dissimulation he plainly discoursed of all such things as his grief desired. But *Asanes* handling him with great wisdom, did himself with like words speak hard- L ly both of the Emperor and his nephew; but yet curiously noted whatsoeuer *Syrgiannes* sayd, for he had before hated him for his ambition, and as then took it in displeasure, that hee was enemy to *Catacuzenus* his son in law, who was all in all with the yong Prince, & did oftentimes comfort him. But the song being thorowly set, *Asanes* came secretly vnto the old Emperour, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he in time layd hold on *Syrgiannes*, affecting the empire, he should in short time be by him brought to his end. Wherupon *Syrgiannes* was forthwith clapt fast in prison: whose house with all his wealth the common people took the spoil of; and not contented to haue rased it downe to the ground, conuerted the site therof, together with the pleasant Vineyards adjoining vnto the same, into a place to feed goats and sheep in: a worthy reward for his manifold treacheries. The yong Prince shortly M after going to Constantinople, was there crowned Emperor, as fellow in the Empire with his grandfather: vnto which solemnitie in the great temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperors riding, it fortuned the old Emperor by the stumbling of his horse to be ouerthrowne and fouly berayed in the mire; the streets being then very foul by reason of much rain but a little before fallen:

A fallen ; which many took as ominous , and portending the euill fortune which ſhortly after befell him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yong Prince was a hunting in Cherſoneſus, ſeuenty Turks aduenturers were by force of weather driuen on ſhore: who before they would yeeld themſelues priſoners, made a great fight with the Emperors men, and ſlew diuers of them : in which conflict the yong Emperor himſelfe was wounded in the foot, wherwith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late Prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged Grandfather, held not himſelfe long ſo contented, but after the maner of ambitious men (and continually prickt forward by his aſpiring fauorits) longed to haue the whole gouernment to himſelfe, which hardly brooketh any partner. And therfore weary to ſee his grandfather liue ſo long, reſolued
B no longer to expect his naturall death (although it could not by courſe of Nature be far off) but by one deuice or other to thruſt him from the gouernment: or if that might not bee effected, at once to diſpatch him both of life & ſtate together. And the ſurer to lay the plot wherон ſo foul and horrible a treaſon was to be built, he by the counſell of his mother and others, by whom he was moſt directed, ſent for *Michael* the Prince of Bulgaria his brother in law (although before to him vnknown, as was his wife his ſiſter alſo) to make with him a firm league, to the intent by him to prouide, that if the Prince of Servia (who had but lately maried the old Emperors nigh kinſwoman, and ſo to him much deuoted) ſhould take part with him, hee ſhould by the Bulgarian his neighbor be intangled. Who ſo ſent for, with his wife the old Emperors daughter, came to Didymoticum, where they were many dayes honorably enter-
C tained both by the yong Emperor and his mother. For why, this meeting plotted vpon great treaſon, was finely colored with the deſire the yong Emperor had to ſee his ſiſter and her huſband, as before to him vnknown ; and the Empreſſe her daughter, whom ſhe had not ſeene in 23 years before : but the ſecret concluſion betwixt them was, That the Bulgarian prince to the vttermoſt of his power ſhould aid the yong emperor againſt his grandfather, and he likewiſe him againſt the Servian, as he ſhould haue need. And further, That if his grandfather being depoſed, he ſhould recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great ſumme of mony with certain ſpeciall cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowry to his kind brother in law and companion in his labors. So *Michael* the Bulgarian prince honorable entertained by the yong Emperor and the old Empreſſe his mother in law, loded with rewards, and pro-
D miſes of greater, returned home into his own country.

A trecherous meeting.

This matter thus diſpatched, the yong emperor therwith incouraged, & knowing alſo the Conſtantinopolitans, beſides the other cities of Thrace, exceedingly to fauour him and his proceedings (by whom alſo he was ſecretly inuited to haſten his comming thither) as weary of the long life and lazines, as he termed it, of his grandfather, thought it beſt cunningly to go about the matter, that ſo his grandfather being with as little ſtir as might be depoſed, hee himſelfe might alone enjoy the Empire. But needing mony for the effecting of ſo great matters, he by force took all the mony from the collectors whom the old Emperor had ſent into Thracia for the taking vp of mony there; telling them, that he was an emperor alſo, & in need of money; and that the common charge was likewiſe by the common purſe to be diſcharged.
E After that he took his way toward Conſtantinople, pretending vpon ſpeciall cauſes hee had occaſion to ſend Embaſſadors to the Sultan of Egypt, for the tranſporting of whom hee was there to take order for the ſetting forth of a great ſhip & other things neceſſary for the journey. Neither went he ſlenderly appointed, but with a great power, the Cities of Thracia before well aſſured vnto him, ſuch as he ſuſpected being thruſt out of office, and others more aſſured vnto him being placed in their ſteads. But whileſt he thus beſtirred himſelfe, one of thoſe that were moſt inward with him, deteſting ſo foul a treaſon, ſecretly fled from him to his Grandfather, from point to point diſcouering vnto him all the intended trecheries ; and withall, that his nephew had determined to depoſe him from his empire, or otherwiſe to bereaue him of his life, if he ſhould ſtand on his gard : but if in the attempt he ſhould find eaſy
F ſucceſſe, then to ſpare his life, and depriuing him of the Imperiall dignity, to thruſt him as a Monk into a Monaſtery. And therfore aduiſed him to beware how he ſuffered him after his wonted manner to come into the City (for fear of a generall reuolt) but rather by force to keep him out. Which the Emperour hearing, and comparing with other things which hee had heard of others, yet ſounding in his ears, deeming it to be true, ſtood vp, and in the an-

guiſh

guiſh of his ſoul thus complained vnto God: *Reuenge my quarrell, ô God, vpon them that do mee wrong, and let them be aſhamed that riſe vp againſt me: and preſerue thou vnto me the Imperial power, which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me, whom I my ſelfe begot and aduanced.* After, he began to conſider what courſe to take for the aſſurance of himſelf and his ſtate in ſo great a danger. And firſt he ſent vnto his Nephew (come half way) to forbid him from entring the City; and to tell him, that it was a great folly for him, being ſo manifeſt a traitor both vnto his Grandfather and the State, to think his traiterous purpoſes to be vnknown to the World. And beſide, in way of reproofe to rehearſe vnto him, how many occaſions he had giuen for the breaking of the League with his Grandfather; firſt, in taking away the money from the Collectors, wherof the State neuer ſtood in more need, by reaſon of the diuiſion of the Empire, which required double charge. Then, in that hee had in the City euery where diſplaced ſuch gouernors and magiſtrats as his grandfather had ſent thither, and placed others at his pleaſure. With many other like facts declaring his treacherous aſpiring mind, for which he was, not without cauſe, by his grandfather forbidden to enter the city. After that, the old emperor by ſecret letters craued aid of *Charles* Prince of Servia, and *Demetrius* the Deſpot his ſon, who was then Gouernor of Theſſalonica and the countries adjoyning; commanding him with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephews (gouernors of Macedonia) with all the forces they were able to raiſe, and ſuch aid as ſhould bee ſent them out of Servia, with all ſpeed to joine together, and to go againſt the yong Emperor. But theſe letters thus written vnto the Prince of Servia, the Deſpot, and others (as is before ſaid) were for the moſt part intercepted, by ſuch as the yong emperor had for that purpoſe placed vpon the ſtreits of Criſtopolis and the other paſſages, eſpecially ſuch as were written in paper; yet ſome others in fine white linnen cloth, and ſecretly ſowed in the garments of ſuch as caried them, eſcaped for all their ſtreit ſearch, and ſo were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done or about to be don in Conſtantinople, but that the yong Emperor by one or other was aduertiſed thereof: Wheras the old Emperor on the other ſide vnderſtood nothing what his Nephew did abroad, or intended. For all men of their own accord inclined to him, ſome openly both in body and ſoul, as they ſay; and ſuch as could not be with him in perſon, yet in minde and good will were eüen preſent with him: and that not only the common ſort of the citiſens of Conſtantinople, but the chief Senators, the great Courtiers, yea and many other of the Emperors neereſt kinſmen alſo: Who curiouſly obſeruing what ſoeuer was done in the city, forthwith certified him therof. Among whom there was alſo *Theodorus* the Marquis, one of the old Emperours own ſons; who many years before by the Empreſſe his mother ſent into Italy, and there honorably maried, was by his prodigall courſe of life there grown far in debt; ſo that leauing his wife and children behind him, he was glad after the deceaſe of his mother, to fly vnto his father at Conſtantinople and there now liued; who beſide that he moſt honorably maintained him in the Court, and beſtowed many great things vpon him, payd alſo all his debts, which were very great. All which fatherly kindneſſe he forgetting, went about moſt *Iudas* like to haue betrayed his aged father. For he alſo dreaming after the Empire, and for many cauſes (but eſpecially for that he was in mind, religion, manners and habit become a Latine) by him rejected, thought hee could not do him a greater deſpight, than by reuolting vnto the yong Emperor. So that the neerer he was in bloud, the more he was his fathers vnnaturall enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Deſpot hauing receiued the Emperors letters at Theſſalonica, called vnto him *Andronicus* & *Michael* his Nephews, gouernors of Macedonia; with whom joining all his Forces, and daily evpecting more aid out of Servia, he firſt ſpoiled the yong Emperors Friends and Fauorits in Macedonia, giuing the ſpoil of them in all the Cities and towns of Macedonia, vnto their ſoldiers, who made hauock of whatſoeuer they light vpon: and whoſoeuer ſeemed any way to withſtand them, or diſlike of their proceedings, their goods and lands they confiſcated, and draue the men themſelues into exile. Neither was the yong Emperor *Andronicus* in the mean time idle, but ſecretly ſent out his Edicts into all parts of the Empire, yea into the very Cities of Conſtantinople and Theſſalonica, and ouer all Macedonia: wherby he proclaimed to the people in generall, a releaſment of them from all tributes, impoſitions and paiments; and franckly promiſed vnto the Souldiers and men of War, the augmenting of their penſions and pay. Which newes no ſooner bruted abroad, but that moſt men were therwith moued both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing whatſoeuer they

A they could to further the same, and by secret letters inuiting him to hasten his comming into the City. Who thereupon comming to Rhegium, by his Embassadours sent from thence requested the old Emperor, either to giue him leaue according to the League made betwixt them, to come into the City, or else to send him certain of the chiefest of the Nobilitie and Clergy, with some of the better and more vnderstanding sort of the Bourgers and Citisens also, vnto whom hee might franckly speake his minde, for them faithfully to deliuer the same again vnto the Emperor his Grandfather, and the people. Which requests the old Emperour perceiuing to be full of deceit and treacherie, for a good space answered thereunto nothing at all, but stood all silent, as doubting which to grant. For, to suffer his Nephew to come into the City, he saw was dangerous, the citisens, as hee well knew, being for the most
B part inclined to reuolt to him so soon as they should once see him within the gates. And to send any forth to him (as he desired) might be, as he feared, an occasion of some tumult to be after raised in the City: for hee knew that his Nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire words, and secretly with great gifts and large promises, first to gain them, & by them the rest of the Citisens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the easier, and sent forth vnto him two of the most noble Senators, two of the most reuerend Bishops, two other graue Prelates, and foure of the chiefe Burgesses of the City: vnto whom at their comming vnto him, hee in the open hearing of all there present, deliuered this premeditated and crafty speech:

The yong emperor sends Embassadors to his grandfather.

C *It is not vnknowne vnto the world, you my Subjects to haue alwayes been more deare vnto mee than I haue been vnto my selfe; and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or desire of the sole Gouernment against my Grandfathers good will, gon out. For you see that I neither spare myne own life, or attend my pleasure, for the care I haue of you. I come not vnto you compassed about with a gard of armed men, as is the manner, not of Kings only, for the enuy of their High place, but of others also of farre meaner Calling, whom disaster fortune, banished from their Parents and Kindred, hath inforced to wander here and there, with death alwayes before their eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by these wounds which I yet beare in my body, but in fight with the Enemies of my Countrey which passe ouer out of Asia into Thracia: as also dwelling neere vnto Ister, do with their incursions from thence miserably wast that*
D *side of Thracia which is next vnto them. For I (to tell you the very truth) seeing the old Emperour by reason of his great yeares to become sloathfull and blockish, and not possible to be awaked out of his drowsie sleepe, neither any whit to grieue, when as the poore Christians his Subjects were both by day and night, some as Sacrifices slaine by the barbarous Enemies, some carried away into most miserable captiuitie, and the rest poore and naked to be violently driuen out of their Houses and Cities: not to speake in the meane time of the greater mischiefes in Asia, and how many Cities haue been there lost through the old Emperours sloath and negligence. When I saw these things (I say) strucken with a piercing grief which my heart could not endure, I went out for two causes, either by some kinde of honourable death to end my griefe together with my life, or else to the vttermost of my power to stand my Countrey in some*
E *stead. For by no meanes it can come to passe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time reigned, must at length become loathsome vnto his Subjects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firme; whereby it commeth to passe, as we see, that all worldly things ioy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force Fortune to his desire, and striue to binde things vnto a certain firm and constant course, he shall but lose his labour, and in vain striue against Nature. But whatsoeuer is contrary vnto Nature, or exceedeth the iust bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that caused the wise men to say, and to leaue vs as rules, Not to dwell too long vpon any thing; and, A measure to be the faireſt vertue. For you see how that my grandfather beeing grown vnto great yeares, and hauing reigned so long, I may almost say, as neuer did any but he, is become hatefull euen vnto all his People: and yet he regardeth not, either how to discharge himself of so great a burthen, or how to relieue the declining state of the Empire, or so much as grieueth to see the Successors of the Empire die before him. For my father is dead without any fruit of the Empire, ex-*
F *cept the bare title only; and others also neereſt to him of bloud, and far yonger than hee, are dead likewise; and haply I my selfe may die also before I shall receiue any profit therof: for what can more easily happen, especially to a man that shunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But some perhaps will suspect me of ambition for departing from the Emperor my Grandfather, and refusing to be ruled by him: Which thing I neither flatly deny, nor altogether confesse; for might I see the Empire encrease, and the*

The yong emperours speech to his Graundfathers Embassadors.

bounds

bounds thereof inlarged, I would willingly content my selfe, and at my ease take my rest; cheering my selfe vp with such hope as do they that beare with their Cooks, making them to stay long for their dinner, in hope therby to fare the better. But seeing the state of the Empire daily to decline from euill to worse, and the miserable people carried away Captiues, or slain by their enemies euen at the gates, and vnder the walls of the Imperiall City; what deem you me then to thinke? For most men ease their present grief with the hope of future good, although the same be but vain. But vnto me is not left euen such vain hope vnto my false comfort. And can you maruell at the impotent affection of the great Alexander *of Macedon, grieued and displeased to see his Father heap victory vpon victory, and to cut off all hope of his sons glory, by leauing him so few occasions of Warre; and not thinke me (to whom the quite contrary is chanced, and from whom not only the hope of the Empire is cut off, for the wasting thereof, but euen the course of a quiet life) to fret and grieue therat? Moued herwith, and not able longer to indure it, at length I arose vp, and requested of the Emperour my Grandfather but a thousand men at Armes, promising him by the power of God, with them to preserue the Cities in Bithynia, and to driue his Enemies farther off, before that (hauing them) they should passe ouer the Streight, and besiege the Imperial City of Constantinople. Which so small a request he not only denied mee, but hath euer since taken mee for his mortall Enemy. But this and many other things let passe: I haue now another request vnto him by you, which is, That he would giue me eight thousand Ducats to content my Souldiers withall, who of long time haue from place to place roamed vp and down with mee, following myne vncertaine fortune. Which granted, I will no more be vnto my Grandfather troublesome, but dismissing my Forces, hold my self right wel contented.*

Hauing thus said, he rose out of his seat, and taking them apart one after another, curteously discoursed with them, and so filling them with great hopes, sent them away. Who departing from him, and comming into the City, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praises, inflaming the people with a greater desire of him than before. Which the old Emperor hearing, and perceiuing almost all his friends in the City to be in heart reuolted from him; and withall fearing to be of them in some sudden concourse slain, was therewith exceedingly perplexed. Yet he thought it best before any such thing should happen, to proue their mindes, and to heare the counsell of the Patriarch and *Asanes*, and the other Bishops also: Vnto whom, being by one of the Senators called together, hee declared his minde as followeth:

The speech of the old Emperour vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the Bishops and Nobilitie, concerning the young Emperour his nephew.

Were I assured, that hauing deposed my selfe of the Imperiall dignitie, I should my selfe liue in safetie, and see my people well gouerned, I would I should neuer be of the company of the Faithfull, if I did not by much prefer a pleasant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would seeke for the pleasure of the minde, what can be more pleasant than to be disburthened of all cares, and free from such dangers as attend high estates? But if for my sinne and the sinnes of my people, as also for the sinne of mine ancestors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempest raging against vs, snbuerteth our Empire: and I yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the state of the Empire, grieuously troubled with discord in the Church, and the often inuasion of the enemy; and taught by long experience, know not how in so great hurle and tempest which way to turne my selfe: How can I with safety commit vnto my nephew so great a charge, who as yet is both an vnstaied youth, and so careless of his owne good, as that hee knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne priuate affaires? For giuing ouer his power to young vnskilfull men, and hauing flung away his imperiall possessions amongst them, he himselfe liueth in penury and want; neither regarding any thing more than his dogges and kites, of whom hee keepeth few lesse than a thousand curres, and as many hawkes, and not much fewer men to looke vnto them. Wherefore vnto such a man, how may I safely commit either my life, or the administration of mine Empire, by God committed vnto mee? But I will neuer witting and willingly cast away either my subjects or my selfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not onely more than my wife and children, but (to say the truth) more than my selfe also; as you well know how tenderly I haue brought him vp, how carefully I haue instructed and aduised hem, as purposing to haue left him the heire and successour both of my wisedome and mine Empire, that so hee might the better please both God and man. But hee, contemning my good counsell, hath spent whole nights in banqueting, and riot, and brothelhouses; wherein hee hath also slaine his owne brother: and to bee briefe, hee hath risen and lifted vp his hand against mee his grandfather, and a grandfather that had

A *had of him so well deserued, attempting such a villany as the Sun neuer saw. Wherfore you ought also to hate and deteſt his wickednesse, and to rise vp to restrain his impudent disloyaltie, and by your Ecclesiasticall censure to denounce him vnworthy of the Empire and the communion of the faithfull, as one separated from God; that so ashamed and corrected, he may louingly thither return, from whence he is shamefully departed, and again bee made heire both of myne Empire and staidnesse: for there is no man aliue, whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the Empire, so that he would hear my precepts, and obey my counsell. As for the conclusion vsed in his former speech, it was altogether feigned, crafty and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches hee hath giuen me in all that speech, wherewith his conclusion agreeth not; but the more to stirre vp the hearers thereof against mee, did of purpose so conclude his speech.*

B Vpon this, most of the foresayd graue and learned Bishops agreed, That the yong Emperor should no more be named in the prayers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed himself. Howbeit the Patriarch and some others secretly fauouring both him and his proceedings, liked not therof, and therfore saying nothing therunto, returned home vnto their owne house. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the Patriarchs house, they there conspired against the old Emperor: with whom also diuers of the nobilitie consented, and therupon an oath was conceiued in writing, wherby they bound themselues to continue constant in that their wicked resolution. Wherupon about three days after, the Patriarch causing the bels to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the sen- C tence of excommunication against all such as should in their publique prayers omit the name of the yong Emperor, or refuse to do him all honor due vnto an Emperor. Which thing not a little grieued the old Emperor, as appeared by his speech in saying, *If the Doctor of peace be so mad against vs, in hope of reward promised by my Nephew, that casting off all shame and grauitie, he doubts not to be the author of sedition; who shall represse the rash attempts of the vulgar people against vs, if we respect but mans help? for the Patriarch so much as in him lieth, is (I see) the murtherer of vs.* So the Bishops of the contrary faction, moued with the notable insolencie of the Patriarch, excommunicated him likewise, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authors of sedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the State: for which cause also he was by the Emperors commandment committed vnto safe keeping in the Monastery D called Manganium. But about two days after, the yong Emperor came to the wals of Constantinople, to know how his grandfather had accepted the messengers sent vnto him, earnestly requesting, that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the City, to doe his duty to his grandfather. But neither he nor his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by such as stood vpon the walls himselfe with stones driuen away: who could not abide to heare him speak, but shamefully railed at him, saying all his talk to be nothing els but deceit & fraud: and so for that time he retyred a little from the walls. But night beeing come, certain busie heads amongst the common people, and they not a few, secretly meeting together, gaue him knowledge, that about midnight when as all the citizens were asleep, and the watchmen in securitie, he should come vnto the walls, where they would be ready to draw him vp with ropes, E vnto the top of the bulwarks: which done, the matter (as they said) were as good as dispatched; for that they were persuaded, that the Citizens so soon as they should once see him in the midst of the city amongst them, would forthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according to this appointment, about midnight approching the wals, found there no such matter as he had well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the city; but contrariwise, the watchmen carefully watching all alongst the wall, and calling one vnto another. Wherfore finding there no hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus* his chief counsellors, leauing the South side of the city, in a little boat rowed softly all along the wall that is toward the sea, if haply they might there find their friends, and so be receiued in. But there the Watchmen also descrying them from the walls, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no answer, began to cast stones at them, and to F make a noise. So that deceiued of their purpose, and out of hope, they were glad to get them farther off, and to depart as they came.

The Patriarch with other Bishops conspire against the emperor.

But the euil succes of this exploit was shortly after with his better fortune recompenced: for by and by after, secret letters were sent vnto him from Thessalonica, requesting him with all speed to come thither; assuring him in the name of the Bishop, with diuers of the Nobili-

Thessalonica yeelded to the yong emperor.

tie, and the good liking of the people in general, at his comming to open the gates of the city vnto him: wherupon he leauing a great part of his army with *Synadenus*, to keep the Constantinopolitans short, hee himselfe with the rest of his power set forward toward Thessalonica, where in the habit off a plain country man he entred the city vnsuspected: but being got within the gate, and there casting of that simple attyre, wherwith he had couered his rich & royal garments, and presently known to be the yong Emperor, the people came flocking about him and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued him as their Lord and Soueraign: yet some few more fauoring the old emperor, fled into the castle, and there stood vpon their gard, which after they had for a space notably defended, was at length taken from them. G

Thessalonica thus yeelded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*, and *Asan Michael*, the old Emperors chief captains, then lying with his army not far off, and not well trusting one another, fled; most of whose soldiers presently went ouer vnto the yong Emperour: who departing from Thessalonica, came to Serre, which by composition was deliuered vnto him also, but not the castle; for that was by *Basilicus Nicephorus* the captain therof, stil holden for the old Emperor. This *Basilicus* was a man honorably descended, but of no great capacity or wit, as the finer sort supposed; and therfore not of them much regarded, or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old Emperor for his plain sincerity, more than for any thing else, had made captain of that castle, and gouernor of the Countrey therabouts; which he yet still held, and in these most troublesome times shewed himselfe wiser than them all that had so thought of him; of whom some died in despair, some fled, some were taken prisoners, and so suffered a thousand euils; the rest with the losse of their honor traitrously reuolting from the old Emperour to the young: wheras he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegeance, with his trust in God, so long as the old Emperor liued, opposed himselfe against these troubles, and stood fast, and was not to be moued with any faire promises or cruell threats of the yong aspiring Emperor, wherof he lacked none. But hauing strongly fortified the Castle committed to his charge, there kept himselfe, vntil that hearing of the death of the old Emperor, he then reconciling himself vnto the yong, as vnto his right Soueraign, deliuered vp to him the castle; who in reward of his fidelitie gaue it him again to hold for him, in as ample manner as he had before held it for his grandfather. For wise men honor vertue euen in their enemies, as did King *Philip* in *Demosthenes*, when as he said, *If any Athenian liuing in Athens doth say that he preferreth me before his country, him verily would I buy with much mony, but not thinke him worthy my friendship: but if any for his countries sake shall hate me, him will I oppugne as a castle, a strong wall, or a Bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the city happy in hauing such a man.* H I K

And so in few words to conclude a long discourse, the Emperor in short time hauing romed thorow all Macedonia, and without resistance taken all the strong towns and cities therin, he there took also *Demetrius* the Despots wife & children, with all his treasure, as also the wiues of *Andronicus* and *Asanes*, and of all the Senators that followed them: after whom, the great commanders their husbands were also for the most part taken & cast in prison, some at Thessalonica, some at Didymoticum, some of the rest afterward most miserably perishing in exile. Wherwith the old Emperor discouraged, was about to haue sent Embassadors to his nephew for peace, whilst he was yet thus busied in Macedonia; and had indeed so done, had not another hope arising in the mean time quite altered that his better purpose. It fortuned at the same time, whilst the old Emperor was thus thinking of peace, that *Michael* the Bulgarian Prince, in hope of great profit thereof to arise, secretly offered his aid vnto him against the young Emperour his Nephew. Of which his offer the old Emperour gladly accepted, and Embassadours were sent to and fro about the full conclusion of the matter, no man being acquainted therewith, more than two or three of the Emperor his most secret friends and trusty Counsellors. Yet in the mean time disdaining to be so coupt up as he was by *Synadenus* one of the yong Emperor his Nephews chiefe Captaines, euen in the Imperial city of Constantinople; sent out one *Constantinus Assan* with the greatest part of his strength against him: who incountring him at the riuer Maurus, was there by him in plain battel ouerthrown and taken prisoner, the rest of his discomfited army flying headlong back again to Constantinople. All things thus prosperously proceeding with the young Emperour, and the countries of Macedonia and Thracia now almost al at his command, hee returned in hast with all his power, vnto Constantinople, to preuent the comming of the Bulgarians thither; as fearing L M

A leſt that they finding the city weakly manned, ſhould trecherouſly kil the old Emperor, with ſuch as were about him, and ſo ſeiſe vpon the city themſelues; or at leaſtwiſe giue him ſuch aid as might keepe him out, and ſo cut off all his hope for obtaining of the ſame. At which time alſo there was great want of victuall in the City, he with his army hauing ſhut it vp on the one ſide by land, and the Venetians with their gallies on the other ſide by ſea: who then at ods with the Genoa's dwelling at Pera, kept all that ſtreit ſea betwixt Europ and Aſia, in ſuch ſort as neither victuals nor merchandiſe could be brought that way, either to Conſtantinople or Pera. The yong Emperor comming to Conſtantinople, attempted ſtraitway to enter the city, in hope without any great reſiſtance to be receiued: but being repulſed by the Defendants, he was glad to get him farther off. About this time came alſo to the city 3000 horſ-
B men, the appointed aid of the Bulgarian Prince, vnto the old Emperour: who although hee wanted men, and was right glad of their comming: yet remembring the harms he had before receiued by forein aid, & not now daring to truſt them too far, ſuffered them not to come into the city, more than their Generall and ſome few others of the Commanders with him. Now the yong Emperor vpon the comming of this aid, leſt ſome great harm might betyde either the old Emperor or himſelf, to the vtter ſubuerſion of their ſtate; ſecretly ſent vnto his grandfather, requeſting him to be well aduiſed how he truſted thoſe forrein people too far; offering himſelfe to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command, rather than ſo great a harme ſhould happen vnto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the truſt the old Emperor had con-
C ceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had ſo confirmed his mind, as that he little liſtned vnto his Nephewes requeſt: Beſides that, how could he well truſt him that had ſo often deceiued him. Wherwith the yong Emperor much grieued, and now again almoſt deſpairing of his further ſucceſſe, diſlodged, and drew neer vnto the place where theſe Bulgarian horſemen lay incamped: from whence he ſent certaine Embaſſadors with great gifts and preſents vnto the Generall and the reſt of the chief Commanders, promiſing them far greater, if they would without further troubling themſelues returne home again. Whereunto they willingly granted, and ſo were of him honourably feaſted, and the next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

It fortuned that the yong Emperor returning back again from the Bulgarians, and incam- *Conſtantinople betrayd to the yong Emperor.*
ped in the ſame place where he before lay; two of the Watchmen of the City, the one called
D *Camaris*, and the other *Caſtellanus*, both ſmiths, fled ſecretly vnto him. Who admitted to his preſence, and all others commanded to depart, except *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the City vnto him, ſo that he would vnder his hand writing aſſure them of ſuch a ſum of mony, & ſuch poſſeſſions as they required. Which he eaſily granting, and the hour and maner of performing the ſame being by them declared and agreed vpon, they by and by without longer delay, for fear of ſuſpition, returned again into the city. But the Emperor ſtaying four days in the ſame place, cauſed certain ladders to be made of great ropes, ſuch as they vſe in great ſhips. But the appointed night beeing come, the two Traitors hauing before prouided great ſtore of good wine, liberally gaue the ſame by way of curteſie vnto the Watchmen their companions neer vnto them: who drank ſo plentifully therof, that not able any longer to hold vp their heads,
E they fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, as that but for breathing, they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certain ſoldiers of the yong Emperors, with the foreſaid ladders; which the traitors by and by drawing vnto them by a rope caſt downe, and making them faſt vnto the top of the wall, receiued by the ſame 18 armed men: who being got into the City, without more ado brake open the Roman gate, wherby the yong Emperor with his Army preſently entred, no man letting him. But it is worth the marking, how things appointed to befall vs, are by no means to be auoided, although we be thereof before neuer ſo plainly forewarned: for the ſame night the city was ſurpriſed, immediatly after the ſetting of the Sun, the gates being ſhut, a certain countryman came running in al haſt from out of a village therby, and knocking hard at the gate called Girolimna, required to ſpeak with ſome of the ſoldiers;
F who beeing come, hee told them that a little before, hee had ſeen a great number of the yong Emperours men marching towards the City, by the way that leadeth vnto the Roman gate. Which being told vnto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him: and therefore thought it good to ſend forth certaine Scouts, to ſee if all were cleere along the Walls towards the land, from ſea to ſea. Which his purpoſe *Metochita* his chiefe Counſellor letted, ſaying,

it not to beseem a couragious mind to be vpon so light an occasion so much moued; for that G
either the rumor was false, or the indeauor of so few vain, the wals and gates of the city being so filled with armed men: which haply he said not so much vpon ignorance of martial affairs, as blinded by a certain commanding power; that the supernall decree giuen by God himself against the old Emperor, might at length take place. And again, the third part of that night yet scant past, diuers other countrymen came running vnto the said gate Gyrolimna, and told the watchmen vpon the walls, that a great number of men were met together at the Romane gate. Wherof the Emperor hearing, was therewith much more troubled than before; insomuch that sharply rebuking *Metochita*, he said vnto him, Thou seemst to be strangely metamorphosed into a man of iron, which art become so secure as not to haue any feeling of the
danger wherwith we are inclosed: Seest thou not that the matter requireth, that wee should H
not thus sit still and take our rest? For the noise of my nephew soundeth in myne ears as the sound of a great drum, and disquieteth my mind: I feel a sea of calamitie broken out against me, which ouerwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Neuertheles he, firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of those reports, and therfore rose to go to bed, to shew indeed that he accounted nothing of them but as false alarms. But the Emperor left alone, and no body with him to whom he might breake his griefe, laid him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his cloaths, but as if he had together with them put on extreame desperation, lay tumbling to and fro, as a man in mind troubled with diuers sad and heauy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noise at the Court gate, and the report of the entring of the yong Emperor his Nephew, with a great clattering of armour, for there were aboue eight hundred I
soldiers entred with him; and withall, they of the City on euery side saluted him with most joyfull acclamations. But the old Emperour hearing the great tumult and outcry, rose from his palat, exceedingly troubled; and destitute of all help from his captains and soldiers (for why, his palace was altogether desolate, except of such as were his ordinary waiters) betooke himselfe vnto his prayers, beseeching God not to forsake him in so great a danger, but in his mercy to defend him from the fury of these wicked men. Who presently heard him, & sent him present relief; for whilst he was thus praying in the palace, the yong Emperor without, calling together all his Captains and lieutenants, streitly charged them vpon pain of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the majesty of the old Emperor his grandfather, nor any
other about him: for this victory (said he) God hath giuen vs, and not we our selues: his will K
ordereth all things, wherunto all things obey; the stars, the air, the sea, the earth, men, flouds, tempests, plagues, Earthquakes, shours, dearth, and such like, somtime to our blis, & somtime to our correction and destruction: wherfore vsing vs as the instruments of his chastisement, he hath giuen vnto vs this present victory, which peraduenture to morrow hee will giue vnto others to vse against vs, and then as we haue bin vnto them we haue ouercome, such will they also shew themselues vnto vs again. Wherfore if neither nighnesse of bloud, nor that we bee all of one country, will moue vs, yet in respect of our selues let vs vse mercy, that we feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like case. In the mean time a Courtier opened a wicket vnto the yong Emperor, with this message from his grandfather:
L

The pittifull supplication of the old Emperor to his Nephew.

For asmuch as God this day (my sonne) hath giuen vnto thee the Imperiall Scepter, taken from mee, I request of thee this one good turne, for many which I haue euen from thy birth bestowed vpon thee, (for in this my hardest state I let passe, that I next vnto God haue been the author of thy natiuitie and increase) giue me my life, spare thy fathers head, and with violent weapon spil not that bloud from which thou thy selfe hast taken the fountain of life. Man truly beholdeth heauen and earth, and heauen and earth behold mens actions: wherefore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of so wicked an outrage as neuer any man euer committed. If Brothers bloud long agoe cried out vnto the Lord against Cain, *how much louder shall the fathers bloud cry vnto the Lord, and declare so great a wickednesse vnto the earth, the Sunne, and Starres, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the world? Regard my miserable old age, which of it selfe promiseth vnto me shortly death, but vnto thee a rest after long* M
cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes most louingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy swathing Clouts. Reuerence those lips which haue oftentimes most louingly kissed thee, and called thee my other soule: Haue pitty vpon a bruised reed, cast downe by fortune, and do not thou againe tread vpon it. And seeing thou art thy selfe a man, be not too proud of thy present fortune, but consider the vn-

certainty

A *certaintie and varietie of worldly things, taking by me example: see in me the end of long life, and maruell, how one night hauing receiued me an Emperor of many years, leaueth mee now subiect vnto another mans power for euer.*

The yong Emperor *Andronicus* mooued with this speech, and taking great care of his grandfathers safety, scarse abstaining from tears, entred the palace, and comming to his grandfather, humbly saluted him, embraced him and with cheerful words comforted him. Streitway after, he went vnto the monastery Manganium, where (as is aforesaid) the Patriark *Esaias* was by the old Emperors commandement kept safely: whom the yong Emperor now tooke from thence, and carying him away in one of the Emperours richest Chariots, restored him a-
B gain vnto his Patriarchal dignity; wherin he afterwards spared not to reuenge himself to the full, and most cruelly to persecute the old Emperours friends. That day from morning vnto night, a man might haue seen the riches and wealth of such noblemen as had taken part with the old Emperor, caried away, and their goodly houses ouerthrowne and made a scorn of the base common people: but especially the house and wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greatest fauor with his Prince, and of all others next vnto the Emperor himself, of greatest authority and credit; whose whole wealth (not that only which was found in his house, but that also which he had put in trust with his friends, discouered by notes found in his study) became most part a prey vnto the common people, and the rest confiscated vnto the Prince. Thus he which erst of all others next vnto the Emperor was accounted most for-
C tunat, was now vpon the sudden with his wife and children brought to extream beggery; and after many years felicity, in one day cast into the bottome of despaire and misery. Where a man might haue heard many complaining say, all that wealth and treasure to haue beene the bloud and tears of the poor oppressed Subjects, brought to him by them whom hee had made rulers and gouernors of the prouinces and cities of the Empire; to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people, as with their slaues, hee might stop them for comming to complain of their griefs vnto the Emperor: and that the Reuengers eye had not always slept, but was now at length awaked, and had of him yet scarsly taken sufficient punishment: which euery where to hear, increased not a little his grief. As for himself, he was confined to Didi-
D moticum, as the place of his exile and banishment; where after he had a certain time poorly liued, hee was sent for backe againe to Constantinople, where hauing nothing left to relieue himselfe (for his house at the comming of the young Emperour, was in the fury of the people pluckt down to the ground, and the very pauement therof digged vp) he went vnto the Monastery of Chora there by, which long before built by the Emperour *Iustinian*, and become ruinous, he in the time of his prosperity had with great charge repaired, and therin now (hauing made shipwrack of al that he had) quietly shrouded himself, to the great comfort both of his body and afflicted mind, where he not long after died.

But to return again vnto the old Emperor, as yet in doubt what should become of himself: it fortuned that the same day the city was taken, the yong Emperor at night returning to the Palace, by the way met with *Niphon* sometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to
E deal with his grandfather. Wherunto the yong Emperor answering, that he would deal with him honorable and Emperor like, he was by him therfore blamed and reproued. For this *Niphon* being of a crafty subtill wit and malicious nature, besides that he secretly hated all them vpon whom Fortune greatly either fauned or frowned, bare an especiall grudge against the old Emperor: first, For that at such time as he was right worthily, for his shameful couetousnesse and extortion, by the rest of the Bishops and Clergy thrust out of the Patriarkship, hee was not by him (as he looked for) defended: and secondly, For that dreaming again after the Patriarchal dignity, he thought it one good step therunto, to haue him, as his greatest enemy, taken out of the way. Wherfore he said now vnto the yong emperor, *If thou desire to reign without fear, giue not thine honor vnto another; but taking all the ornaments of the empire from the old man,*
F *cast hair-cloath vpon him, and so clap him vp fast in prison, or else thrust him out into exile.* This mischieuous counsell this wicked man gaue against the poore old distressed Emperour, not remembring how vnworthily hee had by him beene before preferred vnto the highest degrees both of honour and wealth, if he could there haue kept himselfe. Vnto which vngracious counsel diuers others of the Nobility also consenting, so wrought the matter amongst them,

Niphon inuenceth the young emperor against his grandfter.

that although they could not quite draw the yong Emperors mind from his grandfather, yet they much changed the same, so that he could no longer endure to take him for his companion in the empire. Wherupon after many meetings & consultations had, it was decreed, That the old man should still retain the name and ornaments of an Emperor, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to sit still quietly in his chamber, with the yearly maintenance of 10000 ducats, for the maintenance of himselfe and such as tended vpon him; to be raised of the fishing before the city of Constantinople; a poore pension for the maintenance of so great an Emperor. Of which so shameful a decree *Esaias* the Patriark was also a furtherer: who seeing an Emperor that had reigned so long, cast down, and shut vp as it were in prison, was so far from grieuing thereat, that foolishly rejoicing, hee in token thereof absurdly wrested this text of Scripture, saying in his merriment, *Lætabitur justus cum viderit ultionem*; The Iust shall rejoice when he seeth the reuenge; calling himself just, and the Emperor Reuenge. But the old Emperor thus shut vp in his chamber (differing in nothing but in name from a prison) not long after, the state of his body ouerthrown with griefe, and corrupt humors distilling out of his head, first lost one of his eies, and shortly after the other also; and so oppressed with eternall darknes, mingled (as saith the Scripture) his drink with teares, and ate the bread of sorrow, being oftentimes to his great griefe most bitterly mocked & derided; not by them only which were by his enemies set to gard him, but of his owne seruants also. Not long after, the yong Emperor falling sicke, in such sort as that it was thought hee would not recouer, *Catacuzenus* and the rest of his greatest fauorites and followers, carefull of their own estate, & yet doubtfull of the old blind Emperor, deuised many things against him, but al tending to one purpose, for the shortning of his daies. But in the end, all other deuises set apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a Religious, and so for euer to bid the world farwel, or els to take what should otherwise ensue, the best wherof was either death, exile, or perpetual imprisonment in the loathsom castle of obliuion. For the putting wherof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him most hatefull) was appointed. At which hard choice the old emperor, as with a world of woes suddenly oppreſt, lay a great while vpon his bed as a man speechles: for what could he do els, except he had had an heart of steel or adamant? being then compassed about with many barbarous and merciles soldiers, and his domesticall seruants took from him, and no man left that would vouchsafe to dire& him (being blind) whither to go, or where to stand. But to make the matter short, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themselues, polling & shauing him, & casting a Monks habit vpon him, changed his name after the maner of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthony* the Monk. Glad was *Esaias* the false Patriark of this the hard estate of the old Emperor, for that now that he was professed a religious, there was left no hope for him to recouer again the Empire, either cause for himself to fear. Yet hee thought it good to be aduised, in what sort remembrance should be made of him in the Church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Wherof to be by the old Emperor himselfe resolued, he (seeming to be very sory for that which was don, but purposing indeed therin to deride him) sent two Bishops vnto him, to know what his pleasure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demand, he (oppressed with heauinesse, and fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart) answered:

The old Emperor becommeth blind.

Andronicus the old Emperor against his will made a Monk, & named Anthony.

The notabl answer of the old Emperor to the catching question of the proud Patriark.

As in poore Lazarus *appeared a double miracle, that being dead hee rose, and being bound, walked; euen so was it to be done in mee, though in quite contrary manner. For lo, beeing aliue I am dead, as ouerwhelmed with the waues of calamitie and wo: And beeing loose, I am bound, not my hands and feet only, but my tongue also; wherewith vnable to do any thing else, I might yet at least bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire, and such as by chance should heare mee, and vnto this most wofull darkenesse wherin I must for euer sit. But shame hath closed my mouth; my Brethren abhor me, and my Mothers sons account me as a stranger vnto them, and the very light of myne eye is not with him. My Friends and Neighbours stood vp against me, and all that saw me laughed mee to scorne. My feet had almost slipped, and my foot-steps were almost ouerthrown: for I fretted against the Wicked, when I saw the peace of the vngodly. The Emperors long ago gaue great priuiledges vnto the Church, euen those which it at this day enioyeth: and the Church gaue to them again power to chuse whom they would to be Patriarks. Now concerning him that sent you, I not only nominated him vnto the Patriarchall Dignitie, but I my*

selfe

A *selfe made choice of him, and preferred him before many other right worthy and famous men, being himselfe a man grown old in a poore priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous. I will not say how often I haue holpen him and don him good: but now when he should again haue relieued me in my calamity, he joineth hands with myne enemies against me, more cruell vpon me than any other bloudy handed executioner; not ashamed to ask me how I would be remembred in the Church: feigning himselfe to be ignorant and sory for myne estate, much like vnto the Egyptian Crocodile of Nile, which hauing killed some liuing beast, lieth vpon the dead body & washeth the head therof with her warm tears, which she afterwards deuoureth together with the dead body. But what to answer him vnto this his catching question I know not: for if I shall say, As an Emperor, I shall forthwith be slaine by them which for that purpose haue me in hold: but if I say, As* Anthony *the Monke, it shall bee taken as the free confession of*
B *my estate, by them who haue craftily contriued myne ouerthrow; as if I had not by compulsion, but euen of mine own free will put on this monasticall habit, which God knowes was neuer in my thought.*

Hauing thus said, he sent them away without any other answer; but sitting down vpon his bed side, said, *My soul return again into thy rest; for the Lord hath dealt well with thee:* and spake no more in declaration of his grief, his tongue there staying by his singular wisedome, or else with the greatnesse of his sorrow, and so against his wil in silence passing ouer his heauinesse; his mind with the greatnesse of his woes ouercome, and as it were astonished, before the humors gathered into the brain could be dissolued into tears. For as the Sun sending forth his moderat beams, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but casting them forth more
C plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat consume the same before they can be drawne vp: so the moderat affections of the mind may haue their griefs by words and tears expresst; but such as exceed all measure, and with their vehemencie as it were ouerthrow the mind, vsually make men to stand stil mute and silent, or if they speak at all, to speak idly and nothing to the purpose, as men beside themselues or in an extasie. But for the resolution of the question by the Bishops demanded, the deuout Patriark decreed, That in the church praiers he should be remembred before the Emperor his Nephew, by the name of the most religious and zealous Monk *Anthony*: which was done (God wot) for no good zeal to the poor blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if he weary of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that silly profession. Neuertheles within 4 days after, *Synadenus* vnder-
D standing them in euery place to whisper amongst themselues, and secretly to mutter against the hard dealing with the old Emperor, who had long reigned ouer them, and so was by right again to do if his nephew should chance to die; and that the Ecclesiasticall laws inforced no man against his wil to enter into religious orders: he therwith inraged, sent to him certain of his own confederacie to exact of him an oath in writing, That he should neuer after that time seek after the empire, or yet accept of the same if it were offred him, neither to substitute any other: which if he refused to do, to put him in fear of his life. And the more to terrifie him, set a gard of insolent barbarous soldiers ouer him; for fear of whom he yeelded to do whatsoeuer they required: and so his oath being solemnly conceiued in writing (another man leading his hand because he was blind) he signed the same with a red crosse aboue, and a black crosse be-
E neath, after the maner of the Religious. Hauing thus liued in darknes disgraced, shut vp in his chamber as a man forsaken of the world, with a sure gard euer to attend him, by the space of two years, it fortuned that the twelfth of February towards night (a day in the Greeke church dedicated to the vigil of S. *Anthony*, whose name they had giuen him) certaine of his friends that were suffered to haue accesse vnto him, going as their maner was once in three or four daies to visit him (among whom was his daughter, somtime the Prince of Servia his wife, but as then a widow, and *Nicephorus Gregoras* author of this history) he entred with them as with his friends, into a familiar discourse of many matters, wherin he so deceiued the time that it was past midnight before they perceiued how the time passed. But the cocks crowing, he brake off the talk, and bidding them farwell, gaue them leaue to depart, pleasantly saying,
F that to morrow they would make an end of their discourse. Who all thereupon tooke their leaue and departed, no sign of any sicknes as then appearing vpon him: who after they were gon, called for meat and did eat: the meat he eat was certain shel fish, for it was with them a fasting day, & he had not eat any thing. After which when as he should haue drunk a cup of wine for the comforting of his cold stomacke, & disgesting that so hard meat, he drank cold

The old Emperors death.

water,

water,as his maner was when he felt any inward heat, to drink the same immoderatly:which G
hurtfull kind of diet he then vsing also,began by and by to feel a great paine in his stomacke, and so presently after became very sick,falling withall into a great loosnes of body,so that in the space of one quarter of an hour he was glad oftentimes to arise,and to go vnto an homely house of office in an inner chamber,therby to discharge natures burden: where after many euacuations,sitting down vpon an homely bed fast by,and not able to recouer his own bed,hauing as then none to help him,there before it was day died,after he had reigned 43 years. His death was by many strange signs and accidents as it were foretold: first a great eclipse of the Sun appeared iust so many daies before his death as he had liued years: and after that, another eclipse of the moone, and with it an earthquake, the day before hee died at night,beeing H
Saint *Anthonies* euen, whose name his enemies had thrust vpon him: at which time also the sea with a great tempest arising aboue the wonted bounds, made diuers breaches in the walls of the city toward the sea,as if it had bin some violent enemy, & ouerflowed also diuers houses in the city. Many crosses and pinacles were then also from the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrown;and with them a great pillar, sometime one of the ornaments of the city,standing before the church commonly called the Church of the 40 Martyrs; which being very high,and below burnt & worn away with time,had put many in a fear as they passed by it,lest it should haue fallen vpon them: insomuch that the Emperor vpon a time passing that way,was requested by some of the nobilitie there present,to ride farther from it, for fear of falling vpon him: who smiling at their vain fear, by chance answered, *O would to God I might liue so long as this pillar will stand.* Which now falling out according to his speech, gaue I
many of them that had heard him so say,occasion to maruell. His dead body was honorably buried in the monastery of Libe,which his mother *Theodora* the Empres had not long before new built,and his obsequies there(after the maner of that time) yearly solemnly kept by the space of nine daies.

The Turkes kingdom founded by Othoman in Asia,at such time as the Greek Emperors were at variance betweene themselues in Europe.

Thus at length hauing passed through the troubled state of the Greek empire,during the long reign of the old Emperor *Andronicus*,the considerat Reader may easily see the causes of the declining and ruin also of this famous empire: and how that the Greek Emperors, troubled with their tempestuous affairs neerer home in Europe, yea in the very Imperiall City it self,and in their own palaces,were not at leisure to look ouer the streit into Asia, but glad to K
leaue their territories there vnto the weak defence of themselues. At which time,and euen in the midst of the foresaid trouble, *Othoman* on the one side with great industry layd the foundation of his Empire in Phrygia and Bithynia, (now the greatest terror of the World) and then did those things which we now haue written of him. The other Princes of the Turkes also,the successors of Sultan *Aladin*, at the same time on the other side alongst the riuer Meander incroching as fast: vntill that at last amongst them they had thrust the Greeke Emperours quite out of Asia; and in fine became themselues, together with the Greeke Empire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* Kings;as in the further processe of this history shal more at large appeare.

But again to return to *Othoman* himself,who all this while that *Andronicus* the Greek Emperor was thus troubled,had with his son *Orchanes* sought by all meanes on euery side to en- L
large his kingdom. The garrisons by him left in the two late built castles neer to the great city of Prusa,vnder the charge of the two valiant Captains *Actemur* and *Balabanzuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certain years,had by shutting vp the passages,and spoiling of the country,brought the city into such distres and penury,that many of the Citisens and other the poor Christians fled into the city,died of famin. The rest now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greek Emperor,not then able to relieue himself,came to composition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then sick of his old disease the gout)couenanting with him, that they might in safety with life & liberty depart, and so much of their goods as they themselues could carry; and so yeelded to him the city. Which conditions (as most write) were on the Turks behalf wel and faithfully performed: yet some there be that report them M
to haue bin in most part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was Prusa,one of the greatest cities of that part of Asia,yeelded vnto the Turks,in the year of our Lord 1327:and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royal seat of the *Othoman* Kings.

Prusa yeelded to the Turks.

About this time,or very shortly after,*Othoman* in the eight and twentieth year of his reign died,

A died at the age of *69*, *Anno Dom.* 1328. and lieth buried at Prusa, where his Tombe is yet at this day to be seen in a certain chappell of an old Monastery, in a castle standing in the midst of the city; couered with a mantle of greene Chamlet, and a little tulipant or Turkish hat (such as he vsed to wear) lying ouer his head, differing from those which the Turks now wear, especially the better sort of them, being so great that they can scarse therewith come in at a dore. There is also another monument of him to be seene at Suguta, fast by the sepulchre of his father *Ertogrul*, there made by his sons in remembrance of him, wherof some haue reported him to haue bin there buried. Howbeit the Turks themselues generally suppose the true monument wherin he is interred, to be at Prusa, as is aforesaid. He was wise, valiant, politick and fortunat, but ful of dissimulation, and ambitious abeue measure; not rash in his attempts, B and yet very resolute: what he took in hand he commonly brought to good effect. He was bountifull and liberall to all men, but especially to his men of War, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloath with his own hands. Of a poor lordship he left a great kingdom, hauing subdued a great part of the lesser Asia: and is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turks great kingdom and empire. Of him, the Turkish Kings and Emperors haue euer since bin called the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, as lineally of him descended: and the Turks themselues *Osmanidæ*, as the people or subjects of *Othoman* or *Osman*, for so he is of the Turks commonly called.

The death of Othoman.
Othoman buried at Prusa.

NOte, that in the reckoning vp of certain of the great Christian Princes and Prelats of the same time, at the end of euery the Turkish Kings and Emperors liues, the first and greatest number following their names, sheweth the year of our Lord, wherin such an Emperor, King, or Bishop, began to reign or sit; and the number following, how long he reigned or sate. As for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to reign in the East in the year of Grace 1282, and reigned 43 years. And so of the rest. Wherin we seek not the exact computation vnto a moneth or day, (as not much materiall to our history or any part of our purpose) but only the reasonable view of the great Princes of the forepassed times, as they liued in ages together.

Christian Princes of the same time with Othoman.

Emperors	*Of the East*	*Andronicus Palæologus the elder,*	1282.	43
		Andronicus Palæologus the younger	1325.	29
	Of the West	*Albertus of Austria*	1298.	10
		Henry of Lucelbourg	1308.	6
		Lewis the fourth, of Bavaria	1314.	32
Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the first*	1272.	34
		Edward the second	1307.	20
		Edward the third	1327.	50
	Of France	*Philip het Faire*	1286.	28
		Lewis	1314.	2
		Philip the Long	1316.	5
		Charles the Faire	1321.	7
	Of Scotland	*Iohn Baliol*	1292.	
		Robert Bruce	1306.	24
Bishops of Rome		*Boniface the VIII.*	1295.	8
		Benedict the XI.	1304.	2
		Clement the V.	1306.	11
		Iohn the XXII.	1317.	18

Suſcipit Orchanes *defuncti Sceptra parentis:*
Major ut ingenio, ſic magis arte valens.
Bithynos, Phrygiamque domat, Pruſamque ſuperbam:
Et populos late (Marte favente) premit.
Sic lætus tantis Aſiam turbaſſe ruinis;
Tranſit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.
Rident interea Græci ſua damna: ſed ecce,
Dum ſua contemnunt, in ſua fata ruunt:

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his Scepter vp in hand,
As one of deeper wit and reach his foes for to withſtand.
The Phrygians and Bithynians he by force of arms brought low;
Proud Pruſa, with fair Nicomede, and many cities moe.
And glad in Aſia to haue made ſuch hauock and ſuch ſpoil,
His Forces into Europ ſends, the Grecians there to foil.
Who mean while laughing at their loſſe, did make thereof a game,
Not thinking what a world of wo was to enſue the ſame.

THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TVRKES.

AFTER the death of *Othoman*, his two sons, *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Vrchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing with great solemnitie interred their father at Prusa, immediatly summoned a Parliament; whereunto both the brethren came, accompanied with the chief of their nobilitie. This parliament was called especially for the establishing of the succession in this new kingdom, and for the diuision of *Othomans* treasure & goods betwixt them two his sons. But vpon view taken, there was no money, plate, or jewels found in the Kings coffers, for that he had in his life time most bountifully bestowed it vpon his men of war: so that all the wealth hee left vnto them his sons, was the honorable remembrance of his life for them to imitate, large dominions for their possessions, store of ready horses & armor fit for seruice, with great herds of beasts and cattel for houshold prouision. Wherupon *Orchanes* demanded of his brother *Aladin*, what order he thought was best to be taken with those things by their father so left? To whom *Aladin* answered, That it was most requisit first to establish a King in their fathers Kingdome; which like a good Sheepheard might gouerne and defend his people, rule and maintaine his men of War, and prouide all things meete and necessarie for defence of his kingdom: and that vnto him of right belonged all these other things by their father left, as the patrimonie of his successor, for the common good, and maintenance of his estate. As for myne own part (said *Aladin*) I claime no interest therein, you being my elder brother, and so vnto me in stead of a father; by whom also you haue bin these two years as it were already put in possession of the Kingdom, all things being committed to your gouernment during the time of his late sicknes. This modesty of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the antient counsellors; by means wherof the kingdom in all peaceable maner descended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which curtesie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother President of his Councell. Which honor hee would in no wise accept, but requested rather that he would giue him the lordship of Fodore in *Tekences* country; which *Orchanes* freely granted. In which lordship of Fodore *Aladin* for most part liued a priuat and quiet life, and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an abby at Prusa, there yet at this day to be seen.

The wealth Othoman left to his two sonnes, Orchanes and Aladin.

Some Latine Historiographers otherwise report this beginning of *Orchanes* his reigne; as that *Othoman* should haue three sons, and that *Orchanes* the yongest obtained the kingdom by murthering his other brethren. A practise of late much vsed amongst the Turkish Princes, but not before the time of *Bajazet* the first of that name, who first of the Turkish Monarchs embrued his hands with his brothers bloud. Where before they vsed all brotherly loue one vnto another, as the most probable histories collected out of the Turks own Chronicles do affirm.

when the barbarous murdering of their brethren first began amongst the Turks Sultans.

The

The city of Nice with diuers other castles recouered from the Turks after the death of Othoman.

The Christian princes and captains presently vpon the death of *Othoman* recouered the city of Nice, with diuers other castles and forts, out of the Turks hands: as it commonly chanceth, that dominions lately won with great perill, are soon again lost, the conqueror dying before there be a firm gouernment established. Amongst other forts by the Christians repossessed, the castle of Tzuprichiser, scituate vpon the passages of the riuer Sangarius, most grieued the Turkes, for thereby their passage into that part of Bithynia was much impeached. Wherfore *Orchanes* desirous to recouer this castle, disguised himselfe with a few other of his best soldiers, in the apparell of Christian merchants, and came to the castle, crauing leaue to passe as merchants. The warders of the castle verily supposing them by their attire to be merchants, opened the gates and let them into the castle: who presently drew their swords, slew the warders, and so by force possessed the castle, to the great benefit of the Turks, and the hurt of the poor Christians yet left in the country of Bithynia: for they hauing now opened a way ouer the riuer Sangarius, and as it were broken down the strongest defence of that side of the Greek empire, at their pleasure forraged the countrey in such sort, as that the great city Nice for want of victuals to relieue so great a multitude as for fear of the Turks was fled out of the country into it, was brought to great extremitie and want. For the relief wherof, and for the repulsing again of the Turks, *Andronicus* the yong Emperor, who then commanded all, with such an army as he was then able to raise, passed himself in person ouer the streit of Constantinople, into Asia: the greatest strength of his army consisted in 2000 choice horsemen, the rest, as well horse as foot, being for the most part artificers taken vp in the City, men altogether vnacquainted with arms (who in token of their cowardise, & that they were more mindfull of flight than of fight, caried ouer with them almost as many long boats and such other small vessels, as they were men, to be ready to receiue them at such time as they should flie) or els abiect rascals taken vp here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, and of all others most vnfit for so great a Prince as was the Emperour, to commit the defence of his person and honor vnto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his comming, sent certain of his most expert Captains to forelay the streit passages of the countrey wherby the Emperour was to passe; following also himselfe after with his army, of purpose to incounter the Emperor: who in three days march after his landing in Asia, being come to Philochrene a little town in Bithynia, and vnderstonding that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the streits, lay not far off incamped with his army; he there at Philochrene pitched his tents, and staid that night also. But the next morning, the Sun as yet scarsely risen, he seeing diuers companies of the Turks comming down from the mountains fast by, put his army in order of battell, and so set forward to meet them: where to begin the fight, the Turkes archers freely bestowed their piercing shot among the Christians, still keeping themselues aloof off, so to do the more harm. Which the Emperor mistaking, and supposing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of fear, incouraged therwith, commanded certain loose companies disorderly to march forward, and to skirmish with them. Which his more expert Captains not liking, would haue otherwise persuaded him, as to haue kept his strength together against the danger of the battel. Neuertheles such was his youthful heat, as that he could by no means be otherwise intreated, but that forward needs they must. But all the forenoon spent in this light and tumultuary kind of skirmishing, and the Sun at the highest now shining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the mountains perceiuing the Christians well wearied with the heat of the day and long skirmishing, came down from the hils with a world of men following him; who with a most hideous cry charged the Christians on euery side, some afar off with their arrowes, and some hand to hand with their swords and other weapons: whose assault the Christians at the first most valiantly receiued, and a great while right worthily defended themselues, hauing wounded and slain a number of their enemies. Which hard fight was on both sides couragiously maintained till the approching of the night, with great slaughter on both sides; at which time the Christians weary of the long fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, disorderly retyring toward their trenches, and hardly pursued by the Turkes, receiued there a great losse as well of their horsmen as of their foot: but by the comming on of the night the battell was at length ended with uncertain victory. Among others there hurt, the Emperour himselfe was wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night hapned a sad mishap, and a manifest token of Gods wrath: for *Orchanes* hauing to his cost made proof of the strength and valor of the Christians

The Emperor wounded.

A ſtians and doubting they would the next day come on further into the country, left three hundred horſemen as ſcouts, to attend the enemies remouing: and himſelfe with his army retired before hand to take aduantage of ſuch places as the Chriſtians were to paſſe by. But the Emperor in the euening leauing his campe, and going to Philocrene, a little town faſt by, the better to haue his wound dreſſed; the reſt of the army vnderſtanding of his departure, and ſuppoſing him to haue fled for feare (as if *Orchanes* with a great army would that night haue ſlaine them all) fled themſelues alſo out of the campe, euery mothers ſon; ſome to their long boats and other little veſſels they had for that purpoſe brought ouer the ſtreit; ſome haſting toward the town gates, were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, ouerborne and trodden to death; otherſome hanging one at anothers taile, like a chain, got ſome part of them
B vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; otherſome drawne backe by them that hung vpon them, falling downe together by heaps, and trod vpon by others, there periſhed; ſome (as is reported) died there for very feare, no man either chaſing or hurting them, ſo weake is mans courage, when God withdraweth from him his ſtrength. But in the morning the Sun ariſing, the three hundred Turks left for ſcouts, perceiuing the flight of the Chtiſtians, entred the forſaken campe, where they found horces, armor, and empty tents, yea the Emperours owne furniture, and his horſes ready ſadled: of all which, two hundred of theſe Turks tooke the ſpoile at their pleaſure, and the other hundred purſuing the diſperſed Chriſtians, like heartleſſe men wandring here and there, ſlew a great number of them. The Emperor himſelf ſeeing his army thus (as it were by the hand of God) ouerthrown and diſperſed, tooke ſhipping alſo, and ſo re-
C turned to Conſtantinople. After whoſe departure, the Turkes ſeiſing vpon many ſea townes alongſt the coaſt of Bythinia, and there ſeating themſelues, layd heauy tributes vpon the other country townes and villages; for the benefit whereof they ſpared to deſtroy them, together with the inhabitants, which they might at their pleaſure full eaſily haue done.

Now lay the great city of Nice in the ſuds, the enemy commanding all the country about it, liuing as ſicke men do by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thouſand horſemen which the Emperor (notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture) had promiſed forthwith to ſend, there to lie in garriſon for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. Of which aid ſo promiſed *Orchanes* vnderſtanding, furniſhed eight hundred of his horſemen after the manner of the Chriſtians; and fetching a great compaſſe about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from Con-
D ſtantinople to Nice, and ſo trouped directly toward the city, as if they had come from Conſtantinople. At the ſame time he ſent 300 of his other horſemen in the habit of Turks, to forrage and ſpoyle the country as much as they could within the view of the city, now for want of victuals brought into great extremity; which whileſt they were a doing, the other eight hundred horſemen in the attire of Chriſtians, following vpon them, as if it had bin by chance, charged them, and in the ſight of the citizens put them to flight: which done, theſe counterfeit horſemen returned directly againe towards Nice. The citizens which with great pleaſure had in the meane time from the wals ſeen the moſt part of the skirmiſh, and how they had put the Turks to flight, ſuppoſing them to be the Conſtantinopolitan horſemen, whom they dayly expected, with great joy opened the gates of the city to receiue them as their friends. But *The citie of Nice ſurpriſed by the Turks.*
E they being entred the gates, preſently ſet vpon the Chriſtians, fearing no ſuch matter: & being ſeconded with the other three hundred, which in diſſembling manner had fled before, & were now ſpeedily returned, bringing alſo with them other companies of Turkes, before laid in ſecret ambuſh not far off, they won the great and famous city of Nice, which they haue euer ſince vntill this day poſſeſſed: the ſpoile whereof was giuen to the ſouldiers for a prey, and the citizens all led away into miſerable captiuity and thraldome. Whileſt *Orchanes* was thus buſied, his other captains did with great courage & ſucceſſe inlarge his dominions on al ſides, dayly incroching vpon their weake neighbors the Chriſtians. *Cunger-Alpes* one of his valiant captains, ſubdued the country of Mudurn, or Modrin, in Phrygia; and Bolli in Paphlagonia: appointing one *Abdurachman* a man of great valour, to gouerne the country. And at the ſame
F time another of his old captains called *Accecozza*, brought Candara in Paphlagonia, and Ermeni, a country neer vnto the mountain Horminius, into the Turkiſh ſubjection; placing garriſons in all the Caſtles and forts which he had won, of whom ſome part of thoſe Countries was after his name called *Cozza Ilini*, that is to ſay, The old mans country. So that *Orchanes* his kingdom grew daily greater & greater, as wel by the induſtry of his chieftains, as of himſelfe.

About this time it fortuned, the captains son of Scamandria (a town not far from the ruins G
of the antient city of Troy, and about a daies journy from the renowned castle of Abydus) to depart out of this world: vnto whose funerals, being kept in the country, whilest his wofull father the captaine with his friends out of Scamandria resorted, the old crafty Turke *Accecozza* lying alwaies in wait, as a fox for his prey, suddenly set vpon those heauy Christians, whereof he slew the most part, and tooke the rest prisoners. Amongst whom he also tooke the Captain of Scamandria, with his castle and country: whom he afterwards led prisoner vnto the castle of Abydus, which is one of the most famous castles scituate vpon the sea coast of Asia, ouer against Sestus in Europe; where the sea of Hellespontus by the narrow streit falleth into the sea of Ægeum: two castles much renowned by reason of their nigh scituation, and yet placed in diuers parts of the world; eternised also by the euer-liuing wits of Poets, for the aduentu- H
rous passage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the sea, to his loue *Hero*: which castles are now called Dardanella. *Accecozza* hauing brought the captiue Captaine of Scamandria (lately a man of great account in that countrey) so neere as he could vnto the castle of Abydus, offered to set him at liberty if they would surrender their Castle, otherwise they should see him cruelly slain before their faces. These Turkish threats nothing moued them of Abydus, more than to say, That they might if they would cut off his head, seeth him and eat him, but the castle they intended not to deliuer. The same Captaine was afterward by the commandment of *Orchanes* profered to the Emperor of Constantinople to be redeemed, which he refused: yet at the last he was ransomed by the gouernor of Nicomedia, and againe set at liberty. *Accecozza* of long time held the castle of Scamandria; yet so contiuually molested with the garison of Abydus, I
and men of war sent from Constantinople, that he with his followers were glad for the most part to liue on horsback, to be alwaies in more readines against the attempts of their enemies. The captain of the castle of Abydus had at that time a faire yong gentlewoman to his daughter, who (as she said) chanced to dream (what she had happily waking for the most part wished) That being fallen into a deep myry ditch, out of which she could by no means help her selfe, a lusty yong gallant comming by, did not only help her out, but also in friendly manner made her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and coastly attire. The danger of this dream much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the young gentleman was so well phantasied in her brain, that waking, she thought she stil saw him, and sleeping longed sore for what she saw not. Thus whilest this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this K
imaginary man, the old gray headed Turke *Accecozza* came, and with a strong company besie-
Abydus besieged by the Turks: ged her fathers castle of Abydus. During which siege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vp into the high turret of the castle, from whence she might at pleasure see the martiall deeds on both sides, and take ful view of all the enemies camp. But see the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great courage and no lesse brauery, approched neere to the siege of the castle, she thought (vpon the first sight of him) that he was the very man whom she had before dreamed of, and whose Idea was in her heart so deepely imprinted: wherefore she fully resolued to performe what she had without witnesse with her selfe determined. And waiting another time when *Abdurachman* approched the castle, she cast downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and made fast vnto a stone: which letter he taking vp, deliuered the same to the generall *Accecozza*. L
Wherein after she had discouered her passionate affection, she promised to deliuer the castle into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turks would raise their siege, and *Abdurachman* himselfe with some few would secretly returne to the castle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. *Accecozza* like an old foxe, which is seldome taken in the trap, gaue small credit to these louing lines, for feare of treason; yet for so much as you are the man (said hee to *Abdurachman*) whom she vpon speciall liking hath made choice of for the purpose, wil you aduenture your person? And he armed with a manly courage, a surer defence than any armor of proofe, incited also with hope of honour, riches, and beauty, all worthy prizes for martiall minds; said, he would vndertake the atchieuement of that exployt, if it were his pleasure so. Whereupon *Accecozza*, because nothing should be suspected by his sudden departure, gaue M
a sharpe assault to the castle, as if he would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retyred, and presently brake vp his siege, as despairing of the winning thereof. The defendants of the Castle thinking themselues deliuered of a great danger, greatly rejoyced: and as in the like case it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jolity surcharged themselues that night with

excesse

A exceſſe both of meat and drink. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed, put himſelfe vpon the way with certaine ſelect ſouldiers, and about midnight came to the appointed place of the caſtle, where the yong gentlewoman was attending his comming: and he by her means was conueyed into the caſtle, and ſo by her directed to the porters lodge; where hee ſlew the porter being faſt aſleepe, and opening the gates, let in his followers; which went directly to the captains lodging, and there took him priſoner, being before their comming ouertaken with wine, and faſt aſleep. Thus was the caſtle of Abydus ſurpriſed by the Turks, from whence they had a faire proſpect out of Aſia into Europe. The captaine with his faire daughter, and the greateſt part of the rich ſpoile of the caſtle, was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to be preſented to *Orchanes* at his court, then lying at Neapolis. Who wonderfull glad of ſo good
B news, gaue the faire gentlewoman, with the greateſt part of the prey to *Abdurachman*. The poſteritie of this man (as they ſay) yet remaine among the Turks. Amongſt others of the warlike captaines there was alſo one *Cararachman*, whoſe name was ſo dreadfull to them of Conſtantinople, that when their children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by ſaying, *Cararachman* comes. Not long after, the two valiant aforenamed worthy captaines, *Cunger-Alpes*, and *Acecozza* died. After whoſe death, *Orchanes* made his ſons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, lords and gouernors of thoſe countries and prouinces. And intending (by the perſuaſion of *Abdurachman*) to beſiege Nicomedia, he leuied a great army, wherwith he tooke diuers ſmall caſtles and forts as he marched towards the city. Nicomedia was at that time gouerned by an honorable lady, kinſwoman vnto *Andronicus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople:
C but ſhe ſeeing her city beſieged by the Turks, and doubting her own forces not to be able to hold out the ſiege, by a truſty meſſenger offered to yeeld the city vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condition, That ſhe with ſo many citiſens as would, might in ſafety depart with their liues, liberty, and goods: which being granted, ſhee with ſo many as would follow her, departed out of the city by night, taking ſhipping for Conſtantinople.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Orchanes hauing taken Nicomedia, made his ſon *Solyman* gouernor of the ſame. The churches of the Chriſtians he conuerted vnto Turkiſh Meſchitas or temples. The greateſt church (being of wonderfull beauty) he conuerted into a colledge or ſchoole, for the learned profeſſors and ſtudents of *Mahomets* law, which is yet called in Nicomedia, *Orchanes* his ſchoole or colledge. And becauſe the Countrey neere vnto Nicomedia, lying vpon the ſea, was euer in
D danger to be ſpoiled by the gallies of Conſtantinople, he placed in thoſe countries diuers of his moſt experienced ſoldiers to defend the ſame, appointing to euery of them poſſeſſions and penſions, according to their degrees and merit. After this, *Orchanes* by the councell of his brother *Aladin*, commanded all his men of war to weare white caps, thereby to be knowne from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vſe at this day. The Turks alſo in *Orchanes* raigne, and long time after, vſed not to cut or ſhaue their beards, but did weare them long: ſo that if the King would diſgrace any man, hee would in his diſpleaſure command his beard to be cut or ſhauen. The maner of cutting and ſhauing their beards which they now vſe, they learned of the Italians; of whom they haue alſo borrowed many other faſhions, not only differing, but quite contrary to their antient manners and cuſtomes. *Orchanes*
E about this time remoued his court to Nice, where he lay a long time after. There he built a ſumptuous church, appointing a preacher to preach to the people euery Fryday: he erected in Nice alſo two faire abbies, in the one of which, he with his own hands ſerued the ſtrangers and poore the firſt dinner. He was the firſt that builded abbies or monaſteries among the Turks; whoſe example moſt of his ſucceſſors haue imitated, and is amongſt them vſed vnto this day.

Orchanes remoueth his Court to Nice.

The gouernment of Nicomedia *Orchanes* committed to his eldeſt ſon *Solyman* (as is beforeſaid) a Prince of great towardlineſſe; giuing him in great charge to haue a vigilant eie to the towns of Taraxa, Gouinuca, and Mudurne, which were nigh vnto Nicomedia, yet in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians: all which townes, with the countries adjoyning, *Solyman* in ſhort time got without force, by compoſition. This *Solyman* was of a princely diſpoſition, ſo tempring juſtice
F with clemencie in his gouernment, that many Chriſtians allured with his vertues, became of his religion, and gladly put themſelues vnder his ſubjection: the politicke lawes of the country he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had been of antient time accuſtomed, whereby he greatly woon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his younger ſonne, *Orchanes* made lord and gouernor of Pruſa, after he had remoued his court to Nice. And the

caſtle of Chara-chiſar, with the ſeigniorie thereto belonging, he gaue to his couſin *Artemure*, G
the ſonne of his vncle *Iundus*.

Orchanes inuadeth the country of Caraſina.

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court a noble yong gentleman called *Turſon-beg*, the ſon of *Dharaſis* King of Charaſia; by whoſe perſuaſion *Orchanes* in perſon himſelfe with a ſtrong army, made an expediton into that country: for that his fathers ſubjects after the death of the King his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, wiſhing rather to haue *Turſon* for their ſoueraign. In whoſe behalfe *Orchanes* taking that journy, ſurpriſed by the way many caſtles and townes to his owne vſe. *Orchanes* was no ſooner entred the country of Charaſia, but *Turſons* elder brother fled to Pergamum, whither the Turks ſhortly purſued him: where *Turſon* deſirous to ſpeake with his brother, vnwarily approching the city, was wounded with an arrow ſhot from the wals, and there ſlaine. With whoſe death *Orchanes* was ſo greatly offen- H
ded, that he threatned to deſtroy the whole countrey with fire and ſword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally ſubmit themſelues to his mercy. The people terrified with this pro-

Tha country of Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes.

clamation of ſo great a Prince already in armes, yeelded themſelues vnto his ſubjection. The Kings ſonne alſo that was fled into Pergamum, vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded himſelfe vnto *Orchanes*, who ſent him to Pruſa, where after he had there liued two yeares, he died of the plague: after whoſe death *Orchanes* made his ſon *Solyman* Prince of Caraſina. Neither is this taking in of the country of Caraſina to be accounted a ſmall conqueſt; one of the greateſt houſes of the Turks the ſucceſſors of the Iconian Sultan *Aladin*, now therby taking end, and their dominions (which were not ſmall, as containing almoſt Lydia, with ſome good parts of Miſia, Troas, and the leſſer Phrygia) now vnited vnto the *Othoman* Kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his re- I
turne, for the good ſucceſſe of this journey, built a Church and Monaſterie at Pruſa, placing therein religious men, with all diligence ſought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious the Turks write many fables, better worth the ſmiling at, than the ſerious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his ſon, was contained within the bounds of the leſſer Aſia, which the Turks call Anatolia.

Now it reſteth to be ſhewed, vpon what occaſion *Orchanes*, or rather his ſon *Solyman Baſſa*, as it were fatally, with a ſmall power firſt paſſed ouer Helleſpontus into Europe; where they and their ſucceſſors haue by little and little ſo enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrown the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdomes, and are at this preſent a terror to all Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie K
of the Greekes, who for want of courage, and buſied with ciuill diſcord, neuer ſought in time to impeach their greatneſſe.

Orchanes hauing now ſo augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts thereof out of Aſia take view of the pleaſant borders of Europe, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow ſea of Helleſpontus; and continually incited with the inſatiable and reſtles deſire of ſoueraignty, began to deuiſe how he might poſſibly paſſe that ſtreit ſea, and ſet foot into Europe another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his ſon *Solyman*: who preſently anſwered his father, That if it would pleaſe him to giue him leaue, he would not doubt to paſſe the ſtreit of Helleſpontus, and in time to plant the Mahometan religion in thoſe countries of Europe poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians. Which anſwer of *Solyman* much plea- L
ſed his father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his country, & in that matter to proceed further as he thought beſt, & as occaſion ſhould beſt ſerue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father took his journy into Caraſina, where riding vp and downe the country, as it had bin for his pleaſure onely, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous city of Troy ſometime ſtood; where yet (as the Turks and ſome others ſay) are to be ſeen the wonderfull ruins of that vnfortunate city by the ſea ſide. In this place *Solyman* ſtood ſtill a great while, as it were in a ſtudy, forecaſting (as it ſeemed) ſome great matter, without ſpeaking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chieftains called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts, boldly ſaid vnto him, My lord and great ſoueraign, what ſtrange thing is this, that you are ſo deeply drowned in theſe your melancholy thoughts? vndoubtedly it is ſome great matter that you M
are ſtudying vpon. Truth it is (ſaid *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were poſſible to paſſe ouer this ſea of Helleſpontus into the borders of Europe, and to take view of that country, and ſo to returne vndiſcouered. If this be the matter, (ſaid *Ezes-beg*, joyning vnto him one *Fazil-beg*, a man of no leſſe valour than himſelfe) we two will by the power of God performe

vnto

A vnto you this enterprise. Then was *Solyman* desirous to know of them, about what place they would passe ouer: which they well knowing the sea coast, shewed him not far off. Wherefore *Solyman* giuing them leaue, they departed: and shortly after making a little boat, or rather as some suppose a raffe, passed ouer Hellespontus by night, and arriued in Europe side, neer vnto a castle, of the Turks called Zemenic or Zembenic, but of the Greeks *Coiridocastron*, that is to say, the hogs castle, not far from Sestus: where going ashore, they tooke prisoner a Greeke in a vineyard neere vnto the castle, whom they finding to be a good sensible fellow, without delay put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, presented him to *Solyman*. This Christian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteously, giuing him great gifts, and rich apparell, to discouer vnto him the estate of his country: and in fine, learned of him a means to take the
B castle Zembenic, before the Christians should thereof be aware. For atchieument whereof, certaine boats were speedily made ready by *Solymans* commandement, and he with eighty chosen soldiers easily passed ouer in them by night, with their Christian guide the Greeke: for in that place, the streit betwixt Asia and Europe, is not past an Italian mile ouer. This guid brought *Solyman* directly to the aforesaid castle, where was a great dunghill, so high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his soldiers easily got into the castle, which they won without any great resistance; for it was then haruest time, and most part of the people were in the vineyards, or treading out of their corne all night, as the vse of those countries is. *Solyman* thus possessed of the castle of Zembenic, vsed no extremity against the inhabitants thereof, seeking rather by courtesie to gaine their good wils, than by extremity to force them to his: yet such
C gentlemen as he tooke, with some others also of the better sort, he sent by shipping into Asia, and by the same ships returned soldiers as fast as he could into Europe: so that he had in one day two hundred souldiers more brought ouer vnto him: and manning such small vessels as he had left about the castle, sent *Ezes-beg*, alongst the coast on Europe side, to burn such shipping or vessels as he could finde, least the Christians should by them hinder his passage vpon the streit of Hellespontus. So in a few daies *Solyman* had transported into Europe two thousand good souldiers of the Turks, whom he so gouerned, that they did not in any violent sort injurie the vulgar Christians, by reason whereof the common people began to like reasonable well of the Turks, and to conuerse with them without feare. This was the first comming ouer of the Turks into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the
D *Othoman* kings. For albeit that some of that nation had at sundry times before come ouer, as men seeking after spoile, or otherwise sent for, yea sometimes by the Greeke Emperors themselues, yet neuer staid they long, but hauing done what they came for, or els lost themselues, returned backe againe into Asia; vntil that now conducted by *Solyman*, and possessed of the little castle of Zembenic (as is aforesaid) they there tooke so fast footing, as that they and their posterity after them, were neuer thence to be since that time remoued, but stil more and more encroching vpon the Christians, haue vnto their Asian Kingdome joyned a great part of Europe also, to the terrour of the rest that yet remaineth, as in the processe of this History shall (if God will) at large appeare.

About two miles from Zembenic in Chersonessus was another castle called Maito, or more truly Maditus, which *Solyman* also tooke: so that now he had gotten two castles in Europe, both which he strongly manned. After which time, the Turks in great numbers came out of Asia into Europe ouer that narrow streit of Hellespontus, to dwell in Chersonessus: and *Solyman* in stead of them to make roome for his Turks, sent Christians out of Europe to be placed amongst the Turks in Asia. The report of this comming ouer of the Turks into Chersonessus, and of the taking of the castle of Zembenic, carried in post to Constantinople, was sufficient to haue stirred vp any prouident or carefull men, presently to haue taken vp armes for the recouery of the lost castle, and the driuing out againe of the barbarous enemies out of Europe, before they had gathered any greater strength, or setled themselues in those places: but such was the careless negligence and great security of the proud Greekes, that instead there-
F of, they to extenuate the greatnesse of the losse, commonly said, that there was but a hogstie lost; alluding vnto the name of the castle: and vainely (as said a graue father of their owne) jeasting at that was not to be jeasted at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed at, but lamented for, as in few yeares it proued; their foolish laughter being not without good cause conuerted into most bitter teares.

E *The castle of Maditus taken by the Turks.*

Callipolis taken by the Turks.

Solymans strength so still increasing by the dayly comming ouer of the Turks, he proceeded further to spoile the country of Chersonesus, almost as far as Callipolis, distant from the castle Zembenic about two and twenty miles: after which pleasant city the proud Turk began now to long. Which the gouernor thereof perceiuing by the Turks continuall incroaching vpon him, raised what power he was able to make, and so went out against them; all the rest of the Greeks in the mean time lying still, as if they had bin asleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrown, and for safegard of his life glad to fly into his city: after whom the Turks following, spoiled the country round about, and in their returne, by plaine force tooke the city, together with the castle also, which hapned in the yeare of our Lord 1358. Where the madnesse of the Greeks was againe more than before to be wondred at; for the news of the losse of Callipolis being brought to Constantinople, the people there made small account thereof, although it was indeed a right great losse, and much concerned the state: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke thereof, in jesting wise commonly said, That the Turks had but taken from them a pottle of wine. But by taking of such hogstyues and pottles of wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few yeres after had gone so far in Thracia, that *Amurath* (the same *Solymans* nephew which now tooke from the Greeks the city of Callipolis) euen in the heart as it were of the Greeke Empire, placed his royall seat at Hadrianople: and immediately after him *Bajazet* his sonne (hauing subdued all the country euen to the wals of Constantinople) for certaine yeres laid hard siege vnto the Imperiall city it selfe; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expectation of the mighty Tartar Prince *Tamerlane* (vnto *Bajazet* fatal) in the meane time happened: whereby (God so appointing it) the prosperous succeedings of the Turks were for a space well staied, that they should not before the time by him prefined, deuoure the reliques of the Greeke Empire. And it were to be wished, that the Christians of our time also (by their example warned) would at length awake out of their dead sleep: who of late hath lost vnto the same enemy, not the castle of Zembenic, or the city of Callipolis, but whole kingdomes, as Hungary and Cyprus, and are still faire in the way: I say no more for griefe, and foreboding of euill fortune. But againe to our purpose: *Solyman* hauing made this prosperous entrance into Europe, and there got strong footing, by speedy messengers certified his father what hee had done, and that it was expedient for him with all speed to send vnto him a great supply of men of warre, as well for the sure defence and keeping of those castles and forts by him already gotten, as for the further inuasion of the Countrey. This message was wonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Sarasins at that present were come into the country of Carasina, to possesse the dwelling and places of them, which in hope to better their estate were before gone ouer into Europe; all these Sarasins he commanded to passe ouer into Europe likewise: which they did accordingly, seating themselues for a time in the country neere to Callipolis. In the meane time *Solyman* omitted no opportunity to enter further into the country, winning small forts and holds, and still peopling the same with his Turks. And on the other side, they of Carasina passed ouer into Europe, placing themselues as it were in a new world. For which cause, and for the great desire they had to extend the Turkish Dominion and Religion, they refused no paines of warre: so that all things at that time prospered with the Turks, and went backeward with the Christians.

In the time of these wars, not far from Callipolis was a little castle called Congere, the captain whereof was by a Greeke name called *Calo Ioannes*, a valiant and painfull man: this captain continually molested and troubled the Turks which lay on that side of Callipolis, vnder the leading of *Ezes beg*, many of whom he slew and tooke prisoners, as he could finde them at any aduantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by crafty and secret espials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his castle to do some exployt vpon the Turks. Whereupon he presently so beset the Castle with souldiers, that he could by no meanes returne thither, but he must first fall into their hands; and for more assurance placed others also in by-waies, lest he should by any way escape. The Captaine ignorant of all this, prosecuted his enterprise, and hauing taken a Turke prisoner, thinking to returne to his castle, was hastily pursued by *Fazil-beg*; for which cause making the more haste, he suddenly fell into the danger of the Turkes layd in ambush: where his men were all slaine, and himselfe taken and brought before

A before his own caſtle, and had there his head preſently ſtrucke off: whereupon the caſtle was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now loſt their captaine) ſurrendred, and *Chazi Ili beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turks placed therein: who from thence neuer ceaſed to trouble the country, euen to the wals of Didymotichum, as did *Solyman* out of Callipolis.

Thus in the ſpace of one yere the Turks got ſtrong footing in Europe, poſſeſſing diuers caſtles and towns, with the country about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captains and ſoldiers, as appeareth by the graues and tombes of *Ezes-beg* and *Fazil-beg*, the two which firſt came ouer into Europe, which are there yet well knowne.

The death of Solyman Baſſa; Orchanes his eldeſt ſonne.

About this time it fortuned, that as this martial Prince *Solyman* was for his diſport hawking in the fields of Bolayre on Europe ſide, galloping in to his faulcon, was with his horſe ouer-
B throwne in a ditch, of which fall he being ſore bruiſed, ſhortly after died. The newes of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, gaue vnto him (then being ſicke) juſt occaſion of great ſorrow: ſo that within two moneths after he died alſo, being foureſcore yeres old, when he had raigned thereof 31 yeres; and died about the yere of our Lord 1359. Some hiſtories report otherwiſe, both of his death, and of the time wherein he liued: as that he ſhould be ſlain in a battell againſt the Tartars: or as others write, with an arrow at the ſiege of Pruſa, in the yere of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Leunclauius* in his hiſtory collected out of the Turks owne chronicles (whom we follow as moſt probable) reporteth it as before.

The death of Orchanes.

This *Orchanes* was wiſe, curteous, and bountifull, more ingenious than his father in deuiſing warlike engines. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cels, and was in
C his ſuperſtitious religion very zealous: in ſo much that he appointed penſions to all ſuch as could in the Church ſay the book of *Mahomets* law by heart: and appointed competent maintenance for all Iudges of his Courts, becauſe they ſhould not take any thing in reward of his ſubjects, for the peruerting of juſtice. He greatly inlarged his kingdome in Aſia, and not content to be incloſed with the ſeas of Euxinum and Helleſpontus, ſet faſt footing in Europe, which ſome attribute to his ſonne *Amurath*. He was to the Chriſtians alwaies a moſt mortall enemy, and ſo died.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Orchanes.

Emperors	*Of the East*	*Andronicus Palæologus the younger.*	1325. 29
		Iohn Palæologus.	1354. 30
	Of the West.	*Lewis the fourth, of Bauaria.*	1314. 32
		Charles the fourth, ſonne to Iohn King of Bohemia.	1346. 10
Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the third*	1327. 50
	Of France	*Philip Valois.*	1328. 22
		Iohn Valois.	1350. 14
	Of Scotland	*Robert Bruce.*	1306. 24
		Dauid Bruce	1341.
Biſhops of Rome		*Iohn the XXII.*	1317. 18
		Benedict the XII.	1335. 7
		Clement the VI.	1354. 12
		Innocent the VI.	1354. 10

Scævus Amurathes, *animo dum maxima verſat:*
Diſcordes Græcos ſternere Marte parat.
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni:
Europam penetrans, obuia quæque rapit,
Atoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces:
In medio quorum, ſceptra ſuperba locat.
*Hinc Mœſos premit ille feros, * miſerumque Dynaſten*
Coſſoui in campis, obruit atque necat.
Sed non longa fuit ſceleris tam dira voluptas:
A ſeruo cæſus, concidit enſe ferox.

* *Lazarum Seruiæ principem.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

Whileſt *Amurath* in his deepe thoughts, of greatneſſe plots the ground:
The wrangling Greekes by force of armes he ſeekes how to confound.
And wholly bent for to extend his Kingdome with his power,
Piercing the confines of Europe, doth what he meets deuoure.
As men diſmaid, the Thracians quake, to ſee their foule diſgrace:
Amiddeſt whom, the tyrant ſtout his ſcepter proud doth place.
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field ſubdue:
And in Coſſoua's fatal plaines, the woſull Deſpot ſlue.
But long is not the wickeds joy, which they in miſchiefe take:
Stab'd by a ſlaue, the wretch his end in that ſame place did make.

R. K.

Lazarus Deſpot of Seruia.

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT AVGMENTOR OF THEIR KINGDOME.

Amurath succeedeth his father Orchanes in the Turkish kingdome.

C *Amurath* the younger sonne of *Orchanes* succeeded his father in the Turkish kingdome, his elder brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his father. This *Amurath* with greater zeale than any one of the Turkish Kings, aduanced the Mahometan religion, and had therein wonderfull successe. In the beginning of his reigne, he gathered a great army out of all parts of his kingdome, to Prusa; purposing to passe ouer Hellespontus, to inuade the Christians in Thracia. But vnderstanding, that the other Mahometan Ptinces in Asia had combined themselues against him, he was thereby inforced to leaue his former determination for Europe, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which wars he mightily preuailed against them, and returned with victory to Prusa. But hauing so subdued those confederate Princes, he the next yeare after prosecuted his wars before intended against the Christians in Europe. For which purpose hauing leuied a strong army in Asia, he passed ouer to Callipolis, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schahin*: whose graue aduice and counsell he most followed in all his weighty affaires, being at that time one of
D his chiefe counsellors. From Callipolis he marched to the castle of Benutum, which was by composition yeelded vnto him. From thence he went to Tzurulus, where the Christians gaue him a sharpe encounter: but in the end he woon the towne, and carried away the victory. And so proceeding farther, tooke diuers other small castles and townes in that part of Thracia, which of the antient Romane colonies was then called Romania, and now of the Turks Rumilia, namely, Mesine, Burgos, and others; whereof some he vtterly rased, and into the rest put strong garrisons. At this time also, *Chasi-Ilbeg* and *Eurenoses*, two of his most valiant captains, tooke certaine forts standing vpon the riuer Meritza, in antient time called Hebrus: whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the country thereabouts. Wherewith the captaine of Didymotichum offended, gathered his souldiers together, intending to haue intercepted
E the great captaine *Chasi-Ilbeg*: in which attempt he lost most of his followers, and was himselfe there taken prisoner. For whose ransome and certaine other conditions, the citizens of Didymotichum yeelded the city vnto the Turks.

Didymotichum yeelded vnto the Turks.

Shortly after, *Amurath* sent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to besiege Hadrianople, now called Andrianople, but in antient time Orestias: of whose comming the Christians hearing, encountred him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battell, wherein many were on both sides lost: but in the end the Christians being put to the worst, retired againe to the city. Of this victory *Schahin* sent newes vnto *Amurath*, with certaine of the heads of the slaine Christians: who therupon sending *Chasis* and *Eurenoses* before, he himselfe with a great army followed after to the siege of Hadrianople: of whose comming, the gouernor of Hadrianople vnderstan-
F ding, fled secretly out of the city by night to Ænus. The citizens seeing themselues so forsaken of their gouernour, yeelded their city vnto *Amurath*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1362.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turks.

The taking of these strong cities in Thracia, especially of Didymotichum and Hadrianople, is (by some of the Turks own Histories) otherwise reported: which, because it is neither improbable nor disagreeing from the subtill dealings of the Turks, and of themselues also

receiued

receiued, I haue thought good to ſet downe as their owne Hiſtoriographers report the ſame. G

The Turkiſh King *Amurath* had (as they ſay, and as truth was) in the beginning of his reigne concluded a peace with the Chriſtians of Thracia: during which peace, the gouernor of Didymoticum intending to fortifie his city with new and ſtronger fortifications againſt the aſſaults of the Turks, entertained all the maſons, carpenters, and other workemen he could by any meanes get: which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſecretly cauſed two hundred good and luſty workemen and labourers to come out of Aſia, to offer their ſeruice vnto the gouernour; who gladly entertained them, vſing their help in that his great and haſty work. Which thing ſome of the wiſer ſort of the citiſens diſliking, wiſhed the gouernor to be aware of thoſe Aſian workmen, as by them ſuſpected. But he preſuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and conſidering they were but baſe workmen and no ſoldiers, had the leſſe care of them: neuertheleſſe H (vſing their worke all day) he commanded them to lodge without the wals of the city euery night. *Amurath* vnderſtanding that theſe workemen were thus by the gouernor entertained, ſent for the valiant captaine *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, and requeſted him with thirty other good ſouldiers diſguiſed as poore labourers, to go to Didymotichum to ſeeke for worke, and in doing thereof to ſpy if any opportunitie might be found for the ſurpriſing of the city. *Chaſis* with theſe thirty according to *Amurath* his direction, comming as poore men lacking worke, found entertainment at Didymotichum, where they carried ſtones, morter, and ſuch like things, euer ſhewing themſelues very diligent in their worke: *Chaſis* with vigilant eie ſtill awaiting what might beſt ſerue his turne for the ſurpriſing of the city. When night was come, the Turkiſh workemen and labourers after their accuſtomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour I appointed, went out of the city into the ſuburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chaſis* ſecretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and ſhewed him how one of the gates of the city might vpon the ſudden be taken, if it would pleaſe him to place a ſufficient number of Turks in ambuſh neere vnto the city, to joyne with him and the other Turkiſh labourers when occaſion ſhould ſerue. Which being reſolued vpon, *Amurath* ſent him backe againe to put this his deuice in execution: So *Chaſis* returning to Didymotichum, brake the matter to ſo many of the Aſian workemen as he thought conuenient, fully inſtructing them what was to be done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Chriſtians being then at dinner, theſe Turkiſh workemen and labourers fell at words among themſelues, and from words to faigned blowes; in which counterfeit brawle and tumult, they ſuddenly ran to one of the gates of the K city faſt by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vpon the warders weapons, as if it had been to defend themſelues againſt their fellowes, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner alſo, and ſo preſently ſlew them: which done, they opened the gate of the city, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not far off: who with great celerity entring the city, preſently tooke the ſame, and there put the chiefeſt of their citizens to the ſword, ſparing the reſt of the meaner ſort.

Rhodeſtum ſurprized by the Turks.

The city of Rhodeſtum (of the old writers called Rhœdeſtum) was by *Amurath* his commandement in this time of peace, by ſudden aſſault giuen in the night by the Lord *Ennenoſes*, taken alſo.

With this foule dealing and breach of league, yet in force, the Chriſtians hardly charged *Amurath*; L who turned it ouer to the vnrulines of his captains and men of war, whom he threatned with great ſeuerity to puniſh: and to giue the better color that it was done without his priuity, he had faigned himſelf ſick all the while theſe things were in doing; but being requeſted to reſtore thoſe cities ſo wrongfully taken from the Chriſtians, he vtterly refuſed ſo to do, ſaying That it was againſt the law of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, to deliuer againe to the Chriſtians, any towne or city wherein the *Mahometan* religion had bin once openly taught. Whereupon wars began again to ariſe on freſh betwixt the Chriſtians and him, wherein ſometime the one preuailed, and ſometime the other: in ſuch ſort, as that thoſe warres at length became vnto them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Chriſtians of Hadrianople, Selybria, and Conſtantinople: yet deſiring nothing more in heart, than to take the M city of Hadrianople: which the better to bring to paſſe, he cauſed *Chaſis-Ilbeg* as a diſcontented captaine to fly to Hadrianople, pretending himſelfe to haue beene hardly vſed by the tyrant his maſter: where hauing in his company other ſuch diſſembling fugitiues as was himſelfe, he oftentimes iſſued out of the city and valiantly skirmiſhed with the Turks; which ſo greatly

greatly pleaſed the gouernour of Hadrianople, that he thereby grew into his great fauour.

Many other Turks alſo vnder pretence of like diſcontentment, reſorted vnto *Chaſis*: wherewith finding himſelfe well ſtrengthned, he writ letters ſecretly vnto *Amurath*, That he would deliuer one of the gates of Hadrianople vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if he would againſt the ſame time be ready to ſend him preſent ſuccors. All things being agreed vpon, *Chaſis* at the time appointed came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the city, accompanied but with ten of his followers, as if he would haue gone forth to hunt, as he had before accuſtomed. But ſo ſoone as the gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpoſe, furiouſly ſet vpon the warders, whom they ſlew; and being aided by the reſt of the fugitiue Turks (which with all ſpeed by appointment before made, reſorted vnto them) they poſſeſſed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambuſh neere vnto the city, hauing knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarme, ſpeedily came on, and by that gate entred the city: where was fought a cruell fight all that day, euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turks preuailing, tooke the city, which they haue euer ſince poſſeſſed vnto this day.

Hadrianople the royal ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in Europe.

Theſe great cities of Thracia thus taken, or otherwiſe as aforeſaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaſeth) *Amurath* appointed the ſeat of his royall court at Hadrianople, as a place of all others moſt fit for the further inuaſion of the Chriſtians, and inlarging of his kingdome in Europe: from whence ſuch a world of miſchiefes and woe hath ſince that time ouerflowed a great part of Chriſtendome, & drowned ſo many goodly kingdoms in Europe, as that both they, and moſt part of the reſt that yet remain (daily in dread of like deſtruction) might juſtly accurſe and deteſt the woefull careleſnes and degenerate cowardiſe of the Greekes, were not they themſelues together with the glory of their church and empire, ſwallowed vp in the ſame gulfe of calamity and wo, and ſo become of al others moſt miſerable: but what auail vain complaints, but to increaſe old griefs? wherfore again to that we haue in hand

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus ſeated himſelfe at Hadrianople, in the middeſt of Thracia) preſently ſent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about Philippopolis, with the country of Zagora, which lyeth towards the great mountain Hœmus, where the beſt Turkiſh Scimitars were made; giuing like charge vnto *Eurenoſes*, for the ſubduing of the territory of Ipſala; who both notably performed what he had commanded, and in ſhort time brought al thoſe countries vnder his ſubiection, wherein he ſhortly after placed diuers ſanzacks or gouernours, for the better aſſurance thereof, being ſo lately gained.

About this time (by the ſuggeſtion of *Cara Ruſtemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then Cadeleſher or chiefe Iuſtice among the Turks, but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Catradin Baſſa*, by the commandement of *Amurath*, took order, that euery fifth captiue of the Chriſtians, being aboue fifteen yeres old, ſhould be taken vp for the King, as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fiue, then to pay to the King for euery head 25 aſpers, by way of tribute: appointing officers for collecting both of ſuch captiues and tribute mony, of whom the aforeſaid *Cara Ruſtemes* himſelfe was chief, as firſt deuiſer of the matter. By which means great numbers of Chriſtian youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues, which by the counſell of the ſame *Zinderlu Chelil*, were diſtributed among the Turkiſh husbandmen in Aſia; there to learn the Turkiſh language, religion, & maners, where after they had bin brought vp in all painfull labour and trauell by the ſpace of two or three yeares, they were called vnto the court, and choice made of the better ſort of them to attend vpon the perſon of the Prince, or to ſerue him in his wars: where they daily practiſing al feats of actiuity, are called by the name of Ianizars (that is to ſay, new ſoldiers.) This was the firſt beginning of the Ianizars vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the firſt, but had great increaſe vnder *Amurath* the ſecond, inſomuch as *Iouius* with ſome other Hiſtoriographers, attribute the beginning of this order to him: which neuertheles (as appeareth by the Turks own Hiſtories) had the beginning as is aforeſaid; and hath euer ſince bin continued by the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors, by the ſame and ſome other greater means; ſo that in proceſſe of time they be grown to that greatnes as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turke himſelfe: after whoſe death they haue ſomtime preferred to the Empire ſuch of the Emperors ſons as they beſt liked, without reſpect of prerogatiue of age, contrary to the wil of the great Sultan himſelf; & are at this day

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the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greateſt cauſe of G
the ruine thereof: the finger of the Higheſt oftentimes (as we haue before ſaid) turning euen thoſe helps which were by mans wiſedome prouided for the eſtabliſhing of kingdomes, vnto their more ſpeedy deſtruction: and eſpecially theſe continuall garriſons of martiall men, no leſſe to be feared than truſted, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appeare.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at Hadrianople, determining now to returne vnto Aſia, he made *Schahin* his tutor *Beb-Lerbeg* or viceroy of Romania; and *Eurenoſes* lord gouernor of the marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* he made Vezir Azemes or lord preſident of his counſell, and changing his name, called him *Cairadin Baſſa*, that is to ſay, The *Baſſa* that had well deſerued, his name witneſſing his good deſert. After this he returned into Aſia, where he H
ſpent that winter at Pruſa. Theſe two great men *Cairadin Baſſa* and *Cara Ruſtemes* before named, ſometimes two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report) the firſt that corrupted the Turkiſh court with couetouſneſſe and bribery, and are therefore of them euen yet much blamed.

Whileſt *Amurath* thus wintred in Aſia, newes was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of Seruia and Bulgaria had gathered a great army for the beſieging of Hadrianople; which cauſed him to prepare great forces in Aſia, to aid his captaines in Europe. But in returning
Boga taken by Amurath and recouered again and raſed by the Chriſtians. out of Aſia, he by the way tooke the towne of Boga; where he put to ſword all the Chriſtians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the reſt into captiuity, and with the ſpoile rewarded his ſouldiers. This ſtrong towne was not long after againe recouered by the Chriſti- I
ans, who requited the Turkes with like meaſure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raſed it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this preſent to be
Boga new built by the Turks. ſeene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord, 1365.

In the meane time, the Chriſtian army of Seruia and Bulgaria, in number betwixt forty and fifty thouſand, marching towards Hadrianople, and now come very neere the ſame, fell in mutiny among themſelues. Whereof the Turks by their eſpials hauing intelligence, ſuddenly in the night ſet vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no leſſe fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to joyne their forces againſt them, but were ready to turne their weapons one vpon another; and ſo by their owne diſcord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey to the Turkes, by whom they were put to flight, and ſlaine with ſo
great a ſlaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far from Germia, is thereof at this day K
called *Zirf-Zindugi*, that is to ſay, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrown. The news of this ſo notable a victory, with a fifth part of the ſpoile, and a great number of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) ſent to *Amurath* into Aſia, being now ready with a great power to haue come ouer to Callipolis: who joyfull thereof, and glad to ſee ſuch a preſent, the aſſured witneſſe of the victory, returned againe to Pruſa. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare alſo *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumciſed his two ſons, *Bajazet*, & *Iacup*. At which time he alſo built a temple, with a monaſtery & a colledge, at Bilezuga: and another faire church at Neapolis: at Pruſa he alſo built a ſtately palace in the caſtle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which city he alſo founded an
abbey and a colledge. *Germean Ogli*, a great Mahometan Prince in Aſia (whoſe territory for L
the moſt part lay in the greater Phrygia, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the *Othoman* kingdom) hauing alwaies enuied at the riſing of the *Othoman* kings (as did all the reſt of the Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* family) & fearing that their greatnes might after his death grow dangerous to his ſon *Iacup*, being now himſelfe very aged, thought good for the more ſafety of his ſtate to joyne in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpoſe ſent *Iſaac* (a learned doctor of the Mahometan law) embaſſador to him, with many rich preſents, & to offer his daughter, the Lady *Hatun*, in marriage vnto his ſon *Bajazet*: promiſing with her in dowry diuers great cities and townes, with their territories in Phrygia and Bythinia, adjoyning vpon the *Othoman* kingdom; namely, Cutaie, Simau, Egregios, Tauſanle, & others. Neither was this
a ſmall dowry, but well beſeeming ſo great a Prince: the city of Cutaie being at that day the M
place whereat the Turkiſh emperors great lieutenant or viceroy in Aſia is alwaies reſiant, as in the heart of his Kingdome in the leſſer Aſia. Of which match ſo offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his ſon *Bajazet* vnto the ſaid lady: and for ſolemniation of the martiage, prepared all things with great magnificence, ſending his Embaſſadors to moſt of the Mahome-

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A tan kings and princes both far and neere, to inuite them therunto: commanding alſo moſt of the nobilitie of his kingdom to honor the ſame with their preſence. The time of this marriage drawing neer, Embaſſadors came to *Amuraths* court from all the Princes before inuited: amongſt whom the Embaſſador from the Egyptian Sultan had the higheſt place. Theſe embaſſadours brought with them many great and rich Gifts, ſuch as well beſeemed the great Princes their maſters, which they with all reuerence preſented vnto *Amurath*. At length amongſt the reſt of his own nobility came the Lord *Eurenoſes*, whom he had before left gouernor of the frontiers of his kingdom in Europ: who beſides many other rich gifts not eaſily to be valued, preſented vnto *Amurath* a hundred goodly boys, with as many beautiful yong maidens, all Chriſtian captiues, ſutably attired in garments richly embroidered with gold & ſil-
B uer, euery one of them carying a cup of gold in the one hand, and a cup of ſiluer in the other; the cups of gold hauing in them diuers pretious ſtones of great value, and the cups of ſiluer being filled with gold. The richnes of this preſent was ſo great, that all the forrein Embaſſadors wondred therat: all which rich gift *Amurath* moſt bountifully beſtowed on the ſtrange Embaſſadors; and the preſents which were ſent vnto him from other Princes, hee liberally gaue to *Eurenoſes*. The learned and religious which came to that mariage hee ſo bountifully rewarded alſo, that none came to the ſame poor, but he went away rich. He had before ſent diuers of his nobility, with an hundred ladies and gentlewomen, and a gard of three thouſand horſmen, to attend the comming of the bride. On the other ſide, the old prince *Germean Ogli* meeting this honorable company vpon the way, ſaluted euery man of account according to
C his degree, and bringing them to one of his cities, in moſt royal maner feaſted them, beſtowing vpon them many rich and princely gifts. All which things with great ſolemnity performed, he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the moſt antient Ladies, whereof one had bin *Bajazets* nurſe: and ſo taking leaue of his daughter, ſent her away, accompanied with his wife *Ienſes*, and other of his courtiers; who conueying her to Pruſa, ſhe was there in moſt roial maner maried to *Bajazet*. The cities and towns promiſed in dowry were accordingly deliuered vnto *Amurath*, who ſhortly after took poſſeſſion of the ſame, and furniſhing them with his own garriſons.

At this mariage, *Chuſun Beg* Prince of Amiſum in Galatia, by his Embaſſador ſold his territory of Amiſum vnto *Amurath*, with many fair cities and towns, doubting (as was thought)
D now to be able to keep them, ſeeing *Amurath* was come ſo neer him, whom he ſaw not to let ſlip any occaſion offered vnto him for the inlarging of his kingdom. When *Amurath* had in this ſport ſpent great time in Aſia, he gathered a ſtrong army to return into Europ: but before his departure, he committed the gouernment of his kingdom in Aſia (which the Turkes call Anatolia) vnto his ſon *Bajazet*, joining with him *Temurtaſes* a valiant man of great experience. And hauing ſet all things in order in Aſia, paſſed ouer Helleſpontus to Callipolis, from whence he marched toward Hadrianople: and becauſe he would take ſomething in his way, he beſieged Magalgara, which he in ſhort time won. Where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenoſes* with all their forces came to him; which two captains he ſent to beſiege the city Pherœ and was by them after a few daies ſiege taken. But he himſelfe to be reuenged vpon *Lazarus* the *Amurathin-*
E Deſpot, led his army into Servia, where after he had without reſiſtance forraged the country *uadeth Servia.*
fourteen daies, vnderſtanding by his captains, That the ſtrong city of Niſſa, being the metropolitical city of Servia, was as it were the key of that kingdom, he preſently marched thither, and laid ſiege vnto the ſame; and by the aduice of *Iaxis Beg* the ſonne of *Temurtaſes*, in ſhort time won it. Which thing ſo daunted *Lazarus* Deſpot or Lord of Servia, that he diſpairing *Niſſa taken by*
in his own forces, hauing ſo ſoon loſt one of his ſtrongeſt cities, forthwith ſent Embaſſadours *the Turks.*
to *Amurath* to intreat a peace; offering to pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thouſand pound, and to aid him with a thouſand men in his wars, whenſoeuer he ſhould require. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and ſo departed out of Servia. In this expedition he alſo with much ado won the great City of Appolonia, neere vnto the mount Athos, and *Apollonia won*
F gaue leaue vnto moſt of the Chriſtian inhabitants with their wiues and children to depart, *by the Turks.*
with ſuch part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof ſpoiled by the ſoldiers. This done, he returned back to Hadrianople, leauing *Eurenoſes* vpon the marches, who ſhortly after took Berrhea, with diuers other Townes. At the which time alſo *Lala Schahin* won Zichne and Seres, in the confines of Macedonia, with many other ſtrong Townes vpon the Frontiers

of Theſſaly and Thrace. In the City Seres *Eurenoſes* made his abode, as in a chiefe frontier town: and becauſe the Chriſtians for fear of the Turks were all fled out of the country about Seres, great numbers of people were ſent for out of Aſia, to inhabit that country by the Chriſtians forſaken in the confines of Macedonia. *Amurath* had not long continued at Hadrianople, but that he was aduertiſed out of Aſia, that *Aladin* his ſon in law King of Caramania, did with fire and ſword inuade his dominions in Aſia. With which newes hee was exceedingly troubled; and for that cauſe ſending for his counſellors and nobility to the court, told them, how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and allyance, with all hoſtilitie inuaded his prouinces in Aſia, whilſt he with great danger of his perſon, and greater terror of his enemies, ſought with honor to increaſe the Mahometan ſincere religion (as hee termed it) in Europ: from which godly War (ſaid he) I am inforced againſt my wil to turne my ſword, in iuſt defence of my ſelf, againſt men joined with vs both in religion & allyance. And hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Baſſa* his lieutenant general in Europ, and alſo made his ſonne *Alis Baſſa* one of his Counſel, although he were by ſome thought too yong for ſo great a place. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order according to his mind in Europ, took paſſage from Callipolis into Aſia, and ſo to his court at Pruſa, where he ſpent that Winter. In which time Embaſſadors came vnto him from the Sultan of Egypt, for the renuing of their former amity and friendſhip. Which *Amurath* took very thankfully, & ſent them back again loden with kind letters and princely rewards.

Amurath and Aladin prepare themſelves for war.

When the Spring was come, in the year 1387, he leuied a mighty army to make war vpon the Caramanian king his ſon in law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no leſſe power to meet him, aſſociating vnto him all the leſſe Mahometan princes of Aſia, who were not vnder *Amuraths* obeiſance, to whom the *Othoman* Kings were now grown terrible. Which princes brought with them great ſupplies to join with *Aladin*.

Aladin thus aided by his friends, thinking himſelf now ſtrong enough for *Amurath* his father in law, ſent an Embaſſador vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power inferior to him, and therfore nothing feared him: yet if it pleaſed him to haue peace, he could for his part be content to hearken vnto the ſame vpon reaſonable conditions: but if he had rather haue war, he ſhould find him ready to dare him battel in the field, whenſoeuer he came. For anſwer of which embaſſage, *Amurath* willed the Embaſſador to tell the perjured King his maſter, that he had of late, contrary to his faith before giuen, in moſt cruel maner inuaded his dominions, whilſt he was buſied in moſt godly wars (as he termed it) againſt the miſ-beleeuing Chriſtians: from proſecuting wherof he was (as he ſaid) by his violence withdrawn, contrary to the law of their great Prophet. For which outrages and wrongs he would ſhortly come and take of him ſharp reuenge: and that therfore hee was to expect nothing at his hands but war, for which he willed him ſo to prouide, as that at his comming he might not find him wanting to himſelf. *Aladin* by his Embaſſador hauing receiued this anſwer from *Amurath*, aſſembled all the confederat princes his allyes, with great perſuaſions and greater promiſes encouraging them to this war. And they again kiſſing the ground at his feet, as the maner of that nation is before great Princes, promiſed with ſolemn oaths neuer to forſake him, but to doe all things which Princes deſirous of honor or fame, ought by their oath to do for their Soueraign vnto whom they owed homage and fealty.

The death of Chairadin Baſſa.

In this great preparation for wars in Aſia, *Chairadin Baſſa* general gouernor in Europ died: which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, appointed *Alis Baſſa* his ſon to go into Europe, there to be Gouernor in his fathers ſtead. But being ſtayd in his journey by vrgent occaſions, *Amurath* ſent for him back again in poſt.

Aladin forecaſting the great dangers like to enſue of this war, ſent another Embaſſadour to *Amurath*, with reaſonable conditions of peace. To whom *Amurath* anſwered, That if *Aladin* had made that offer one month before, he would perhaps haue accepted of it: but forſomuch as he had don him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinit charge drawn him into the field ſo far from home, hee would not make any other end than ſuch as the chance of Warre ſhould appoint. And wheras he in diſgrace had called him a heardſman or ſhepheard (ſayd he) if he be not ſuch a one himſelf as he ſaith me to be, let him meet me in the field and there try his valour. Hereunto the Embaſſadour replied, That the King his maſter made this offer of peace not for any fear, but to ſaue the effuſion of innocent bloud: which conſideration ſet apart,

A apart, he ſhould find him not inferior to himſelfe either in number of moſt expert ſoldiers, or other warlike prouiſion: and that therfore if he rejected this offer of peace, he needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, who would bear themſelues ſo valiantly in the field againſt his Turkes, as that hee ſhould haue no great cauſe to rejoice of his comming thither. Which words of the Embaſſador ſo netled *Amurath*, that in great rage hee commanded him to depart, and to wil his maſter, if he were a man of ſuch courage and valour as he ſaid, to ſhew himſelf in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels, where he doubted not but in ſhort time to chaſtiſe him according to his due deſerts. So after the Embaſſador was departed, marching forward three dayes, *Alis Beg* came vnto him: of whoſe comming he not a little rejoiced; for why, he loued him dearly, and although he was yet of years but yong,
B relied much vpon his counſell.

The Embaſſador returning, recounted vnto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had ſaid, not omitting his hard ſpeeches and proud threats, and how that hee hoped ſhortly to take from him Iconium and Larenda (the principal cities of Caramania) with many things more, leauing nothing vntold. Which *Aladin* hearing, ſaid vnto the other confederat princes that were with him, Verily *Amurath* threatneth to take from vs the cities of Iconium and Larenda; but let him take heed that we take not from him his fair city of Pruſa. Then demanding of the Embaſſador, of what ſtrength *Amurath* might be; it was anſwered by him, that hee deemed him to be about ſeuenty thouſand ſtrong. Wherat *Aladin* not a little rejoicing, ſaid, Aſſuredly when he ſhall ſee our army, he will not dare to giue vs battell; or if he do, he ſhall fight vpon great
C diſaduantage, his men being both fewer in number than wee, and ſore wearied with long and painfull trauell.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards Caramania, daily encouraging his ſoldiers with perſuaſions & gifts bountifully beſtowed vpon them, filling their heads with promiſes of greater, the wars once happily ended. At length he came to the great plains in Caramania, called the French plains, becauſe in former times the Chriſtians (whom the Turkes for moſt part call Frankes) in thoſe plaines incamped their great armies as they went to the winning of Ieruſalem, as in the former part of this hiſtorie is declared. Into theſe plaines alſo came *Aladin* with his army, and was now incamped within one daies march of *Amurath*, and ſo reſted that night.

D The next morning *Amurath* put his army in order of battell, appointing the leading of the right wing to his yongeſt ſon *Iacup*, with whom he joined *Cutluzes Beg*, *Ein Beg Subbaſſa*, *Egridum Subbaſſa*, *Seraze* and *Cuſtendil* two Chriſtian Princes, all captains of great experience. The left wing was led by *Bajazet* his eldeſt ſon, with *Ferize* and *Hozze*, both valiant captaines: in which wings were alſo placed the Chriſtian ſoldiers ſent by *Lazarus* out of Servia, according to the late conuention of peace: in the main battell he ſtood himſelf: the vantgard was conducted by *Temurtaſes*; and the rereward by the Subbaſſa of Oxyllithus (called alſo *Temurtaſes*) and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other ſide with no leſſe care and diligence ſet his men likewiſe in order of battell, placing himſelf in the main battel, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his allyes, with his other expert captains, ſome in the right wing, and ſome in the left, as he thought
E it moſt conuenient: in ſuch ſort that in all mens judgment he was in force nothing inferior to his father in law.

The great battel in the Caramanian plains between Amurath and Aladin.

Theſe great enemies thus ranged, with enſignes diſplaid came on couragiouſly, one directly vpon the other: where approching together, the confuſed noiſe of trumpets, drums, fifes, with other inſtruments of war, the neighing of horſes and clattering of armour was ſo great, that whilſt warlike minds therat rejoiced, cowards thought heauen fell. But the ſign of battell on both ſides giuen, *Samagazes* one of the confederat Princes, with exceeding courage firſt charged *Temurtaſes* in the vantgard, and broke his ranks: at which time *Teberruſes* a Tartar prince, and *Varſacides* another of the confederats, deliuered their arrowes alſo upon the vantgard as if it had bin a ſhour of hail. Which *Bajazet* ſeeing, and how hardly *Temurtaſes* was charged;
F hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemy with ſuch violence as if it had bin the lightning; whereof hee was euer after ſyrnamed *Gilderun*, which is to ſay, The lightning. *Ferize* and *Hozze*, with the other valiant Captaines in that wing, following *Baiazet*, with inuincible courage entred the battell, where for a great ſpace was made a moſt terrible and dreadfull fight. A man would haue thought two rough ſeas had met together,

swaying one against another, doubting which way the current would at length fall. In this G
conflict were many thousands on both sides slain, so that the field lay couered with the dead bodies of worthy men and valiant soldiers: yet at length these confederate Princes, finding themselues ouermatched by *Bajazet* and his soldiers, reseruing themselues to their better fortunes, turned their backs and fled; when *Aladin* seeing a great part of his army thus ouerthrown, and himself now ready to be charged with *Amuraths* whole power, despairing of victorie, sped himselfe in all hast to Iconium his strong city. The spoil which *Amurath* got in this battell was great, most part wherof he gaue in reward to *Temurtases* and his soldiers, who had endured the greatest fury of the battell. *Amurath* after this victorie with all speed marched to Iconium, and there besieged *Aladin* the Caramanian King, in his strongest city, giuing out proclamation in the mean time, That none of his soldiers vpon pain of death should vse any H
violence to any of the country people, or take any thing from them; to the intent it might appear vnto the world, that he made that war against that Mahometan King, rather to repulse injury and wrong, than for desire of soueraignty or spoil. Which his so streit a proclamation the Christians sent by *Lazarus* (amongst others) transgressed, and therfore by his commandement suffered many of them exemplary punishment: which was the cause of the Servian war which not long after ensued, fatall both vnto *Amurath* and *Lazarus* the Despot, as hereafter shall appear.

Aladin flies to Iconium.

Iconium besieged by Amurath.

Aladin now on euery side besieged in Iconium, and without all hope of escape, sent to the Queen his wife *Amuraths* daughter, bewailing vnto her his desperat estate, and requesting her by all the loue that so honorable a minded Lady might bear vnto her miserable husband, to I
aduenture her selfe to go to her angry father, and to craue pardon for his great trespasse and offence. The Queen forthwith attyring her self as was fittest for her husbands present estate, came to her father: where falling down at his feet vpon her knees, with words wisely placed, and tears distilling down her fair cheeks from her fairer eies, as if it had bin from two fountains, in most sorrowfull maner craued her husbands pardon, imputing to the heat of youth whatsoeuer he had done; and would not be comforted or taken vp vntill shee had obtained grace. *Amurath* most intirely loued this his daughter, and therfore for her sake not only granted her husbands life (which in short time was like to haue bin in his power to haue spilt) but also his kingdom, which he as a victorious conqueror might by law of arms haue of right detained. She now assured of her fathers promise, sent vnto her husband *Aladin*, wishing him K
the next day without fear to come out of the City, and in humble sort to acknowledge his fault before her father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and prostrating himselfe before *Amurath*, acknowledged his vndutifulnes; of whom (for his wiues sake) hee obtained pardon, and restitution to his kingdom, with many other gifts, contrary to his euil desert. The Latine histories mistaking the man, report this Caramanian War to haue beene fought against the King of Caramania, *Amuraths* own grandfather by the mothers side; and that he was then by *Amurath* spoiled of a great part of his kingdom. But it agreeth not with the Turkish histories, which make *Amurath* to be the son of *Orchanes* and *Lulufer*, the daughter of the Gouernour of the Castle of Iarchisar, as is before declared in the life of *Othoman*; which *Lulufer* lieth buried by her husband *Orchanes* in Prusa. L

This great victory got by *Amurath* against the Caramanian King and the other confederat Princes, was the true beginning of the greatnesse of the *Othoman* kingdom in Asia: wherwith the other Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* Family were so discouraged, that they were glad to submit themselues thus first vnto *Amurath*, and after that, vnto his son *Baiazet*: vntill that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian prince, some few years after taking *Baiazet* prisoner in a great battell at mount Stella, abated the *Othoman* pride, and restored the other oppressed Mahometan Princes to their old possessions and kingdoms.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way took the city of Despotopolis; and comming to Cutaie brake vp his army, and so in triumph returned to his court at Prusa.

Lazarus Despot of Servia (in old time called Mysia) had sent a thousand armed men to *Amurath* in this the late Caramanian War, according to the conuention of the peace not long before made betwixt them: some of which souldiers were with great seueritie (to the terror of others) executed in Caramania, for transgressing *Amuraths* commandement. This great war thus ended, and the army broken vp at Cutaie, they with others were licensed to depart M
into

A into their own country. Whose General (whom they cal the Vayuod) returning home, reported vnto *Lasarus* the Despot, the sueces of that war, and withall, in what cruel and tyrannicall maner the men he had sent were in that seruice vsed by the commandment of *Amurath*: with whom (said this General) you without cause haue made a most dishonorable peace; first, by giuing your faith to such a miscreant; and then in sending your loyal subjects, in recompence of their good seruice, to be so butchered at his pleasure: beside the shamefull tribute which you yearly pay vnto him. Wheras if it would please you in the depth of your wisdome but to know your own strength, you should find your self in warlike force and power nothing inferior to the Tyrant. For we your seruants being in number but an handfull, were in these his late wars a terror vnto his enemies, and by our valor, and not his own, hee got the victory ouer
B them. What cause is there then, that you should subject your self vnto your inferior? I know he canot of himself bring into the field aboue fifty thousand fighting men: but admit he were able to bring an hundred thousand; are not you (if you so please) able to levy a far greater power? and for all other warlike prouision you are ten times better prouided than he. Besides that, the mighty Christian Princes wil send you such aid against this hatefull and Common Enemy, that being vnited with yours, his Barbarian forces will be nothing in comparison of those which you shall then be able to bring into the field against him. Which no doubt the Christian princes wil the rather do, as men desirous to quench this deuouring fire in another mans house rather than in their own.

These words of the Vayuod so much moued *Lasarus*, that he determined with himselfe to
C break that seruile league which he before had made with *Amurath*: and for that cause sent his Embassador with secret instructions to the King of Bosna (in time past called Illyria) his neighbor; wherof the chief point was, to craue his aid against the Turk their common Enemy. By whom the King of Bosna returned this answer, That it had bin much better such consideration had bin thought vpon before the foul contract (ful of disgrace both to himself and all other Christian Princes) was vpon a vain fear by him rashly made with the Turkish tyran. Yet forsomuch as things don could not be vndon, letting that passe which was remediles, hee promised to join with him his whole forces against so dangerous an Enemy. And therupon appointing a place for an interview, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the Articles of their confederation.

Lazarus the Despot craues aid of the king of Bosna.

D There was in the confines of Bosna a castle called Alexandria, the captain wherof being a Christian, was yet tributary to the Turk; wishing vnto him such good, as men oppressed vse to do to them by whom they are so wronged. This captain vnder color of friendship went to *Amurath*, and in great secrecie opened to him the whole state of the kingdome of Bosna, and withall, that the King therof intended some great mater against him: for the preuenting of which he offered his own seruice, and shewed some probable means how that kingdom might be brought into his subiection, if hee would but send some worthy Generall with a conuenient power for the vndertaking therof. This wonderfully pleased the ambitious old Tyrant, who therfore commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon the Captain (which amongst the Turks is taken for a sure token of the Kings great fauor) and forthwith appointed his Tutor
E *Lala Schahin*, according to this captains direction, to inuade the kingdom of Bosna. Who joining himselfe with this deceitfull Captaine of Alexandria, with an army of twenty thousand men entred into Bosna, where ouerrunning a side of the countrey, he without resistance tooke great booties: and seeing no apparant cause of fear, to do the more harm, by aduice of the said captain diuided his army, which he sent into diuers parts of the Countrey, the more to burne and spoile the same. Of all whose proceedings the King of Bosna by secret letters from the captain aduertised, had in conuenient places laid strong ambushes for the intercepting of his enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich booty, hauing then with him but a thousand men, suddenly appeared in his way thirty thousand Christians well armed: which *Schahin* seeing, thinking it folly to oppose so few against so many, would haue presently fled; but the rest of the gallants which were with him, presuming of their good fortune,
F and loth to lose their rich prey, would needs first skirmish with the Christians: in which desperat conflict they were almost all slain, and the whole spoile they had taken recouered by the Christians. As for *Schahin* hee was glad by shamefull flight to saue himselfe. The like mishap befel the other Turks in the other parts of Bosna, who for the most part were like-

wise intercepted and slain: so that of twenty thousand scarse fiue thousand returned home. G

Amurath marrieth the emperor of Constantinopls daughter.

Whilst these things were doing in Europ, *Amurath* in great triumph at Neapolis maried the Emperor of Constantinople his daughter: whose two sisters were also giuen in mariage to his two sons: at which time he with great solemnity circumcised three of *Baiazets* sons. At this time also returned *Iazigi Ogli*, whom he had before sent Embassador to the Sultan of Egypt, in requital of the honorable embassage before to him sent from the said Sultan. Now *Amurath* vnderstanding of the losse of his men in Bosna, with the reuolt of *Lasarus* Despot of Servia, was therwith much disquieted. Wherfore he commanded *Alis Bassa* his chief counsellor, with all speed to send forth commissions into all parts of his kingdom, for the levying of a royal army: which was done in such post hast, that it was thought he would haue taken the field before the beginning of the spring. At which time also the other Mahometan kings and H
Princes of Asia, *Caraman Ogli*, *Tcke Ogli*, and the rest bound vnto him by homage, with diuers others of smaller power, were sent for to aid him in this war: who partly for feare, and partly moued with the zeal of their Mahometan superstition, brought their forces with great deuotion. To this war against the Christians, came also great numbers of the Mahometans from far countries, as voluntary soldiers. *Baiazet* his son also, then gouernor of Cutaie with a great part of Galatia, gathring all his forces, came to aid his father in this Religious war, as it was by them termed. The Christian tributary princes were not then forgotten, of whom two came, namely *Custendil* & *Seratsil*. Other two forsaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Sesamos* Prince of Bulgaria, and the Prince of Varna and Dobritza: with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this so great preparation, old *Lala Schahin*, *Amuraths* tutor and faithfull Seruitor died, beeing a man of great yeares: and *Temurtases* was appointed Gouernor in I
his place.

The reuolting of the two Christian Princes, *Sasmenos* and the Prince of Varna, much grieued *Amurath*. Wherfore he commanded *Alis Bassa* with an army of thirty thousand to inuade and spoil *Sasmenos* his country, now called Bulgaria, and in antient time the lower Mysia. *Alis Bassa* according to that was giuen him in charge, calling vnto him *Iaxis Beg* the son of *Temurtases*, *Vlu Beg*, *Suratze Bassa*, with other Captains and Commanders of the Turks prouinces in Europ, assembled an army of thirty thousand for the inuasion of Bulgaria. With this Army the Bassa took many strong towns and castles in Bulgaria, as Pirauade, Venuzina, Madra, Suni K
and others.

In the mean time, whilst *Alis Bassa* had thus begun the wars against the Christians in Bulgaria, *Amurath* hauing gathered a great Army in Asia, determined in the beginning of the Spring to passe ouer with the same into Europ: commending the gouernment of his Countries in Asia, to *Temurtases Bassa*, *Ferises Beg*, *Temurtases Subbassa*, *Cutlu Beg*, and *Hasa Beg*; and so all things set in order in Asia, he drew down his Asian forces toward Hellespontus, where he was a while stayd with contrary winds, but was afterwards transported to Callipolis, by *Ienitse Beg* Sanzack there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his army out of Asia into Europ. But whilst he stayd at Callipolis, *Baiazet* his son with a great power came to him thither. *Alis Bassa* also vnderstanding of *Amuraths* arriual in Europe, retyred out of Bulgaria, and came to him at Alcide, recounting vnto him the whole succes of his expedition into L
Bulgaria.

Sasmenos Prince of Bulgaria seeing his country spoiled, his strong cities and castles taken by the Turks, and withall hearing of their great preparations for war; by the aduice of his nobilitie thought it best betimes again to submit himselfe vnto *Amurath*. Wherfore tying a winding sheet about his neck, in token that he had deserued death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at Calcide; where falling flat vpon the ground at the horses feet wheron *Amurath* sate, he in most humble wise craued pardon, offering at a certain day to deliuer Silistria the chief city of his dominion, into *Amurath* his possession, as a pledge of his fidelitie: who therupon granted him pardon; and to assure him of his fauor, commanded a rich garment to be cast vpon him, after the maner of the Turks, sending *Alis Bassa* at the time ap- M
pointed to take possession of Silistria. But *Sasmenos* repenting himself of what he had so largely promised, would not deliuer his city, but in strongest manner he could presently fortified the same. Wherwith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the Bassa with fire and sword again to spoile and wast his Countrey. Who according to his commaundement

entred

A entred againe into Bulgaria, and ſtrook ſuch a terrour of his comming into the hearts of the people, that many ſtrong places were voluntarily yeelded into his power; namely Diritze, Coſſova, with the city Ternova the ſeat of the Princes Court, Tzerneui, Nouakeſtri, Ziſtoua, with diuers others: and proceeding further, he laid ſiege to Nicopolis the ſtrongeſt City of Bulgaria, vpon the ſide of the great riuer Danubius, whither *Saſmenos* was himſelfe for feare fled. Who finding himſelfe vnable to hold out the ſiege, once again (with ſhame enough) tying a winding ſheet about his neck, as he had done before, and taking his ſon with him, went out of the City, and in moſt abject manner falling downe at the Baſſa's feet, craued pardon: which the ſayd Baſſa, mooued with compaſſion to ſee the miſery of ſo great a man, and hauing already taken from him the greateſt part of his dominion, and now out of fear of further
B reſiſtance, eaſily granted. And hauing thus ended the Bulgarian war, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right joyfully receiued.

Amurath had now made great preparation for the inuading of Servia; for the which purpoſe hee had drawn ouer into Europe the greateſt forces he could poſſibly out of Aſia: ſending alſo for his yongeſt ſon *Iacup*, Gouernor of Caraſia, who vnderſtanding his fathers pleaſure, repaired vnto him with all the power hee could make. This Army by *Amurath* thus aſſembled, was the greateſt that euer was before that, brought by the Turks into Europ. *Laſarus* not ignorant of this great preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawn into the ſociety of this War, the King of Boſna (as is before ſaid) with *Vulcus* Prince of Macedonia his ſon in law, who both brought vnto him great aid. He had alſo by his Embaſſadors procured great
C ſupplies from other Chriſtian Kings and princes, out of Valachia, Hungaria, Croatia, Sclauonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Italy; beſides great numbers of other voluntary deuout Chriſtians: which all aſſembled and met together, did in number far exceed the great Army of the Turks.

With this army *Laſarus* the Deſpot incamped vpon the ſide of the riuer Moravia the greater, not far from which ſtood the ſtrong Caſtle of Sarkiue, which *Alis Baſſa* had of late taken from *Saſmenos* the Bulgarian Prince, ſtanding as it were betwixt Bulgaria and Servia. This caſtle being now poſſeſſed of the Turks, was thought by *Laſarus* dangerous to his Countrey; who therfore ſent one *Demetrius* a right valiant captain, with certain companies of ſelect men to take in the ſame. The name of this captain *Demetrius* was a general terror vnto the Turks,
D for the harm he had done them: ſo that they in the caſtle hearing that he was come, without further reſiſtance yeelded the ſame vnto him. Wherof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſent *Eine* and *Sarutſe* Baſſa to recouer the ſame. But *Laſarus* doubting that the caſtle would hardly bee kept in that dangerous war, ſent *Vulcus* his ſon in law with 20000 men to bring away all that was therin, and in the city neer vnto it, leſt it ſhould become a prey vnto the greedy Turks: which he accordingly did, and at the ſame time raſed both the caſtle and the City, before the comming of *Iaxis Beg*, ſent from *Amurath* to haue done the ſame exploit, which he comming thither found already done to his hand by *Vulcus*.

The caſtle of Sarkiue with the city joining to it, taken by the chriſtians and raſed.

As *Amurath* was marching towards Servia, *Seratſe* and *Cuſtendyl* two Chriſtian Princes his Tributaries, met him with their forces, whom he cauſed to march before him as his guides:
E and paſſing thorow *Cuſtendyl* his countrey, was there refreſhed with plenty of all things neceſſarie; vntill at length paſſing the riuer of Morava the leſſe, hee drew ſo neere to the plaines of Coſſova, where the Chriſtian army lay, that he with his ſon *Baiaſet* from a little hill took full view of the Chriſtian campe, which was ſo great, that it couered all thoſe large plaines from ſide to ſide, and ſo daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his army, hee preſently entred into a great conſultation with his greateſt captains and commanders, what courſe to take againſt ſuch a puiſſant enemy.

Theſe two great armies being now come ſo nigh together, as that they might the one well deſcry the other, *Amurath* had purpoſed the ſame day to haue giuen the Chriſtians battell; but being diſſuaded by *Eurenoſes*, both for that it was extream hot, and his ſouldiers wearied
F with trauel, he reſted that night. The next morning as ſoon as it was day hee put his army in order of battel; placing his ſon *Baiaſet* with *Eurenoſes* and *Eine Beg Subbaſſa*, in the right wing; his yongeſt ſon *Iacup* with *Sarutſe* Baſſa in the left wing; the main battel he led himſelfe. *Laſarus* in the mean time had alſo ſet his Army in good order; giuing the charge of the right wing to *Vulcus* his ſon in law; the left wing was led by the King of Boſna, and his ſons; in the

main

main battel ſtood *Lazarus* himſelfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater Armies than thoſe two had ſeldom before met in Europ: *Lazarus* (as the Turkiſh hiſtories report, but how truly I know not) hauing in his army fiue hundred thouſand men, and *Amurath* ſcarſe halfe ſo many. G

To begin the battel, *Amurath* had drawn a thouſand of his beſt archers, vnder the leading of *Malcozzeus*, out of the right wing of his army, & the like number of archers out of the left, vnder the conduct of *Muſtapha*: which ſo placed on both ſides of the army as he thought beſt, *Eurenoſes* a man of great experience told *Amurath*, That the Chriſtians were for the moſt part well and ſtrongly armed, and ſholdring cloſe together in their charge would be like a rock of iron, vnable to be pierced: but if in joining the battell he would a little retyre, the Chriſtians following vpon good hope, would loſe their cloſe ſtanding (the chief part of their ſtrength) and ſo leaue an entrance for his men. Vpon which reſolution, *Amurath* commanded the Archers to giue the firſt charge, which they couragiouſly performed. At which time the Turks army gaue ground a little; which the Chriſtians perceiuing, with great force aſſailed the left wing of their army, and with a hard and cruell fight put the ſame to flight. Which *Bajaſet* ſeeing, with ſuch fury renued the battel, that the Turks who before as men diſcouraged fled in the left wing, began now to turn again vpon their enemies: and the Chriſtians hauing as they thought already got the victory, were to begin a great battell. In which bloudy fight many fel on both ſides: the brightnes of the armor and weapons was as it had bin the lightning: the multitude of the launces and other horſmens ſtaues ſhadowed the light of the Sun: arrowes and darts fel ſo faſt, that a man would haue thought they had poured down from heauen: the noiſe of the inſtruments of war, with the nighing of horſes and outcries of men was ſo terrible and great, that the wild beaſts in the mountains ſtood aſtonied therwith: and the Turkiſh hiſtories to expres the terror of the day, vainely ſay, that the Angels in heauen amaſed with that hideous noiſe, for that time forgot the hauenly hymns wherewith they alwaies glorifie God. About noon time of the day, the fortune of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians began to giue ground, and at length betooke themſelues to plain flight; whom the Turkes with all their force purſued, and ſlew them down right without number or mercy. In which battel *Lazarus* the Deſpot himſelf was alſo ſlain. Howbeit ſome hiſtories report otherwiſe; as that hee with his ſon were taken priſoners, and by and by afterward, in reuenge of *Amuraths* death cruelly ſlain. Other ſome alſo reporting that he died in priſon. *Amurath* after this great victory, with ſome of his chief captaines taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heaps in the fields like mountains; a Chriſtian ſoldier ſore wounded and all bloudy, ſeeing him, in ſtaggering maner roſe, as if it had bin from death, out of an heap of ſlain men, and making towards him, for want of ſtrength fel down diuers times by the way as he came, as if hee had bin a drunken man: at length drawing nigh vnto him, when they who guarded the Kings perſon would haue ſtayd him, he was by *Amurath* himſelfe commanded to come neerer, ſuppoſing that he would haue craued his life of him. Thus the half dead Chriſtian preſſing neer vnto him, as if he would for honors ſake haue kiſſed his feet, ſuddenly ſtabd him in the bottom of his belly, with a ſhort dagger which he had vnder his ſoldiers coat: of which wound that great King and conqueror preſently died. The name of this man (for his courage worthy of eternal memory) was *Miles Cobelits*; who before ſore wounded, was ſhortly after in the preſence of *Bajaſet* cut into ſmall pieces. The Turks in their Annals ſomewhat otherwiſe report of the death of *Amurath*: as that this *Cobelits*, one of the Deſpots ſeruants, in time of the battel comming to *Amurath* as a fugitiue, offring him his ſeruice; and admitted to his preſence, in humbling himſelfe to haue kiſſed his feet (as the barbarous maner of the Turks is) ſtabbed him into the belly and ſo ſlew him; being himſelfe ſhortly after therefore (as is aforeſaid) in the preſence of *Baiaſet* moſt cruelly hewn into ſmal pieces. Wherupon euer ſince that time, the maner of the Turks hath bin, and yet is, that when any Embaſſador or ſtranger is to come to kiſſe the Sultans hand, or otherwiſe to approch his perſon, he is as it were for honors ſake led by the arms vnto his preſence by two of the great courtiers: but indeed by ſo intangling him, to be ſure hee ſhall not offer him the like violence that did this *Cobelits* formerly to *Amurath*. H I K L M

Lazarus ſlain.

Amurath ſlain

The dead body of *Amurath* was preſently with all ſecrecie conueyed into his Tent by the Baſſa's and Captains preſent at his death: whither *Baiaſet* was alſo brought with an Enſigne before

A before him, as the ſucceſſor in his fathers kingdom. His yonger brother *Iacup*, ſyrnamed *Zelebi* (or the noble) yet ignorant of that had hapned, was by the great Baſſa's ſent for, as from his father: who caſting no perill, but comming into his fathers tent, was there preſently by them ſtrangled, by the commandement of *Bajazet*, as moſt hiſtories report: howbeit the Turks annals charge him not therwith. This was the beginning of the moſt vnnaturall and inhumane cuſtom, euer ſince holden as a moſt wholſom and good policie among the Turkiſh kings and Emperors, in the beginning of their reign moſt cruelly to maſſacre their brethren and neereſt kinſmen, ſo at once to rid themſelues of all fear of their competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his ſuperſtition more zealous than any other of the Turkiſh Kings, a man of great valor, and in all his attempts fortunat. Hee made greater ſlaughter of his Ene-
B mies than both his father and grandfather. His kingdom in Aſia hee greatly inlarged by the ſword, mariage and purchaſe; and vſing the diſcord and cowardiſe of the Grecian Princes to his profit, ſubdued a great part of Thracia, called Romania, with the territories therto adjoyning, leauing to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, little or nothing more in Thracia than the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, with the bare name of an Emperor, almoſt without an empire. He won a great part of Bulgaria, and entred into Servia, Boſna, and Macedonia. He was liberall, and withall ſeuere; of his ſubjects both beloued and feared: a man of very few words and one that could diſſemble deeply. He was ſlain when he was 68 years old, and had thereof reigned 31, *Anno Dom.* 1390. His dead body was by *Bajazet* conueyed into Aſia, and there *Amurath buried at Pruſa.*
C royally buried at Pruſa, in a fair chappell at the Weſt end of the city, neer to the Baths there; where vpon his tomb lieth his ſoldiers cloake, with a little Turkiſh Tulipant, much different from thoſe great turbants which the Turks now weare. Neer vnto the ſame tomb are placed three lances, with three horſe nails feſtned at the vpper end of them, which he vſed as guidons in his wars: a thing in antient time not ſtrange. There ſtandeth a caſtle, with a tomb made in remembrance of him, in the plaines of Coſſova, where hee was ſlaine, and his intrals buried. Which giues occaſion for ſome to report that he was there alſo himſelfe interred.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath *the firſt.*

Emperors	*Of the Eaſt*	*Iohn Palæologus*	1354. 30
		Andronicus Palæologus	1384. 3
		Emanuel Palæologus	1387. 30
	Of the Weſt	*Charles the fourth*	1346. 32
		Winceſlaus, ſon to Charles King of Bohemia	1378. 22
Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the third*	1327. 50
		Richard the ſecond	1377. 23
	Of France	*Iohn Valoys*	1350. 14
		Charles the fifth	1364. 16
		Charles the ſixth, ſyrnamed the Welbeloued.	1381. 42
	Of Scotland	*Dauid Bruce*	1341. 29
		Robert Stuart	1370
Biſhops of Rome		*Innocent the VI.*	1354. 10
		Vrban the V.	1364. 8
		Gregory the XI.	1372. 7
		Vrban the VI.	1378. 11

Phi. Loni-cer. Hiſtor. Tur. l. 1.

Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu
Bajazethes, *fidei pacis & impatiens.*
Regni Hadrianopolim ſedes ſibi legit ut eſſet,
Poſſet ut Europæ jungere regna ſuis.
Conſtantinopolim gemina obſidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana ſpe ſibi ſpondet opes.
Cum Tamerlano *præbet ſua terga, catenis*
Vinctus, & in cavea probra pudenda ſubit.

Proud *Bajazet*, moſt falſe of faith, and loathing bleſſed peace,
His warlike troups like lightning to ſhake he doth not ceaſe.
Of Hadrianople he makes choice for his Imperiall ſeat,
That Europes Kingdom he might join vnto his Empire great.
Conſtantinople he diſtreſt twice with ſtreit ſiege and long;
And vainly thought to haue poſſeſt the Grecians wealth by wrong.
But ouercome by *Tamerlane*, faſt bound in fetters ſure,
Trod vnder foot, and clos'd in Cage, great ſhame did there endure.

THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNAT KING OF THE TVRKES.

Bajazet (or as the Turks cal him *Bajasit*) of his violent and fierce nature syrnamed *Gilderun*, or lightning, succeeded his father *Amurath* in the Turkish kingdom; his yonger brother *Iacup* beeing strangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the first year of his reign inuaded Servia, and there besieged Cratoua, a city of the Despots, whereunto the siluer mines of Servia (not the least cause of that war) belonged. Which city was yeelded vnto him vpon condition, That the Christian inhabitants might with life and liberty depart. Who were no sooner gone out of the City, but that by his commandement they were all most cruelly slain by his men of war, for that purpose sent out after them. At this time he also won Viscupia, with diuers other castles in the country neer vnto Cratoua.

Bajazet inuadeth Servia.

Sigismund at the same time King of Hungary (a yong Prince of great hope, and brother to *Wincestaus* then Emperor of the West) aduertised from the Servians his allyes and Confederats, of these proud proceedings of *Bajazet*; by his Embassadours sent of purpose, requested him, that as he was a iust Prince, and wished to liue in quiet with his owne, to desist from doing such open wrong, and from inuading of such countries of his friends & confederats, as he had no right in. Which Embassadors so sent, *Bajazet* detained without answer, til such time as he had ouerrun a great part of the Despots country, and therin don what he thought good. Then calling the said Embassadors vnto him into one of the strong towns which hee had in euery corner filled with his own souldiers, told them that they might there see, that his right both vnto that town and the rest by him taken was good enough, forasmuch as the very Walls acknowledged the same. And so giuing them leaue to depart, willed them so to tel their master. Which his proud answer by the same Embassadours reported vnto the young King, no lesse troubled him than if open war had by them bin denounced vnto him, seeing the Tyrant, as it should seem, pretended right vnto whatsoeuer he could by force get. Neuertheles, being himself as yet not wel setled in his kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary faction (that altogether liked not of his election into Hungary for their King) he was glad at that time to put it vp, and so to hold himself content.

The next yeare *Bajazet* by *Ferises Beg* tooke the City of Vidina, with many other strong Townes and Castles in Servia, and afterwards returned vnto Hadrianople. But whilest that he thus raged in Europ, the Caramanian King inuaded and spoiled the frontiers of his countries in Asia. At the same time *Eurenoses*, Lord Gouernour of the marches of his Dominions in Europe towards Grecia, departing from Serres (where hee then lay) tooke the Citie of Sitros in Thessalia. And *Ferises Beg*, not content to haue taken Vidina (as is before said) passed ouer the great Riuer of Danubius, and grieuously spoyled Valachia: from whence he returned loden with a great prey. This is the first time that I read of, that the Turks euer passed

Servia the second time inuaded by Bajazet.

ſed ouer the riuer Danubius. At this time alſo *Iegides Baſſa* entered the kingdome of Boſna, G
from whence he carried a great number of Captiues to Hadrianople, where *Bajazet* ſpent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *BajaZet* paſſed ouer Helleſpontus to Pruſa, where hee built a fair Mahometan temple, with a colledge and an almſ-houſe: which works finiſhed, he returned again into Europ, and built a monaſtery at Hadrianople, and ſo returned again into Aſia, leauing *Temurtaſes* Beglerbeg or Viceroy in Hadrianople. After he was come into Aſia, he laid ſiege vnto the ſtrong city of Philadelphia in Lydia, which was at that time the onely city in the leſſer Aſia yet holden by the Chriſtians in the midſt of the Mahometan Princes. For now was the Greek emperor by the *Othoman* Kings and the other Turks, quite driuen out H
of the leſſer Aſia. In the beginning of this ſiege, *Bajazet* gaue ſtreit commandment to his ſoldiers, That they ſhould not ſpoil or hurt any thing in the country belonging to the citiſens; hoping by this feigned curteſie to make them the more willing to yeeld themſelues vnto his obedience. But diſappointed of his expectation, and finding them reſolued to hold it out to the laſt, he forthwith gaue out contrary commandment, not to ſpare any thing they could waſt or deſtroy: which was accordingly by his greedy ſoldiers performed. After a long ſiege, the citiſens ſeeing the countrey about them vtterly waſted, and themſelues vnable any longer to endure, and out of all hope of relief, yeelded their city to the pleaſure of *Bajazet*. Some write, That this famous city was not beſieged without the conſent of the Emperor of Conſtantinople: and that the Greeks themſelues, moued with enuy to ſee that City ſo long hold out, did I
help the Turks in the winning therof.

Philadelphia beſieged by Bajazet.

During this ſiege, *Aladin Ogli* Prince of Caria, a Mahometan, came to *Bajazet*, & yeelded himſelf into his power as his vaſſal: vnto whom *Bajazet* reſtored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him; yet vpon ſuch condition, as that he ſhould not from that time coin any money in his own name, either be remembred in their publique praiers as a prince in their Mahometan temples, as he had before bin: but that al ſuch things ſhould be don in the name of *Bajazet*, as his dread Lord & Soueraign. With which diſgrace the poor prince was glad to content himſelf, and to liue as his vaſſal. From Philadelphia hee led his army into the country of Saruchania, in antient time called Ionia Maritima, which he ſubdued to himſelf vpon like conditions. After that he paſſed further to Menteſia, or Mentz, K
ſomtime called Myndos, in Caria: the prince wherof for fear fled to *Cutrun Bajazet* Prince of Caſtamona and part of Pontus, leauing his country to the pleaſure of the tyrant. And foraſmuch as the yong King of Caramania had inuaded his countries whilſt he was buſied in Europ, *Bajazet* in reuenge therof entred with his army into Caramania, and took Cæſarea, with diuers other places there: ſo that the yong King diſcouraged with the loſſe of his towns, and fearing *Bajazets* greatnes, was glad to hold himſelfe content with his loſſe, and to make peace with him as it pleaſed him to grant it. As *BajaZet* was making this expedition into Caramania, another yong Mahometan Prince the ſon of Prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of his chief counſellors, and were both by him ſent priſoners ouer the ſtreit to the caſtle of Ipſala, where they lay in durance many years after. Thus *BajaZet* hauing oppreſſed and wronged L
moſt of the Mahometan princes, the ſucceſſors of Sultan *Aladin* in the leſſer Aſia, at laſt returned again himſelfe in triumph to Pruſa.

The Prince of Menteſia, who for fear of *BajaZet* was fled out of his Countrey (as is aforeſaid, had now inſenced *Cutrun BajaZet* prince of Caſtamona, with a great power to inuade that ſide of *BajaZet* his Kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Bajazet* vnderſtanding, gathered together a great Army to go againſt this Mahometan Prince. At which very time the Vayuod of Valachia, hearing of *Bajazet* his troubles in Aſia, with a ſtrong Army paſſed ouer Danubius, into thoſe parts of Servia and Bulgaria that were by the Turks as then poſſeſſed; where he ſpoiled the Countrey, and ſlew great numbers of the Turks, making Mahometan Saints and Martyrs by heaps: for ſo the Turks account all them whom the Chriſtians kil in their wars. Which don, he retyred back again into Valachia, carrying with him alſo many M
of the Turks priſoners. *Bajazet* thus at once inuaded both in Aſia and Europe, deferred his Warres purpoſed againſt the Prince of Pontus, vntill a more conuenient time, conuerting his Forces againſt the Valachians. Wherefore paſſing ouer the Streight to Hadrianople, he ſent his Army from thence to Nicopolis, and there paſſing the Riuer of Danubius, entered

into

A into Valachia, burning and ſpoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayuod to repreſſe his fury, met him in the field and gaue him battell, but was therin ouerthrown, and many of his people ſlaine; ſo that at laſt he was glad to ſue for peace, which he obtained, by ſubmitting himſelfe to *Bajazet*, and yeelding to pay him a yeerely tribute.

Theſſalia inuaded by Bajazet

Whileſt *Bajazet* was thus buſied in Valachia, newes was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of the Weſt with a fleet of gallies did great harm alongſt the coaſts of his dominions in Aſia. In reuenge whereof, he entred with his army into Theſſaly, deſtroying all the countrey vnto Theſſalonica: in which expedition he tooke the city of Neapolis in Greece, and Ioannina in Ætolia, and after that returned into Aſia, where he ſpent that Winter.

B In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great power paſſed the ſtreit of Callipolis to Hadrianople, intending to haue inuaded Hungary. But as he was vpon the way, it chanced that a Conſtantinopolitan ſpie was by the Turks intercepted, with letters from the Greeke Emperour to the King of Hungary, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation and comming. By which ſpie *Bajazet* alſo vnderſtood of another meſſenger before ſent into Hungary for like purpoſe. Whereupon *Temurtaſes* (then his great lieutenant in Europe) perſuaded him to deſiſt from his intended warres in Hungary, and to beſiege the imperiall city of Conſtantinople, as a thing of more honour, and leſſe danger; the city being already (as he ſaid, and as in truth it was) ſurrounded with the Turkiſh prouinces: bringing in Philadelphia (but a few yeres before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whoſe counſel *Bajazet*, liking wel, returned with his army, and ſhortly after came and ſate down therewith before Conſtantinople, laying hard ſiege thereunto, firſt by land, and then by ſea, with his gallies ſent from Callipolis. Which hard ſiege continued (as moſt hiſtories report) the ſpace of eight yeres: in which long time he draue the Emperour *Emanuel Palæologus* to that ſtreit, that he was glad to leaue his city, and himſelfe in perſon to craue aid of *Wenceſlaus* the Germane Emperour, and *Charles* the ſixth the French King, and other Chriſtian Princes alſo. At which time the citiſens were at length brought to ſuch extremity, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the city; and haply had ſo done, had not *Sigiſmund* King of Hungary (aſſiſted with a great army of the French, and other voluntary Chriſtians almoſt out of euery part of Chriſtendome, to the number of an hundred and thirty thouſand, vnder the leading of *Iohn* County of Niuers, and after Duke of Burgondy) for the reliefe of the beſieged Emperour, paſſed ouer Danubius

Conſtantinople eight yeares beſieged by Bajazet.

D into the Turkiſh dominions; and there hauing recouered Vidina, with certaine other ſtrong Holds in Bulgaria, layd ſiege to Nicopolis: out of which city the Turks oftentimes ſallyed, and gaue him many an hot skirmiſh. It is reported, That the yong King *Sigiſmund* beholding the greatnes of his great army, in his great jollity hearing of the comming of the Turks army, ſhould proudly ſay, *What need we to feare the Turk, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens, which if they ſhould fall, yet were we able with our ſpears and halberts to hold them vp for falling vpon vs.* But *Bajazet* vnderſtanding what ſpoyle the Hungarian King had made in his late gained countries, and of the ſiege of Nicopolis; commanded the ladders and other great prouiſion now in readineſſe for the ſcaling and aſſaulting of the City of Conſtantinople, to be burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians; and ſo raiſing his ſiege,

E marched with a right puiſſant army to Nicopolis, ſending *Eurenoſes* before, of purpoſe to intercept ſome of the Chriſtians, thereby to learne the ſtate of their camp and army. But they hearing of his comming, ſo wel looked to themſelues, that he with ſhame returned to his Maſter as he came, without any one priſoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Bajazet*, as fearing he ſhould haue to do with a wary enemy. *Sigiſmund* vnderſtanding of the approch of *Bajazet*, leauing a ſufficient power for the continuing of the ſiege, roſe himſelfe, and with the reſt of his army went to meet his proud enemy. Of whoſe comming and approach *Bajazet* vnderſtanding, diuided his Army into two parts; and being now come within the ſight of the Chriſtian army, made ſhew but of the one halfe, keeping himſelfe cloſe in ſecret ambuſh not farre off with the other. The Chriſtians deeming themſelues (as they were) far more in num-

F ber than the Turks which they ſaw, diuided their army alſo into two parts, purpoſing betwixt them to haue incloſed the Turks. Of all the Chriſtians that were there preſent, the French deſired to haue the honour of the firſt charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon good hope ſet forward (the Hungarians, with a great part of the army, not yet ſet in order) and ſo began the battell: where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruell fight, and

in a little time many thousands slain. But this fight had not long endured, when *Bajazet* with G
the other halfe of his army suddenly arising, came on with such violence, as well became his syrname of *Gilderun* or lightning; and so hardly charged the French, that they amased at the suddennesse of the danger, and oppressed with the fury and multitude of the vnexpected enemy, stood at the first as men dismaid; but seeing no remedy, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out vntill they were almost all either slain or taken prisoners; stil in hope to haue been relieued by the Hungarians and the rest. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horsmen hauing forsaken their horses, fought on foot, as their manner was: which horses running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, caused them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrowne; wherewith dismayed, they without further comming on, all turned their backs and fled, in so great hast, as that it booted not the king or any other great commander to H
go about to stay their flight. The French thus by their too much hast ouerthrowne, the Turks pursuing the Hungarians and the rest of the Christians, made of them a great slaughter: of whom also many were drowned in the great riuer Danubius. At which time also the Turks tooke so many prisoners, that it was thought euery seuerall Turke had his prisoner. King *Sigismund* himself, who but a little before had despised euen the falling of the heauens, had then also vndoubtedly fallen into his enemies hands, had he not in a little boat by good hap got ouer Danubius: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the seas with his shippes, and with a world of men passed ouer into Grecia, was afterward by the strange change of fortune, himselfe alone in a small fisher boat glad to get backe again into Asia. *Sigismund* being thus got ouer Danubius, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the losse of the battel, fled I
by sea into Thracia to Constantinople, from whence he sailed vnto the Iland of the Rhodes; and from thence sailing through the Ægean and Ionian sea, landed at length at Dalmatia; and so hauing wandred from place to place, tossed with many fortunes, after eighteene moneths long and painefull trauell returned againe into Hungary. Where he found the state of his kingdome in his absence much troubled, the contrary faction in the mean time hauing made choice of *Ladislaus* King of Naples for their King; who was euen then with a great army going to haue taken possession of the kingdome, had not *Sigismund* in good time, by the helpe of certaine of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobility preuented him. In this battel, called the battell of Nicopolis, were of the Christians twenty thousand slain, and of the Turks threescore thousand. The County of Niuiers the French Kings neere kinsman was there taken prisoner, K
with three hundred great commanders more: where after he had indured great contumely and reproach in the presence of *Bajazet*, he was commanded to make choice of fiue other of the captaines, such as he liked best, all the rest being cut in pieces before his face, and he with the other fiue left aliue, sent prisoners to Prusa, from whence they were afterwards ransomed for two hundred thousand Duckats. This bloudy battell of Nicopolis was fought in the yere of our Lord, 1396.

Constantinople the second time besieged by Bajazet.

Bajazet after this great victory, hauing worthily relieued his besieged city, returned againe to the siege of Constantinople, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks against it on the one side towards the land; and passing ouer the streit of Bosphorus, built a strong castle vpon that streit ouer against Constantinople, to impeach so much as was L
possible, all passage therunto by sea. This streit siege (as most write) continued also two yeres, which I suppose by the circumstance of the history, to haue been part of the aforesaid eight yeres. *Emanuel* the besieged Emperor wearied with these long wars, sent an embassador to *Bajazet* to intreat with him a peace: which *Bajazet* was the more willing to hearken vnto, for that he heard news, that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian Prince intended shortly to warre vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition, that the Emperor should grant free liberty for the Turks to dwell together in one street of Constantinople, with free exercise of their owne religion and lawes, vnder a judge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkish King a yerely tribute of ten thousand duckats. Which dishonorable conditions the distressed Emperour was glad to accept of. So was this long siege broken vp, and presently a M
great sort of Turks with their families were sent out of Bithynia, to dwel in Constantinople, and a Church there built for them: which not long after was by the Emperor pulled down to the ground, and the Turks againe driuen out of the city, at such time as *Bajazet* was by the mighty *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

Bajazet

A *Bajazet* in the beginning of his reign, presently after the death of *Lazarus* the Despot, slain in the battell of Cossoua, woon part of Seruia (as is aforesaid) the other part beeing still holden by *Lazarus* his son, called *Stephen* the Despot; who about this time sent an honorable embassador to *Bajazet*, with louing letters, and royall Presents: by which embassador also the old Princesse *Lazarus* his widow, offred her faire daughter *Despina*, *Stephens* sister, a lady of incomparable beauty, in marriage to him, if it should please him to vouchsafe his handmaid (as she termed her) so high a place. This lady was long before promised him, whilst his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this Embassador *Bajazet* was very glad, but especially for the faire Ladies sake: which being known to the Princes her mother, & the Despot her brother, she was forthwith honorably sent to *Bajazet*, and so to him with great solemnity and triumph shortly after
B maried. Of all his wiues he held her deerest, and for her sake restored to her brother *Stephen* the city and castle of Semendre (otherwise called S. *Andrew*) and Columbarium in Seruia: she allured him to drink wine, forbidden by the Turks law; and caused him to delight in sumptuous banquets, which his predecessors *Othoman*, *Orchanes*, and *Amurath*, neuer vsed.

Bajazet marrieth *Despina* the faire daughter of *Lazarus* the Despot.

As the Turkish kingdome grew in greatnesse, so corruption, the canker of great states and common-weales, increased likewise; but specially in the men of law, and judges of his courts. Wherewith *Bajazet* grieuously offended, commanded diuers of the same judges to be apprehended, determining (to the terror of others) to haue executed them; whose dangerous estate was much pitied, and also fauoured of *Alis Bassa*, and other the Kings great Councellors: yet for so much as *Bajazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to be spoken vnto,
C none of them durst aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe; no not *Alis Bassa*, *Charydin Bassa* his sonne, sometime judge of Prusa, although he were a man in such speciall fauour with him, that he was therefore of the common people not onely reuerenced, but as the King himselfe honoured.

There was at that time in the court an Æthyopian jeaster, who vnder some couert pleasant jeast, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greatest heat, which his graueſt councellors durst not once speak to him of in secret: this jester, *Alis Bassa* requested to deuise some means to intreat with the angry King in the behalfe of these Iudges; promising to giue him what he would reasonably desire, if he could appease the Kings displeasure. The Æthyopian without feare vndertook the matter, & presently putting vpon his head a rich hat all wrought
D ouer with gold, after the maner of the Turks embassadors, and fitting himselfe with other apparrell better beseeming an embassador then a jeaster; thus attired presented himselfe before the King, with a great counterfeit grauity. Whereat *Bajazet* maruelling, asked him the cause why he was so gay. I haue a request vnto your Majesty (said he) and wish to find fauor in your sight. *Bajazet* more desirous than before to know the matter, asked what his request was. If it stand with your pleasure (said the jeaster) I would faine go as your embassador to the emperor of Constantinople, in hope whereof I haue put my selfe in this readinesse. To what purpose wouldst thou go? (said *Bajazet*) To craue of the Emperour (said he) some forty or fifty of his old graue Monks and Friers to bring with me hither to the court. And what should they doe
E here? (said *Bajazet*) I would haue them placed (said the jeaster) in the rooms of the old doting judges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (said *Bajazet*) I can place others of my owne people in their rooms. True (said the Æthyopian) for grauity of look and countenance, and so would the old Monks and Friers serue as well; but not so learned in your laws & customs of your kingdom, as are those in your displeasure. If they be learned (said *Bajazet*) why do they then contrary to their learning, peruert justice, and take bribes? There is a good reason for that too (said the jeaster.) What reason? (said the king.) That can he that there stanby tel better than I, (said the jester, pointing to *Alis Bassa:*) who forthwith commanded by *Bajazet* to giue the reason; with great reuerence before done, shewed, That those Iudges so in displeasure, were not conueniently prouided for, & were therefore inforced many times for their
F necessary maintenance to take rewards, to the staying of the due course of justice. Which *Bajazet* vnderstanding to be true, commanded *Alis Bassa* to appoint them conuenient stipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Whereupon the Bassa set down order, That of euery matter in suit exceeding one thousand Aspers, the Iudge shall haue twenty aspers fee for judgement; and for euery writing and instrument out of the court, twelue Aspers: which fees they yet take in those courts at this day.

Not long after, *Bajazet* in his fury ſent for certain of his captaines and commanders of his G
men of war, with whom he was for ſome ſmall occaſion grieuouſly offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death, which was with him no great matter. Theſe captaines being brought before him, the councellors ſeeing him all in choler, ſate looking on the ground, hanging down their heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to looke him in the face, nor to ſpeak a good word for them: when ſuddenly the aforeſaid Æthyopian jeſter ſtept forth, earneſtly requeſting the King, not to ſhew them any fauor, but to execute them preſently, as villaines and traitors; railing vpon them, as if he had known ſome great fault by them. *Bajazet* thinking he could haue accuſed them of ſome great crime, becauſe of his earneſtneſſe, asked what reaſon he had ſo to exclaime againſt them. Reaſon, (quoth the jeſter) becauſe the knaues be good for nothing; and they ſay that *Tamerlane* is with a great army comming againſt vs: if H
you will but take vp an enſigne in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I will ſtrike vp ſuch a terrible march, & you make ſuch a dreadfull ſhew, that we ſhall need none of theſe bad fellowes or their ſoldiers in the field to get the victory ouer our enemies. This conceit of the jeaſter ſtrucke ſuch a melancholy imagination into *Bajazet* his head, that he ſtood muſing a great while as it were in a deepe ſtudy: at laſt hauing well conſidered the drift of the jeaſters ſpeech, and his fury now ſomwhat aſſuaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This Æthyopian jeſter, *Bajazet* vpon a time ſent vnto the old Queene his mother, to bring her newes of the good ſucceſſe of his wars againſt the Chriſtians, for that ſhe had ſo deſired: who comming vnto her, & by her commanded to ſit down, ſhe began to demand of him, how the King her ſonne did, and of the ſucceſſe of his wars. Whereunto he anſwered, That he did I
very well, and had woon from the Chriſtians a great countrey, and greatly inriched his ſoldiers. But after a little more talke, the Queene mother deſirous to heare againe the good newes, (or elſe after the manner of ſome, which thinke nothing ſufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him againe, how the King her ſonne did, and how he ſped in his warres. Whereunto he anſwered euery word as before: but asking him the third time the very ſame queſtion, how her ſon did? Do'ſt thou aske me ſo often (ſaid the Æthyopian) how he doth? *Bre Caphre* (ô whore, ſaid he) thou haſt brought forth a ſonne like a diuell, who roaming vp and down, doth nothing but burn and deſtroy the world where he commeth. Whereat the Queene crying out, vp ſtart the Æthyopian, and betaking himſelfe to his heeles, was neuer more afterwards ſeene.

Temurtaſes, Bajazet his great Lieutenant in Aſia, taken preſoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania.

In the wars which *Bajazet* had againſt *Sigiſmund*, the Vayuod of Valachia had giuen aid to K
the Hungarian king; wherwith *Bajazet* being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make war vpon the Valachian prince, left *Temurtaſes* his great lieutenant at Ancyra in Aſia, and ſo paſſed ouer Helleſpontus himſelf againſt the Valachian. Vpon whoſe departure, *Aladin* his ſiſters ſon the yong king of Caramania, with a great power came ſuddenly in the night to Ancyra, and took *Temurtaſes* priſoner: who then feared nothing leſſe, than in time of peace to be ſo ſurpriſed, and carried away in bonds into Caramania. But when he vnderſtood that *Bajazet* had ended his wars in Valachia, and was with victory returned to Pruſa, he fearing his heauy indignation for ſo great an outrage, preſently releaſed *Temurtaſes* out of priſon, apparrelled him richly after the maner of that nation, craued pardon for L
the wrong he had done him, and ſet him at liberty to go whither he would, and withal ſent one of his noblemen with great gifts and preſents to *Bajazet*, to make his excuſe in beſt maner he could: vnto which embaſſador *Bajazet* (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or ſuffer him to come in his ſight: but at the ſame time leuied a great army to inuade Caramania. Which *Aladin* vnderſtanding, and now out of all hope to appeaſe this mighty enemy, leuied all the forces he could in his owne kingdome, and withall entertained all the mercinary ſoldiers he could get, intending to try his fortune in the field, as a man of valour, rather than to be thruſt out of his kingdome like a coward: and ſo in readines, hearing of the comming of *Bajazet*, met him vpon the way, and at a place called Aczac gaue him battell: but beeing too weak, he was ouercome and put to flight; in which flight his horſe ſtumbling, and he falling to the ground, M
was there before he could recouer himſelfe, taken by his enemies which had him in chaſe, and ſo brought bound to *Bajazet*: his two ſons *Muhamet Beg* & *Alis Beg*, being taken in that battell alſo, were ſent priſoners to Pruſa. *Aladin* himſelfe was by *Bajazets* command deliuered to his enemy *Temurtaſes*: who in reuenge of the wrong hee had before done him, preſently cauſed

him

A him to be hanged: which when *Bajazet* vnderstood, he seem'd very sory that he had so put him to death, for that he was his own sisters son. *Bajazet* following the course of his victory, woon Iconium, Larenda, Nigde, with all the rest of *Aladin* his kingdome. About this time also, Amasia the great metropoliticall city of Capadocia, was by the prince thereof deliuered to *Bajazet*, beeing too weake himselfe to defend the same against the force of *Casi-Burchanidin*, prince of the great and strong city of Sebastia, his enemy; now growne to be a man of great power in that part of Asia, and had solicited the Sultan of Ægypt to ayd him against *Bajazet*. Whereupon *Bajazet* returning from the conquest of Caramania, led his army towards Sebastia, where the citisens had a little before depriued *Casi-Burchanidin* of his gouernment, for his cruelty, and placed his son in his stead: but in short time no lesse weary of the son, than before of the father, they with like inconstancy sent word to *Bajazet*, that if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the city: vpon whose approch, *Casis* (his sonne) for feare fled out of the city, to Prince *Nasradin* his brother in law. After whose departure, the citisens according to their promise, deliuered the city vnto *Bajazet* at his comming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldest sonne gouernor. And so hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdome of Caramania, and taken the great cities of Amasia and Sebastia, with most part of Capadocia, and all that part of Asia, which the Turks call Rumilia Asiatica, he returned to Prusa, and there wintred.

Amasia yeelded vnto Bajazet.

Sebastia deliuered to Bajazet.

The next Spring, *Bajazet* hearing that his old enemy *Cutrun Bajazet* Prince of Castamona and Pontus, was dead, came to Castamona with a great army: which *Isfendiar* (*Cutrun Bajazets* son, and then Prince of that countrey) hearing, fled out of the city of Synope, a little city vpon the coast of the Euxin: from whence he sent an embassador to *Bajazet*, humbly requesting him, to suffer him to haue that little city, as his seruant to liue in, (which he was sure he would otherwise bestow vpon some other of his seruants) and not to seeke the innocent bloud of the son for the fathers offence. Which his request, *Bajazet* moued with pity, easily granted: yet neuertheles took from him Castamona, with the greatest part of his dominion in Pontus, which he gaue to his sonne *Solyman*. At the same time hee violently oppressed the Prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of Despotopolis and Hierapolis, with all the rest of his dominion.

Bajazet inuadeth Isfendiar Prince of Castamona.

The Prince of Mentesia long before driuen out of his country by *Bajazet*, (as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at Castamona, doubting now of his owne safety, after the death of his good friend *Cutrun Bajazet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*.

Bajazet returning to Prusa, there built a magnificent Mahometane Temple; during which worke he with great superstition forbore drinking of wine, reposing himselfe with the company of graue and learned men, and the administration of justice: whereby hee greatly woon the hearts of his subiects, and had now so inlarged his kingdome, that all Kings and Princes bordering vpon him stood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* King of Bagdat (or new Babylon) and Eiracum, with *Iosephus Niger* King of Colchis, inforced with the violent incursions of *Tamerlane* & his Tartars, for safegard of their liues were glad to fly into Syria: where they being discouered, were both cast in prison by the commandement of the Ægyptian Sultan, who then commanded ouer Syria: from whence they afterwards hardly escaping, fled to *Bajazets* court. Where after *Achmetes* had stayd two months, he by the aid of *Bajazet* recouered the possession of Eiracum part of his owne inheritance. *Iosephus* the other Mahometan King hauing tarried in *Bajazets* court eight moneths, at length procured him to inuade the dominions of the Ægyptian Sultan: in which expedition he mightily preuailed, and hauing slaine the Ægyptian Sultans Generall, and discomfited his forces, tooke the city of Malatie or Meletine in Armenia, with Diorige, Derende, and Bexene, taken from the Turcomans, and spoyled all the countryt hereabouts. From thence marching with his army towards Erznitzane, the Prince thereof called *Tachretin* met him vpon the way, yeelding his city and country into his power; which *Bajazet* presently gaue to *Iosephus Niger*: who after he had six daies enioyed this new gouernment, finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a stranger, surrendred the same againe into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the Citisens of Erznitzane humbly requested of *Bajazet*, That they might be againe gouerned by their old Prince *Tachretin*, now his vassall.

Which thing he at their earneſt requeſt granted: but taking his wife and children as a pledge of his loyalty, ſent them away to Pruſa, where they were all not long after made away. G

The Mahometan Princes of Aſia oppreſſed by Bajazet, diſguiſed fly vnto Tamerlane for ayd.

When *Bajazet* had now many yeres thus mightily preuailed againſt the Chriſtian Princes in Romania, Bulgaria, Boſna, Theſſalia, Valachia, and other places of Europe, as is before declared, and inflamed with inſatiable ambition, had in worſe manner oppreſſed the Mahometan Kings & Princes of Aſia (of whom ſome were by him ſlain, ſome driuen into exile, ſome impriſoned, and otherſome brought into ſuch ſubiection, that they liued as it were but at his deuotion) and was now growne to that greatnes, that in the pride of his heart he ſtood in feare of no man, but was (as he thought) a terrour vnto the world, hauing vnder his obeyſance great and large dominions in Europe, but far greater in Aſia: it fortuned that diuers of theſe miſerable & diſcontented Mahometan princes, by great fortune, as if it had bin by appointment, to H meet together at the court of the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlan*, whether they were fled for relieſe and ſuccor. The Prince *Germian Ogli*, after long impriſonment in the caſtle of Ipſala in Europe, brake priſon, and with *Hiſſar-Beg* his great counſellor and priſon fellow, conſorted themſelues with a company of loitring companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the countrey people with their apiſh toyes: in which company he paſſed Helleſpontus, as a Beareward, and at length with much adoe came to *Tamerlane* his court: whither the Prince of Menteſia was come before in the habit of an hermit (as is aforeſaid) with his head and beard ſhauen: *Aidin Ogli* paſſing through the countrey as a pedlar, with a packe at his backe came thither alſo: the Prince *Tachretin* as a ſeruing-man, came attending vpon the Prince *Iſfendiar*; who came alſo, but in ſome better faſhion than the reſt, as an Embaſſadour from ſome other I Prince. All theſe poore Princes, with diuers others in like miſery, in ſhort time arriued at Samarcand (great *Tamerlane* his court;) euery one particularly complaining of his owne priuat griefe, & all together earneſtly requeſting that mighty prince, to take vpon him their defence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkiſh tyrant *Bajazet*. Whoſe pittifull complaints much moued the noble Tartarian; but eſpecially the long & wrongfull impriſonment of *Germian Ogli*; and the pittifull complaint and mone of *Tachretin*, who had of late loſt his wife and children by the cruelty of *Bajazet*. Yet in this matter of ſo great and important conſequence, *Tamerlane* made no great ſhew of his forwardnes, (although he was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the relieuing of the diſtreſſed, and chaſtiſing of the proud) but coldly anſwered theſe Princes, That he could not tell whether all were ſo as they had re- K ported of *Bajazet*, or not, but that he well knew him to be a very zealous King in ſetting forth of the Mahometan religion; and that he had therfore madé great wars vpon the Chriſtians, in which goodly cauſe (he ſaid) perhaps they had refuſed to aſſiſt him, or els had giuen him ſome other greater occaſion of offence, to him vnknowne: For I can hardly beleeue (ſaid he) that ſo great and religious a Prince as he, would without iuſt and ſufficient cauſe, offer ſuch violence as you may complaine of, eſpecially vnto you his neighbor Princes, and of the ſame religion with himſelfe: neuertheleſſe, whatſoeuer I intend toward your requeſt (ſaid *Tamerlane*) I will ſend firſt an Embaſſadour vnto him, to vnderſtand more of him and his proceedings, before I reſolue vpon any thing: with which anſwer he willed them vntil then to hold themſelues contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue diſpatched his Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, he was ad- L uertiſed, that *Achmetes* late King of new Babylon, and *Ioſephus* King of Colchis, both by him driuen out of their kingdomes, hauing broken out of priſon from the Sultan of Ægypt, were now come to *Bajazet* his court, to craue his aid and aſſiſtance: wherefore he deferd to ſend his Embaſſadour, ſuſpecting that *Bajazet* incited by theſe two exiled Kings, would firſt in their quarrell begin to make war vpon him. But not long after, vnderſtanding that they were both again departed from his court, as is before declared; he then diſpatched his Embaſſadour to *Bajazet*, with many rich gifts and preſents; courteouſly requeſting him, the rather for his ſake, to deale kindly with theſe Mahometan Princes, his friends, as alſo with the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel* his allye, for whom he was now become an interceſſor vnto him. Some report alſo, that he beſides this, requeſted to haue the two aforeſaid Mahometan Kings of Bagdat & Col- M chis deliuered vnto him; and withall ſeemed not a little to diſlike of *Bajazet* his proceedings againſt the Turcomans his friends. But *Bajazet* being a Prince of a great and haughty ſpirit, and vnaccuſtomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his humor, highly offended with this embaſſage, in great ſcorn reiected the Preſents by *Tamerlane* ſent to him, and ſpecially certain

garments

garments which *Tamerlane* after the manner of those Eastern nations, had in kindnes amongst other things sent him: willing the embassador to bid his master to meddle with his own matters, and to prescribe lawes to his owne subiects, and not vnto him, with whom he had nought to do; and to send his rags for presents vnto his inferiours, and not vnto princes of greater power and state than himselfe. Adding thereunto many other words full despight and disdain, affourding him no better stile than the plain name of *Tamerlane*: calling him the husband of a whore, if he met him not in the field; and wishing vnto himselfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after she had bin polluted by another man (as the greatest dishonor that might be) if he failed to meet him whersouer he durst dare him battel: which proud answer of the Turke, by the Embassador reported to *Tamerlane*, and aggrauated by *Axalla* (a Christian of the race of the Genowaies, borne at Capha, and then one of his greatest counsellors about him, and the Greek emperors great friend) was so euill taken by him, that all other things set apart, he resolued to go against the Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fittest for the increase of his honor and glory. Besides that, he thought it not in reason fit for the greatnes of the Tartarian empire, to suffer such an vnquiet neighbor to grow great; as still encroaching vpon other the weak Princes confining to him, and adding conquests to conquests; and yet neuer the more contented, might in the end proue dangerous to his own estate and soueraignty: a common care to such as be themselues great, and mounted vp vnto the highest degrees of worldly honour, to haue in jealousie and distrust the sudden rising of others neere or farther off, as perillous or disgracefull to themselues, or their estate: whose growing greatnes they therefore seek by all means to hinder; as did now the mighty *Tamerlane* the proceedings and increasing of the great *Othoman* king, *Bajazet*: and the rather being continually prickt forward so to do, by the solicitation of the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppressed Mahometan Princes, and by the great captain *Axalla* (as is aforesaid) a Christian: of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himselfe, a Mahometan, for the great fidelity, valor and vertue he found in him, made no small reckoning, but was contented euen in his greatest and most waighty affairs to be by him aduised; disliking of no man for his religion whatsoeuer, so as he did worship but one only God, Creator of heauen and earth, and of all that therein is: being himselfe of opinion, That God in Essence one, and in himself immutable, without change or diuersity; yet for the manifesting of his omnipotency and power, as he had created in the world sundry kinds of people, much differing both in nature, manners, and condition, and yet all framed to the image of himselfe: so was he also contented to be of them diuersly serued, according to the diuersity of their natures and manners: so that they worshipt none other strange gods, but him alone, the maker and Creator of all things: which was the cause that he suffered the vse of all religions within the countries subiect to his obedience, were they not meere Atheists, Idolaters, or worshippers of strange and vaine gods.

Tamerlane his opinion concerning the diuersity of religions.

Neither was proud *Bajazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpose of *Tamerlane*, in the meane time idle, but still prosecuted his good fortune for the inlarging of his empire, and increasing of his strength: wisely deeming (as the truth was) whatsoeuer messages were sent to him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meere threatnings and forewarnings of his more dangerous purposes and designes against him and his state: which he was so farre from fearing, as that to prouoke him the more, he spared no intemperate speech, which might mooue him to wrath; wishing (as should seeme) for nothing more, than to meet him in the field, there to try the fortune of a battell with him. So weake is our foresight of our fortunes to come, and the reach of our vnderstanding for the apprehension or declining of the fatal doom euen presently hanging ouer our heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance most desirously wish for those things which are vnto vs the chiefe occasions of our vtter ruine and ouerthrow.

But here before we enter into farther discourse of the mortall war betwixt these two so puissant Princes, it shal not be much from our purpose to step a little out of the way, to see what this mighty *Tamerlane* (of whom so many Princes craued aid) was, who liuing, held the East in such awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terror of the world*; which he then filled with the glory of his name. Most Historiographers report him to haue bin poorly borne, of base and obscure parents: and so himselfe also in his youth to haue liued as a poore shepheard or heardsman in the mountains; where consorting himselfe with other sturdy companions of like quality and disposition, such as there liued by robbing of Merchants & other passengers,

The base opinion some haue, concerning the birth & rising of Tamerlane.

passengers, he became a masterfull theefe amongst them : vnto whom other such lewd mates G
dayly still more and more resorting, he in short time grew (as they say) to that greatnes, that he is reported to haue bin of such power, as neuer man but he euer yet came vnto. A matter almost incredible: for albeit that the Romane empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks also, with some others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*, and the other vnder *Othoman*; yet grew they not as on the sudden, in their times to any great lustre (neither was it possible for them of so small beginnings so to do) but by many degrees, and that in long time; euery of the succeeding Princes, according to their fortunes, adding somthing to their state, before it could be made great: whereas he (by their report) contrary to the course of things both naturall & ciuil (which from their small beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatnes, but by degrees, and that in the long reuolution of time) taking H
his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the sudden to be a burthen and terrour vnto the world. Wherein our late Historiographers seem too much to haue followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their kingdome almost in one battel subuerted, report nothing simply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthy praises, wrongfully charge him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage onely, but euen in the course of his whole life also; making him (as they would haue the world to beleeue) first to haue beene a very abiect among men; and then for his inhumane cruelty a very monster in nature, (or as it was long before, but more truly said of another great one much like himselfe) a lump of earth tempred with bloud. Which incredible reports concerning so great a Monarch, I list not to
follow, as too full of dishonor; especially whereas others of no lesse credit than they, with far I
more modesty & greater probability report of him the greatest honor that may be. He was (as they & the others also say) born at Samarcand, the chiefe city of the *Zagataian* Tartars, pleasantly scituated vpon the riuer Iaxartes: his father was called *Zain-Cham*, or as some others wil *Og*, Prince of the *Zagataian* Tartars, and of the countrey of Sachetay (sometime part of the famous kingdome of Parthia) third in descent from *Zingis* the great and fortunat leader of the Tartars, before in the former part of this history remembred: which *Og*, as a Prince of a peaceable nature (accounting it no lesse honor quietly to keep the countries left him by his father, than with much trouble and no lesse danger to seeke how to inlarge the same) long liued in most happy rest with his subiects no lesse happy than himselfe: not so much seeking after the
hoording vp of gold & siluer (things of that nation not regarded) as contenting himselfe with K
the increase and profit of his flocks of sheep, and heards of cattell; then, and yet also, the principall reuenues of the Tartar Kings and Princes: which haply gaue occasion to some, ignorant of the manner and custome of those Northern nations and countries, to account them all for shepherds & heardsmen; and so also to haue reported of this mighty Prince, as of a shepherds son, or herdsman himselfe: vainly measuring his nobility by the homely manner of his people and subiects, and not by the honor of his house, and heroical vertues, such as were hardly to be found greater in any Prince of that or other former ages. His peaceable father now well stricken in yeres, and weary of the world, deliuered vp vnto him (not yet past 15 yeres old) the gouernment of his kingdom, ioyning vnto him two of his most faithfull counsellors, *Odmar* and
Aly, to assist him in the gouernment of his state (retiring himself vnto a solitary life, the more L
at quiet to serue God, and so to end his dayes in peace:) which two his trusty seruants & graue councellors he dearely loued whilst they liued, and much honored the remembrance of them being dead. The first proofe of his fortune & valor, was against the Muscouit, for spoyling of a city which had put it selfe vnder his protection, and for entring of his country; and for proclaiming of war against him: whom he in a great battel ouerthrew, hauing slain fiue and twenty thousand of the Muscouites footmen, and between fifteen and sixteen thousand horsemen, with the losse of scarce eight thousand horsmen and foure thousand footmen of his owne. After which battell he beholding so many thousands of men there dead vpon the ground, was so far from reioycing thereat, that turning himselfe to one of his familiars, he lamented the condition of such as commanded ouer great armies, commending his fathers quiet course of life; M
acounting him happy in seeking for rest, and the other most vnhappy, which by the destruction of their owne kind, sought to procure their owne glory; protesting himselfe euen from his heart to be grieued to see such sad tokens of his victory. With this ouerthrow the Muscouit discouraged, sent Embassadors to him for peace, which vpon such honourable conditions as

pleased

Tamerlane honourably descended.

The cause why some haue reported him to haue beene a shepheard or heardsman.

A pleaſed him to ſet downe, was by him granted, and ſo the peace concluded. Now the great Cham of Tartaria (his fathers brother) being grown old, and out of hope of any mo children, mooued with the fame of his nephew, after this victory ſent him diuers preſents, and withall offering him his onely daughter in mariage, and with her to proclaime him heire apparant vnto his empire; as in right he was, being his brothers ſonne, and the daughters not at all ſucceeding in thoſe empires. Which ſo great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and ſo the mariage was afterwards with great triumph at the old Emperors court ſolemnized; and he proclaimed heire apparant vnto that great empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being euer after this mariage by the old Emperour his vncle, and now his father in law, ſo long as he liued, notably ſupported, and after his death ſucceeding him alſo in that ſo mighty an empire. Yet

Tamerlane marries the daughter and heire of the great Cham of Tartary.

B in the mean time wanted not this worthy prince the enuious competitors of theſe his ſo great honors: inſomuch, that whilſt by the aduice and perſuaſion of the old Emperor, he was taking in hand to make warre againſt the great King of China (who had as then gone far beyond his bounds) and ſo was now well onwards on his way, he was by the conſpiracy of *Calix* (a man of greateſt power & authority in the great Cham his court) almoſt thruſt out of his new empire: *Calix* with a right puiſſant army hauing already ſeized vpon the great city of Cambalu, and the citizens alſo generally fauouring thoſe his traiterous proceedings, as diſdaining to be gouerned by the *Zagatian* Tartar. For redreſſe whereof, *Tamerlan* was enforced with the greateſt part of his army to returne, and meeting with the rebell (who then had in his army foureſcore thouſand horſe, and an hundred thouſand foot) in a great and mortall battell (wherein of the

C one ſide and of the other were more than fifty thouſand men ſlain) ouerthrew him (though not without the great danger of his own perſon, as being ther himſelf beaten down to the ground) tooke him priſoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Which ſo dangerous a rebellion, with the death of the traytor, and the chiefe of the conſpirators repreſſed, and his ſtate in the newneſſe therof by this victory well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended war againſt the great king of China; brake down the ſtrong wall, which the Chinoies had made foure hundred leagues long betwixt the mountaines, for the repreſſing of the incurſions of the Tartars, entred their country, and meeting with the King, leading after him three hundred and fifty thouſand men (whereof there were an hundred and fifty thouſand horſemen, and the reſt on foot) in a great and dreadful battell, with the ſlaughter of ſixty thouſand of his men, ouercame him, and took

D him priſoner: whom for all that he (in the courſe of ſo great a victory wiſely moderating his fortune) ſhortly after ſet again at liberty; yet ſo, as that hauing before taken from him the one halfe of his kingdome, and therein left *Odmar* his truſty lieutenant, with a ſufficient power for the reſtraining of the proud king, if he ſhould again begin to raiſe any new ſtirs; and withall impoſed ſuch other conditions as pleaſed himſelfe, with the yerely tribute of three hundred thouſand crownes, he well prouided for the aſſuring of thoſe his new conqueſts: and ſo in triumph returned with victory vnto the old Emperor his father in law at Cambalu, not a little glad to ſee both him and his daughter, who had in all thoſe wars ſtill accompanied him. But leauing him, now thus by birth great, by his fortune greater, but by his vertue greateſt of all, (as able now to draw after him almoſt the whole power of the Eaſt) let vs again return thither

E from whence we haue for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digreſſed.

The war againſt the Turkiſh Sultan *Bajazet* (as is aforeſaid) by *Tamerlane* reſolued vpon, he ſent *Axalla* the great captain to his countrey of Sachetay (called of ſome Zagaty) to giue beginning to the aſſembling of his forces from all parts; to the end, that with the firſt of the ſpring he might ſet forward for the reliefe of ſo many diſtreſſed Princes, and the abating of the pride of ſo great and mighty a tyrant as was *Bajazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from the great Tartarian Emperour, his vncle and father in law, an hundred thouſand footmen, and foureſcore thouſand horſmen, hoping to haue as many mo from Sachetay his owne countrey, beſides the lords that for his honors ſake would accompany him in that his ſo honourable an expedition, from whom he made account alſo of 50000 men more which they would bring to

F him, and diuers other great ſupplies which he expected from other places alſo; wherewith he doubted not well to performe what he had ſo honorably determined to take in hand, for the abating of the *Othoman* pride: for which and other ſuch like, he was (as he would oftentimes ſay) by God himſelfe appointed: ſo taking his leaue of the old Emperor his father in law, and of the princes his wife (then left behind him for the comfort of her aged father) he departed

from

from Cambalu towards Samarcand, the place of his birth and seat of his empire; leauing be- G
hind him the forces brought from the great Emperour his vncle, to come after him to Ozara, where he had appointed the generall meeting of his army. At which time among other Princes that thither brought or sent their supplies, the great Muscouite being requested so to do, promised to send him fifteen thousand horse, with a certain sum of mony, and leaue for his army to passe through so much of his territories as should be necessary: all which he afterwards performed vnto *Tamerlane*, being glad that he did set vpon others, rather than on himselfe; and that so great a preparation should fall vpon them, whose greatnes was as dreadfull and dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almost at that time being astonished at the sudden greatnes of this *Othoman* King, and the happy successe he had in all his wars: not the least cause that moued *Tamerlane* to oppose himself against him, deeming it much better to go and H
set vpon him in his new conquests, than to stay vntill he therein setled, were come neerer to him, and so should debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his damage. A good and sound resolution: first in that it tended to the destruction of the enemies country; & then, that if any thing should fall out with him otherwise than well, his countrey should not thereby receiue any such astonishment, as if the daunger were neerer or within the bowels of the same. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlan* lay at Samarcand, *Axalla* the great captaine & *Tamerlan* his lieutenant generall, had assembled all the army at Ozara. Wherof *Tamerlan* vnderstanding, sent for him to Samarcand, to confer with him about the setting forward of his army. For al- I
Prince Axalla in great credit with Tamerlane.
though he were stil acompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in comparison of *Axalla*, whose sound counsell had woon him such credit with his Lord & master, as by his aduice he did all things, and without him nothing: which his so great authority & fauor with his Prince, wanted not the enuy of the court, but that his great vertues, and rare sound courtesie (in so great fortune) together with so many worthy seruices as he had done, supported him against the malice of the same. He by the commandement of *Tamerlane*, leauing the charge of the army at Ozara, with the prince of Thanais, another of *Tamerlanes* great captains, came himselfe to Samarcand, and there at large discoursed with him, about the estate and order of his army. And shortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the rest from Samarcand, for to go to Ozara the place where all his army met, being come thither, entred into a great consultation with his most expert captains, about the taking of his journy, and conducting of his army: as whether it were better to lead the same by the coasts of the Muscouit directly towards K
Capha, or els on the other side of the Caspian sea, by the skirts of Persia: where after long discourse, and sundry opinions with their reasons deliuered, it was resolued (although the way were the longer) to passe by the Muscouit, so to come to the Georgians, & to Trebizonda, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* King his countrey. And so setting forward from Ozara, he came at length to Maranis, where he stayed three days looking for the forces which Prince *Odmar* should send him from China, not long before by him conquered: whereof he there receiued newes, and there caused his army to be paid, and a generall muster thereof to be taken. He had also there news of the aid the Muscouit did send him: and caused an infinite quantity of victuals, & most part of his furniture to be conueied by the Caspian sea, being a great commodity and ease to his army, which marching by land, was of necessity to passe some twenty L
leagues through places destitute both of victuals and water. *Tamerlane* al the way coasting along the sea shore, passed the time in hunting, his army not comming neer him by 10 leagues; which was so great, that it extended it selfe full twenty leagues. Comming to the riuer of Edel, he stayed at Zarazich whileſt his army passed the riuer at Mechet, and two other bridges which he had caused to be made for that purpose. Now the Circassians & Georgians, hearing of the approch of *Tamerlane* with his huge army, by their embassadors offred him all the help and assistance they could, in his journey as he passed that way. These Georgians were and yet are Christians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greek emperors: and afterwards somtimes tributaries, & sometimes confederats vnto the Persians: but alwaies enemies vnto the Turks, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but especially by *Amurath* M
the third, they together with some part of the Persian kingdome, haue bin grieuously oppressed, as in the processe of this history may appeare. Of these warlike people, glad of *Tamerlane* his comming for the represſing of the Turk, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the seruice of his Prince: who not a little esteemed of them, being all tall men, very beautifull, of great strength

and

A and courage, and withall moſt expert ſoldiers;as hauing oftentimes reſiſted the power of the *Othoman* Kings, by reaſon of the aduantage their countrey affordeth them, being very rough and hard to come into. By theſe kind people, *Tamerlane* was in euery place honorably entertained,and his great army with all neceſſaries plentifully relieued. In paſſing through which country,and the reſt as he marched,he took ſuch order with his ſoldiers,that none of the people whereby he paſſed,were any thing by them iniuried ; inſomuch that if a ſoldier had taken but an apple, or other thing of like value from any man,he died therefore, ſo ſeuere were his commands. It is reported that one of his ſoldiers,hauing taken a little milke from a country woman,and ſhe thereof complaining,he cauſed the ſaid ſoldier to be preſently killed, and his ſtomacke to be ript;where the milke that he had of late drunk being found,he contented the
B woman, and ſo ſent her away ; who had otherwiſe vndoubtedly died for her falſe accuſation, had it not ſo appeared. Which his ſo great ſeuerity, and in other like caſes, was of many accounted for extream cruelty : yet was it indeed the wholſom preſeruation of his army,being ſo great,as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to haue found ſufficient victuals for the reliefe thereof : whereof for all that,there was no want, either of any thing elſe neceſſary for the vſe of man,his camp being ſtill as a moſt populous and well gouerned city,ſtored with all maner of things:whereunto both artificers and merchants, from far countries reſorted with their commodities & merchandiſe,as to ſome famous mart;and the country people,without feare, from euery place brought in their country commodities,for which they receiued preſent money, and ſo in ſafety again departed. So marching on,he at length came to Bachichich,where
C he ſtaid to refreſh his army eight daies,and there again took a generall muſter therof,wherein were found(as moſt write) foure hundred thouſand horſe,and ſix hundred thouſand foot;or as ſome others that were there preſent affirme, three hundred thouſand horſemen, and fiue hundred thouſand foot of all nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall pay,and as his manner was,made vnto them an oration,informing them of ſuch orders as he would haue kept, to the end they might the better obſerue the ſame:with much other military diſcipline,whereof he was very curious with his captaines. At which time alſo,it was lawfull for euery common ſoldier to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies,foraſmuch as he did for that time, and ſuch like,lay aſide his imperiall maieſty,and ſhew himſelfe more familiar vnto them.

The number of Tamerlane his great army.

Now could he hardly be perſuaded, that *Bajazet* hauing ſubdued the moſt part of Grecia,
D diſtreſſed the Greeke Emperour, and ſo great means to recouer whatſoeuer he ſhould loſe in Aſia, would be ſo aduenturous as to come ouer the ſtreits out of Europe,to try the fortune of a battell with him ; but warily rather protract the time, to weary him at length with wants, that in a ſtrange country drew ſuch a world a people after him. Wherein he found himſelfe much deceiued:for hauing paſſed the Georgian country, and being come to Buyſabuich, *Axalla* (whom he had not ſeene in eight dayes before,becauſe he led the head of the army) came vnto him with ſuch news as he knew would be right welcome vnto him : which was,that *Bajazet* had raiſed his ſiege of Conſtantinople (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new conqueſts in Aſia:and that he was certainly reſolued,to come to a day of battell,not ſo much truſting vnto the multitude of his army, as to the valour and experience of his ſoldiers,being
E all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which vnexpected newes, *Tamerlane* greatly reioyced:yet without inſolency or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of ſuch a one as iudged the euents of battell to be (as they are) alwayes doubtfull : ſaying ſometimes, that a ſmall number well conducted,did oftentimes carry away the victory from the confuſed multitude. Three dayes he ſtayed at Buyſabuich, and cauſed his ſouldiers continually to march forward, which at Garga and Chiuſerig paſſed ouer the riuer Euphrates:which he did the rather to maintaine his army vpon the ſpoyle of the enemy,in attending his comming, than vpon himſelfe,or his allies. All the cities that yeelded vnto him by the way as he marched,he fauourably receiued;the other that refuſed to ſubmit themſelues to his obedience,he vſed with all extremity:ſpecially the great and ſtrong city of Sebaſtia,where certain of the forerunners
F of his army were by the Turks there in garriſon cut off and ſlaine, and the gates of the city as it were in contempt of him, ſet wide open : wherewith *Tamerlane* offended, ſent out certaine of his Tartarian horſemen,commanding them on paine of his diſpleaſure, ſo to beare themſelues againſt their enemies,as that he might at his comming either find the city taken,or the gates thereof ſhut againſt him : for he had his men at ſo great command,that no danger was

vnto

vnto them more dreadfull than his displeasure, neither did he punish any thing so seuerely as cowardise: insomuch, that if in his disport of hunting the wilde beast, any did for feare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and slew him not, was sure therefore to die himselfe: and to turn his backe vpon the enemy, was no lesse danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turks in garrison at Sebastia, seeing these Tartarian horsemen marching towards the City, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, issued out for to meet them; where they were so furiously charged by these few horsemen, that they were glad to retire, and for hast to shut part of their owne men out of the city, least the enemy following them at their heeles, should haue entred the gates together with them. Which Turkes so shut out, were by the Tartarians slaine at the gates of the city. Shortly after came *Tamerlane* with all his army, and sate downe before the city, where he lay still seuen dayes, not making shew of any violence at all; the defendants because the city was of great strength, all that while thinking that hee had intended by long siege to distresse the same, and the more, because of his long lying still. But about the eight day, the walls and towers of the city in many places vndermined, were suddenly ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemy to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the city dismayed, forthwith yeelded the city to *Tamerlane*, in hope so to haue saued their liues: but hee (as the Turks report) being entred the City, commanded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the City, without respect of age, sex, or condition, to be throwne into the same, and there buried quick. Which done, the City was by his commandement vtterly rased also. After that, calling vnto him *Malcozzius*, the Gouernour of the City, whom he had for that purpose only spared, he commanded him to go and tell his Master what was happened to his strong City of Sebastia, and what he had there himselfe seene. Of which tragicall action, *Malcozzius* hauing made true relation vnto *Bajazet*, was by him demanded, whether of the two armies he thought bigger or stronger: for now *Bajazet* had assembled a mighty army of three hundred thousand men, or as some report of three hundred thousand horsmen, and two hundred thousand foot. Whereunto *Malcozzius* hauing before craued pardon, answered, That it could not be, but that *Tamerlane* might in reason haue the greater number, for that he was a Commander of farre greater countries. Wherewith proud *Bajazet* offended, in great choller replyed, Out of doubt, the sight of the Tartarian hath made this coward so afraid, that he thinketh euery enemy to be two.

Sebastia besieged by Tamerlane.

Sebastia yeelded to Tamerlane.

Most of the Latine histories report, that when *Tamerlane* had taken Sebastia, he put all the men to the sword, and bringing the women and children into the fields without the city, there ouer-ran them with his horsmen, excepting some few which were reserued for prisoners. As also that *Bajazet* there lost his eldest son *Erthogrul* (of some called *Orthobules*) whose death with the losse of the city, so much grieued him (as it is reported) that marching with his great army against *Tamerlane*, and by the way hearing a country shepheard merrily reposing himselfe with his homely pipe, as he sate vpon the side of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; standing still a great while listning vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at last fetching a deep sigh, brake forth into these words: O happy shepheard, which haddest neither *Orthobules* nor Sebastia to lose: bewraying therein his owne discontentment; and yet withall shewing, That wordly blisse consisteth not so much in possessing of much, subiect vnto danger, as injoying in a little, contentment deuoide of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themselues reporting the taking of Sebastia, speake not of *Orthobules* at all, but giue him lost six yeares before, in the warres against *Casi Burcaniden*, and lyeth buried by his father at Prusa. In this City of Sebastia was lost twelue thousand Turkes, men, women, and children, as their Histories report. The rest of the Cities all the way as *Tamerlane* marched, warned by the destruction of Sebastia, yeelded themselues for feare of like danger: the citizens whereof he courteously vsed, specially the Christians, whom he set at liberty, in respect of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperour, whom he seemed wholly therein to gratifie. But hee had not done farre into the Turks dominion, but that he was certainly aduertised, how that *Bajazet* with a great army was comming against him, and now within thirty leagues of him: which caused him after that time, to march with his army more closely. *Axalla* leading the Vantgard, sent forth *Chianson* Prince of Ciarchan, with foure thousand Parthian horsemen, to get knowledge of the Turks army, and where *Bajazet* lay, as also what countrey that

A shepheard more happy than Bajazet.

was

A was beyond Sennas; and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him. This Prince of Ciarcan was *Tamerlanes* neere kinſman, a man of great reputation, & next vnto *Axalla*, in whoſe abſence he had the commanding of the avantgard, his charge; who alſo ſent before him another Parthian captaine with 500 horſemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues, but that he heard news of *Bajazets* comming, & hauing ſurpriſed Sennas, vnderſtood there the certain eſtate of the Turks army, which was then at Tataia, and ſo marching forward. Whereof *Tamerlane* certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, vntil he did ſee the arriual of the enemy, and thereot to giue him aduertiſement euery houre; being himſelfe reſolued to paſſe on no further, as come to a faire large plain, and a country of aduantage for the order of his battel: for he knew that his army was far greater than *Bajazets*, & therefore he made choice
B of thoſe great plains. Yet for that his army conſiſted of diuers nations, and withal conſidering that he was not to fight againſt the Chinois, a ſoft effeminat people, (as of late) but againſt the Turks, a moſt warlike nation, & wel acquainted with all maner of fights & martial ſtratagems, he thought it good to be well aduiſed how he proceeded againſt them. Wherfore he preſently ſent for *Axalla*, with him to view the ſaid place, and to haue his opinion, Whether it would be for his aduantage or not, there to ſtay? who not miſliking of the choice of the place, yet aduiſed him alſo to keepe Sennas ſo long as he poſſibly could: and ſo ſent word vnto them that were therein, vpon the approch of the enemy to ſet fire vpon the ſame, and ſo to withdraw themſelues from thence, to the end that the enemy ſhould not haue any deſire to incampe there, but come ſtil farward neere to thoſe plains where *Tamerlane* deſired to fight, eſpecially
C for that he was ſtronger in horſe than *Bajazet*. Thus the Turks ſtill marching on, thought to haue ſurpriſed ſome of their enemies in Sennas; who as ſoon as they drew neere, retired all, excepting ſome hundred left of purpoſe to fire the town: who hauing performed the ſame, retired of purpoſe in great diſorder. Now the Prince of Ciarcan had diuided his forces into two parts, & giuen commandment to the firſt, that as ſoon as they perceiued the enemies to purſue the hundred horſe that ſo diſorderly of purpoſe fled, they ſhould receiue them, and ſo retyre all together. He in the mean time with the reſt of his power ſtood cloſe in a valley, neere to a wood ſide, vnſeen at all. Where hauing ſuffered 2000 of the enemies horſe (the vantcurriers of the Turks army) to paſſe by him, he following them in the taile, charg'd them home, the other which before retired, now turning vpon them alſo: ſo that the Turks ſeeing themſelues thus be-
D ſet; and hardly laid vnto both before and behind, as men diſcouraged fled: in which flight moſt of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners. This was the firſt encounter betwixt the Turks and the Parthians: all the priſoners there taken, were by the Prince as a preſent ſent to *Tamerlane*, & among the reſt the Baſſa of Natolia who led theſe troups: of whom *Tamerlane* earneſtly demanded, what cauſed *Bajazet* ſo little to eſteeme of him, as to ſhew ſo great contempt of his army, which he ſhould find ſtrong enough to abate his pride. Whereunto the Baſſa anſwered, That his lord was the Sun vpon earth, which could not endure any equall; and that he rather was aſtonied to ſee, how he from ſo far had enterpriſed ſo dangerous a journy, to hinder the fortune of his lord, in whoſe fauor the heauens (as he ſaid) did bend themſelues to further his greatnes, and vnto whom all the world ſubjected it ſelfe; and that he committed great fol-
E ly in going about to reſiſt the ſame. Vnto which ſo proud a ſpeech *Tamerlane* replied, That he was ſent from heauen to puniſh his raſhneſſe, & to teach him, that the proud are hated of God, whoſe promiſe is to plucke downe the mighty and raiſe vp the lowly. As for thy ſelfe (ſaid he) thou haſt already felt (although I pitty thy miſhap) what the valour of my Parthian horſe is againſt thy Turkiſh: and thy maſter I haue already cauſed to raiſe his ſiege of Conſtantinople, and to looke to his own things here in Aſia. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his ſpeech, demanded, If his maſter did come reſolued to bid him battell? Aſſure your ſelfe (ſaid he) there is nothing he more deſireth; and would to God I might acknowledge your greatnes, in giuing me leaue to aſſiſt my lord at that battell. Good leaue haue thou, (ſaid *Tamerlane*) go thy ways and tell thy lord that thou haſt ſeen me, and that he ſhall in the battell find me on horſebacke,
F where he ſhall ſee a green enſigne diſplaid. The Baſſa thanking him, ſwore, that next vnto his lord he vowed vnto him his ſeruice. And ſo returning, declared vnto *Bajazet*, how that he had ſeene *Tamerlane*, and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to ſay; not forgetting ouer all, to publiſh his courteſie and bounty: who beſides that he had franckely ſet him at liberty, had alſo giuen him a very faire horſe well furniſhed, although he well knew he was to

The Prince of Ciarcan dealeth politickly with the foreſt unners of the Turkes Army.

ſerue againſt himſelfe. Whereunto *Bajazet* anſwered no more, but that he would ſhortly make triall of him, and that he well hoped before the march were ended, to make him acknowledge his owne folly. The next day the two armies drew neere together, and incamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard ſuch noyſe of horſes, as that it ſeemed the heauens were full of voyces, the aire did ſo reſound, and euery man thought the night long, to come to the triall of his valor, and the gaining of his deſires. The Scythians (a people no leſſe greedy than needy) talked of nothing but the ſpoile; the proud Parthians of their honor; and the poore Chriſtians of their deliuerance, all to be gained by the next days victory: euery man during the night time ſpeaking according to his owne humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp and down in the camp heard, and much rejoiced to ſee the hope that his ſoldiers had already in generall conceiued of the victory. Who after the ſecond watch returning vnto his pauilion, & there caſting himſelf vpon a carpet, had thought to haue ſlept a while: but his cares not ſuffring him ſo to do, he then, as his manner was, called for a booke, wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and anceſtors, and of other valiant worthies, the which he vſed ordinarily to read, as he then did: not as therwith vainly to deceiue the time but to make vſe thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, & declining of ſuch dangers as they by their raſhnes or ouerſight fell into. And afterwards hauing a little ſlumbred, he commanded *Axalla* to be ſent for, who forthwith came to him, with diuers other great lords and captains the chiefe commanders of his army: with whom after he had a while conſulted of the order of the battell, he mounted on horſebacke himſelfe, & ſent euery one of them to their own charges, to put the ſame in readines. At which very inſtant he receiued news, that the enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battell: whoſe order of march *Tamerlane* was deſirous to ſee, that ſo accordingly he might marſhal his own. And hauing cauſed 3000 horſemen to aduance forward, with charge to begin the skirmiſh, himſelfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in ſuch places as he had foreſeen to be fitteſt for his aduantage. Now ſeeing the Ianizaries march in a ſquare battell in the midſt, and vpon the two fronts two great ſquadrons of horſemen, which ſeemed to be thirty thouſand horſe; and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himſelfe to *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, ſaid, I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I ſee that it behoueth me now to fight on horſebacke, to giue courage vnto my ſouldiers, to open the great battalion of our enemies. And my will is, that my men come forward vnto me as ſoon as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thouſand footmen, fifty thouſand vpon each of my two wings, and in the middeſt of them forty thouſand of my beſt horſemen. My pleaſure is, that after they haue tried the force of theſe men, that they come vnto my avauntgard, of whom I will diſpoſe, & fifty thouſand horſe more in three bodies, whom thou ſhalt command: which I will aſſiſt with 80000 horſe, wherein ſhall be mine own perſon; hauing 100000 footmen behind me, who ſhall march in two ſquadrons: and for my arereward I appoint 40000 horſe, and 50000 footmen, who ſhall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of 10000 of my beſt horſe, whom I will ſend into euery place where I ſhall thinke needfull within my army, for to impart my commands. Ouer the firſt forty thouſand horſe the Prince *Ciarcan* commanded: ouer the formoſt footmen was the Lord *Synopes* a Genouois, kinſman to *Axalla*, and his lieutenant ouer the footmen, a captain of great eſtimation: the Prince *Axalla* his owne charge conſiſted of fiue ſquadrons of horſemen. *Bajazet* his army being alſo both faire and great, came brauely ſtill on forwards towards their enemies, who ſtirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battell: except certain light horſemen, Scythians, Parthians, and Muſcouits, who ſent out as looſe men, hotly skirmiſhed betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an eſpie aduertiſed, that *Bajazet* hauing before giuen order for the diſpoſing of his army, was on foot in the midſt of thirty thouſand Ianizaries, his principall men of war, and greateſt ſtrength, wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope. His battell of horſe was very faire, amounting to the number of a hundred and forty thouſand, all old ſouldiers. The Sultan of Ægypt hauing alſo ſent vnto his aid thirty thouſand Mamalukes, all very good horſemen, with thirty thouſand foot. So that his army marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe-Moone (but not ſo well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whoſe ſquadrons directly followed one another) ſeemed

The great and mortall battell betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

G H I K L M

A seemed almoſt as great as his: and ſo with infinite numbers of moſt horrible outcries ſtill aduanced forward; *Tamerlane* his ſouldiers all the while ſtanding faſt, with great ſilence.

There was not poſſible to be ſeene a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the Prince of Ciarcan, who had commandment not to fight before the enemy came vnto him: neither could haue bin choſen a more fairer plaine, and where the skilfull choice of place was of leſſe aduantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the riuer on the left hand of his army, ſeruing him to ſome ſmall aduantage. Now this young Prince of Ciarcan with his 40000 horſe, was in this firſt encounter almoſt wholly ouerthrown: yet hauing fought right valiantly, and entred euen into the middeſt of the Ianizaries, (where the perſon of *Bajazet* was) putting them in diſorder, was himſelfe there ſlaine. About which time *Axalla* ſet vpon them *The Prince of Ciarcan ſlaine.*

B with the avauntgard, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, & cut it al to pieces, and his footmen comming to joine with him, as they had bin commanded, he faced the battalion of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themſelues for the ſafety of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue ſeene any ſcattered, but the one ſtill reſolutely fighting againſt the other. You might there haue ſeene the horſemen like mountaines ruſh together, and infinite numbers of men die cry, lament, and threaten all at one inſtant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to ſee the euent of this ſo mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he ſent ten thouſand of his horſe to joyne againe with the ten thouſand appointed for the arereward, and commanded them to aſſiſt him at ſuch time as he ſhould haue need of them; and at the very ſame time

C charged himſelf, and made them to giue him roome; cauſing the footmen to charge alſo, ouer whom the Prince of Thanais commanded, who gaue a furious onſet vpon the battalion of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the perſon of *Bajazet*, who had ſuſtained a great burden. Now *Bajazet* had in his army a great number of mercenary Tartars, called *Deſtenſes*, with many thouſands of other ſouldiers taken vp in the countries of the poore exiled Mahometane Princes; in whoſe juſt quarrell, and the Greeke Emperours, *Tamerlane* had chiefly vndertaken that war: theſe Tartarians and other ſoldiers, ſeeing ſome their friends, and other ſome their naturall and louing Princes in the army of *Tamerlane*; ſtrucken with the terror of diſloyaltie, and abhorring the cruelty of the proud tyrant, in the heat of the battell reuolted from *Bajazet* to their owne Princes; which their reuolt much weakned *Bajazets* forces. Who neuertheleſſe,

D with his owne men of warre, eſpecially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Chriſtian ſoldiers brought to his aid from Seruia & other places of Europe, with great courage maintained the fight: but the multitude, and not true valor, preuailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and couragious men, was by the Ianizaries and the reſt performed, both for the preſeruation of the perſon of their Prince, and the gaining of the victory. But in the end the horſemen with whom *Tamerlane* himſelfe was, giuing a freſh charge, and his avauntgard wholly knit again vnto him, re-inforcing the charge, he with much adoe obtained the victory. *Bajazet* himſelfe *The Turkes ouerthrowne.*
wounded, and now mounted on horſebacke, thinking to haue eſcaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*: vnto whom he yeelded himſelfe, thinking it had bin *Tamerlane*: who for a ſpace knew him not, but took him for ſome other great commander of the Turks. *Muſa* (firna- *Bajazet and his ſon Muſa taken priſonaes.*

E med *Zelebi*, or, the Noble) one of *Bajazet* his ſons, with diuers others of *Bajazet* his great captaines, were there taken alſo: and amongſt the reſt, *George* the Deſpot of Seruia, who notwithſtanding this misfortune, had that day gained vnto himſelf the reputation of a great and worthy captain; inſomuch that *Tamerlane* euen in the very heat of the battell maruelled to ſee him and the Seruians, with the other Chriſtians which he had brought to the aid of *Bajazet*, ſo valiantly to fight, ſaid vnto ſome of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how couragiouſly yonder Religious fight: ſuppoſing them by their ſtrange attire to haue beene ſome of the Turks ſuperſtitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteouſly welcommed; but yet withall reproued, for that he had fought for *Bajazet*, againſt him, who was come in fauor of the Chriſtian Emperour, and the other poore

F oppreſſed Princes, ſuch as the Deſpot himſelfe was. Who thereunto boldly anſwered, That indeed it was not according to his duty, but according to the proſperity of *Bajazet*, vnto whom it ſeemed that all the world did bend: and that his own ſafety had cauſed him, though againſt his will, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excuſed; and ſo without more adoe gaue him leaue at his owne pleaſure to depart.

Bajazet brought before Tamerlane, with his pride.

Bajazet also himself being afterwards brought vnto *Tamerlane* as a prisoner, and by him curteously entertained, neuer shewed any token of submission at all, but according to his proud nature, without respect of his present state, presumptuously answered him vnto whatsoeuer he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moued, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to lose his life. Whereunto he answered no more, but, Doe it: for that, that losse should be his greatest happines. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanding of him, What made him so proud, as to enterprise to bring into his subjection so noble a Prince as was the Greeke Emperour? he answered, Euen the same thing that hath moued thee to inuade me, namely the desire of glory and soueraignty. But wherefore then (said *Tamerlane*) do'st thou vse so great crueltie towards them thou hast ouercome, without respect of age or sex? That did I (said he) to giue the greater terror vnto my enemies. And what wouldst thou haue done with me (said *Tamerlane*) had it bin my fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said *Bajazet*) haue inclosed thee in a cage of yron, and so in triumph haue carried thee vp & down my kingdome. Euen so (said *Tamerlane*) shalt thou be serued. And so causing him to be taken out of his presence, turning vnto his followers, said, Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserueth to be chastised accordingly, and to be made an example to all the proud and cruell of the world, of the just wrath of God against them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemy; to whom we must therefore giue thanks. Which he performed the same day: for the battell was won at foure of the clocke, and there was yet fiue houres of day light. The next day *Tamerlane* commanded the dead to be buried; where among the rest they found the body of the Prince of Ciarcan, dead in the middest of the Ianizaries, where he lay inclosed with their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreuenged: whose vntimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented, for he was his kinsman, and like enough one day to haue done great seruice. Whose dead body *Tamerlane* caused to be imbalmed, and with two thousand horse (and diuers of the Turks prisoners chained and tied together) to be conueyed to Samercand, vntill his comming thither. All the other dead bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at Sennas.

This great bloudy battell fought in the yaere of our Lord 1397, not far from the Mount Stella, (where sometime the great King *Mithrydates* was by *Pompey* the great in a great battell ouerthrown) was fought from seuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the afternoone: victory all that while as it were with doubtfull wings, houering ouer both armies, as vncertaine where to light; vntill at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* preuailed. Whose wisedome, next vnto God, gaue that daies victory vnto his souldiers: for that the politicke tyring of the strong forces of *Bajazet*, was the safegard of his own; whereas if he had gone vnto the battell in one front, assuredly the multitude finding such strong resistance, had put it selfe into confusion: whereas this successiue manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number of them that were in this battel slaine, is of diuers diuersly reported: the Turks themselues reporting, That *Bajazet* there lost the noble *Mustapha* his son, with two hundred thousand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer: and some other speaking of a far lesse number, as that there should be slaine of the Turks about threescore thousand, and of *Tamerlane* his army not past twenty thousand. But leauing the certainty of the number vnto the credit of the reporters, like enough it is, that the slaughter was exceeding great in so long a fight, betwixt two such armies as neuer before (as I suppose) met in field together.

By this one days euent is plainly to be seen the vncertainty of worldly things, & what small assurance euen the greatest haue in them. Behold, *Bajazet* the terrour of the world, and as he thought, superior to fortune, in an instant with his state in one battell ouerthrown into the bottom of misery & despaire; and that at such time as he thought least, euen in the middest of his greatest strength. It was three days (as some report) before he could be pacified, but as a desperat man stil seeking after death, & calling for it: neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once spoken with him, at all afterwards curteously vse him, but as of a proud man caused small account to be made of him: And to manifest that he knew how to punish the haughty, made him to be shackled in fetters and chains of gold, and so to be shut vp in an yron cage made like a grate, in such sort as that he might on euery side be seen; and so carried him vp and downe as he passed thorow Asia; to be of his own people scorned and derided. And to his further disgrace, vpon festiuall daies vsed him for a foote stoole to tread vpon, when he mounted to horse: and at other

Bajazet like a beast shut vp in an yron cage.

times

A times ſcornfully fed him like a dog, with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the vncertainty of worldly honour, that he vnto whoſe ambitious mind Aſia and Europe, two great parts of the world, were too little, ſhould be now carried vp and downe cooped vp in a little yron cage, like ſome perillous wild beaſt. All which *Tamerlane* did not ſo much for the hatred to the man, as to manifeſt the juſt judgement of God againſt the arrogant folly of the proud. It is reported, That *Tamerlane* being requeſted by one of the Noblemen that might be bold to ſpeake vnto him, to remit ſome part of his ſeuerity againſt the perſon of ſo great a Prince; anſwered, That he did not vſe that rigor againſt him as a King, but rather did puniſh him as a proud ambitious tyrant, polluted with the bloud of his owne brother.

Now this ſo great an ouerthrow brought ſuch a feare vpon all the Countries poſſeſſed by
B *Bajazet* in Aſia, that *Axalla* ſent before by *Tamerlane* with 40000 horſe, and 100000 foot, without carriages, to proſecute the victory, came without reſiſtance to Pruſa, whither all the remainder of *Bajazet* his army was retired, with the Baſſa *Muſtapha*: the country as he went ſtill yeelding vnto him. Yea, the great Baſſa with the reſt hearing of his comming, and thinking themſelues not now in any ſafety in Aſia, fled ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus to Callipolis, and ſo to Hadrianople; carrying with them out of the battell, *Solyman*, *Bajazet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom they ſet vp in his fathers place: *Mahomet* his younger brother preſently vpon the ouerthrow being fled to Amaſia; of whom, and the reſt of *Bajazet* his children, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. *Axalla* comming to Pruſa, had the city without reſiſtance yeelded vnto him, which he rifled; and there with other of *Bajazet* his wiues and concubins, tooke priſoner the
C faire *Deſpina*, *Bajazet* his beſt beloued wife, to the doubling of his griefe.

Solyman ſet vp in his fathers ſtead.

Pruſa taken by Axalla.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane* his comming to Pruſa, ſent his embaſſadors (the moſt honorable of his court) thither before to *Axalla*: by whom they were there ſtayd vntill the comming of *Tamerlane*; who receiued them with all the honor that might be, ſhewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his camp, to their great admiration: For it reſembled a moſt populous and well gouerned city, for the order that was therin, which brought vnto it plenty of all kind of victuals and other merchandiſe, as well for pleaſure as for vſe. By theſe Embaſſadors the Greeke Emperor ſubmitted all his empire, together with his perſon, vnto *Tamerlane* the great conqueror, as his moſt faithfull ſubject and vaſſall: which he was bound (as he ſaid) to do, for that he was by him deliuered from the moſt cruell tyrant of
D the world: as alſo for that the long journy he had paſſed, and the diſcommodities he had indured, with the loſſe of his people and the danger of his perſon, could cot be recompenced but by the offer of his own life and his ſubjects; which he did for euer dedicate vnto his ſeruice, with all the fidelity and loyalty that ſo great a benefit might deſerue: beſides that, his ſo many vertues & rare accompliſhments, which made him famous thorow the world, did bind him ſo to do. And that therfore he would attend him in his chiefe city, to deliuer it into his hands as his own, with all the Empire of Greece. Now the Greeke Embaſſadors looked for no leſſe than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*; thinking that which they offered to be ſo great and delicate a morſell, as that it would not be refuſed, eſpecially of ſuch a conquering Prince as was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindneſſe and friendſhip, was the beſt bargaine
E they could make therein. But they receiued anſwer from this worthy Prince, farre beyond their expectation: for he with a mild countenance beholding them, anſwered them, That he was not come from ſo far a country, or vndertaken ſo much paines, for the inlargement of his dominions, already large enough, (too baſe a thing for him to put himſelfe into ſo great danger and trauell for) but rather to win honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all poſterity for euer: And that therefore it ſhould well appeare vnto the world, that he was come to aid him, being requeſted as his friend and allie: and that his vpright meaning therein was the greateſt cauſe, that God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby bruiſed the head of the greateſt and fierceſt enemy of mankind that was vnder heauen: and now to get him an immortall name, would make free ſo great and flouriſhing a City as was Conſtantinople, go-
F nerned by ſo noble and antient an Houſe as the Emperors: That vnto his courage he had always faith joyned, ſuch as ſhould neuer ſuffer him to make ſo great a breach in his reputation, as that it ſhould be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend he came to inuade the Dominions of his allies: That he deſired no more, but that the ſeruice he had done for the Greeke Emperor, might for euer be ingrauen in the memory of his poſterity, to the end they might

for euer wish well vnto him and his successors, by remembring the good he had done them; G
That long might the noble Emperour liue, happily to gouerne his estate: and that before his returne he would so well consider for the establishing of the same, as that he should not lightly fall againe into the like jeopardy, alwaies assuring himselfe of his good will and fauour towards him. Easie it is to judge what joy these Greeke Embassadors receiued, to heare this so kinde an answer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himselfe: who rather than he would seeme to breake his faith, refused an empire offered vnto him, with one of the most stately and magnificent cities of the word. Few Princes (I suppose) would performe such a part: but so there be likewise but few *Tamerlanes* in the world. These Embassadors by the command of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* royally feasted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of them being sent backe to carry these vnexpected news vnto the Greeke Emperor, filled both H
him and all the city of Constantinople with exceeding joy and gladnesse, which both he and his subjects in general spared not with bonfires and all other signes of joy and pleasure to manifest. And the more to shew his thankfulnesse, shortly after by the aduice of his graue Councellors, passed ouer the streit into Asia, to see *Tamerlane* at Prusa, and in person himselfe to giue him thanks: who hearing of his comming, and very glad thereof, presently vpon the first daies journy sent the Prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the joy that he conceiued, to haue the good hap for to see him, as also to conduct him to Prusa: where those two great princes, with the greatest magnificence that might be, met, and so spent one whole day together. The Greeke Emperor the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honor conducted out of the city. Now had *Tamerlane* himselfe conceiued a secret desire to see this so I
famous a city as was Constantinople, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conqueror, but as a priuat person: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accomplished, and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperor priuatly receiued, and with all familiarity possible, entertained; the Emperor shewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be seen: and the other Greeke Princes deuising all the means they could to do him pleasure, and them which did accompany him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the Greeke fashion. At which time the Greeke Emperour himselfe was curious to shew vnto him all the faire gardens alongst the sea coast, a league or two from Constantinople, and so priuatly conducting him, spent fiue or six daies with all the mirth that might be possible; *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes saying, That he had neuer seen a fairer city: and that it was indeed K
the city (considering the faire and rich scituation thereof) of right, worthy to command al the world. He wondred at the costly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high piramides, & the making of the faire gardens; and oftentimes afterwards said, That he nothing repented him of his so long and dangerous a voyage, if it had bin only but to haue preserued from fire & sword so notable a city as that was. In the Greeke Emperor he commended greatly his mild nature and curtesie: who knowing him aboue al things to take pleasure in faire seruiceable horses, gaue vnto him thirty of the fairest, strongest, and readiest, that were possible to be gotten, all most richly furnished; and sent likewise faire Presents vnto all the Princes and great Commanders of the army, and bountifully caused to be deliuered vnto them all things which he thought to be necessary for the army. So after many great kindenesses in short time L
passed, and a streit bond of friendship made, and by solemne oath confirmed by these two great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the Emperor, and returned againe to his army at Prusa. Wherewith he now at his pleasure without resistance wasted and spoyled all *Bajazet* his dominion in Asia, no man daring to make head against him.

Tamerlane goeth to Constantinople.

Tmerlane much delighted with the pleasures of Constantinople.

The yere being now well spent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* dispersed his army into diuers of the Prouinces of the lesser Asia, expecting still when some of *Bajazet* his sonnes or other friends should make suit or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: some fearing *Tamerlane* his heauy indignation, and others no lesse dreading the fierce nature of *Bajazet* himselfe, who if he had beene deliuered, was like enough (as was thought) to haue taken sharp reuenge vpon all them which forsooke him in the late battell; and therfore neuer made M
intercession for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day passing by him, said vnto him, I maruell that none of thy sons or friends either come to see thee, or to intreat for thee, it must needs be that thou hast euill deserued of them, as thou hast of others: yet how thinkest thou, if I should set thee at liberty, would they againe receiue thee as their Lord and Soueraigne, or not? To

whom

A whom *Bajazet* boldly answered; Were I at liberty, thou shouldest well see, how that I want neither courage nor means to reuenge all my wrongs, and to make those disobedient and forgetfull, to know their duties better. Which his proud answere, made *Tamerlane* keepe a streighter hand ouer him.

In this great and bloudy war, wherein the *Othoman* Empire had almost taken end, the Sultan of Ægypt had (as is aforesaid) giuen aid vnto *Bajazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in so euill part, as that he resolued to be therof reuenged: for as he was vnto his friends of all others most kind & curteous, so was he to his enemies no lesse terrible and dreadfull. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the lesser Asia, to take some good order with these his new conquests: and finding nothing more honorable to resolue vpon, he restored vnto the poore Ma-
B hometan Princes (*Tachretin, Isfendiar, Germean*, and the rest before fled vnto him for refuge) all their antient inheritance, with something more; as he did also diuers cities and countries of Natolia vnto the Greeke Emperour, for the yearely tribute of foure hundred thousand duckats of gold, and eight hundred thousand franks of siluer, which the Emperour promised to pay vnto him yerely. And so hauing inriched his army with the spoiles of the *Othoman* Empire in Asia, he turned his forces against the Ægyptian Sultan, and so passing thorow Caramania, he entred into Syria, then part of the Sultans kingdome: where neere vnto Aleppo (being before yeelded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great & mortal battel, the Sultan hauing in his army an hundred thousand foot, and seuenty foure thousand horse: whereof there were thirty thousand Mamalukes, accounted the best horsmen of the world. In which battel, *Axalla*
C the great captaine, with the avauntgard of *Tamerlane* his army, was hardly distressed, and *Axalla* himselfe taken: but forthwith againe rescued by *Tamerlane*: who had he not by his comming on with new forces, speedily restored the battell, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like enough to haue made an end of his good fortune. But the victory after a long and cruell fight (wherein were fourescore thousand men on both sides slaine) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* pursuing him by the space of three leagues. After which victory, *Tamerlane* diuiding his army, sent *Axalla* with forty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot to pursue the Sultan along st the coast of Arabia: who oftentimes shewed himselfe with some foure thousand horse to haue hindred *Axalla*, who hauing the smallest forces, followed him the neerest. *Tamerlane* himselfe in the meane time, with threescore thousand horse, and an
D hundred thousand foot, marching along st the sea coast, had all the cities as he went yeelded vnto him; as Magata, Aman, otherwise called Apamea, Tortosa, Barruto, and Nephthalin: onely the strong city of Damasco refused to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Zamadzen*, with a strong garrison, who did what he might to haue defended the same: But all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* hauing by battery ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by assault won the city, only the castle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull strength, and almost impregnable; whereinto such a multitude had at the taking of the city retyred themselues, as was not possible therein long to liue: who in short time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the rest vpon safegard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that, *Tamerlane* would not receiue to mercy, to make them feele what it was to hold out against him: so that
E most of them dying of famine, the rest yeelded without condition, and were for their obstinacy almost all slaine. Which his seuerity towards them of Damasco, caused, that thirty leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their submission: whom he no way molested, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his army. From Damasco, he turned directly towards Ierusalem, at which time they of the city had driuen out the Sultans garrison, as had almost all they of Iudea, submitting themselues vnto *Tamerlane*. At Chorazin the Sultan had left six thousand men in garrison for the defence of the place, who at the first seemed to stand vpon their guard; but afterwards dismaied to see so great an army before it, and that *Tamerlane* hauing aproched the wals, was set downe to haue it, they submitted themselues and found mercy. In which city *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garrison, for the
F better repressing of the Mamalukes, who with often incursions troubled his army. So marching on, he himselfe with certaine horsemen for his guard, rode to Ierusalem to visit the sepulchre, so much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where he was of the inhabitants joyfully receiued, and hauing sought out all the antiquities of that ancient city, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Iesus Christ had preached,

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Ægypt and Tamerlane.

Damasco won by Tamerlane.

Tamerlane commeth to Ierusalem.

euen

euen as the pilgrimes doe: and comming to the ſepulchre, gaue thereunto, and the deuout G
there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to ſee him honour thoſe holy places) but of the Iewes only, who greatly blamed him for ſo doing: of whom of all others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accurſed of God. There had he news that the Sultan had gathered all his forces, and being come into Ægypt, was there fortifying of his cities, eſpecially the great cities of Alexandria and Caier. *Tamerlane* his army in the mean time by his commandment came towards Ægypt to Damiata: which ſtrong city he thought not good to leaue behind him, although he was by ſome perſuaded ſo to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in reſpect of the caſtle, as of the ſtrong garriſon that the Sultan had put thereinto: but he whoſe fortune nothing could hinder, would needs go thither: and ſo hauing commanded *Axalla* to ſet vpon it, followed himſelfe after with the reſt H
of his army. Now *Axalla* hauing ſummoned the city, and declared vnto the inhabitants (who were moſt of them Chriſtians) the mildneſſe and courteſie of *Tamerlane*, as alſo who himſelfe was, and what religion he held: cauſing many of the Greeke captaines to ſpeake vnto them, and to tell them of the miſery they indured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: ſo farre preuailed with them, that they all determined to aduenture their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the city, with all them that fauoured the Sultan. And ſo in the night taking vp armes,
Damiata taken by Axalla. made themſelues maſter of one quarter of the city, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: wereby he entering, put all the Mamalukes to the ſword, or tooke them priſoners, and ſo gained the city. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet vpon his march, was in good hope of ſo proſperous a beginning, to find an happy end alſo of his deſignes in Ægypt. For beſides I
the good fortune thereof, he knew that this hauen of Damiata might ſerue him with victuals out of all the parts of Greece, as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promiſed him, and wherein he nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane* hauing made his entry, left there in garriſon two thouſand of the Emperour *Emanuel* his ſouldiers, with a gouernour, of whom he tooke an oath for their obedience. So hauing ſtaied a ſpace at Damiata, he cauſed his vauntgard to march towards Alexandria: and hauing paſſed ouer the riuer, euen in an inſtant turned directly vn-
Tamerlane marcheth towards Caier. to Caire, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Sultan, who made prouiſion for the defence of Alexandria, as the neereſt vnto danger. But vnderſtanding of theſe news, vſed ſuch diligence, that he entered into the city with forty thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot, euen as *Tamerlane* his army approached, purpoſing in perſon himſelfe to defend it. By whoſe comming K
the great city ready before to haue reuolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires: for to remaine long before it, was impoſſible, for
Caire beſieged by Tamerlane. want of victuals for ſo great an army in the enemies Country. Yet notwithſtanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbeare to draw neere vnto it, and with all his army to encampe neere vnto the ſame, hauing cauſed a great trench to be made for to couer his horſemen, and thereby to lodge his army more ſafely: during which time he cauſed diuers onſets to be giuen, as well to try what confidence the enemy had in himſelfe, as to ſee how the people of the City, eſpecially the ſlaues (which in that populous city are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainely informed of the ſtate of the City, and the army; as glad to ſee the ſame by him ſhut vp, and the proud Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt. But thus lying ſtill at the ſiege, L
one day he thought it good to ſhew his army before the City, to try whether the enemy had a deſire to come to a day of battell or not: as alſo to view what forces he had, and ſo indeed to ſeeke occaſion to fight: in hope alſo, that if the Sultan did come forth with all his army into the field, ſome reuolt might happen within the city, as well by the ſlaues (vnto whom liberty was by him promiſed) as by the citizens themſelues (diſcontented with the inſolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the city with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine ſlaues (for that purpoſe fled as fugitiues out of his army into the City) how that hee was not come to hurt them, but onely for the deſtruction of the Mamalukes, both his and there enemies. But betimes ſtanding ſo in battell array, no man come forth, neither was there any tumult or ſtirre raiſed in the city, as he had expected. For the Sultan M
in ſo great a City well prouided of all things, was reſolued to weary him out with lying ſtill, and not to put all to the hazard of a battell. Which *Tamerlane* perceiuing, and ſet downe not to depart from thence but victorious, reſolued likewiſe to force him euen in his greateſt ſtrength, in the heart of his greateſt City; although it were not to be done, but with great

aduen-

A aduenture: ſuch confidence he had in the ſtrength & multitude of his army. Now his purpoſe was, firſt to take one of the cities (for Caire is diuided into three) & therin incamping himſelf, by little & little to aduance forward as he might, ſtil fighting with the enemy. Vpon which reſolution, he commanded an aſſault to be giuen, and hauing brought his footmen to the place where he would haue them to giue the onſet (for the city was not walled, but onely fortified with ditches & trenches) he commanded the Prince of Thanais with fifty thouſand footmen, to begin the aſſault, euen in the face of the enemy; which he moſt valiantly performed, and there began a moſt terrible and cruel fight. *Axalla* in the mean time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greateſt forces to the place where the Prince of Thanais fought to enter, as vnto a place of greateſt danger; fet a compaſſe about, and vpon another quarter of
B the city, with ſmall reſiſtance paſſed the trenches; where he preſently left thirty thouſand men to fill vp the ditches, and to make way for the horſemen to enter: aduancing forward himſelfe, againſt twenty thouſand ſent by the Sultan to haue ſtopt his further paſſage: the Prince of Thanais being at that ſame time almoſt beaten backe by the Mamalukes. But the way being made plain, by them that were for that purpoſe left by *Axalla*, and ten thouſand horſe entred; which charged vpon the backes of the Mamalukes, where the Sultan himſelfe was; and they ſeconded with ten thouſand mo ſent in by *Tamerlane*, following himſelf after, with al his power: the Sultan retired vnto a ſecond ſtrength, which he had made in the next city. The fight indured full the ſpace of ſeuen houres; wherein where ſlain of the Sultan his men aboue ſixteen thouſand; and of *Tamerlanes* betwixt ſeuen and eight thouſand. Who contented to haue diſ-
C lodged the enemy, and gained a third part of the city, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, in hope the next day to win all the reſt, as indeed he did. For the Prince of Thanais the next day forcing the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding himſelfe hardly preſſed by the obſtinat enemy, and too weake long to hold out, retired, and ſo forthwith abandoned the city, & encamped himſelfe along the ſide of the riuer Nilus, with purpoſe to paſſe the ſame, and to fly to Alexandria his ſecond ſtrength & refuge. Which *Tamerlane* ſuſpecting, followed after him with his horſemen (who onely were in order) and ſome few foot, hardly drawne from the city, which their fellowes were in ſpoiling; ſo as hee was glad to promiſe them eſpecially, to regard and reward their good ſeruice. Againſt whom the Sultan vpon a narrow cauſey, had oppoſed twelue or fifteen thouſand men, whom he called
D his ſlaues (to fauour his paſſage) but were indeed his beſt ſouldiers, and ſtood faſt, the place ſeruing greatly for their aduantage: who for all that, at length forced by their enemies, ſtill increaſing vpon them, (though not without great loſſe) caſt themſelues into the great riuer, and made a moſt honorable retreat: euery man hauing his weapon in the one hand, and ſwimming with the other to the further bank. The Sultan flying with ſome eighteen thouſand horſe (for the reſt were ſundry waies fled or els drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his men, by telling them, that they were not men that had vanquiſhed them, but gods, there appeared in them ſo great wiſedome, force, and valor: diuers of the Mamalukes taken in the late fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him curteouſly vſed, were of him demanded, if they would be content to ſerue him, now that their maſter was fled and gone? which they all
E vtterly refuſed: whom notwithſtanding, for their fidelity, *Tamerlane* ſet at liberty to go againe to the Sultan: as no leſſe deſirous to be admired of his enemies for his bounty and courteſie, than feared for his force and valor. The wonderfull wealth of this ſo great and famous a city became a prey vnto his ſoldiers; who for the ſpace of foute and twenty houres had the ſpoile thereof, euery man being then by open Proclamation commanded to repaire to his quarter. The citizens he ſet al at liberty, not ſuffering any of them to be taken priſoners: and ſo leauing ten thouſand good ſoldiers, with a great number of others (wherof he caried a great multitude in his army, planting euery where as he paſſed as it were new colonies) and carrying away with him ſuch of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things neceſſary for the keeping of ſuch a city, he cauſed his army to paſſe ouer the riuer for to follow
F the Sultan to Alexandria, to the end not to leaue his victory vnperfect: *Axalla* haſting before with the avauntgard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his forces againe together; and the reſt of his army conducted by the Prince of Thanais; he himſelfe with an infinite number of boats & ſoldiers to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleaſure to behold the faire riuer, and his ſwift courſe ſomtimes, & in an inſtant to become ſo calme as if it ſcarce moued.

Caire beſieged by Tamerlane.

The

The citizens of Alexandria hearing of his comming, and fearing what might betide them, be- G
sought the Sultan to haue compassion on their estate, and to withdraw himselfe into Lybia, whither *Tamerlane* for the barrennesse of the country could not with any great power follow him; resolued for their parts to giue place vnto fortune, and to do as the time required, and no more to resist so great a force, whereof they had already made sufficient triall: promising yet to remain in heart stil his, & vpon the first occasion offered, to make the same to him appeare.

The Sultan flyeth from Alexandria.

Wherupon the Sultan seeing all things desperat, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that time would bring some change: as also that *Tamerlane* his populous army would not long remaine there. And so departing out of Alexandria with teares standing in his eies, often- times said, That God was angry with him and his people, and that he must of necessity suffer the fatal ouerthrow of his estate, himselfe hauing done as much as in him lay, according to his H
charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne againe, and deliuer his people from the bondage, whereunto they must needs now submit themselues. *Tamerlane* comming to Alexandria (before yeelded to *Axalla*) there staid a great while, sending *Axalla* to pursue the Sultan, exceedingly grieued that he could not get him into his hands; and therefore still fearing some innouation to be by him raised, which caused him to deale the more hardly with them whom he suspected to fauour him. Now the bruit of these victories hauing with *Axalla* passed beyond Alexandria into Lybia, had brought such a feare, not onely vpon the people adjoyning vnto these conquests, but also vpon all Af- frica (they supposing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twenty of the Moore kings sent their embassadors vnto him, to offer vnto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forsaken I
of fortune, still flying before him. Of the neerest of which Kings, *Tamerlane* tooke hostages: as for the other farther off, he contented himselfe with their faith giuen, and with the other outward signes of their good wils.

Tamerlane desirous to return into his countrey.

Now after this long trauell and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more desirous than he had be- fore vsed, to see the pleasures of his owne natiue country: the rather thereunto moued by the request of his wife, then longing for his returne; and the newes he heard of the sicknes of the old Tartarian Emperor his father in law; besides that, age it selfe began to bring vnto him a desire of rest: with whom also the desires of his souldiers well agreed, as men now weary to haue run so many and diuers fortunes. The onely stay was, that he expected the comming of *Calibes*, an old and faithfull seruant of his, whom he for his good desert had of his own accord K
appointed gouernor of all his new conquests in Ægypt and Syria: a great honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had so well deserued. So mindfull was he of the good deserts of his faithfull seruants, as that he needed not by others to be of they put in remembrance, were they neuer so far off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his army making way for him along the great riuer Euphrates, for the conquest of Mesopotamia, and Persia: whose comming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole army, desirous to returne. Which their expectation he long delaied not, but being sent for, came to Alex- andria, whither the whole army was now by the commandement of *Tamerlane* againe assem- bled. Vpon whose comming, *Tamerlane* departed from Alexandria, hauing there left the Prince *Zamalzan* (a man of great reputation) with six thousand horsemen and ten thousand L
foot, as gouernour of that place, and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlane* (as I haue said) had now appointed to command ouer all Ægypt and Syria, together with the Countries newly conquered in Lybia and Barbary: and now conducting him vnto the great City of Caire, and there taking the best order hee could for the preseruation of his new conquests, left him with forty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. And so hauing suf- ficiently instructed him how hee would haue those Kingdomes gouerned, dismissed him, not like a master, but as a companion, seeming very sorry to leaue him destitute of his pre- sence. So setting forward with his Army, conducted by the Prince of Thanais, *Tamerlane* himselfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aside vnto Ierusalem: Where hee re- mained eleuen daies, dayly visiting the sepulchre of Christ Iesus (whom he called the God M
of the Christians) and the ruines of *Solomon* his Temple: much wondering thereat, and at Ie- rusalem, the seat of *Dauids* Kingdome, and of that great *Solomon*: but grieued that he could not see them fully in their former beauty. He onely despised the Iewes, which had commit- ted so cruell a murder against him that came to saue them. And to shew his deuotion to-

wards

A wards the holy city commanded it to be free from all subsidies and garrisons of men of war; and gaue great gifts vnto the Monasteries, and honoured them so long as he remained there. Departing from Ierusalem, he came to Damasco: which great city, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Iezides* (accounted an arch hereticke among the Mahometans) as also euill affected to his proceedings, he caused to be rased, and the bones of *Iezides* the false Prophet to be digged vp and burnt, and his graue, before much honored, in despight to be filled with dung. So marching on, and blasting the world before him as he went (for long it were and from our purpose, to recount all his victories) he passed ouer the riuer Euphrates, and hauing conquered Mesopotamia, with the great city of Babylon, and all the kingdome of Persia, laded with the spoile of the world, and eternized for euer, he returned at length to Samer-
B cand, the famous place of his birth, and glorious seat of his Empire.

Now had *Bajazet* (but a little before one of the greatest Princes on earth, and now the scorn of fortune, and a by-word to the world) with great impatiency lieu two yeares in most miserable thraldom, for most part shut vp in an yron cage, as some dangerous wild beast: and hauing no better means to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines against the barres of the yron grate wherin he was inclosed, and so died about the yere of our Lord 1399. Yet of his death are diuers other reports: some saying, that he died of an ague, proceeding of sorrow and griefe: others, that he poysoned himselfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was set at liberty by *Tamerlane*, being by him beforehand poysoned, whereof he died three daies after he was inlarged (a report not like to be true:) but how soeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue beene
C right miserable. His dead body at the request of his son *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* sent to Asprapolis, from whence it was afterwards conueied to Prusa, and there lieth buried in a Chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan Temple without the city Eastward: where also lies his beloued wife *Despina*, with his eldest sonne *Erthogrul*. And fast by in a little Chappell lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his reigne murthered,

The miserable death of Bajazet.

These two great and mighty Princes, *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, (both of them whilst they liued, a burthen to the world) as they tooke their beginning from the Scyths or Tartars, so were they of like honorable progenitors descended: *Bajazet* being the fourth in descent from the warlike *Othoman*, the raiser of his family; and *Tamerlane* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the first and most fortunat leader of the Tartars (his countrymen) vnto the pleasures of the
D East: both Princes of great power and like spirit; wise, hardy, painefull, resolute, and most skilfull in martiall affaires; but ambitious aboue measure, the ground of all the former troubles by them raised, to the astonishment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other the honourable qualities of *Bajazet*, were in him by his cholericke and waiward nature much obscured: which made him to exceed both in cruelty and pride: being also much more handfast than were his honourable predecessors. For which causes he was much feared and lesse beloued of his soldiers and men of war in generall, and of them at his most need forsaken: He vsed commonly to say, That his treasures were his childrens meat, and not his soldiers pay: which by way of reproch was by a common souldier cast in his teeth, when he raged to see himselfe by them forsaken in the great battell against *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ranne not
E away, but went to seeke his pay, wherewith to prouide his children bread. Whereas all the aforesaid vertues in *Tamerlane* were graced with diuers other of like nature, no man being to his friends more curteous or kinde, either vnto his enemies more dreadfull or terrible. The seruice of his seruant he neuer forgot, either left the same long vnrewarded: being thereof so mindfull, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalfe, to be put in remembrance thereof, hauing alwaies by him a catalogue both of their names and good deserts, which he dayly perused. Oftentimes saying that day to be lost, wherein he had not giuen them something: and yet neuer bestowing his preferments on such as ambitiously sought the same (as deeming them in so doing vnworthy thereof) but vpon such as whose modesty or desert he thought worthy those his great fauours; so tempering the seuerity of his commands with the
F greatnesse of his bounty, as that it is hard to say, whether he was of his nobility and men of war, for the one more feared, or for the other beloued: both, the great staies of Princes states; feare keeping the obstinate in obedience; and loue, the dutifull in deuotion. But with *Bajazet* it was not so, who deeming all done for him but duty, and by nature cholericke and proud (after the manner of Tyrants) desired aboue all to be of his subjects feared, not much regarding how

A comparison betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

Bajazet in his posterity more fortunate than Tamerlane.

how little he was of them beloued; not the least cause of his great fall and misery, and that therein he was of his own so smally regarded: wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great conqueror his enemy, hauing euer since in the lineall descent of himselfe, had one of the greatest Monarchs of the world to succeed still in his kingdome and empire: as he hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great majesty reigneth in Constantinople. Whereas the glory of *Tamerlane* his Empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatnesse of it selfe, and by him diuided amongst his sons, shortly after his death decayed, rent in sunder by ambition and ciuill discord; and not long after, together with his posterity, rooted out by *Vsun Cassanes* the Persian King, to the worlds wonder, tooke end: nothing of the huge greatnesse thereof now or since then remaining, more than the fame thereof: as doth also the misery of the other so brought low. But leauing this mirrour of mishap *(Bajazet)* vnto his rest, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in Samarcand; let vs now proceed in the course of our History, yet not forgetting by the way to remember such Christian Princes as then liued together with these two great Monarchs.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Bajazet the first.

- *Emperors*
  - *Of the East* — *Emanuel Palæologus.* 1387. 30
  - *Of the West*
    - *Wenceslaus, sonne to Charles King of Bohemia.* 1378. 22
    - *Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.* 1400. 10
- *Kings*
  - *Of England*
    - *Richard the second.* 1377. 23
    - *Henry the fourth.* 1399. 12
  - *Of France* — *Charles the sixt, surnamed, The Welbeloued.* 1381. 42
  - *Of Scotland* — *Iohn Steuart, otherwise called Robert the third.* 1390. 16
- *Bishops of Rome*
  - *Vrban the VI.* 1380. 11
  - *Boniface the IX.* 1390. 14

Phil. Lonicer. Hiſt. Turc. l. 1.

Vindicibus Mahomer *patrium ſibi vendicat armis*
Imperium, & fractas feruidus auget opes.
Quod patri abſtulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte fauente ſuo.
Ille ſagittiferoſque Dacas, validoſque Triballos
Contudit, & populos Iſter amœne tuos.
Turcica ſic rurſus ſublata potentia, ſtragem
Attulit imperio Romule *magne tuo.*

By force of armes ſtout *Mahomet* his fathers Kingdome gaines,
And doth the broken ſtate thereof repaire with reſtleſſe paines.
What ſo the force of *Tamerlane* had from his father tane,
He by his fortune and his force reſtor'd the ſame againe.
The Dacians he vanquiſhed, and Seruians in field,
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire Iſter, for to yeeld.
So once againe the Turkiſh ſtate (by him rais'd vp on hie)
Hath to thine Empire, *Romulus*, brought great calamitie.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF THE TVRKES, AND RESTORER OF THEIR SORE SHAKEN KINGDOME.

C HOw wonderfully the Tukiſh kingdome was by the violence of *Tamerlane* ſhaken, and the majeſtie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Hiſtories of that time, as well thoſe of the Greeks, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the ſucceſſors of *Bajazet*, their late vnfortunate King. Some writing, that he had two ſons, *Orchanes* (otherwiſe called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*: and that *Calepinus* in the ſecond yeare of his reigne was ſlaine, and his kingdome poſſeſſed by *Mahomet* his brother. Others reporting, that *Bajazet* had two ſons, namely, *Calepinus* and *Muſtapha*: and that *Calepinus* ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh kingdome, when he had reigned ſix yeres, died, leauing behind him two ſonnes, *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*: and that *Orchanes* being young, was ſlaine by his vncle: whom *Mahomet* in reuenge of his brothers death, afterwards ſlew, and poſſeſſed the Kingdome himſelfe. Others reckon vp ſeuen ſons of *Bajazet*; *Ioſua*, *Muſulmanes*, *Moſes*, *Calepinus*, *Ioſua* the younger, *Muſtapha* and *Halis*; with an vncertaine ſucceſſion amongſt them alſo. This diuerſitie of opinions, full of no leſſe vncertainty; as I meane not to follow in report of this Hiſtory, ſo will I not ſpend any time in refuting the ſame, (although much might be ſaid in the matter) but leaue theſe reports, together with the hiſtory following, to ſuch credit as they ſhall hap to find with the conſiderat Readers.

Diuers opinions concerning the ſucceſſors of Bajazet.

The Greeke Hiſtoriographers (beſt like to know the Turkiſh ſucceſſion, as well by reaſon of their neereneſſe, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbors, ſo much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Hiſtoriæ Muſulmanæ Turcorum*, diligently gathred out of the Turks own hiſtories by *Io. Leunclauius* (a learned Phyſitian, and himſelfa great traueller amongſt them, and therefore deſeruing the more credit) do not ſo much as name the ſucceſſion of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the captiuity of *Bajazet*, but reiecteth them both as counterfets. But in my opinion (without prejudice to any, that vpon better reaſon may deeme otherwiſe) the great confuſion of the Turkiſh Kingdome, in ſhort time wrought by the mighty *Tamerlane* and his Tartars, with the ciuill diſcord and war afterwards ariſing among the ſons of *Bajazet*, ſtriuing all as it were at once, for the reſtleſſe roome of ſouerainty, which ſuffereth no partners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power, laying hand vpon ſome one part or other thereof, and bearing himſelfe therein for a time as a King, in countries ſo far diſtant; neither leauing, vntill they had like the earth-borne brethren, wrought one anothers deſtruction; might giue juſt occaſion of ſuch diuerſity of reports as is before ſpoken of, concerning the ſucceſſion of that time, in that troubled and rent Kingdome: ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were, to haue ſucceeded in the gouernment, and ſo vntruly augmenting the number of the Turkiſh Kings. Wherefore leauing *Calepinus* & *Orchanes* vnto them that firſt found them, with that little, which without any good ground and leſſe probability is written of their ſuppoſed reigne; I (following the authority of the Turkiſh hiſtory) reckon this *Mahomet* one of the yongeſt ſonnes of *Bajazet* (of whom we

are now to intreat) fifth king of the Turks: who after great and dangerous wars as well against his own brethren, as his forreine enemies, was at length solely inuested in the Turkish Kingdome, about ten yeares after the captiuity of his father *Baiazet*, as shall hereafter be declared. G

The true posterity of Bajazet.

Bajazet after the manner of the Turkish Kings, hauing laid vp the hope of his posterity in the common treasure-house of nature, rather than in the body of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wiues and concubins seuen sonnes, *Ethogrul*, otherwise called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Solyman*, *Mustapha-Zelebi*, (that is to say, the noble) *Isa-Zelebi*, *Musa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Casan-Zelebi*. Of whom *Orthogrul* the eldest was lost in the wars against *Casi Burchaniden*, as is before said in the life of *Bajazet*. *Mustapha* was slaine in the great battell against *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the bed of fame. *Cusan* the youngest was a child in *Baiazet* his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his sister *Fatime* deliuered as hostages, by their brother *Solyman*, vnto *Emanuel* the Emperor of Constantinople, where they both happily became Christians, and so shortly after died. H

Solyman was by *Alis Bassa* President of *Baiazet* his Councell, and other great captains, conueyed out of the battell against *Tamerlane*, into Europe, and so by them at Hadrianople saluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the same battell to Amasia in Capadocia, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. *Isa* hearing of his fathers captiuity, after the departing of *Tamerlane* with his Tartars, seised vpon Prusa a city of Bithynia, the ancient seat of the Turkish Kings, with the country adioyning, and there reigned as a King. *Musa-Zelebi* was taken prisoner with *Baiazet* his father, and afterwards set at liberty by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more shall be said in this history following. I

Mahomet gouernor of Amasia.

Mahomet was but fifteene yeares old when his father *Baiaset* in the vnfortunate battell of mount Stella was taken prisoner, and was at the same time by his appointment Gouernour of Amasia, with a great part of Capadocia adioining: which places became so troublesome after the great victory of *Tamerlane*, that the Turks in that country were glad day and night for the safegard of themselues, their wiues, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: in so much that many of them wearied with those troubles, & despairing of better times, went into voluntary exile, because they would not see so great miseries: which thing much griev'd yong *Mahomet*. Wherfore calling vnto him his most faithful counsellors, to consult what course to take in the midst of so many dangers, it was by generall consent thought best (for so much as they could not without apparant danger continue neere vnto *Tamerlanes* forces) to get themselues further off into places of more strength, & from thence to expect the departure of their enemies, and in the meane time to content themselues with such aduantages as occasion and chance of war might minister; cutting them short by policy, whom they were not able to meet in the plain field, and so by little and little to weaken or weary their mighty stragling enemies. For albeit that *Tamerlane* himselfe was not neere him, as then lying in Caria; yet did the Captains of his great and victorious army, at their pleasure spoile and forrage the countries far and neere all ouer the lesser Asia. Vpon this resolution he with all his forces departed from Amasia, to Derby in Paphlagonia: where by the way he incountred with *Cara Iahia* a nigh kinsman to the Prince *Isfendiar* of Castamona, his enemy; whom he put to flight with great slaughter of his men. This was the beginning of *Mahomets* good fortune. From thence he went to Kereden, and there staying certaine daies, sent a spy into *Tamerlanes* campe, to see how all things went there: and afterwards entred again into councel with his captains, concerning his further proceedings. In which consultation some were of opinion, That it was best for him to withdraw himselfe into the mountains of the lesser Asia, as a place of good safety, vntill the departure of *Tamerlane*, which was shortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought, that *Tamerlane* would with his huge army pursue him in that mountaine country, flying from hil to hil, and as it were from strength to strength. Others better aduised, thought those mountains to be no places to trust vnto, and therefore that it were more honorable, and as free from danger, for him to turn again into Amasia, and there to liue amongst his subiects, protecting them in such sort as he might, and not to leaue them for a prey to euery stragling company of the rude Tartarians: which councel he followed, as most reasonable; and being ready to set forward, the spy before by him sent into *Tamerlanes* campe, returned, certifying him that he had seen his father *Baiaset* in good health in the Tartars Campe, but could not by any means speake with him, by reason of the streight guard set ouer him: and that all that part of Asia was by *Tamerlane* K L M

Mahomet sendeth Spies into Tamerlane his Campe.

possessed,

A poſſeſſed, who then with his army wintred in Caria and Lyſia: whereupon *Mahomet* returned backe againe into Amaſia; where he had not long ſtayed, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian Princes called *Cara Duletſchach* (that is to ſay, the fortunate blacke King) was with an army of twenty thouſand comming to ſpoyle his country, being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes he was exceedingly troubled: wherefore with all ſpeed calling together his forces for the ſafegard of his country, he ſent before a ſpy to diſcouer the enemies doings. This diligent ſpy returning in all haſt, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of Ægiolus in Galatia, in great ſecurity, hauing about him but a ſmall power; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time diſperſed his army, to ſeeke after pillage abroad in the country. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunity, marched thither with great
B celerity, and ſuddenly ſetting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conflict *Cara Dulet* himſelfe was ſhot thorow the head with an arrow and ſlaine, and his army vtterly diſcomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to Amaſia with victory, refreſhed and rewarded his ſoldiers, yet no leſſe carefull of the ſafety of his kingdome than before. *Cara Dulet ſlaine.*

Shortly after he was aduertiſed that *Cubad Ogli* with a great army laid hard ſiege to the city of Cæſarea in Capadocia, and was like in ſhort time to take it, if it were not ſpeedily relieued. By taking of which city, that Tartar Prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazarding of the whole country. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his army alwaies in readineſſe, marched day and night with ſuch ſpeed to Cæſaria, as that he was vpon *Cubad Ogli* before he was aware of his comming, and there ſlew moſt of his ſouldiers, and put him with the reſt to
C flight. After that, he returned into *Cubad Ogli* his Country in Pontus, and grieuouſly ſpoiled and deſtroied the ſame: at which time he alſo by force won the ſtrong caſtle Peltæ in the confines of Phrygia.

Immediatly after that, *Inall Ogli* another of *Tamerlanes* Captaines (which at their pleaſure without let forraged all the countries of the leſſer Aſia, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turks dominions) vpon the ſudden entred into Capadocia with an army of twenty thouſand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, and ſpoyling the country before him: ſo that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountains, to hide themſelues from his fury. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieued, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

D

Sultan *Mahomet*, vnto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet his Letters to Inall Ogli the Tartar Prince.

Whereas without any juſt or lawfull cauſe, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded Our Kingdome, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill Our ſubjects, by God committed to Our protection; and to ſpoile their wealth and labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan commonweale: and make no end of your malice and cruelty: you do therein quite digreſſe from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans, or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldeſt not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Muſul-man, thou ſhouldeſt forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine army; thou ſhouldeſt not thus ſhed the innocent bloud, or without cauſe thus wrong my people: but foraſmuch as thou koweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt
E *liſten vnto good counſell, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſly perſuading thy ſelfe, this my Kingdome to be deſtitute of a lawfull inheritor, and therefore doeſt ſo great wrong and injury vnto the defenders of the true Mahometan religion; I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I with my ſo often victorious army will ſhortly by the power of God come againſt thee, and in plaine field according to thy deſerts chaſtiſe thee. Therefore whileſt thou yet maiſt, reclaime thy ſelfe, and proceed not too far in thine obſtinacy: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much We thought good to aduertiſe thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not be ignorant of Our purpoſe, but mighteſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet* Mahomet 806.

Vnto which letters *Inall Ogli* returned this anſwer in writing:

F

Prince *Inall Ogli*, to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli his anſwer to Mahomet.

Why doeſt thou Mahomet *with ſuch letters prouoke me? why doeſt thou ſo vnciuilly taunt me, being thy ſelfe but a boy, and in truth a very child? It beſeemeth thee not to haue entred into theſe countries, or*

to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy selfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cause why thou shouldest complaine, that I should lie in wait or seeke after thy life, thy kingdome, or any thing that thine is. I challenge vnto my selfe this kingdome, but none of thine: out of which it is reason for thee, as a wrongfull intruder of thy selfe, to depart; whom otherwise I will forthwith thrust out, and joyne the same vnto the rest of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and cease to oppose thy selfe against my designes; I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of warre, and wish thee with speed to prepare thy selfe to battell, for that I meane shortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great Prophet 806. G

Inall Ogli ouerthrown by Mahomet.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* according to his promise meeting with this Tartar Prince, by plain force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victory.

The like good hap he had also not long after, against *Coster Ogli* and *Kiupeck Ogli*, two other Tartarian captains, at the castle of Chara chizar and the Plaine of Artuck-Oua. And hearing that one *Mesites* a Turke, had fortified himselfe in the ruins of Sebastia, and from thence spoiled the country round about, he sent *Bajazet* one of his Bassa's against him; who in short time tooke him, and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adjudged to die. But seeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death at such time as he should haue beene executed, moued therewith, he gaue him his pardon; for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great seruice. H

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquished the stragling Tartarian Princes, which had sought the spoile of his country, became thereby famous amongst the great commanders of *Tamerlane* his army; in so much that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlanes* eare, yet lying in the lesser Asia: who as he thought it not worth his greatnesse and labor, himself in person to goe against so weake an enemy; so he thought it not good or conuenient, quite to neglect him, but by some other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpose he began to speake many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valor and forwardnesse in so tender yeres. And calling for *Bajazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his sonne *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore very desirous to see him: where if he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, hee would bestow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage, with many other great preferments: and therefore willed *Bajazet* to write vnto him, Not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himselfe and his father. Which thing *Bajazet* at the first doubting the worst, requested *Tamerlane* not to beleeue that of his son, being yet very yong, and not worthy of so great a fauor. Neuertheless partly persuaded by *Tamerlane* his protestations, and importuned by him that might now command him; he with an euil will wrote to his son *Mahomet* to such effect as *Tamerlane* required. With which letters, and others of like purport for himself, with many rich Presents, *Tamerlane* sent *Hozza Mahomet* (one of his secret councellors) Embassador to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honorably receiued, and likewise entertained. But hauing read the aforesaid letters, and thereby vnderstood the cause of his comming, he entred into councell with the great Bassa's about him, whether he were best to go to *Tamerlane* or not. Where his Councellors were all cleare of one opinion, that it was not good for him to aduenture his person to the danger of such a journey, or the mercy of so mighty an enemy, of whose faith he had no assurance. And if so be (said they) he therewith offended, will by force seeke to haue you, we at his comming will take the refuge of the woods and mountains, and there shroud our selues vntill he be departed again: for that he with his huge army cannot here long stay in this barren country, for want of necessaries. Neuertheless, *Mahomet* hoping that his journy might be both for the good of his father, and his own aduancement; contrary to the mind of all his councellors resolued to go: and so hauing prepared all things needfull for the honor and safety of his journy, set forward. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of Pontus, *Cara Iahia* whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderstanding of his comming that way, thinking now to be reuenged, and hauing got vnto him some of the Prince *Isfendiars* forces, set vpon him by the way: but with as euill successe as before, most of his men being there by *Mahomet* slain, & himselfe glad shamefully to fly. So trauelling on further, he vnderstood that *Alis Beg*, a great Lord in those countries, went about to intercept him also: which caused him in such hast to goe on, that he was vpon *Alis* before he was aware of his comming, or well prouided for him: so that for feare he was glad to betake himselfe to flight. *Mahomet* considering the danger he had escaped in I K L M

that

A that journey, and that the neerer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull counsellors, resolued to go no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlanes* Embassador, he thus spake vnto him:

Mahomet his speech to Tamerlanes Embassador.

You see the dangers and injuries I indure in this my journy, and my minde forbodeth greater to ensue: for which causes I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the most mighty Tamerlane, *with my father; and tell them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way: which considered, I hope they will haue me excused. For which purpose I will also send in your company an Embassadour of mine owne.*

Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wise, and learned man, called *Sophis Bajazet*,
B sometime his schoolemaster: whom he sent Embassador to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue him vnto them both excused: and so departed, he homewards, leauing the way he came (for feare of further danger) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomets* Embassador and letters. But taking pleasure in the man sent vnto him, gaue him honourable entertainment, but would neuer after suffer him to returne againe vnto his master.

It was not long after, but that old *Bajazet* died of impatiencie (as is aforesaid:) whose dead body *Tamerlane* left at Apropolis with the Prince *Germean*, to bee deliuered vnto his sonne *Mahomet*; with *Musa* his elder brother (who all this while had beene kept prisoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* should require him. And so the mighty Prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time wasted Phrygia, Caria, Lydia, with the most part of the lesser Asia; and con-
C quered all Syria, Iudea, Ægypt, and Persia, with many other great countries and prouinces; returned at last into his owne Kingdome, vnto the great city of Samarcand, which he wonderfully inlarged, and beautified with the spoiles of a great part of the world, before by him wasted: where he afterwards in great peace and glory raigned, no lesse honourable than feared of all the Princes of the East. To the terrour of whom, and for the assuring of estate, he kept alwaies a standing army of forty thousand horse, and threescore thousand foot ready at all assaies: beside other his great garrisons which he kept in Syria, Ægypt, China, and Cambalu; as also against the Muscouite, and Turkes; being commonly in euery place threescore thousand strong, though not still in field, but as occasion required. Vntill that at length hearing of the rising againe of the Turkish kingdome, vnder the *Othoman* Princes, the sons of *Ba-*
D *jazet*, with whom the oppressed Mamalukes of Ægypt, and the Greeke Emperour (as doubtfull of his estate) had now also for feare of him combined themselues; he by the persuasion of *Axalla* (then Generall of his imperiall army) made great preparation for a second expedition to be made for the vtter rooting out of the *Othoman* family, and the conquest of the Greeke Empire. But hauing now all things in readinesse, and also giuing a good beginning vnto these his intended conquests, (one of the Turks great Bassaes being by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a great battell ouerthrowne, and thirty thousand of the Turks slaine) he in the middest of these his great hopes, as also of his greatest power, died of an ague the 72 day of Ianuary, in the yere of our Lord 1402. A little before whose death, appeared a great and terrible blasing star, portending as it were to the world the death of so great a Prince. He was a man of a middle sta-
E ture, somewhat narrow in the shoulders, otherwise well limmed, and of a great strength. In his eies sate such a rare majesty, as a man could hardly indure to behold them without closing of his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him, became dumbe; which caused him oftentimes with a comely modesty to abstaine from looking too earnestly vpon such as spake vnto him, or discourssed with him. All the rest of his visage was amiable and well proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and curled, contrary to the manner of the Tartars, who shaue their heads, hauing the same alwaies couered: whereas he contrariwise was for the most part bare headed, commanding his son also to be so by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a darke colour, somewhat drawing towards a violet, right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Sampson* (as he
F gaue it out) willed him to nourish, in token of his descent: the cause that made him to be the more respected of his men of war; most part of them beleeuing that in those haires was some rare vertue, or rather some fatall destiny: an old practise of many great commanders of former ages, to fill the heads of their soldiers with some strange opinion conceiued of them, to be the more of them honored; as if in them had bin some one thing or other more than in other men.

The great power Tamerlane continually kept.

The death of Tamerlane.

The description of Tamerlane.

His

His liuely counterfeit, as I find it expreſſed by them that write the beſt of him, you may here behold, with the teſtimony of his greatneſſe following. G

TAMERLANE.

Paulus Iouius, Illuſtr. Viror. Elog.li.2.p.97.

Ille novus Xerxes, *orientis victor, & ingens*
Quacunque permearet, horror gentium:
Compleuit totos Scythico qui milite campos,
Hoc ſe ferebat ore trux Tamerlanes.
Cujus in aduentum tutæ altis mœnibus vrbes,
Ipſumque terræ contremiſcebat ſolum;
Ipſi adeo montes, ipſæ per deuia valles,
Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.
Quare ab Caucaſeis Aſiam conuallibus omnem,
Advſque Nili flumina armis ſubdidit;
Euſratem, & Tigrim, & rapidum tranauit Orontem,
Vi, vaſtitate, cæde, cuncta proterens.
Vtque olim fœda cum tempeſtate coorta
Erumpit atra nube fulmen igneum:
Obuia quæque cadens perrumpit, & alta ſonanti
Templa atque ſolidas ſtrage turres diſjcit.
Subſidit vaſto tellus labefacta fragori,
Humiliſque mentes ſternit humanas pauor:

Haud

Haud ſecus ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,
Euertit arces, opida æquauit ſolo.
Regem Aſiæ horribili captum impete Bajazetem
Caueaque clauſum ferrea circuntulit.
Hæc agitantem illum, & ſpirantem immania juſſa.
Quæ cunctus vndique orbis expaueſceret;
Exiguo cœcæ domitum molimine febris
Fatalis vno ſoluit hora triduo.
Deque tot inſanis opibus, de tot modo regnis,
Reliqua vna parvo gleba texit puluere.

In Engliſh thus:

Of *Tamerlane* a *Xerxes* new, which did the Eaſt ſubdue,
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;
That fild the fields with Scythian troupes, brought from thoſe climats cold,
This was the feature and the ſhape which thou do'ſt here behold.
At whoſe approach, the ſtrongeſt townes could ſmall reſiſtance make,
The earth it ſelfe vnder his feet ſeeming for feare to quake.
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth vallies low,
Vnable were the force to beare where he did come or goe.
All Aſia from mount Caucaſus, vnto the bankes of Nile,
With valiant hand he vanquiſhed and made his force to feele.
Euphrates, Tygris, and the ſwift Orantes gaue him way,
With force, waſte, and deſtruction great, on what he liſt to prey.
And as in tempeſts great oft times, when all things go to wracke,
The fiery lightning flaſhing forth, out of the clouds ſo blacke,
Doth breake downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall
Or'ethrowes the Temples, with their towers, and ſtately buildings all:
So that the earth diſmaid therewith, doth lower downe deſcend,
And fearefull wights wtapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:
In like ſort he with fire and ſword ſeeking all to confound,
The ſtrongeſt caſtles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.
And like a whirlewind taking vp great *Baiazet* away,
Coupt vp in cage, ſo carried him for his diſport and play.
But whileſt he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head
Such hard commands and heauy doomes, as all the world ſhould dread:
A little feauer with three fits, oppreſſed him with woe,
And cloſing vp his vitall ſpirits, did lay his head full low.
So that for all the world of wealth and Kingdomes he poſſeſt,
The ſmall remainder of himſelfe in ſimple graue doth reſt.

Mahomet giueth againſt his brother.

His great empire by himſelf diuided betwixt his ſons, was by their diſcord, & the ambition of ſome of their diſloyall ſubjects, in ſhort time after brought to great confuſion, and his poſterity vtterly rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes*, the Armenian Prince, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory may appear. But to return again to our purpoſe; *Mahomet* deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of thoſe countries, determined to go to Pruſa in Bythinia, where his brother *Iſa* as then reigned: but vnderſtanding that *Iſa* had before taken the ſtraits whereby he ſhould paſſe the mount Horminius, he tooke another way about, and came to Palæo Caſtron, where the valiant captaine *Eine-beg Sub-baſſa* then remained: who with all honour and gladneſſe receiued him, and there for certaine daies refreſhed both him and his army. Afterwards greater forces ſtill repairing vnto him, he marched thence to Vlabad, called in antient time Lopadium. Of whoſe comming *Iſa* before vnderſtanding, & hauing aſſembled his army, marched thither alſo, and encamped on the other ſide of the towne towards Pruſa, ready to giue him battell. But *Mahomet* ſeeing his brother ſo forward, conſulted with his

captaines

captaines what were beſt to be done: where *Eine Sub-baſſa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baiazet* his great councellors and captaines, told him, That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others bloud; but to aſſay if the quarrell might by ſome other good meanes be compoſed, and they made friends. For which purpoſe, *Mahomet* preſently ſent letters vnto his brother *Iſa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in Aſia betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of Aidinia, Saruchania Germeania, Charaſia, Charamania, with other countries to them belonging: ſo that he might haue Pruſa with all the other prouinces about the ſame. Which letters, when *Iſa* had read, and ſaw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for Kingdomes, and ſuch countries as were rather ſometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baiaſet*, than any part of his kingdome, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe reſtored vnto their ancient liberty and gouernors, ſharing out the beſt and ſtrongeſt part thereof vnto himſelfe, he brake forth into choler, and ſaid:

The anſwere of Iſa to Mahomet his offers.

What, doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet *is yet but a youth, and ſcarce crept out of the ſhell: by what right then can he claime my fathers kingdome as his inheritance? If he can by the ſword win it, let him take it, and ſo hold it.*

Mahomet hauing receiued his anſwere, prepared himſelfe to the field, where his brother as ready as himſelfe, ſtood, expecting his comming: and hauing ſet his army in order of battell, gaue the firſt charge: which was the beginning of a moſt cruel and bloudy fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battels, many were on both ſides ſlain. At laſt the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailing, *Iſa* his army began to retire: which he ſeeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fainting ſouldiers, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant ſoldier to do; but preſſing into the thickeſt of his enemies, there with his owne hand ſlew the antient and valiant captaine *Eine Sub-baſſa*, who had many times beene Generall of the footmen in old *Baiaſet* his wars. But what preuaileth courage againſt euil fortune? *Iſa* muſt either fly or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in ſo deſperat a caſe, being himſelfe on euery ſide forſaken, in the end was glad himſelfe to fly to the ſea ſide: where finding a ſhip ready bound for Conſtantinople, he paſſed ouer thither in ſafety, and there yeelded himſelfe vnto the protection of the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel*. In this chaſe *Mahomet* his ſouldiers tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtaſes* priſoner, another of *Baiaſet* his great commanders, and brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Eine*, commanded his head preſently to be ſmitten off, and his body to be hanged vpon a tree by the high way ſide. Of this victory, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at Hadrianople, and in token thereof ſent him *Temurtaſes* his head. This battell was much ſpoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren; and alſo for the death of the two famous and old captaines *Eine* and *Temurtaſes*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunately fought many great battels vnder *Baiaſet* his enſignes; and now as it were by deſtiny, and againſt their wils, without any priuate grudge, were both drawne into contrary factions and ſlaine: both whileſt they liued wiſhing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vſe to ſay, *What is by God written in a mans forehead before his birth, cannot in his life be auoyded.*

After this victory, *Mahomet* thinking himſelfe now in ſure poſſeſſion of all his fathers dominions in Aſia, led his army to Pruſa, where he was of the citizens joyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bounty, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to Nice, and ſo to Neapolis, and there in both places was likewiſe receiued. Thither reſorted vnto him all the garriſons of Caraſina, Saruchania, and Aidinia, with other the inhabitants of thoſe countries, with all loyalty ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, with ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their King.

The body of Bajazet honourably buried at Pruſa.

All things thus ſorting according to his deſire in Aſia, he ſent to the Prince *Germean* for the body of his father *Baiaſet*, and for his brother *Muſa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This body was by the ſame Prince at the requeſt of *Mahomet*, with great ſolemnity ſent to Pruſa, and there ſumptuouſly buried, with all the Turkiſh obſequies and ceremonies: the Turkiſh Alcoran or booke of their Law, being read ſeuen daies vpon his tombe. All which time great cheere was kept for all commers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkiſh deuotion) for *Baiaſet* his ſoule: but aboue all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the poſterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*; which are knowne from others amongſt the Mahometans, by the colour of their apparell, which is all greene, and not lawfull to be worne of any but

A but of them: ſo that they were by the bounty of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly enriched. He alſo endowed the abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and poſſeſſions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the ſolemnity paſt, he went in progreſſe to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euery place joyfully receiued; and ſo afterward returned to Amaſia; and there in great pleaſure ſpent that ſummer. Where we will for a while leaue him, to ſee what *Solyman* his eldeſt brother in the meane time doth at Hadrianople: whoſe liuely countenance is by the skilfull workemans hand thus expreſſed:

Non malus es niſi te eneruet male ſuada voluptas,
Quæque minus bello conuenit ingluvies.
Hoſpitio Mirxi *fruitur jam* Muſa *Valachi:*
Ille tuum vigilat pronus in exitium.

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Euill art thou not, except leaud luſt do haſten on thy fall:
Or ryot, which beſeemeth not a martiall man at all.
Thy brother *Muſa* entertain'd by *Marke* to thine annoy,
Doth take no reſt, but waiteth ſtill how he may thee deſtroy.

Solyman

Solyman the eldeſt ſonne of *Bajazet* (who kept his court at Hadrianople, there peaceably G
reigning all this while ouer the countries which his father *Bajazet* ſometime poſſeſſed in Europe) hearing what his brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently againſt all right he had driuen *Iſa* out of Pruſa, and made him glad to fly to Conſtantinople: was with this his outragious dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Baſſaes and faithfull counſellers, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of *Mahomet* againſt his brother *Iſa*. *Wherein* (ſaid he) *he doth me alſo great wrong in taking vpon him the ſouereignty ouer thoſe great dominions and countries in Aſia which of right belong to me his elder brother, and not to him the youngeſt of ſix. In reuenge of which injury and wrong, I intend in mine owne right to paſſe ouer into Aſia with a ſtrong army, and by force of armes to recouer mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwiſe come by it.* Vnto which ſpeech one of his graue counſellers replyed, *That in his opinion it was not* H
Good counſell. *the beſt courſe for himſelfe to goe in perſon into thoſe warres. For although* (ſaid he) *your brother* Mahomet *be but young, and therefore by your greatneſſe leſſe accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience aboue his yeares. None hath yet had to doe with him, but they haue had enough of him: yea, it is worth the noting, how politickely he hath borne himſelfe for his owne ſafety, and the ſafegard of the countries which he gouerned all the while that the great and mighty* Tamerlane *with his innumerable forces couered the face of the countries faſt by him: moſt part hereof,* Mahomet *hath now ſince his departure, againe recouered. Wherefore it were beſt for you to ſend for your angry brother* Iſa, *to Conſtantinople, and to make him Generall of the army you intend to ſend into Aſia againſt* Mahomet. *In which warres, it is not vnlike, but that one of your brethren will be loſt, whereby you ſhall haue one competitor of your kingdome the leſſe. So ſhall you afterwards with leſſe trouble ſubdue him that is left, or* I
at leaſtwiſe pleaſe him with ſome part of that which they haue ſo mightily ſtriuen for. This counſell
Iſa with a great army ſent by his brother Solyman into Aſia againſt Mahomet. was of *Solyman* and all the reſt well liked of, and approued. So was *Iſa* preſently ſent for vnto Conſtantinople, and a great army leuied. Who being come to Hadrianople, was by *Solyman* courteouſly welcommed, and made Generall of his Army: and therewith ſhipped ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpõntus into Aſia. Where at his firſt comming, he poſſeſſed the whole countrey of Caraſia or Lydia: and paſſing further, in all places where he came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence, they all promiſing him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile againſt his younger brother *Mahomet*: wherewith he held himſelfe well contented. So comming to the city of Beg-Bazer, otherwiſe called Deſpotolis, he there wintered with his army. In which time, he with many kinde and louing letters ſtill directed to K
Mahomet as his younger brother, ſeemed to be glad that he was ſo well obeied and liked of by his ſubjects: and that preſuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemy come into Aſia, to intreat with him of ſuch matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like diſſimulation anſwered, That he was right glad of his comming; for which he needed not (as he ſaid) to make any excuſe, for that he was entered into a kingdome, in part his owne, and the reſt open before him: in token whereof he commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the meſſenger as a fauour, ſending alſo diuers rich preſents vnto his brother, with great prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries for his ſouldiers.

But Winter paſt and the Spring come, *Iſa* marched with his army to Pruſa, & there ſhewed L
vnto the citizens the louing letters he had at ſundry times before receiued from *Mahomet*: and telling them that he was in good hope that they ſhould in ſhort time right well agree; requeſted to haue the caſtle deliuered vnto him, ſomtime their ſouereigne: whereinto the better ſort of the citizens had retired themſelues, and made faſt the gates againſt him: but when he ſaw that he could by no faire words or policy gaine the poſſeſſion of the caſtle, enraged with
Pruſa burnt by Iſa. that repulſe, he ſet fire vpon that goodly city, and burnt it downe to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his brother *Iſa* roamed vp and downe his kingdome, vſing all kindnes to ſuch as yeelded vnto him; and exerciſing no leſſe cruelty vpon ſuch as refuſed his obedience: and how that he had raſed the royall city of Pruſa: hauing gathered a ſtrong army, marched in ten daies from Amaſia to Pruſa, and by the way meeting with his brother *Iſa*, in a great battell M
ouerthrew him with all his forces. *Iſa* himſelfe accompanied with no more but ten perſons, fled vnto Caſtamona, Prince *Iſfendiar* his city: who hearing of his arriuall there, entertained him with all the honor he could, in recompence of the great friendſhip he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble ſuter in his father *Bajazet* his court.

Mahomet

A *Mahomet* comming to Pruſa,grieued exceedingly to ſee that fair city ſo deſtroyed: yet to comfort the poor citiſens,he gaue exceeding ſums of mony to be beſtowed among them, and took order for the new building of the city,and there continued certain daies himſelfe to ſee the work begun.

Iſa in the mean time hauing incited the prince *Iſfendiar* in his quarrell to inuade his brother *Mahomet*,& going thither himſelf in perſon,was by him now the third time ouerthrown and put to flight. Neuertheles he with ſome ſmall forces twice afterwards entered *Mahomets* dominion,but finding few or none willing to follow his euill fortune,was glad at laſt to fly to the Prince of Smyrna,by whom he was both honorably entertained and comforted.

This prince of Smyrna, mooued with *Iſa* his pittifull complaints in ſo manifeſt a wrong,
B did not only promiſe him what help he could of himſelf,but alſo by Embaſſadors ſolicited the princes of Aidinia,Sarucania,and Menteſia, to giue him aid in ſo iuſt a quarrell, for the relief of *Iſa* againſt his vſurping brother. Theſe princes pittying the eſtate of the diſtreſſed Prince,and mooued with the requeſt of the Prince of Smyrna, and fearing alſo the ambitious ſpirit of *Mahomet*; amongſt them ſent ſuch aid,that being all aſſembled together,*Iſa* had now twenty thouſand men in arms.*Mahomet* vnderſtanding of this great preparation made againſt him,and hauing raiſed a ſtrong army,thought it not beſt to expect his brothers comming into his country(where perhaps many might join themſelues vnto him,being ſo ſtrong in field) but entred into the prince of Smyrna's Country with ſuch ſpeed, that hee was vpon him and the reſt of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloudy fight he ob-
C tained of them a notable victory. *Iſa* hauing loſt the battel, and therwith his hope alſo, fled into Caramania, and there in ſuch obſcuritie ended his daies, that no man can tell where or how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince,alwaies of greater courage than fortune. The Prince of Smyrna the chief author of this war,humbling himſelfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauor. The other confederat princes which gaue aid to *Iſa*,were ſhortly after by *Mahomet* for moſt part ſpoiled of their dominions. Which done,he returned with victorie to the building of Pruſa,hoping now to liue at more quiet.

Iſa flieth into Caramania,& there dieth in obſcurity.

But whilſt *Mahomet* after this victory dreading no danger,was in the midſt of his pleaſures at Pruſa,he was certainly aduertiſed, That his brother *Solyman* had raiſed a great army in Europ,to inuade him in Aſia. Vpon which aduertiſement, he furniſhed the caſtle of Pruſa with
D a ſtrong garriſon,and all things needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege,and placed *Iacup Beg* the ſon of *Firoſes*,captain therein;and afterwards departed himſelf,becauſe that City(lately before burnt by *Iſa*) was not as yet to be defended, much leſſe to be accounted of as a place to retyre vnto,if need ſhould ſo require. From Pruſa he came to Ancyra,and from thence directed commiſſions for the taking vp of ſoldiers in all parts of his kingdom. At which time he wrot letters alſo to *Doioran* a Tartar prince (whom hee had many times greatly pleaſured) for aid:who preſently came vnto him with certain troups of braue horſe, promiſing him his faithfull ſeruice.

Not long after,hearing that his brother *Solyman* was with a puiſſant army now come ouer Helleſpontus,he conſulted with his beſt leaders,what courſe firſt to take; being himſelfe of
E opinion,without delay to meet his brother in the field; deeming it great ſhame,not to offer him preſent battel: but he was by his more expert captains aduiſed to conſider, that hee was to fight againſt his eldeſt brother,of whoſe good or bad fortune he had as yet no experience: and that many ſecretly fauored his quarrel and claim,as the eldeſt ſon and right heir of his father *Bajazet*. Wherfore it were better for him to retyre further off into the ſtrength of his kingdom,and ſo temporiſing, to await all good opportunities that might chance (as it doth in nothing more than in martial affairs)rather than to commit all to the haſard of one battel, wherin if fortune failed him,all were then vtterly loſt. Vpon which reſolution he retired from Ancyra toward Amaſia. At which time *Doioran* the falſe Tartar, marching out at the other ſide of the city,fell to robbing and ſpoiling of *Mahomets* ſubjects as an enemy, burning the
F country villages as they went. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood,he with his horſemen purſued him,and ouertaking him before he was looked for,ſlew moſt part of his men,& recouered all the ſpoil which he had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his ſoldiers: *Doioran* himſelf hardly eſcaping by flight. And ſo *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himſelfe vpon his diſſembling friend,held on his way towards Amaſia.

The caſtle of Pruſa beſieged by Solyman.

Solyman being come into Aſia, led his army towards Pruſa; where the Citiſens vnderſtanding of his comming, went out of the city to meet him, and hauing don vnto him ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the City. But *Iacup Beg* ſtood vpon his gard, and would by no means deliuer vnto him the caſtle, which was before by *Mahomet* committed to his charge: for which cauſe *Solyman* laid hard ſiege vnto it, and gaue therunto diuers ſharp aſſaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakened, many of them being ſlain, and the reſt for the moſt part wounded. Wherupon *Iacup* by letters ſent by one *Eine Hozze*, certified *Mahomet* how things ſtood, and that the Caſtle could not long bee holden againſt the furious aſſaults of *Solyman*, vnleſſe it were ſpeedily relieued: vpon which news he in all haſt made toward Pruſa, returning the ſame meſſenger before him with letters to the captain of the caſtle, if haply he could find means to deliuer the ſame; wherin he highly commended him for his faithfull ſeruice, and promiſed him ſpeedy relief. This meſſenger with his letters chanced by *Solymans* ſoldiers to be intercepted, and brought to *Alis Baſſa*, *Solymans* chief Counſellor, a man of a ſharp conceit, who of nothing could make ſomething; but hauing any thing to work vpon could do wonders: he hauing ſtreitly examined the meſſenger and peruſed the letters, ſuppreſſed the ſame, and preſently writ others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the captain for that he had already done in his ſeruice: but yet foraſmuch as he could not poſſibly in time relieue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the Caſtle, and to prouide for the ſafegard of himſelfe and his Garriſon by ſuch conditions as hee could beſt obtain. Theſe counterfeit letters *Alis Baſſa* found means to be as cunningly deliuered to the captain, as they were craftily indited: who hauing read the ſame, and now out of all hope of relief, expecting alſo euery hour to be aſſaulted by the enemy, vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded the Caſtle to *Solyman*. The news whereof being brought vnto *Mahomet*, now come within one daies march of Pruſa, exceedingly grieued him; but ſeeing no remedy, hee returned back again to Amaſia: whither *Solyman* (now poſſeſſed of the City and caſtle of Pruſa, and hauing therby got a great name in Aſia) ſhortly after came with his army, and hardly beſieged his brother in Amaſia: but ſeeing no hope to win the city, he retyred backe againe to Pruſa, and there after his wonted maner ſpent his time in ryot and exces, wherunto he was exceedingly giuen. *Iacup Beg* for yeelding the caſtle was afterward by *Mahomet* ſtreitly impriſoned, and in danger to haue bin put to death, had not the great Baſſa's become interceſſors for him.

Mahomet lying at Amaſia, was by his ſecret eſpials aduertiſed, that his brother *Solyman* hauing diſperſed his Army, lay in great ſecuritie, garded but with a ſmall power, paſſing his time in all voluptuous pleaſure, his common exerciſe. Whereupon hee in all haſt marched with his Army thitherwards, to haue ſurpiſed him before he ſhould be able to call together his diſperſed Forces. But when hee was come to the riuer Sangarius, hee was diſcouered by *Solyman Sub-Baſſa* a great Captain, whom Sultan *Solyman* had ſent for the taking vp of men in that ſide of the country. Who returning in all haſt, gaue *Solyman* knowledge of his brothers comming: with which ſudden news he was ſo diſmaied, being now of ſmall ſtrength, that for the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would preſently haue fled into Europ, had not *Alis Baſſa* otherwiſe perſuaded him; telling him, that if he ſhould ſo cowardly fly away, it would not only blemiſh and defame his honor, but diſcourage his friends alſo in Aſia, and incourage his enemies to purſue him perhaps vnto the gates of Hadrianople: and that therefore it were better with ſuch forces as he had to take the ſtreits of Neapolis, and ſo to ſtay his brothers further paſſage into that country, vntill ſuch time as he might aſſemble the reſt of his army. According to which good counſel, he firſt took the before named ſtreits and paſſages, whereby *Mahomet* was of neceſſitie to paſſe, and there ſtrongly fortified himſelf. *Mahomet* comming thither, with great force entred thoſe ſtreights, but was ſtill valiantly by *Solyman* repulſed. The like attempt he many times valiantly gaue, for that he knew himſelfe to be at that time too hard for his brother. But *Solyman* hauing the aduantage of the place, with little danger or loſſe fruſtrated thoſe his brothers braue attempts, although he were then a great deale the weaker. *Alis Baſſa* (whoſe wily head fraught with long experience, could with nothing effect great matters) in the mean time was not idle, but making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings, ſent a ſecret meſſenger (one of his owne moſt truſty ſeruants) to *Mahomet* with Letters; certifying him, That moſt of his Nobility and great Captains had ſecretly

conſpired

A conſpired to betray him into the hands of his eldeſt brother *Solyman*, as the vndoubted heir of his father *Bajazet*; and ſo with the price of his head to make their own peace and atonement with him: and that for the performance therof they had bound themſelues firſt vnto *Solyman* and afterwards one to another, by ſolemn oath. Which treaſon he diſcouered vnto him, with great proteſtation of his loue and good wil, as he that had a long time eaten bread and ſalt (as the Turks vſe to ſay) in his fathers court, and therfore could not but wiſh wel vnto him, being one of his Lord and maſters ſons. Theſe letters ſomthing troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit: for all that, hee ceaſed not for ſix or ſeuen daies ſpace, to giue many a hot skirmiſh for the gaining of thoſe ſtreit paſſages, but all in vain. In which time it chanced one of his ſeruants neer about his perſon, to fly vnto the enemy; which cauſed him
B the more to ſuſpect all that to be true wherof *Alis Baſſa* had forewarned him. Which conſidered, and that by lying there he preuailed nothing, but loſt and wearied his men (for it was all that while exceeding foul weather) and withal doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came, to Amaſia. And *Solyman* glad alſo of his departure, retired to Pruſa, giuing order into all parts of his kingdom, for the aſſembling of a great army: but vnderſtanding that the King of Caramania had made a league with his brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to join their forces againſt him for the driuing of him out of Aſia, he forthwith drew all his forces to Ancyra, as a place of more ſafety.

Whilſt *Solyman* thus lay at Ancyra, it fortuned that *Muſa* (who had all this while remained with his brother *Mahomet*, ſince he was ſet at liberty by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether wel
C pleaſed with his own eſtate) one day by way of talk thus ſpake vnto his brother: *You ſee* (ſaid he) *how our elder brother* Solyman *ceaſeth not to vex and moleſt vs daily, and is not vnlike in the end to preuail againſt vs to our vtter deſtruction. Now if it might pleaſe you to giue mee leaue, I would goe to* Iſfendiar *Prince of Caſtamona and Pontus, our brothers enemy, and of him procure ſhipping to paſ ouer the Euxine ſea, into Europ; where I doubt not to find opportunitie to make ſome great innouation in that kingdom now in my brothers abſence: by reaſon wherof* Solyman *ſhall of neceſſitie be driuen to leaue Aſia, to be again by you ſolely poſſeſſed; or els be brought in danger there to loſe his kingdome in Europe. Which if it ſhall be my good hap to gain out of his hands by your ſupportation, I promiſe you faithfully to hold the ſame of you as of my Lord and Souereaign.*

This greatly pleaſed *Mahomet*; and therupon not long after they concluded betwixt themD ſelues, one to ſtand faſt vnto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during life; confirming the ſame with great ſolemnitie of their Turkiſh faith giuen & taken. Wherupon *Mahomet* furniſhed his brother *Muſa* with great ſums of mony and other needful things for the taking in hand of ſo great an enterpriſe.

Muſa thus furniſhed, taking his leaue of his brother, ſet forwards towards the prince *Iſfendiar*: who hearing of his comming, met him on the way, & entertained him as a great prince. But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpoſe for paſſing into Europe, and had obtained grant of his help therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to viſit the King of Caramania, who alſo moſt honorably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight of *Solyman*. But whilſt *Muſa* was thus paſſing the time in Caramania, it fortuned that *Mark* (of
E ſome called *Merxes*) prince of Valachia, hauing his country much ſpoiled by *Solymans* garriſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Bajazet* his ſonnes was with the Prince *Iſfendiar*, hee writ vnto him, promiſing to beſtow his daughter and heir in mariage vpon *Muſa*, if he would come ouer into Europ, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by *Solyman*. Whereof *Muſa* aduertiſed by the Prince *Iſfendiar*, gladly returned out of Caramania, and was by him tranſported ouer the Euxine or black ſea, into Europe. Where the Prince of Valachia glad of his comming, receiued him with great honor, and according to his promiſe gaue him his daughter in mariage.

Muſa marieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter.

The fame of *Muſa* his comming into Europe, and of his marriage, was in ſhort time bruted thorow all *Solyman* his kingdome in Europe, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the
F mutable vulgar people (alwayes deſirous of nouelty) that they all as it were with one conſent ſubmitted themſelues vnto him as vnto their Lord and Soueraign: inſomuch that comming to the roial city of Hadrianople, in the abſence of his brother *Solyman* hee was there receiued as their King.

Muſa in Solymans abſence receiued at Hadrianople as King.

Solyman now lying at Ancira in Aſia, vnderſtanding of theſe proceedings of *Muſa* in Europ,

and that hee was posſeſſed of a great part of his kingdome there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherfore leauing his deputy in Ancyra, he with all his army came to the ſtreit of Boſphorus, and there of *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore vnto him certain places before taken from him in Aſia. For his brother *Muſa* had ſo prouided, that he could haue no help of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his commandment all before brought ouer vnto Europ ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his arriuall in Europ, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now ready to join battell, many of *Muſa* his captains forſook him, and fled to *Solyman* his eldeſt brother and their vndoubted King. Which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to fly, and to take the ſafegard of the Woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victory, *Solyman* returning to Hadrianople, tooke againe poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, and there without meaſure gaue himſelfe to ryot and exceſſe, according to his wonted manner.

After the departure of *Solyman* out of Aſia, *Iacup Beg* (but lately before again receiued into *Mahomets* fauor, and now left as *Solymans* deputy) deliuered Ancyra, with the caſtle of Pruſa, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in Aſia, to *Mahomet*, who ſhortly after led his Army thorow the countries of Caraſia, Aidinia, Sarucania, Tekenſis, and Germeania, reducing them once again vnto his obeyſance: and afterwards returned to Pruſa, where hee now the ſecond time took poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdom in Aſia.

Muſa goeth against Solyman.

Muſa ſtil aided by the Valachian prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts againſt his brother *Solyman*, but was ſtill put to the worſe. At length hauing gathered ſome good ſtrength, and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where *Solyman* lay, who at that time was (as his maner was) banqueting with great pleaſure in his camp, and full of wine. Inſomuch that when news was brought vnto him, that his brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great power, he in his drunkennes cauſed the meſſenger that brought the news to be beaten; and when he had with greater earneſtnes than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commanded him to be ſlaine for troubling his mirth. But ſhortly after, *Muſa* was come ſo neer, that the vantcurriors of his army skirmiſhed with ſome of *Solymans* ſoldiers. When as *Chaſis Eurenoſes* one of his fathers old captains, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had skirmiſhed with part of his army. Whereof *Solyman* (now far in wine) had no regard, but ſaid, *Good Tutor trauble mee no more: my brother* Muſa *dares not come ſo nigh me, but if I do but hold vp my cap he is gon.* With which anſwere the old Captaine going out diſcontented, ſent in *Chaſan* Aga of the Ianizaries: who boldly comming to him, told him plainely of the imminent danger, and ſharpely reproued him for his intemperance and ſecuritie. With whoſe free ſpeech *Solyman* mooued, in great rage commanded his beard to be cut off, then no ſmall diſgrace amongſt the Turks. *Chaſan* preſently comming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without, *This is the honor wherewith Sultan* Solyman *in his exceſſe rewards his moſt faithfull ſeruants. Wherfore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerue* Muſa, *a Prince of greater temperance and diſcretion: whoſo will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Ianizaries, (of whom he was greatly beloued) went ouer to *Muſa*, as did many other great Captains alſo, with their companies, mooued by his example ſo to doe. But when *Solyman* vnderſtood that *Chaſan* with moſt of the Ianizaries, & many other worthy captains, with the greateſt ſtrength of his army, were reuolted to *Muſa*, then faſt by, and ready to ſet vpon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly, and finding no other remedy now to eſcape, hee hid himſelfe vntil it was dark night; then taking horſe, accompanied only with *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil* two of his Noblemen, and one country Turk whom they had retained for their guide, thought to haue fled to Conſtantinople. This malicious Clown hauing of purpoſe led them by vnknown waies all that night, to and fro as it were in a maze, (oftentimes miſ-naming vnto them the places they paſſed by, as if they had bin in the right way) brought them in the morning to a Village not farre from the place from whence they departed the night before: and there riding a little before them of purpoſe, gaue warning vnto a ſturdy Peaſant or two of his acquaintance, That *Solyman* was comming after, willing them to make ſtay of him. Theſe rude country churles, with ſome others of like breed, running out with bats and ſtaues, and ſuch other homely tooles as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil*, who would

Solyman flieth.

A would not yeeld vnto them, but ſtood vpon their gard, and took *Solyman* aliue: where, as commonly it falleth out in the vulgar peoples fury, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end the wars; ſome likewiſe to burn him; and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſaue him: euery one as his rude affection led him. In the heat of this country vprore came *Muſa*; who glad to ſee his brother *Solyman* ſo hard beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when hee had reigned in Hadrianople ſix years and ten moneths.

Solyman ſtrangled by his brother Muſa. This Solyman is he whom ſome call Celebinus, & others Calepinus, and reckon him for the fift king of the Turks.

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt ſon which *Bajazet* left aliue: a man much giuen to exceſſe, otherwiſe endued with many great vertues, being both of great valor, and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned Doctor *Achmetes*, who wrought the hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great in Turkiſh verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelfe, for
B which he was by him bounteouſly rewarded. The dead body of *Solyman* himſelfe was by the commandement of *Muſa* conueyed to Pruſa, and there lieth buried faſt by the body of *Amurath* his grandfather. So now of theſe *Cadmeian* brethren remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*; the one reigning in Aſia, and the other in Europ, diuers parts of the world, & wel bounded with the ſureſt bounds of nature: yet not ſufficient to content or contain their ambitious minds, vntill the yonger had moſt vnnaturally deuoured the elder: whoſe liuely counterfeit, as it is by the skilfull workman expreſſed, you may here behold.

Quid properas, inſane tuum, peſſundare fratrem?
Nam ſceleris tanti, præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater
Mox referet, nimis hæc in tua fata ruis?

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Why haſteſt thou, mad fool, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of ſuch villany ſhall to thy ſelf redound.
For look what miſchief thou haſt wrought, ſhall turn to thee again:
Why doſt thou therfore, fooliſh man, ſo haſten on thy pain?

Musa presently after the death of his brother *Solyman* took vpon him the Turkish kingdom G
in Europ: who in the beginning of his reigne displaced most of them which had borne great offices before in the time of his brother *Solyman*, and had now of late reuolted to him, fearing to be by them betrayed or forsaken, as his brother was; and in their rooms placed others his own creatures. And not so content, proceeded further, vpon small causes most vnkindely to imprison and put to death many of them which had of him wel deserued. Which cruell dealing so alienated the mindes of his Nobility, that many of them kept themselues out of the way, doubtfully expecting the euent of such his tyrannical gouernment. *Chasis Eurenoses* that old and renowned captain, to escape his hands was glad to feign himselfe blinde, so to absent himself from court. At this time he also by his Embassadors demanded of diuers Christian H
Princes his neighbors, such tribute as they had in times past either payd or promised to pay vnto his father *Bajazet*; and in that quarrell inuaded many of them, namely the Princes of Servia and Bulgaria. Amongst other, he sent *Ibrahim* Bassa (a learned man of great experience, and somtime one of his fathers graue counsellors) vnto *Emanuel Palaologus* the emperor of Constantinople, to demand the like tribute of him. Who so soon as he was come to Constantinople, from thence by letters aduertised *Mahomet* of the vndiscreet gouernment of his brother *Musa* in his new gotten kingdom; and what vntimely stirs hee began to make before he was therin wel setled, losing the loue both of his subjects & neighbor princes: with much other matter concerning his misgouernment. Which things when *Mahomet* vnderstood, hee sent a messenger with letters backe again to Constantinople, requesting the Bassa to come ouer vnto him into Asia, and in token of his great fauor sent him diuers rich garments, with I
many great and princely promises. Wherwith the Bassa moued, and detesting the cruell gouernment of *Musa*, went ouer vnto him to Prusa, and there was of him honorably entertained, and sworn one of his priuy Counsel: in which place of honor he long time afterwards serued him faithfully; and after him, his son *Amurath* also.

Mahomet thinking vpon the aduantage of his brothers euill gouernment, to find meanes to thrust him out of his kingdom, and so to draw the whole gouernment of the Turkish empire vnto himself, as well in Europ as in Asia; assembled an army of fifteen thousand choice soldiers to inuade his brother in Europ, before he were there well established in his Kingdome. And so shocking down towards the streights of Bosphorus, by his Embassadour concluded a K
League with *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, That none of them should euer wrong or damnifie the other: And that if *Mahomet* should hap to obtain the Turkish kingdome in Europe, he should alwaies honour and reuerence the Emperour as his especiall good friend. But if it should chance him to be distressed or ouerthrown by his brother *Musa*, that then the Emperor should presently transport him and his Army backe againe into Asia. This League was with great solemnitie of words on both parts confirmed. And shortly after, *Mahomet* with all his Army was by the Emperors shipping at the streit of Bosphorus neer vnto Constantinople, transported ouer into Europ: for *Musa* possessed of Callipolis, had stopt all the other passages.

The battell betwixt the two brethren Mahomet & Musa.

Musa hauing knowledge before of his brothers comming, was forthwith in readinesse to L
meet him with a strong army. So that *Mahomet* had not marched far from the sea side, but that the vantcurriers of his army met with his brothers at a place called Intzuge, and there began a light skirmish; wherin *Musa* his fore-runners were by *Mahomets* put to flight, and chased vnto *Musa* his Camp. Wherof such a sudden feare arose in the Army, that they were almost ready to fly, thinking *Mahomet* had been vpon them with all his power: But vnderstanding the truth of the matter, both Armies rested that night, which as then drew fast on. The next day these two brethren, armed with equall hope, brought their Armies into the field, and gaue the signall of battel, wherupon began a mortall and bloudy fight; in the fury whereof *Michael Ogli* Bassa of Romania, and certain other of *Musa* his chiefe captains, vpon secret discontentment reuolted to *Mahomet*: wherwith many of *Musa* his souldiers discouraged, fled. Which *Mahomet* his souldiers seeing, pursued the chase with such earnestnesse and fury, that M
few were left with himselfe: yet with such as were left, in hope of good hap, hee set vpon his brother: who although he was halfe discomfited with the flight of the greater part of his Army, whom the enemies had then in chase, yet stood he fast himselfe with 7000 Ianizaries his best soldiers: so taking the vnexpected good hap presented vnto him by his brothers forward-

nesse,

A neſſe, valiantly receiued his charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater ſtrength than hee had before ſuppoſed, and himſelfe too weake to withſtand the fury of the Ianizaries, becauſe moſt of his men alſo were following the chaſe, was now for ſafegard of his life glad himſelfe to fly to Conſtantinople, whither he came accompanied ſcarſe with 200 men; and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the Emperour, ſpeedily ſhipped ouer into Aſia. *Muſa* hauing thus put his brother to flight, with great ſlaughter of his men, preſently took his tents with all that was therin, and there incamped himſelf. They of *Mahomets* army which had followed the chaſe of ſuch as had fled in the beginning of the battell, not knowing what had hapned to *Mahomet*, returned to the camp, doubting no perill; and finding it at their return poſſeſſed by their enemies, ſtood as men amaſed and vtterly diſ-
B couraged: at which time *Muſa* would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to put them to the ſword, as they would faine haue done, but commanded them to be diſpoiled of their armes and ſuch other things as they had, and ſo with life ſuffered them to depart.

After this ouerthrow, whilſt *Mahomet* lay ſtill at Pruſa, the Prince of Smyrna forcibly entred into Aidinia, purpoſing to paſſe thorow into Saruchania. Which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great army, and entring into the Princes country, made ſuch ſpoil as he went, and ſo diſtreſſed the Prince himſelf, that he was glad to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and from thenceforth to hold his dominion of him as of his Lord and Soueraign, and ſo returned vnto Amaſia.

Mahomet could not wel diſgeſt the loſſe he had ſo lately receiued in Europ, and therfore le-
C uied an army of choice ſoldiers out of all parts of his kingdom, once again to try his fortune againſt his elder brother *Muſa*. For the better ſucces wherin, hee by his letters craued ayd of the prince *Dulgader Ogli*; written to this effect:

Sultan MAHOMET, vnto the Prince DVLGADER OGLI, his father in Law.

Mahomets letters vnto the Prince Dulgader Ogli his father in law.

D *MY purpoſe is to lead myne army into Romania in Europ, and there again to try my quarrel with my brother* Muſa. *My hope is, that you will not with your aid be wanting vnto me your ſon in Law, in my ſo great affairs, neither for want of good will to hinder this my purpoſe. Fare you well.*

In the year of the great Prophet Mahomet 814. *From Amaſia.*

Wherunto the Prince returned this kind anſwer:

Prince DVLGADER OGLI, vnto the great Sultan MAHOMET.

Prince Dulgaders anſwer to Mahomet.

I Doubt not (moſt mighty Monarch) but that whitherſoeuer your deſires ſhall draw you for the vndertaking of any great exploit, He that ruleth aboue in heauen, will be alwaies your aid, proſper your attempts, miniſter vnto you fit occaſions, and bring all your actions vnto moſt happy end, with moſt aſſured victorie. Wherfore ſeeing (God ſo diſpoſing our affairs) I cannot my ſelfe in perſon come vnto you with
E *my power, and giue you my truſty help in this your intended war: yet will I in no caſe fail with all ſpeed to ſend my ſon your ſeruant, to aid you with our Forces in this war. Fare you well.*

This ſame year of our Prophet 814.

And ſo ſhortly after, the Prince ſent vnto him his ſon, according to his promiſe, with a company of braue ſoldiers excellently furniſhed: for the welcomming of whom, *Mahomet* his brother in law made a great and royal feaſt; and there in his mirth gaue vnto the yong Prince the rich apparel he wore himſelf, with the horſe he rode vpon, and all the rich plate of gold & ſiluer wherin they were ſerued at that feaſt, a matter of great valu. And to euery one of his Nobles he gaue a rich garment made for that purpoſe, with ſome other gift as a fauor: and after-
F wards gaue them all to vnderſtand, That he intended forthwith to paſſe ouer into Europ, and there to recouer all his fathers kingdom, or els there to end his days: as for the ſpoil and prey (ſaid he) it ſhal be theirs that can win it; one horſe, one ſword, one horſemans mace ſhall content my ſelf. So hauing furniſhed his army with all things needfull for ſo great an enterpriſe, he ſet forward and came to the ſtreight of Boſphorus, and from thence gaue knowledge of his

his comming to the Emperor of Constantinople: who glad thereof (for the displeasure hee bare to *Musa*) transported him and all his army ouer that streit into Europe, and there in one of his country palaces royally feasted him. At which time *Mahomet* requested the Emperour to join with him in that war against their common enemy: but he excused himself by reason of his great age; yet neuertheles assisted him with certain companies of valiant Christians, whose seruice afterward stood the Turk in great stead. G

So *Mahomet* taking his leaue of the Emperor, marched with his army to the riuer Wyzen in Thracia, where by the way he receiued letters from the antient captain *Chasis Eurenoses*, aduising him to be very circumstant in his marching, and not to make too much hast to join battel with his brother: counselling him also, if he could by any means, to allure *Iegides* Bassa, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forsake his brother, and to follow his ensignes; for that in those men consisted *Musa* his chiefest strength: and promised in good time to come vnto him himselfe also, if he were not too hasty. This messenger that brought this newes, *Mahomet* bountifully rewarded, and so sent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching toward Hadrianople, part of the enemies army began to shew it selfe vnder the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was presently charged by *Michael Ogli* and put to flight. So holding on his way to Hadrianople, he laid siege to the city: where the citisens sent out to him certain of their grauest and most substantiall Burgesses, to certifie him, that by reason of the garison there left by *Musa*, they conld not as then deliuer the city vnto him; but if it should please him to go and try his fortune in the field against his brother, who should be the commander therof, he should find them ready to follow his good fortune, and to yeeld themselues, the city, and all therin, to his pleasure, if it were his good hap to carry away the victory. With which answer *Mahomet* contenting himselfe, raised his siege, and took the way toward Zagora. In that place *Musa* is reported to haue come secretly disguised into *Mahomets* camp, and to haue taken ful view thereof; but perceiuing himself too weak to incounter his brother, withdrew his army into the safegard of the great woods and strong places; and so from thence retyred with his army toward Philippopolis, and so marched along the riuer Meritze, called in antient time Hebrus: where *Iegides* Bassa, with *Hamza Beg* and *Ismir Ogli* (three of *Musa* his great captains) set vpon the rereward of *Mahomets* army, and were by *Michael Ogli* repulsed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to Sophia; where as he went, *Musa* diuers times from the mountains made shew of his army, but durst not come down into the plain to giue him battell. *Mahomet* hauing refreshed his army at Sophia, marched to Sarkiue, where he receiued Letters from *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all secretly persuaded by old *Eurenoses* to reuolt vnto him: The tenour whereof in brief was this: H I K

Hadrianople besieged by Mahomet.

IEGIDES BASSA, BARAC BEG, and SINAN BEG, vnto the great Sultan MAHOMET.

WE are three yong men (most mighty Monarch) and haue with vs three thousand choice soldiers, men of incomparable valour, such as the world hath scarse the like: draw your forces neere to vs with as much speed as you can, and you shall find vs ready to come ouer vnto you. Fare you well. L

Musa his chief captains reuolt to Mahomet.

Wherupon he marched all the next night after, vntill hee came to the riuer Moraua, and there incamped: where the three aforenamed Captaines according to their promise joined themselues vnto him with all their soldiers. Thither came also old *Eurenoses*, of all others the most famous captain among the Turks, and now no longer blinde, bringing with him a great company of most expert soldiers. *Mark* the Despot of Servia, for the displeasure he bare vnto *Musa*, sent him aid thither also. By which supplies *Mahomets* army was greatly increased; who after he had curteously welcommed all these new come Captains, hee began again to march further, vntil he came to Cossova the vnfortunat plain; where *Hamza Beg* the Prince of Smirna his son, hauing forsaken *Musa*, came vnto him with fiue hundred horse, certifying him that all the Nobility had forsaken his brother. So as he marcht from place to place, his forces stil increased by the reuolt of his brothers. *Musa* seeing his soldiers thus daily fall from him, insomuch that he had almost none now left but the souldiers of the Court (which were indeed his best men of war, and alwaies vnto him faithfull, because hee had bin euer vnto them exceeding M

A ding bountifull) thought it beſt to attempt ſomething before hee were left himſelfe alone. Wherfore hauing yet with him 7000 of thoſe expert ſoldiers, he drew neerer to his brother, ſeeking to haue taken him at ſome aduantage. But *Mahomet* hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, and contented to be aduiſed by his old expert captains, had euer a vigilant eye vnto him. Yet at laſt, whether it were vpon good hope, or els prickt forward with diſpair, *Muſa* vpon the ſudden valiantly ſet vpon his brothers army: but his ſouldiers oppreſſed with multitude, rather than ouercome with true valor, after a hard and bloudy fight were put to the worſt. Which he ſeeing, deſperatly brake into the midſt of his enemies, ſeeking there for death among the thickeſt of them. But being known by *Bajazet Baſſa*, *Mahomets* lieutenant general, deſirous to take him aliue, he was beſet on euery ſide: where ſeeing himſelf in more danger to be taken than
B ſlain, he with great courage brake from amongſt the midſt of them and fled. In which flight his horſe falling into a deepe muddy ditch (or as ſome others ſay, hoxed by *Sarutſes* his owne ſeruant, and himſelf wounded) ouerthrew him, and there before he could again recouer himſelfe, was taken by *Bajazet Baſſa* the great Lieutenant, *Michael Ogli*, and *Barac Beg*, which had hardly purſued him out of the battel; and ſo with his hands bound, by them brought thorow the midſt of the army. Which pitifull ſight grieued not a little the hearts of many, to ſee him but euen now ſo great a King and one of the ſons of great *Bajazet*, by the ſtrange change of fortune, bound like a captiue ſlaue led forth to execution: yet were moſt part glad therof, hoping this long ciuill wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came vnto him a Noble man called *Balta Ogli*, ſent (as they thought) from *Mahomet* himſelfe; who after hee had in
C few words bitterly reproued him, for the cruelty by him before ſhewed vnto his brother *Solyman* in like caſe, cauſed him preſently to be ſtrangled with a bow ſtring. His dead body was by and by after preſented to his brother *Mahomet*, who ſeeing it, ſhed a few Crocodiles teares ouer it. He reigned three years and ſeuen months, and was afterward conueyed to Pruſa, and there lieth buried by the body of his brother *Solyman*, in the ſame chappel with his Grandfather *Amurath*.

Muſa taken.

Muſa ſtrangled

Mahomet after the death of *Muſa* now free from all competitors, took vpon him the ſole gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdom as well in Europ as Aſia. And here the Turkiſh Hiſtories begin the reign of this *Mahomet* fift king of the Turks; accounting the troubleſom time from the captiuity of *Bajazet*, vnto the death of *Muſa*, as a time of vacancie or anarchy, wherein the
D Turkiſh kingdome was not at any time wholly poſſeſſed by any one of *Bajazets* ſons: *Iſa* poſſeſſing one part therof, wherof he was by *Mahomet* diſpoſſeſſed: who afterward vſurped all that part of the Turkiſh kingdom in Aſia, being the right of his elder brother *Solyman*: who at that time reigning in Europ, was depoſed and ſtrangled by his brother *Muſa*; who was in like manner ſerued by his yongeſt brother *Mahomet*, the only ſonne of *Bajazet* then left, as is before declared. Which diuers mutations and intrrupted ſucceſſions, was the cauſe that the hiſtoriographers do ſo greatly diſſent from the ſucceſſor of *Bajazet*, ſome reckoning one, ſome another; ſome more, ſome fewer; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were. But foraſmuch as *Mahomet* held all or moſt part of the Turkiſh kingdom in Aſia, during his troubleſome time, and in the end poſſeſſed the other part therof in Europ alſo; I reckon him for the fift King of the Turks, and
E ſucceſſor to his father *Bajazet*: including alſo in this hiſtory of his life, all that inteſtine and ſerpentine-like tragedy, wherin he himſelfe was the principal actor.

Whilſt *Mahomet* was (as is aforeſaid) thus buſied in his wars in Europe againſt his brother *Muſa*, the king of Caramania taking aduantage of his troubles there, with a great army inuaded his kingdom joining upon him in Aſia, burning and ſpoiling all before him as hee went: *Eiuaſes Baſſa*, *Mahomets* lieutenant then lying at Pruſa, not able to withſtand him; and fearing his comming thither, becauſe it was the ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings in Aſia, he cauſed the citiſens to bring the greateſt part of their wealth into the Caſtle; whereinto he alſo receiued as many of the citiſens as he conueniently could, willing the reſt to ſhift for themſelues as they might, in ſuch caſe of extremitie. Shortly after, the King of Caramania (according to his ex-
F pectation) came to Pruſa, and without reſiſtance tooke the City, not as yet fully fortified; which he without delay cauſed the ſecond time to be burnt downe to the ground; and afterwards laid ſiege to the caſtle, giuing many great aſſaults therto by the ſpace of 30 dayes, but was alwaies valiantly repulſed by *Eiuaſes* the Baſſa, who ceaſed not continually to encourage his ſoldiers, ſtil putting them in comfort, that *Mahomet* hauing now ouercome his enemies in

1415

Pruſa burnt by the Caramanian King.

Europe,

Europ, would in few daies vndoubtedly come to their reliefe. It chanced at the same time, G
that the dead body of *Musa* sent to Prusa to be buried, was honourably conueyed vpon the way, with much people following it. The Caramanian King hearing of the comming of such a multitude, and fearing it to haue bin *Mahomet* with his power, raised his siege and speedily departed. Wherat the Turks long time after jested, saying, If the Caramanian King run away for fear of the dead body of the *Othoman* King, what would he do if he had come against him aliue? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

Orchanes the son of *Solyman* (yet a boy) hauing liued at Constantinople euer since his fathers death, about this time departed thence, because of the league but lately made betweene the Emperor and his vncle *Mahomet*, purposing to haue gon into Valachia: but by the way as H
he was trauelling, the Turkish voluntary souldiers vnderstanding that he was the son of their late King *Solyman*, resorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to spend their liues. Of which insurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all hast with a great power to suppresse the same: of whose comming the soldiers with *Orchanes* vnderstanding, dispersed themselues and fled. As for *Orchanes*, he was by his vnlawfull tutor *Zaganes* betrayed vnto his vncle *Mahomet*; who presently caused his eies to be put out, and so sent him to Prusa, allowing him great reuenues to liue vpon, and euer after vsed him with great honor. The sister of this *Orchanes* he gaue in mariage to one of his noblemen with a great dowry. This is that *Orchanes* whom some Historiographers reckon vp among the Turkish Kings, as one of *Bajazets* Successors, and that he was betrayed to his vncle *Moses*: erring, as I suppose, both in succession and the name, mistaking *Moses* for *Mahomet*. I

1416 *Mahomet inuades the Caramanian King.*

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the injury which the Caramanian King had done to him in his absence, returning to Prusa, assembled a great army to reuenge himselfe of that wrong. At which time he sent to the prince *Isfendiar* for aid, who sent him his son *Cassumes*. He commanded also the Prince *Germean Ogli* to make prouision for the victualling of his camp, as he should passe by his country; which was accordingly don. And so prouided of all things necessary, he with his army entred into the Caramanian country: where he tooke the cities Aspropolis, Despotopolis, Hierapolis, and besieged Iconium; but by reason of the immoderat rain which at that time fel, hee was glad to make peace with the Caramanian King, called also *Mahomet*, and so raising his siege departed towards Pontus: where he had not long K
stayd, but that news was brought him, that the Caramanian King renouncing his league, was again vp in arms: wherfore returning into Caramania, and so to Iconium, he there ouerthrew the King in battell, and took both him and his son *Mustapha* prisoners: who redeemed themselues by deliuering many of their strong Cities and Castles into his hands: and afterward concluding a peace, they receiued from him an ensigne (as the Turkish manner is) in token they were now become his vassals.

1417 *Valachia tributary to the Turk.*

The Caramanian war thus happily ended, he went ouer into Europe, and passing ouer Danubius, forraged the country of Valachia Transalpina, making there great spoil: for redresse wherof the Valachian Prince by his Embassadors sent him such tribute as he demanded, and his son also to serue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in Prusa and other places of Asia, wherby many houses and towns were ouerthrown; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of Asia: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his presence kept L
all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

Isfendiar Prince of Castamona and part of Pontus, reseruing vnto himself Castamona, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the rest vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition that he should restore no part therof again vnto his son *Cassumes*; who hauing long time serued in *Mahomet* his court and Wars, could not be persuaded to returne again vnto his father, and therfore was by him thus dis-inherited. Which great gift *Mahomet* thankfully accepted of, and in lieu thereof, hee assigned vnto *Cassumes* other great and large possessions lying within his own kingdome.

Mahomet, after the death of his brother *Musa*, had sent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his brothers Cade- M
lescher) to Nice in Asia, as vnto a place of exile; allowing him neuertheless a great pension wheron to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his house one *Burgluzes Mustapha* his steward: these two consulted together, how to raise some tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable gouernement of *Mahomet*: for which purpose *Burgluzes* (according to the plot by them laid) took his way

A way into Aidinia (ſomtime called Caria) and there pretending great zeal of reforming Religion, with wonderful grauitie began to broach diuers new and ſtrange opinions, far differing from the Turkiſh antient ſuperſtition, yet very plauſible, and well fitting the humour of the vulgar people. By which meanes hee was in ſhort time reputed for a famous learned deuout man, and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin ſome great innouation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans ſucces, fled from Nice, into the prince *Iſfendiars* country, from whence he took ſhipping ouer the Euxine into Valachia, and there withdrawing himſelf into a great foreſt, as if he had bin ſome deuout or religious man, allured vnto him a great number of out-lawes and theeues which there liued. Whom when he had ſufficiently inſtructed and framed to his purpoſe, he ſent them in the habit of religious men into the country of Za-
B gora, and other places in the frontiers of *Mahomets* dominions neer vnto him, as his diſciples; who with great boldnes and confidence publiſhed *Bedredins* doctrine and authoritie, & how that he was by God appointed to be the King of juſtice, and Commander of all the World, whoſe doctrine and maner of gouernment was (as they ſaid) already receiued in Aſia, beeing ſet forth but by one of his ſchollers, *Burgluzes*; whoſe fame was now diſperſed throughout all the Turks dominions. And that therfore if any were deſirous of preferment, they ſhould repair to *Bedredin*, who would in ſhort time ſhew himſelf to the world, and promote his followers according to their deſerts. Many of the country people deluded with this phantaſie and practiſe of theſe ſeditious ſeed-men, reſorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, & with them
C ſome of good calling alſo. At laſt, out of the forreſt commeth this great Prophet with banner diſplaied, attended vpon with a great multitude of the ſeditious vulgar people, which daily reſorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repreſſing of theſe dangerous tumults, ſent his ſon *Amurath* and *Bajazet* the great Baſſa, with two thouſand men to apprehend *Burgluzes* in Aidinia. But when they came thither, they found him garded with three thouſand men well appointed, ready to aduenture their liues in defence of their fooliſh Prophet. Neuertheles *Amurath* and *Bajazet* not diſmaied with the multitude of thoſe vplandiſh people, ſet vpon them; where was fought a right bloudy battell for the number, and many ſlaine on both ſides: yet at laſt the Rebels fled, in which flight *Burgluzes* himſelfe was ſlain and hewne *Burgluzes ſlain.*
all to pieces. After which victorie *Bajazet* from thence haſted to Magneſia, and there execu-
D ted *Torlac Keman* another ſeditious Turkiſh Monk, who with two thouſand by him ſeduced, did much harm in the country therabout. At the ſame time alſo *Mahomet* ſent another power againſt *Bedredin*: but moſt of his followers ſeeing in him no ſuch matter as was by his diſciples and himſelf promiſed, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him; ſo that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him: wherby he was eaſily apprehended by them whom *Mahomet* had ſent againſt him: and ſo being brought to *Mahomet*, to Serras, was there in the market place before a tauern door fair hanged, without *Bedredin hanged.*
any further harm.

Mahomet in the ſhort time of his reign finiſhed the great *Mahometan* temple at Hadrianople, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Muſa*: Where he alſo built a princely palace, the ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in Europ, vntil the taking of Conſtantinople. He alſo built an
E other Temple, with a moſt ſumptuous Abby, and a publique ſchool therto adjoining, indowing the ſame with great reuenues, ſuch as had by him and thoſe his brethren of late bin taken from the Chriſtians. He alſo gaue great ſums of mony, yearly to be paid at Medina and Mecha, for the relief of poor pilgrims trauelling from far, to the ſepulchre of their great prophet *Mahomet*, at Medina, or his temple at Mecha.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* fell ſicke at Hadrianople, and perceiuing himſelfe in danger of *Mahomet dies at Hadrianople*
death, by his laſt Will appointed his eldeſt ſon *Amurath* to ſucceed him in his kingdom, and ſent *Eluan-Beg* (a man in great fauor with him) in poſt to Amaſia, to wil him with all ſpeed to repair to the Court at Hadrianople. But feeling death to approch, and that he could not poſſibly liue vntill the comming of his ſon, he ſtreightly charged his Baſſa's, with all ſecrecy to
F conceal his death vntill his comming, for fear leſt any trouble ſhould ariſe vpon the brute therof, before his comming thither. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, about the year of our Sauior Chriſt 1422, when he had reigned ſeuenteen years: accounting in his reign that troubleſome ten yeares next after the captiuity of *Bajazet*, in which time the Turkes Kingdome was by his ambitious ſons rent in

ſun-

ſunder (as is aforeſaid) vntil it was at length again by this *Mahomet* reſtored to the former integrity, about 7 years before his death, which the Turks account the whole time of his reign; and the other troubleſom 10 years as a vacancie or anarchy of their kingdom, as is aforeſaid. G

The death of Mahomet cunningly concealed from the Ianizaries, by the three great Baſſa's.

Mahomet being dead, the three great Baſſa's, *Eiuaſes*, *Bajazet*, and *Ibrahim*, to rid themſelues of the fear they had of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court, called a Divano or counſel for the wars, as if the King had bin aliue. Wherin it was pretended, that *Mahomet* had determined to make war vpon the prince of Smyrna, & that for that ſeruice it was his pleaſure, that the Ianizaries ſhould forthwith paſſe ouer into Aſia to the caſtle of Baga. Whereupon preſſe mony was preſently giuen them, and they ſent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of Anatolia, for the aſſembling of an army for Baga. In the mean time the great Baſſas of the court ſat daily in counſel, placing and diſplacing, promoting & diſgracing whom they pleaſed, as if the King had ſo commanded. The Kings phyſitians alſo, to countenance the matter, were commanded continually to go to and fro with their potions and receits, after their wonted maner, as if they had had the King ſtill in cure; and letters were ſent in poſt to *Eluan Beg*, for ſpeedy diſpatch of the buſines for which he was ſent into Aſia. Yet for all this cunning diſſimulation, the penſioners and other ſoldiers of the court, wont to be neer the kings perſon, and ſome of them alwaies of the priuy chamber, began to ſuſpect the matter: and comming to the Baſſa's, ſaid, they maruelled the King in ſo long time did neuer ſhew himſelf, as he had alwaies before don. Wherunto the Baſſas anſwered, That he had bin dangerouſly ſick, & was as yet but a little recouered, and that therfore the Phyſitians would not ſuffer him to looke abroad or take the air, for fear of caſting him down againe. Then will wee our ſelues (ſaid the pentioners) go and ſee his Majeſty; and with that were ready to force in vpon the Baſſa's. *Eiuaſes* ſeeing their importunitie, deſired them to hold themſelues contented, and not as then to trouble the King, for that he had that day taken phyſicke; but to morrow (ſaid he) we will requeſt his Majeſty, if he ſo pleaſe to ſhew himſelfe, that you may ſee him. Wherewith they for that time were ſatisfied. Now among the Kings phyſitians there was one *Geordiron* a Perſian, a man of a quick ſpirit and ſubtil deuice, who found means to deceiue the Pentioners: he deuiſed, that the dead body of the King beeing apparelled in royal large robes, ſhould bee brought betwixt two, as if hee had bin led, into an high open gallery; and beeing there ſet, to haue a boy ſo neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that hee vnperceiued might moue the Kings hand vp to his head, as if he ſhould ſtroke his face or beard, as his maner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Baſſa's in his rich robes, and wrapped with cloaths about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire, or taking cold, and ſo placed in an high open gallery, as was before deuiſed, ſuddenly the phyſitian came running in, fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad, ready to teare his cloaths for anger, and in great choler caſting his cap againſt the ground, asked the Baſſa's if they meant to kill the King, by bringing him into the open aire? Wee (ſaid hee) haue with great paines, in a long time a little recouered him, and will you thus fooliſhly caſt him down again. Pardon vs good doctor (ſaid *Eiuaſes*) for theſe gentlemen (pointing to the Pentioners) were ſo importunat to ſee his Majeſty, that to ſatisfie their deſires, he was content to be led forth of his chamber; wherof we hope ſhall enſu no harm. The pentioners ſeeing the King many times moue his hand to his face, and as it were ſtroking his beard, held themſelues wel contented, ſuppoſing him to haue bin aliue, although but weak, and therefore not willing to ſpeak vnto them. The phyſitians taking them vp amongſt them, carried him into his lodging again, which was but faſt by, making as if they had caried an extream ſick man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and forty daies, vntil the comming of *Amurath* his ſon. H I K L M

This *Mahomet* was both wiſe and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious aboue meaſure; who may of right be accounted the reſtorer of the Turks kingdom; for he recouered again all thoſe Countries in Aſia, which *Tamerlane* had taken away and giuen to other Mahometan princes, after the ouerthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the kingdome of the Turks was rent in pieces and almoſt brought to nought by ciuil wars, and the ambition of his brethren and himſelf, he at length got poſſeſſion of the whole, and ſo left it to his ſon *Amurath* an intire kingdom, in the former greatnes, although not ſo much by him augmented. His body lieth buried in a fair tomb made of artificiall ſtone, very beautifull to behold, in a chappel on the Eaſt ſide of Pruſa; where we leaue him at his reſt.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet the first.	Emperors	Of the East	Emanuel Palæologus.	1387. 30
		Of the West	Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.	1400. 10
			Sigismund King of Hungary	1411. 28
	Kings	Of England	Henry the fourth.	1399. 13
			Henry the fifth	1413. 9
		Of France	Charles the sixt, surnamed, The Welbeloued.	1381. 42
		Of Scotland	Iohn Steuart, otherwise called Robert the third.	1390. 16
			Iames the first	1424. 13
	Bishops of Rome		Boniface the IX.	1390. 14
			Innocent the VIII.	1405. 2
			Gregory the XII.	1407. 2
			Alexander the V.	1410. 1
			Iohn the XXIII.	1411. 5
			Martin the V.	1417. 13

Phil. Lon. Hist. Tur. Lib. 1.

Europam luctu & funestis cladibus implens,
Sævus Amurathes *totus in arma ruit.*
Major at Huniades *virtute & fortibus ausis,*
Cogit eum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Consilia Eugenij *bellum furialia suadent,*
Sacrorum antistes Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, curet sua templa sacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit ista grave.

Fierce *Amurath* doth Europ fill with bloud and wofull cries;
And wholly giuen to martial deeds, doth whole in arms arise.
But yet *Huniades* (than he, of greater force and might)
Inforced him right fearfully to turn his back in flight.
Eugeniu his infernall spels stirs vp a fatall jar;
Who hauing charge of sacred Rites, runs headlong into war.
(Leaue martial deeds to martial men, and let the Priest go pray)
Such diuelish counsel, worst receiv'd, wroght Europs great decay.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISHER OF THEIR KINGDOME.

AFter the death of *Mahomet* had bin politiquely concealed one and fortie days, by the three great Bassa's, *Bajazet*, *Eiuases*, and *Ibrahim*; *Amurath* (or *Murat*, as the Turks cal him) his eldest son, at that time comming to Prusa, was by them placed in his fathers seat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the same time published. Wherupon great troubles began on euery side to arise.

Murat is the same that we call Desiderius.

The Princes of Smyrna and Mentesia rose vp in arms: and at Thessalonica, an obscure fellow crept as it were out of a chimney corner, took vpon him the name and person of *Mustapha* the son of *Bajazet*, who was slain many years before, in the great battell against *Tamerlane* at mount Stella, as is before declared in the life of the vnfortunate Sultan *Bajazet*. This counterfeit *Mustapha*, animated by the Grecian princes, and going from Thessalonica to Vardarum, set so good a countenance vpon the matter, with such a grace and Majesty, that not only the countrey people (apt to beleeue any thing) but men of greater place and calling also, as *Tzunites Beg* the prince of Smyrna's son, with the sons of old *Eurenoses Bassa*, persuaded that he was the very son of the great *Bajazet*, repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall Prince and Soueraign. From Vardarium he went to Serræ, and from thence to Hadrianople (*Amurath* being then at Prusa) where he was receiued as if it had bin that noble prince *Mustapha*, whom he feigned himself to be. So that in short time he was honored as a King in all parts of the Turkish Kingdom in Europ.

Mustapha, *Bajazets* supposed son raiseth rebellion against *Amurath*.

Amurath to represse this so great and dangerous a rebellion, sent *Bajazet Bassa*, a man of great authority in his Court, with a strong army into Europ. This great Bassa passing ouer Hellespontus, found all the country reuolted vnto their new found King *Mustapha*: but marching toward Hadrianople, with purpose to haue giuen him battell, hee was first forsaken by the Europeian soldiers which he brought out of Asia, and afterwards of all the rest also; and beeing left post alone, with his brother *Hamze Beg*, was for safegard of his life glad to yeeld himself to *Mustapha*, of whom he was gratiously entertained, and vpon promise of his loialtie sworn one of his priuy Councel.

Mustapha thus now possessed of the Turkish kingdome in Europe, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintain his credit, leuied a great army to make war vpon *Amurath* in Asia. And as he was vpon his way, at a place which the Turks call Sasslidere, or the place of Willowes, his other counsellors repining at the great honor he gaue to *Bajazet Bassa*, aduised him to beware he trusted him not too far, of whose small faith he had sufficient trial already, and was like enough when occasion should serue, to reuolt from him to *Amurath*, & to draw after him some great part of his army, to the great peril both of himself & all them his faithfull seruants & followers. Vpon which jelous conceit, this great Bassa *Baiazet* was there forthwith as a traitor apprehended, and without further trial executed: at which time his brother *Hamze* was with much ado spared. This done, *Mustapha* proceeded on his journey, and passed

ouer with his army at Callipolis into Asia. *Amurath* vnderstanding of the proceedings of G
Mustapha in Europ, and his preparation made for the inuasion of Asia, created three new Bassa's, *Omer*, *Vruge*, and *Alis*, all the sons of *Temurtases*; these he joined with his old Bassa's, *Ibrahim* and *Einases*. All these fiue he vsed as his Counsellors for the Wars; by whose aduice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, syrnamed *Michael Ogli*, who in the time that *Musa* reigned was Viceroy in Europe, and therefore a man wel known to most principall men in *Mustapha's* army, but had bin kept prisoner in the Castle of Amasia, from the time that *Musa* was deposed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntil now that he was after 8 years imprisonment, for this special purpose inlarged and receiued into fauor.

About the same time that *Mustapha* set footing in Asia, *Amurath* hauing gathered his army, H
set forward from Prusa; yet with such distrust in his forces (which were thought to bee much inferior to the Europeian soldiers that followed *Mustapha*) that he was glad vpon a superstitious opinion, to prostrat himselfe at the feet of an Emir, one of the false prophet *Mahomets* posteritie, to receiue at his hypocritical hands a graceles blessing for his better speed. By whom he was made to beleeue, that after two repulses, hee had with much ado at the third time obtained grant of the prophet *Mahomet*, that he should preuail in that War: and therupon had his sword girt vnto him with the Emirs holy hands, with many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies. Yet for all these charms, he marched on with his army in fear enough, vntill hee came to the riuer of Vlibad, otherwise called Rindacus: where hauing intelligence of the approch of *Mustapha*, he for fear caused the bridge ouer the riuer there to bee broken downe, and
incamped himself on that side the riuer. Not long after came *Mustapha*, and finding the bridg I
broken, incamped at the foot therof on the other side, so that nothing parted the two Armies but the riuer only. Whilst they lay thus neer incamped together, that the soldiers might on both sides take the full view one of another, and also talk together; *Mahomet Beg* (syrnamed *Michael Ogli*) but lately deliuered out of his long imprisonment (as is aforesaid) came to the riuer side, and with a loud voice called by name vpon the great Captaines and old souldiers that were in *Mustapha's* Army; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance. Many of them being there present, rejoicing to see that honourable man, whom they supposed to haue bin dead in prison many years before, came gladly to the side of the riuer to heare what he could say.

Then with a loud voice he began to persuade them, that the man whom they followed was K
not the honourable *Mustapha*, but some base high minded fellow set vp by the Grecians, abusing the obscuritie of his birth, as the vail vnder the couert wherof he went craftily to intrude himselfe into the honourable discent of *Bajazet*; and so masking in the counterfeit titles of stoln honor, had mis-led them from their duty to their naturall King and Soueraign, to follow him a meer Deceiuer. And further assured them, That *Mustapha* (*Bajazet* his sonne) was dead and buried in the bed of fame 22 years before, honorably ending his daies in defence of his country, in the great battell of mount Stella against *Scanderbeg*: wherfore they should do wel to forsake that supposed *Mustapha*, and again to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their vndoubted Soueraign *Amurath*. These words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet* (whom they generally both reuerenced and trusted) wrought such effect in their minds, that some presentL
ly aduentured to swim ouer the riuer, and joined themselues vnto him; and many others that staid stil, began now to doubt lest they had worshipped a wrong Saint. At the same time also, *Einases Bassa* to terrifie *Mustapha*, sent vnto him letters as in great secret, aduertising him, That *Amurath* had the next night purposed with his Army to passe ouer the riuer aboue the broken bridge; at which time the chief Captains of his army being (as he said) corrupted, had promised to deliuer *Mustapha* into his hands, and with his head to pay the ransom of them all. This he colored with such fair glosses, that *Mustapha* partly beleeued the same. So when the dead time of the night was come, *Einases* with certain troups of horsmen passed ouer the riuer at the very same place he had in his letters named; and that with such a noise & tumult, as *Amurath* with his whole army had been comming. *Mustapha* seeing things begin to worke M
thus, according as *Einases Bassa* had before written; and with this, doubting also to be presently betrayed; and carrying about him a guilty conscience (the mother of fear and distrust)
Mustapha flies. took horse (slenderly accompanied but with ten persons of his whole army) and fled in hast, no man pursuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of Boga, and there with a great summe

of

A of mony obtained passage, by corrupting the Captain that dwelt in the Castle vpon the passage of the riuer: and the third day after, passing ouer the streight of Hellespontus, landed at Callipolis. The flight of *Mustapha* once known in his army, they all yeelded themselues vnto *Eiuases Bassa*; who taking possession of *Mustapha's* tent, caused the broken bridge to be repaired; wherby *Amurath* passing with his Army, joined himself with *Eiuases*. The other Bassa counselled *Amurath* to put to the sword all those rebels that had followed *Mustapha*. But by the mediation of *Eiuases* (to whom they had yeelded themselues) they were all generally pardoned.

Amurath departing from Vlibad or Lopadium, came to Boga, and there hanged the Captain that had giuen *Mustapha* passage. From thence he held on his way to Lampsacum, inten-
B ding to pursue *Mustapha* into Europ: but being come to the sea side he could find no passage, for that *Mustapha* had caused all the shipping on that side to bee brought ouer into Europe. Yet at last *Amurath* by good fortune chanced vpon a great Genoa ship, which he hired for 4000 ducats to transport his army, and so with much ado at length landed in Europ. *Mustapha* seeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer, fled to Hadrianople, where hee found such cold entertainment, that fearing to be betrayed, he was glad to speed himselfe thence, thinking all the world too little to hide himself in; and so came to an obscure place in the country of the Turks, called Kisul-Agatze-Genitze: where the soldiers sent to pursue him, ouertooke him, and brought him bound to *Amurath*, then being at Hadrianople: by whose commandement he was shamefully hanged from the battlements of one of the highest towers of the city, and
C there left to the worlds wonder. *Mustapha hanged.*

This *Mustapha* of some writers is reported to haue been indeed the son of the great Sultan *Bajazet*, and that he was kept in prison al that long time, & thus at length set vp by the Greeks to trouble the state of the Turkish kingdom. But the Turkish histories report as before, calling him *Dusme* or counterfeit *Mustapha*. And it is very likely, that if he had bin one of the sons of *Bajazet*, he would haue found some meanes to haue made some great stir long before that, as all the rest of the vnquiet brood of *Bajazet* did, which neuer rested vntill they had like the earth born brethren one destroied another. Besides that, their bloudy natures considered, it is very like that *Mahomet* his yonger brother, who reigned in Hadrianople almost 8 yeares, and was in league all that time with the Emperor of Constantinople, would for his more safe-
D ty haue got him into his own power, if he had been in prison with the Emperour; or els haue dispatched him if he had bin in prison with himself. All which I am the rather perswaded to think, for that *Orchanes* a child, the son of *Solyman*, could find no safe place of abode at Constantinople in the reign of *Mahomet*, but flying, was apprehended, and his eies put out, as is before declared in the life of *Mahomet*. Much lesse is it like, that *Mustapha* beeing a warlike Prince, and his elder brother, could haue been so long preserued and kept in prison from his fury.

It fortuned in these late broiles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like cases) diuers of *Two Asapi sold by a Ianizarie for a Sheepes head.*
the rebels Asapi or common souldiers, whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled and armed like Ianizaries, to fall into the hands of the true Ianizaries, *Amurath* his faithfull
E gard; whose liues indeed they spared, but vsing them with all the despight and indignities possible. Among the rest, one of the Ianizaries being hungry, brought two of these Asapi his prisoners vnto a cooks shop, offering to sel them vnto him for a little victual: which the cook refused to giue him, hauing no vse for such vnnecessary seruants. Wherwith the proud Ianizarie inraged, swore many a great oath, presently to cut off their heads and to giue them him for nought, if he would not for a thing of nought redeem them. And like enough hee was to haue so don, had not the Cooke, moued with pitty, offered him for them both a sheeps head; which the Ianizary tooke, swearing that the Cook had giuen for them more than indeed they were worth. Which disgrace so long since done vnto these Asapi, is yet oftentimes by way of reproch in great contempt, by the masterfull and insolent Ianizaries, obiected to the whole
F body of the Asapi, the greatest part of the Turks huge armies; of whom for all that, the proud Ianizaries make small reckoning, acounting them scarse for men, and in their rage oftentimes telling them, that two of them are not worth a sodden sheeps head.

Amurath hauing at length with much adoe thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raised *Constantinople in vaine besieged by Amurath.*
by the counterfeit *Mustapha* both in Europe and Asia, was yet not a little grieued to thinke how

how the same had bin first plotted by the instigation of the Greekes, and afterwards assisted G
by the Greek emperor, of whom he thought now to be reuenged. And therfore sending before
him *Michael Ogli*, his lieutenant general in Europ, with his Europeian souldiers to inuade the
country about Constantinople, followed himself after with the Ianizaries and his Asian for-
ces: and so incamping before the city, filled all that neck of land which lieth before it, from
sea to sea. And so incamped, began right furiously to batter the wals, in hope so to haue made
a breach, and by the same to haue entred the city. But finding the Walls of greater strength
than he had before supposed, and the defendants stil repairing whatsoeuer the fury of his Ar-
tillery had beaten down or shaken, he ceased his battery, and comming on with all his forces,
desperatly attempted by assault to haue gained the city: wherin his fortune was not answera-
ble to his desire; for approching the city, with arrows as shours falling vpon the defendants, H
and scaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the wals, and the Ianizaries with other of his
best soldiers valiantly mounting the same, they were by the defendants notably repulsed and
beaten down, losing some their hands, some their arms, some their heads, but most their lives,
no shot falling in vain from the wals. Which *Amurath* beholding, and grieued to see (though
vnwilling) commanded a retreit to be sounded, and the assault giuen ouer: and shortly after
seeing no hope to preuail, in great rage raised his siege and departed. Vnto whom for all that,
the Greek Emperor not long after sent his embassadors to intreat with him for peace; wherof
he would by no means hear, but proudly threatned to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged:
which caused the Greek Emperor to deuise what he might for the troubling of his estate, so
to keep him otherwise busied. As he did shortly after with the Caramanian king, by counte- I
nancing another *Mustapha* (syrnamed *Cutzug*, or the little) *Amuraths* yonger brother, against
him, to the raising of new stirs, and *Amuraths* no small trouble.

Mahomet the late King had fiue sons and seuen daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldest,
and succeeded in his fathers kingdom; *Mustapha* the second, syrnamed the little; *Achmetes* the
third, who died before his father: the other two, *Iosephus* & *Machmutes*, both died of the plague
being but children, after the death of their father. Three of their sisters were maried to three
sons of the King of Caramania, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Isa*: other two were bestowed vpon the sons
of the prince *Isfendiar*, *Ibrahim* and *Casimes*: the sixt was giuen in mariage to *Cozza-Beg* Vice-
roy of Anatolia: and the seuenth to the son of *Ibrahim Bassa*, who died at Mecha, whither shee
went vpon superstitious deuotion on pilgrimage. K

At such time as *Amurath* was busied in his wars in Europe, against *Mustapha* the supposed
son of *Bajazet*, the yonger son of *Mahomet* (called also *Mustapha*) beeing but 13 years old, and
Amuraths brother indeed, was set vp to raise new troubles, by the King of Caramania & other
Princes, as wel Mahometans, as the Christian princes of Grecia; who thought it good policy
by that means to impeach the greatnes of *Amurath*. This yong prince *Mustapha*, strengthned
with the forces of his friends, entred into his brothers dominions in Asia, and besieged Nice,
which was at length yeelded to him. *Amurath* aduertised of this new rebellion, by great gifts
and large promises corrupted *Ilias Beg* the yong princes tutor, to betray the Prince vnto him.
Wherupon *Amurath* with great celeritie set forward with his army from Hadrianople, & in
nine daies came to Nice, where he entred the City with small resistance, as was to him before L
promised, where *Mustapha* was by his false tutor presented to him; who becaus he would not
spill one drop of the sacred *Othoman* bloud (as the Turks call it) commanded the executioner
presently to strangle him with a bow string; which was don accordingly, and his body after-
wards buried by his father at Prusa.

Mustapha betrayed and strangled.

Amurath hauing represt these two rebellions, and now out of all fear of any competitor,
thought his fiue counsellors too many by three, and therefore remoued the three Bassa's, *O-
mure*, *Vrutzi*, and *Alis* (the sons of *Temurtases*) into honorable places; retaining of his Counsel
only the two old Bassa's, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuases*. But shortly after, *Eiuases* was secretly accused
to *Amurath*, that he sought by his fauorits the soldiers of the Court, to aspire vnto the King-
dom it selfe, and to depose the King; and that intending some such matter, he did vsually wear M
a priuy coat. This suspitious report troubled the jealous Tyrant. Wherfore on a time as he
rode accompanied with *Eiuases*, he cast his arm about him as if it had bin in kindnesse: but
finding him secretly armed, he would needs know the cause therof. Whereunto *Eiuases* an-
swered, That it was for fear of some enemies he had in the Court. But this excuse could by
no

A no means serue his turn, but that he was forthwith apprehended by *Amuraths* commandment, and both his eies burnt out with a hot steel glasse.

Eiuasa Bassa's eyes put out.

Whilst *Amurath* was thus busied in subduing rebellions at home, *Muhametes* the Caramanian King besieged Attalia a great city in Pamphilia, by the space of six moneths, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza Beg*, *Amuraths* lieutenant there. At which siege the vnfortunate King himself, as he was taking view of the City, was slaine with a great shot out of the City. Whereupon *Ibrahim* (who succeeded him in the kingdome) brake vp the siege, and returned home to bury his father. At this time also *Dracula* Prince of Valachia, passing ouer Danubius, did the Turks much harm about Silistra; but was afterwards inforced to submit himselfe to *Amurath*, and become his tributary.

The Caramanian King slain.

B About this time also *Tzunites* prince of Smyrna, which had before aided the rebel *Mustapha*, did by all means he could vex *Iaxis Beg*, *Amuraths* lieutenant in Aidinia; and hauing by chance taken his brother prisoner, put him to death. This prince of Smyrna was descended of the antient princes of Aidinia, and therfore pretended an interest in that seigniory. Which his claim the people of the country secretly fauored, so far as they durst for fear of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harms which this prince of Smyrna did, commanded *Hamze Beg* viceroy of Anatolia, with all his power to make war vpon him. The viceroy without delay assembled a great army, and inuaded the princes country: and the prince beeing wel prouided for his comming, meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battel; wherin *Hasan* the Princes son leading a great part of his fathers Army, had put one part of the Turkes Army to flight: & pur-

C suing them with too much fury, left his father at the same time so hardly beset by the viceroy, that he was glad to fly to his castle of Hipsily hard by. *Hasan* returning from the chase of the enemy, not knowing what had hapned to his father, was by the Turks in his return ouercome and taken prisoner. After which victory the viceroy presently laid siege to the Castle wherin the prince was. The siege continued a great while: at length the prince brought to extremity was content to yeeld himself vnto the Viceroy, vpon condition he should vse no violence against the person of himself or his son, but to send them prisoners to *Amurath*. Which thing the viceroy by solemn oath promised; whereupon the prince came out of the castle, & yeelded himself prisoner to the Viceroy. *Iaxis Beg*, whose brother the prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the Viceroy to his tent, where finding *Hasan* the princes son sit-

D ting vpon the ground, as the maner of the Turks is, took him by the collar with great fury, and drawing him along to the feet of the Prince his father, there most cruelly struck off his head: and in the same rage laying his hands vpon the aged Prince, strooke off his head also; to the great dishonor of the Viceroy, who had before giuen his faith for their safety. The heads of the prince and his son were set vpon two launces, within the sight of the castle: which the defendants seeing, and now despairing of all rescue, yeelded themselues with the Castle. This vnfortunat *Tzunites* was the last prince of Smyrna; after whose death all his territory was vnited to the *Othoman* kingdom. After all these troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph maried the daughter of the Prince *Isfendiar*.

Amurath hauing laid vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Gre-

E cian Princes had don, in giuing aid to the Rebels aforesaid, thought it now high time to take reuenge of that wrong: and for that purpose gathered a great army, wherwith he ranged at his pleasure thorow Macedonia, vntil he came to Thessalonica; surprising by the way diuers cities and castles belonging to the Constantinopolitan empire. This famous city Thessalonica, now called Salonichi, for beauty & wealth somtime not inferior to any of the greatest and most renowned cities of Grecia, is scituate vpon the borders of Macedonia, close by a bay of the Archipelago or the sea Ægeum; which bay was in antient time called Thermaicus-Sinus, and now the bay of Salonichi. To the Christian congregation there dwelling, S. *Paul* wrot two Epistles, in the later whereof he forewarneth them of a great defection to come before the later day. Before this Christian city, then in the Venetians protection, *Amurath* in-

Thessalonica besieged.

F camped his army of mis-beleeuing Turks, and laid hard siege to it with most terrible battery. At which time he by secret means corrupted certain of the wicked citizens to haue betraied the city by a secret mine, and to haue let him in: which treason was by the Venetian Gouernors perceiued, and the plotters therof for safegard of their liues glad to leape ouer the walls, and to fly into the Turks camp.

Amurath

Thessalonica taken by Amurath.

Amurath hauing greatly battered the walls of the city, the more to incourage his soldiers, G promised to giue them all the spoil therof if they could by force win it. The greedy desire of this rich prey (wherin euery common soldier promised vnto himself whatsoeuer his fooliſh fancie or vnbridled affection could desire, so inflamed the minds of these barbarous soldiers, and especially of the Ianizaries, that giuing a most terrible assault to the City, they by force entred the same and won it. The Venetian soldiers fled to their gallies lying at anchor in the hauen, and so got to sea: but the infinit miseries which the poor Christians endured in the fury of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to expresse, or pen describe; death was les pain than the ignominious outrages and vnspeakable villanies which many good Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die and could not; and yet the furious enemies sword deuoured all the people, without respect of age or sex, except such as for strength of body, or comlines H of person, were reserued for painfull labor or beastly lust: which poore soules were afterwards dispersed into most miserable seruitude and slauery thorow all parts of the Turkish kingdom. The infinit riches of that famous city became a spoil to the barbarous soldiers, and the goodly houses were left desolate void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull city Thessalonica, sometime one of the most glorious ornaments of Grecia, the late pleasant dwelling place of many rich Christians, was by the tyrant giuen for an habitation to such base Turks as at their pleasure repaired thither to seat themselues, and so is at this day by them possessed. This calamitie hapned to Thessalonica in the year of our Lord 1432.

Thessalonica being thus taken, *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople himself, and at the same time sent *Caratze* with the greatest part of his army into Ætolia. *Charles* Prince of that coun- I try, dying a little before the comming of *Amurath* to Thessalonica, and hauing no lawfull issue, had diuided the country of Acarnania among his three base sons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, & *Hercules*; leauing all the rest of his dominions to his brothers son, called also *Charles*. But shortly after, such discord fell among these brethren, that *Amurath* sending his Turkes to aid one of them against another, as he was by them requested, in fine brought all that country of Ætolia into subjection to himselfe, leauing nothing for the fooliſh brethren to striue for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honor. The other Grecian Princes, of Athens, Phocis, Boetia, and all the rest of Grecia vnto the streit of Corinth, terrified by their neighbours harms, were glad to submit themselues vnto the Barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries vnto the Turkish tyrant: vnder which slauery they haue of long time most miserably liued, if intolerable K slauery joined with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians lost their liberty, which their ancestors had many times before, to their immortall praise, worthily defended against the greatest monarchs of the world, and are now so degenerated, by means of the Turkish oppression, that in all Grecia is hardly to be found any smal remembrance of the antient glory therof: insomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in comparison of themselues, they are now become no lesse barbarous than those rude Nations whom they before scorned. Which misery with a thousand more they may iustly impute to their own ambition and discord.

At this time, among the distressed princes of Macedonia and Grecia, one *Iohn Castriot* reigned in Epirus; who seeing how mightily the Turk preuailed against the Princes his Neighbors, and considering that he was not able by any means to withstand so puissant an enemy; to L obtain peace, he was glad to deliuer into *Amurath* his possession his four sons, *Stanisius*, *Reposius*, *Constantine*, and *George*, for hostages: whom *Amurath* faithfully promised, wel and honorably to intreat. But as soon as he had got them into his reach, he falsified his oath, and caused them to be circumcised after the Turkish maner, and to be instructed in the Turkish superstition, to the great grief of their Christian parents: and afterwards when hee vnderstood of the death of *George Castriot* their father, he poisoned all the three elder brethren, and by *Sebaly* (one of his chief captains) seised vpon Croia his chief city, and all the rest of his territories, as if they had by good right devolved to him. But *George* the yongest, whom the Turks named *Scanderbeg* or lord *Alexander*, for his excellent feiture and pregnant wit, he alwayes en- M tirely loued, and as some thought, more passionatly than he should haue loued a boy. Him he caused to be diligently instructed in all kind of actiuitie and feats of war, wherin he excelled all other his equals in *Amuraths* court; and rising by many degrees of honor, came at last (being yet but very yong) to be a great Sanſack or gouernor of a prouince, and was many times

appointed

A appointed by *Amurath* to be General of his armies; in which seruice he so behaued himselfe, that he got the loue of all that knew him, and increased his credit with *Amurath*; vntill at last he found opportunity, by his great policie and courage, to deliuer both himselfe and his natiue country from the horrible slauery of the Turkish tyranny, as shal afterward be declared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had thus daunted the princes of Grecia, hee turned his forces into Servia: but the prince of Servia, vnable to withstand so mighty an enemy, to procure his fauor, sent Embassadors, offering to pay him a yearly tribute, and to do further what he should reasonably demand. *Amurath* besides the yearly tribute, required to haue *Mary* this princes fair daughter in mariage; and that he should not suffer the Hungarians to passe thorow his country to inuade him; and further, not at any time to deny passage vnto the Turkish Army,
B when he should send forth the same for the inuasion of the kingdom of Bosna. All which vnreasonable conditions the prince was glad to agree vnto, and sent his fair daughter by *Saratze*, who was afterward maried to *Amurath*.

About this time, *Iosephus* and *Machmutes*, *Amuraths* brethren, and *Orchanes* the son of *Solyman*, who had his eies put out by his vncle *Mahomet*, with many other men of great account among the Turks, died of the plague at Prusa. *Plague among the Turks.*

Whilst *Amurath* was thus busied in his wars in Europ, the King of Caramania his brother in law inuaded his dominions in Asia: for so it was agreed betwixt the Christian princes of Europ, and the Mahometan princes of Asia, to whom the greatnes of the *Othoman* Kingdome was now become dreadful, That whensoeuer he inuaded the Christians in Europ, the Mahometan princes should inuade his countries in Asia: and that whensoeuer he should turne his
C forces into Asia, the Christian princes should spoil his countries in Europ. Against this Caramanian king *Amurath* transported his army into Asia; and as he went, seised vpon the countries of Sarucania, Mentesia, and other prouinces, before but tributaries vnto him, driuing out the poor princes before him; and so entred into Caramania, and inforced the King so far, that he was glad to agree to such conditions of peace as it pleased the King to propound to him, and to send his son to wait at his court. And at the same time picking a quarrel with *Isfendiar* prince of Castamona, caused him to become his tributary, & to send his son to his court also. By which means the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his troubles in Asia, he returned to Hadrianople: and
D vnderstanding that the Hungarians passing ouer Danubius, had in his absence made diuers incursions into his dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in reuenge thereof, first sent *Alis Bassa* the son of *Eurenoses*, with an army to inuade Hungary; which he performed accordingly by the space of a moneth, and returned from thence with rich booty. Not long after, he himself in person made another road into Hungary, commanding the prince of Servia his father in law to giue his army free passage through his country; and charging *Dracula* the Prince of Valachia to aid him with his forces in that expedition. Which his command both the Christian princes, more for fear than of good will, diligently performed. So *Amurath* hauing inriched his soldiers with the spoil taken in Hungary, returned home and wintred at his court at Hadrianople. *Hungary spoild by Amurath.*

E The secret confederation between the Hungarians and the Mahometan King of Caramania, was not vnsuspected of *Amurath*; which hee was the rather induced to beleeue, for that whensoeuer he inuaded the one, he was presently set vpon by the other either in Europe or in Asia: of which plot he doubted not but that *George* Prince of Servia (his father in law) was the chief author, although in shew he was therin the least actor. Wherfore *Amurath* intending to spill the play, sent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at Hadrianople: but he doubting some Turkish tragedy, pretended great occasions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterward fel out, fortified and manned all his strong cities and castles by all means he could possibly, especially his chief city Semendre (otherwise called Spenderovia) and left therin his son *Gregory* (or as some call him *George*) as Gouernor: for his other son *Ste-*
F *phen* was long before in *Amurath* his Court, with the Queen his sister. The Prince of Servia went himselfe into Hungary, to procure from thence some aid, hauing there also himselfe certain territories, which hee had in exchange of *Sigismundus* (late Emperour and King of Hungary) for the city of Belgrade. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both the affinitie and league he had with the Prince his father in law, entered with a great Army into Servia,

Amurath contrary to his faith, invadeth and subdueth Servia.

Servia, destroyed all before him, and hardly besieged Semendre: where after long siege, the yong Gouernor the Princes son, doubting to fall into the enemies hands by sudden assault, yeelded himself with the city. Which thing so discouraged the rest of the Servians, that in short time Sophia, Novomont, with all the rest of the cities of Servia were yeelded into the power of *Amurath*. After which conquest he returned to Hadrianople, and hearing that the Prince of Servia with the Hungarians were making head against him, and that the two yong Servian Princes, *Gregory* and *Stephen* his wiues brethren, had intelligence with their father, he commanded them both to bee cast in prison at Didymoticum, and their eies cruelly to bee burnt out with a brasen bason made red hot, a common vnmerciful practise among the Turks G

About this time, *Albertus* duke of Austria hauing before maried *Elizabeth* the only daughter of *Sigismund* the Emperor, and succeeding his father in law both in the empire and Kingdom of Hungary: (vnto which type of higheſt honor nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of *Sigismund*) in the second year of his reign, before he was wel setled in his new atchieued honors, died of the flix, as he was making great preparation against *Amurath* the Turkish King: who hauing lately driuen *George* Prince of Servia and Rascia out of his dominion, had now extended the Turkish kingdom euen vnto the borders of Hungary. This *Albertus* dying, left his wife great with child. The Hungarians (in whose minds the remembrance of *Sigismund* was yet fresh) could haue bin contented to haue liued vnder the gouernment of the Queen his daughter, the widow of *Albertus*, (then great with child) but that the Turkish King was now grown so great, and come so nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by *Iohn Huniades* and other of the Hungarian nobility, for defence of that kingdom, not wholly to rest vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her issue, (wherby they should be nothing strengthned) but to make choice of some great prince, by whose power they might the better defend themselues and the kingdome against their dangerous enemies. Wherupon with consent of the Queen it was resolued vpon, to make choice of *Vladislaus* the yong King of Polonia, then a prince of great power, but of far greater fame and expectation: and by Embassadors to offer vnto him the mariage of the Queene, and with her the kingdom also. This embassage being sent vnto *Vladislaus*, the matter was to and fro debated in the Polonian court, whether it were to be accepted of or not. Some began to speak of the inequalitie of the match, considering that the King was but in the prime of his youth, and the Queen wel stept in years; vrging further, that nothing was offered in that match but wars, and that the Hungarians therin sought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themselues against the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion said, that the vniting of those two mighty kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honor of the King, whose very name would therby become terrible vnto the Turks: and that it were greater policy, by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkish king from entring into Hungary, than to leaue that kingdom to him for a prey, and afterwards be inforced to fight with the same enemy in the heart of Polonia: and as for inequality of years betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not so great a matter, that in regard therof, so honourable and commodious allyance should bee rejected; forasmuch as Princes doe more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increase of their honour, and wealth of their kingdomes, than the summer fruit of youth and beauty, which of it selfe in short time doth rot & perish, although it were neuer so carefully kept and preserued. And that forasmuch as there can bee but one King in a kingdome, such choice was to be preferred of Kings, as had not therein the greatest hope of many children. After long deliberation, *Vladislaus* gaue answer to the embassadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made. Wherupon some of them returned to make relation to the queen, and some of them staid behind to hasten the King forward. But whilst these things were a doing, the Queen was in the mean deliuered of a faire sonne, whom she caused to be baptised and named *Ladislaus*. After the birth of this child, the queen mooued with a motherly affection, began to repent her selfe, that shee had giuen her consent for the calling in of the Polonian King, to the prejudice of her sonne. And being animated by some of the Hungarian Nobility (who presuming of the good grace they were in with the Queene, hoped to grow great themselues, if they might first draw the gouernment of that kingdom to the Queen and her yong son) determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian King: but the greater part of the Nobility better considering what was most expedient H I K L M

Vladislaus accepteth of the kingdom offred

for

A for the present estate, and that they could neither with honour or safety fly from that which was before, for the common good, by the Embassadors concluded; continued firme in their former resolution for the bringing in of *Vladislaus*. So that by this meanes, some taking part with the queen and her yong son, and others standing fast for *Vladislaus*, the kingdom of Hungary was diuided into two factions, and as it were rent in pieces, and so grew to ciuil Wars. The Queen with such as fauored her claim, the more to gain the minds of the common people (who are many times no lesse caried away with shewes than matter) caused her son *Ladislaus* (being then but three months old) solemnly to be crowned king at Alba Regalis, the vsuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. But after that the Polonian King had entred into Hungary with a goodly army, and joined his forces with his friends, most part of
B them which before followed the Queen and her son, reuolted vnto *Vladislaus*. So that when she had don what she could, she was glad at last to commit the tuition of her sonne, together with the crown of Hungary, to *Frederick* the third, then Emperor, neuer ceasing for all that, to the vtmost of her power, to trouble the gouernment of *Vladislaus*, continually stirring vp great wars against him both at home and abroad, vntil that at the last by her death her quarell took end together with her life.

In the midst of these ciuil wars *Amurath* thought a faire opportunitie presented vnto him, to make an entrance vnto the conquest of Hungary, which kingdom he had in his ambitious mind already deuoured. And therfore gathering a great Army, hee marched along the riuer Danubius, vntil he came to the strong city of Belgrade, called in antient time Taurunum, and
C of some Alba Græca, but now commonly Grecis Weisenburg. This city is invironed on the East side with the famous riuer Danubius, and on the South side with the great riuer Saus or Sawe, which there falleth into Danubius; and on the other two sides is defended by strong walls with deep and large ditches, and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungary. Vnto this city *Amurath* at his first comming gaue two terrible assaults, and was in good hope so to haue won the same: but yet was both times valiantly repulsed with great slaughter of his men. Wherfore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at first supposed, he began to raise mounts against the City, and high Towers of wood to annoy the defendants, and furiously battered the walls. At this time also hee caused great numbers of gallies and smal pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Saus, to assault
D the city on those parts where was least feared, and by that means also to keep them of the city from all succors to be sent that way out of Hungary. Yet for all he could do or deuise, the city was still valiantly defended by the Christian soldiers, who vnder the leading and conduct of *Ioannes Vranus* a Florentine, gouernour thereof, with often sallies and continuall shot slew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this siege, *Vladislaus* King of Polonia, & lately elect King of Hungary, was sore troubled by the queen and her faction in Hungary: which thing the Turkish King knew right wel, & therupon continued his siege (although famin began greatly to increase in his camp) hoping nothing more, than that the defendants dispairing of the Kings help, would in short time yeeld vp the city. *Vladislaus* being so intangled in Ciuil wars, as is aforesaid, that he could not possibly prepare such force as might relieue the
E besieged: yet forasmuch as the Turkish King had not long before by his embassadors required to join with him in league and amity; he thought good now to assay if he could raise the siege by sending vnto him the like embassage. Whereupon hee sent *Dobrogosius*, *Ostrorogenus*, and *Lucas Gorsensis*, three of the Polonian nobility, his embassadors to *Amurath*, declaring vnto him, That forsomuch as he had offered by his Embassadors to join with him in league, before he came out of Polonia; the remembrance therof had taken such deepe impression in his mind, that he would not take vp arms against him, though it were in his own just defence, before he had offered him reasonable conditions of peace. Wherfore if he would desist from inuading of Hungary (wherof *Vladislaus* was now by Gods permission, and the consent of the people, chosen King) and so raise his siege, that then they should afterwards easily agree vpon
F the desired peace; in concluding wherof, he should not find *Vladislaus* inferior vnto himselfe in any manner of princely courtesie. But if hee had rather proceed in Armes, and to make proofe of his strength, he would then do the best that hee could to make him know that hee was of sufficient power, in so iust a quarrel to withstand his greatest forces, and to reuenge the

Belgrade besieged of the Turks.

Belgrade in vain assaulted.

wrongs

wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had receiued this embassage, he appointed the embas- G
sadors to withdraw themselues for a while to Synderovia, a City of Servia not far off, vntill he might better consider of their demands; pretending that he did it for their safety: but as appeared afterward, secretly resoluing with himself, presently to doe his vtter deuoir for the gaining of the city, and vpon succes thereof to shape them answer accordingly. Wherfore so soon as the Embassadors were departed to Synderovia, hee first by his messengers assayed the minds of the citisens and soldiers with magnifical promises of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments if they would yeeld vp the city: and many arrows with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the city. But seeing no hope to preuail by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his army, and there in the presence of them all spake vnto them as followeth: H

Amurath his notable speech to incourage his soldiers to assault Belgrade.

Although I know it is in myne own power to grant or not to grant the peace wherof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthy soldiers) to know your mindes also: forsomuch as wee haue that war in hand, wherin with worldly felicitie (wherof I hold the chief place amongst you) is also indangered our religion and purity of life; the defence and care wherof equally belongeth vnto vs all. For although we differ much one from another in the maner of our vocation and liuing here; yet after death we all hope for one and the selfe same felicity. And therfore I would haue you to vnderstand all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of myne own priuat, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning myne own estate, I possesse so large countries in Asia, so great dominions in Europ, that either part therof (in good time be it said) might seem a sufficient kingdom. So that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, to take more care for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more. But you are to consider with your selues, whither you haue euery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you think your selues assured of the same: and moreouer, that together with these worldly things, we shall be driuen at length to forsake our religion and profession, if we shal now lay down arms. For our enemies requare that we shall first cease from war; and then afterward they think it meet to talk of peace. I will not speak of the indignity, that men besieged, and in euill plight, should propound conditions of peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished with all things: That feeble and cowardly men should promise peace vnto couragious and expert soldiers. I omit what labor and pains we haue taken, in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping: all which our I
enemies command vs to forsake, as if they had vs already bound or couped vp in hold, as we haue them. All Bulgaria and the greater part of Rascia is by vs now conquered, and most part of Servia is at our command: all which places are by vs either to be kept, or els all the rest of that we possesse in Europe, is with them to be lost and forsaken. Whosoeuer shall haue in their power this city which wee besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not only a fortresse and bulwark of defence for his owne, but also a castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The Kingdom of Hungary is now diuided in it self, and full of domesticall sedition. Neither is is it so much strengthned by the vniting of the Kingdom of Polonia, as it is by ciuill dissention weakned. And in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gain time for the pacifying of their priuat quarrels, that they may afterwards with their double forces set vpon vs. For if we shall break vp the siege before we haue won the city, they will easily find delayes so long K
to protract the conclusion of peace, vntill Vladislaus *his good fortune, or els the Hungarians beeing of themselues better aduised, shall make an end of their Ciuill wars. What manner of conditions of peace will they then require of vs, when they are at vnity among themselues, and in arms against vs; seeing that now being in danger with mutuall discord, and almost by vs vanquished; they thinke it reasonable (as if they had won the field) that we should first raise our siege, and then intreat of peace. Their proud demaunds for the restitution of Bulgaria and Rascia, with other Countries and Cities won by our great trauell and danger, already sound in our ears. Which if we shall refuse to grant, not onely the Hungarians (beeing then at vnitie amongst themselues) but also the Polonians joyned vnto them, will bring those Warres home vnto our owne doores, which we now with great aduantage make vpon them, beeing troubled with discord and ciuill broiles. And if for desire of peace we could be content to yeeld vnto such* L
shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire; do you think the Prince of Servia would rest contented with his own, whose haughty mind (I am sure) being inflate with the combining of two such mighty kingdoms, thinketh not only of the recouery of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all this is ours in Europ. He will not think himselfe satisfied, before hee (hauing M

A *uing brought the Hungarian and Polonian forces against vs) shall see the same hauocke and spoile made in our Kingdome with fire and sword, which he hath before seene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answere his desiignes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intollerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angry conquerour, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and vnspeakeable villanies against our nation, except we will forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs and our ancestors, and follow their new incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauour of God with any other kinde of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret rites and ceremonies, by scorning our religion, and priests: and that you may know all the fury wherewith they rage against vs and our religion, they account all them for holy saints*

B *which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect whilest the enemy doth gather and vnite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemy as propoundeth not spoile and worldly honours, but immortality it selfe, as a reward of his victory. We haue already taken much more labour than we haue to take, wee haue filled the ditches with restlesse labour, we haue cast vp bulwarkes equall with the wals, and part of the wals we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gayning whereof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quiet; and that which our enemy possesseth, subject to our spoile and prey. If you will but a little inforce your selues as men mindfull of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauenly felicity to be then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the very foundation of the enemies wall. Then (couragious soul-*

C *diours) we may cry victory, not for the present, but for euer. If this warre should bring vnto vs nothing else but an assured security of our estate, it were sufficient reward: for which we ought cheerefully to aduenture our selues to all dangers, and to challenge in combate euen death it selfe. But as this victory doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger and spoile. Hitherto we haue striuen with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of* Bulgaria *and* Rascia, *where we were to striue with hunger, thirst, labour, and desperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull* Hungarie, *from whence we must fetch the guerdon of our victory, and the ground of our glory. We are come to the gates, which being laid open, we are not to passe ouer inaccessible rockes, or vncouth desarts, but we shall goe through most pleasant places, decked both by nature her selfe,*

D *and the industry of man; where the temperatenesse of the aire, and liuely springs, with the fruitfulnesse of the soile, doth euery where yeeld plenty of all manner of food both for man and beast, not onely to serue for natures necessity, but euen to glut our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious indeuour hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertility of the soyle yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned* Hungary *with a certaine extraordinary care, when as she would set forth a patterne of good husbandry, for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place beene more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painefully dig vp, and that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthy souldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or else leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go*

E *vnto the breach, that all the store of happy fortune is laied open to you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom (except you win the city) the fury and insolencie of the victorious enemy, will most cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe to command as conquerours, or else as slaues to be commanded; and also what to answere to the most insolent demands of the proud Embassadours. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armour, haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.*

F The Turkish captains for that time ioyfully departed, as if they had bin already assured of the victory, & of all those good things which *Amurath* had so liuely set before their eies. The next morning very early, *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen vnto a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall battery: the soldiers with great courage assailed the breach, especially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly-Bassa* valiantly won the

same, and were entring the city with assured hope of victory. The Christians seeing all in danger to be lost, running to the breach from all parts of the city, so forceably charged the proud Ianizaries on euery side, that they were glad to retire with more hast than they before entred: in which retreat many of them were slaine, and the rest flying out at the breach, were either slaine or burnt to death in the towne ditch with wild-fire; whereof the defendants had cast great store vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the faggots, hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks vpon the sudden made their way ouer the towne ditch, did so terribly burne, that the Ianizaries which had entred the breach, being againe repulsed, were in that fiery lake consumed, or else with smoke strangled. In this assault *Amurath* is reported to haue lost 8000 of his best men, beside 7000 others ouerwhelmed or strangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Christians. The other part of the Turks which at the same time assaulted the city by water, out of their gallies and small ships, had as euill or rather worse successe: many of them were sunke with great shot, and some burnt by the fire cast from the wals, and so fired one another; and diuers of them in that sudden feare, for auoiding of that present danger, ran a ground vpon the shelfs in the riuer, and so split. *Amurath* wonderfully discouraged with the slaughter of his men, and shamefully beaten from the assault, returned to his camp with his Turks, much like men which had lately escaped some great shipwracke. And thus partly by famine, and partly by the defendants force, hauing lost the greatest part of his army, he determined now after seuen moneths siege to returne home. Yet because he would not encourage his enemies, by shewing his feare, he sent for the Embassadors into the campe, and with sterne countenance answered them in this sort.

Belgrade notably defended by the Christians.

Amurath his answere to the Embassadors.

We will (said he) then talke of peace, when Vladislaus *shall deliuer vnto vs all that part of* Rascia *which he yet holdeth, and also this city of* Belgrade, *as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raise my siege, to giue* Vladislaus *time to aduise himselfe: yet I would wish him, rather to accept of my friendship vpon these conditions, than by denying that little which is demanded, to hazard the state of both his Kingdomes. I aske but that which is mine owne by law of armes, before* Vladislaus *was called into* Hungarie: *and the Hungarians cannot transferre vnto him that right which they had not themselues. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to striue for that which is other mens, than quietly to possesse his owne, I will in good time repaire hither againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.*

With this answer he dismissed the Embassadors, and forthwith rise with his army, sore repenting his comming thither: yet because he would take something in his way, he left his nephew *Isa-beg* with certaine troups of horsemen at Scopia in Seruia, who so troubled the King of Bosna, that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promise vnto him a yearely tribute of 25000 duckats.

Vladislaus newly erected King of Hungary, seeing that part of his kingdome which he called Transiluania, or Pannodacia, to be much subiect to the incursion of the Turks, (who hauing got into their possession all the country of Moldauia, and growne insolent by continuall victories, ceased not to inuade and spoile the country of Transiluania) for remedy of that daily mischiefe, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayuod, or his vice-gerent in Transiluania. This *Huniades*, as some write, was Earle of Bistrice, borne in Valachia: other say that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Huniades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and prowesse. Whatsoeuer his parents were, he himselfe was a most politicke, valiant, fortunat and famous captain, his victories so great, as the like were neuer before by any Christian Prince obtained against the Turks: so that his name became vnto them so dreadfull, that they vsed the same to feare their crying children withall. This worthy captaine according to the trust reposed in him, began to keepe the Turks short, by cutting them off, whensoeuer they presumed to enter into his country; and also by shutting vp the passages whereby they were wont to forrage the country of Transiluania; and when he had put his own charge in safety, he returned into Moldauia, and neuer rested till he had quite won it out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, passed many times ouer Danubius into the Turks dominion, making hauocke of the Turks, and carying away with him great booty, with many captiues.

Now

A Now were two great and worthy captains met together, in places nigh one to another; *Huniades* in Transyluania and the next part of Hungary, and *Isa* in Rascia and the vpper part of Seruia; the one lying at Temeswar, and the other at Sinderouia; both men of great spirit, and desirous of honour. Of these two, *Isa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increase his credit with the Sultan his vncle, and to inlarge the bounds of the Turkish kingdome committed to his charge, continully forraged the country about Belgrade, to the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, & brought the city into great wants, he might so at length gaine the same, for the most part abandoned then of citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine, and so to open a way into Hungary. Thus was the country by him spoyled, the villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers
B both of men and cattell dayly carried away: yea sometime not contented to haue spoyled the open country, he assailed the very suburbs of the city, and was thence hardly repulsed: and finding *Huniades* the only man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and prouoke him the more, brake somtimes into his country, laying in euery corner as he went, strong ambushes, so to haue circumuented that wary captain, if it had bin possible. But he grieued to see the countrey thus spoyled, and purposing thereof to be reuenged, secretly raised a strong power both of horse and foot, and with his companion *Nicholas Vilath* a right valiant captain, passing ouer Danubius, came and incamped betwixt Belgrade and Sinderouia, being about 20 miles distant. Of whose comming *Isa-Beg* vnderstanding, forthwith set forward with a great army against him, lest he should by longer delay seeme to stand in doubt of his enemy,
C whom he had by many injuries so often prouoked. So marching on with his army ranged in order of battell, he found *Huniades* as ready for battell as himselfe; who in both wings had placed his light horsemen, and behind them his men at armes, with certaine companies of crossebowes on horsebacke: in the midst stood his armed men, with his archers, and other souldiers more lightly armed, ready at all assayes, all strongly garded with men at armes: after whom in the rereward followed also a strong squadron of valiant footmen. The signall of battell being giuen, there began a great and cruel fight, as amongst men desirous either to be ouercome, or there honourably to end their daies. At the first incounter, the wings of *Huniades* his battell were by the Turks inforced to retire; but comming to the men at armes, their fury was there staied, and a cruell battell fought, wherein many fell on both sides, but of the Turks mo,
D who trusting to their agility and nimblenes of body, were not able long to endure the shocke and strength of the men at armes, but were there by heaps ouerthrowne, and most miserably slain. Which *Isa-beg* beholding, and perceiuing the Hungarians couragiously to fight, as men almost in possession of an assured victory, to saue himselfe, turned his backe and fled to Sinderouia. The rest beholding the flight of their Generall, betook themselues to flight also: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed, especially *Huniades* himselfe, who by his example to animate the rest left not the chase vntil he was come almost to the suburbs of Sinderouia: few of the Turks escaped, the rest being either taken or slain. *Huniades* after so great a victory, with a rich prey and a multitude of prisoners returned to Belgrade; hauing now sufficiently reuenged himselfe of the wrongs he had before receiued. After which time *Isa* the Turke was more
E quiet, as hauing sufficient proofe of his valor. The fame of this victory increased not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to Buda, filled the city with joy and gladnesse; but most of all King *Vladislaus*, who therupon caused publique prayers, with thanksgiuing to be made in euery Church; and by his letters gratulatory, with many rich presents incouraged *Huniades* to the prosecution of the religious war; wherein was propounded vnto him 1444.
not onely the increase of his wealth (a base regard in the honourable) but the immortality of his name, and hope of eternall blisse.

Not long after this victory, *Huniades* obtained a far greater in Transyluania. For *Amurath* much grieued with the losse he had first by himselfe, and after by his lieutenant *Isa*, receiued at Belgrade, and in the country therabout; lest he should seem to yeeld vnto the Hungarians,
F repaired his broken forces with new supplies, with purpose againe to renue his wars in Valachia. And so hauing put all things in readines, sent one of his Bassa's called *Mesites* (his Viceroy in Asia, a man of great wisedome, experience, and valor) with a puissant army vpon the sudden by the way of Valachia Transalpina, to inuade Transyluania. This worthy captain according to his charge departed out of Seruia, and passing from Danubius, suddenly entred into

Transyluania inuaded and spoiled by Mesites Bassa.

Huniades his country, burning and spoiling whatsoeuer came in his way, and killing all that he light vpon, man, woman, and child, without respect of age, sex, or condition, filling all the country as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the country) vnderstanding, and hauing then no sufficient forces to oppose against the fury of so puissant an enemy, either means to raise any in so great a confusion and feare; was wonderfully grieued thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well knowing which way to turne himselfe. At length *Huniades flieth* he tooke his flight into Alba Iula, vnto his old friend *George Lepe* Bishop of that city, a man of great vertue and grauity: but whilest he there staied with his friend, about the raising of a tumultuary army, the enemy was now come neere vnto him; who hauing ouerrun the greatest part of the country, had scraped together such a booty, and taken such a multitude of prisoners, that surcharged as it were with the spoyle, he was glad to march softlier; yet still burning the country before him. Which *Huniades* and the good Bishop beholding out of the city, so much grieued thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themselues, with an handfull of men taken vp in haste hand ouer head, too weake to encounter with their enemies; yet thought it better, with such power as they had to go out, and so in defence of their country honorably to die, than longer to behold the most miserable destruction of the same. But whilest they vpon this resolution (carried forth with too hot a desire of reuenge) march vnaduisedly forward, without any scouts or espials sent out before them, they fell before they were aware into such ambushes both of horse & foot, as the crafty enemy had in the secret woods and vallies whereby they were to passe, laid of purpose to intercept them: which now with great force and horrible outcries breaking out vpon them on euery side, dismaied them with a great feare. *Huniades and the Bishop of Alba Iula entrapped by the Turks.* *Huniades* and the Bishop seeing themselues so intrapped and beset with the multitude of their enemies, as that they must needs perish if they should longer stay, fled incontinently back again; after whom followed all the rest of their army, and at their heeles the eager Turks, who spared none of the flying Christians they could ouertake, but put them al to the sword: neuertheless most part of them escaped backe again to Alba Iula. The Bishop thinking to haue saued himselfe by the swiftnes of his horse, comming to a riuer, in taking the same was ouerthrown, and there by the enemy slain. With whose death the Bassa incouraged, as also with the present victory, began now more at liberty to range abroad, and at his pleasure with fire and sword to wast that part of the country which yet remained vnspoiled: leauing in the meane time (as a man out of feare) the rich prey he had taken, together with his baggage & carriages, to be carried all together, as a notable testimony of his victory, vnto his great lord & master. *Huniades* in the meane time with wonderfull celerity running about the borders of his country, and out of euery town & village taking such soldiers as he could, perswaded also the Sicilians (or people commonly called Siculi) in defence of their wiues and children to take vp arms: who all in respect of the present necessity, cheerfully did whatsoeuer he commanded. With this tumultuary army he followed the Bassa (who then in great pride was returning, laded with the spoile of the whole country) with purpose to set vpon him as time or place should giue him occasion. In the meane time *Mesites* being told, that *Huniades* with a great power was comming after him, and now euen at hand; is reported to haue made no reckoning thereof, but to haue proudly answered vnto him that brought the newes, *Let him come, and with the spoile of himselfe inrich our victory*. There was present when he thus said, one *Iohn* one of *Huniades* his espials; who discouered vnto him many of the Turks designes concerning the joyning of battell with him; but especially, that the Bassa had commanded thorow his army, That aboue all things, they should in the beginning of the battell assaile the person of *Huniades* himselfe, for that he being once slain, the rest would easily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction: and that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certaine companies of his best soldiers, giuing them certain tokens wherby they might know both him and his horse. There was then in the army one *Simon Kemene*, a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike to *Huniades*, with whom he changed both his horse and armor, appointing vnto him a strong troupe of his choice horsemen to attend vpon him: neither was this counterfeit *Huniades* vnwilling to expose himselfe vnto the danger, accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might saue the life of his friend, and preserue so worthy a defender of the common-weale. *Huniades* following fast after, the Bassa marching before him, sought by light skirmishes, somtimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, and sometimes in the rereward, to stay him, and at some aduantage,

A uantage, if any such were giuen, to fight with him before he should get out of the country. At length finding such an opportunity as he thought good to lay hold vpon, he with al his forces, as if it had been a violent tempest, came vpon the Turks so suddenly, as that they had not time to put themselues in order of battell, but were glad confusedly to fight as they might, & without order: in which disordred fight many fell on both sides, but far more of the Turks. But whilest both armies with like obstinacy incounter together, certain troups of the most valiant Turks descrying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, & by the signes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horse and armor, supposing him to haue bin *Huniades* indeed; with all their power made towards him, to haue slaine him, according as they had in charge: where meeting with right valiant men, of no lesse courage than themselues, there was fought a most terrible and
B bloudy battell, in such sort, as if in that very place should haue bin tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks still bending their forces more and more thither, for the killing of him of whom they stood in more dread than of all the rest; at length by plaine force made a way vnto him, and hauing slaine them that were about him, though not without their owne great losse, furiously assailing him, slew him, vainly supposing it to haue bin the very Generall himselfe, who had he there perished (as like enough it was he should, had he not bin before warned of the Bassa's purpose) no doubt but that the whole country had bin with him, or shortly after quite lost. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the army, encouraged his soldiers not to forsake the victory they were now as it were in possession of, nor leaue vnreuenged so many slaughters and harms so lately committed by their enemies, but to remember as they
C were fighting, that they carried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Somtime he with new supplies encouraged such as were ouercharged, and euen now ready to fly; otherwhile he with cheerfull words staied, that had already turned their backs; performing in euery place all the parts both of a worthy commander & valiant soldier, as the necessity of the time and place required. In the heat of this battell (fortune yet fauoring neither part, but both fighting with all their power) the Transiluanian prisoners that in great number were kept in the camp, wishing rather to die, than to be carried away into captiuity, & thinking it now or neuer, time for them to attempt their deliuerance; with one consent brake asunder their bonds, and with such weapons as first came to hand, set vpon their keepers, of whom they slew a great number, and so de-
D sperately issuing out of the battell, incouraged their countrymen, and discouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cause: for why, the Transiluanians fought for their country, their wiues, their children, their liues, their liberty, their religion, and altars: but the Turks, for the rich prey they had before taken, and that they were by victory in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the prisoners (who laid about them like desperat men) out of hope of the victory, began by little and little to retire; and the other on the contrary part by this vnexpected aid encouraged, and quickly finding the enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Mesites* seeing his army thus in euery part wauering, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but presently after, beholding some of his men retyring as if they had fled, and othersome flying out right,
E and no means to stay them, for safegard of his life turned his horse and fled also: after whom the Hungarians followed with most terrible execution, as men desirous of the bloud of them that had done them so great harme. In this chase *Mesites* himself with his son were both slain: the report of whose death in the pursuit, added swiftnesse vnto the Hungarians, to the increasing of the slaughter of the Turks, whom for the desire of reuenge they ceased not for certaine daies to pursue, vnto the top of the Alps. In this battel were slaine of the Turks 20000, and of the Hungarians about 3000. *Huniades* with this victory recouered all the prey the Turks had taken of the spoile of the country, together with their tents and baggage, vnto whom at his returne into the campe, a wonderfull number of poore capitues came, and falling at his feet,
F some the defender of his country; the soldiers, their inuincible Generall; the captiues, their deliuerer; the women, their protector; the yong men and children, their most louing father. In all which joyfull acclamations, no honorable addition was heard, which in the judgement of all men, worthily agreed not with his deserts. He againe with teares standing in his eies, courteously embraced them, rejoycing at the publike good; and himselfe giuing most hearty

A great battell betwixt Mesites and Huniades.

Great rejoicing for the victory.

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Somtime G
he commended the soldiers valor, and in generall the peoples loyalty. The nobility and worthy captaines he extolled by name, according as their deserts had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthy praises: part of the spoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vses, and the other part he diuided amongst his soldiers: and willing as it were with the first fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladislaus* and the Despot of Seruia, then present with him, he sent a great waggon, with 10 horses which could scarce draw it, laded with the Turks ensignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Bassa and his son stood formost, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, somtime well known vnto the Despot: who in this order presented vnto them, is said to haue thus deliuered his message, as followeth: H

The speech of an old Turk, in deliuering the Present vnto the King.

Huniades *your Majesties most humble seruant, and the most honourable Despots sonne, sendeth vnto you this part of the spoile gained by this late victory, lest he should seeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. These heads of the Asian Nobility he sendeth you for a Present, that you should not want the assured testimony of so notable a victory: these are two Princes heads, the one of* Mesites Bassa *the Generall, and the other of his son; the rest are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All these witnesse the greatnesse of the slaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royall Majesty for the naturall instinct of piety and religion ingrafted into you, may hope for; and what an occasion of immortality and glory is offered vnto you,* Huniades *wisheth you hereby to consider: and humbly requesteth, that generall supplications may be commanded, and a great army prouided, forasmuch as all men suppose, that the Turke will gage his whole forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of so great a slaughter of his people.* I

Hauing ended his speech, he shewed vnto them the grisely mortified heads: which the nobility and others there present, earnestly beheld, and wondred at, especially the King and the Despot; who by letters further vnderstanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battell, highly commended the discreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victory, worthy (as they said) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladislaus* commanded publike supplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungary, and by honorable messengers sent of purpose to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deserts, with many rich Presents also, commending his faithfull and worthy seruice: and requesting him, with like cou- K
rage and care, to prosecute the war, so happily begun; promising him, That he should neither want men nor mony, or any thing else needfull thereunto. Vpon this victory, the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of *Amurath:* and the fame of *Huniades* was in short time dispersed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one most like to be one of the greatest champions of the Christian Commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Bassa *Mesites*, and the losse of his Army, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkish Tyrant; but most of all, the reuolt of the two Countries, Moldauia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and desire of reuenge, he commanded a great army to be raised against the next Spring, with L
intent to haue gone therewith himselfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his purpose, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Bassa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Bassa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheless a right valiant and expert captaine, and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge first to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and sword, to doe the like in Moldauia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Transyluania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the losses before receiued, and with the slaughter of the Hungarians to sacrifice vnto the ghosts of their dead friends and companions. The Bassa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Mysia, and so passing ouer Danubius, with an Army of fourescore thousand fighting men,

Valachia grieuously spoyled by the Turks.

whereof foure thousand were of the best Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country M
with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in despaire to be able to defend themselues against the fury of the Turks, and sore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerefull words, willing them betime to retire themselues vnto the safest places of the Country, and not to expose them-

A themselues with their too weake forces against the fury of the Barbarians; promising in good time to come himself to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Iesus Christ, to dare them battell in the plaine field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far more than they were reported to be. The Bassa diuiding his army into two parts, forraged the country far and neere, burning the country townes and villages before them, spoiling whatsoeuer came in their way, and killing whosoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. But the Valachians for the most part retired themselues, some into the mountains, some into the strong townes, and some into places further off; so that few fell into the enemies hands, but such as were not able to fly, or not regarding the danger, had negligently staid the enemies comming, and so perished. Valachia thus
B spoiled, the Turks passing ouer the mountaines, descended into Transiluania, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpose there to haue done the like or greater harme, if possible it had been to haue so done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 chosen soldiers ready to encounter them. A smal power indeed, in comparison of the multitude the Bassa led: but al men of great experience and resolution, in valor counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men resolued rather to die than to fly. Of whose approch the Bassa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the man was dreadfull) by his espials vnderstanding, staied his intended fury, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himselfe with his army, to see what power and courage the enemy had. But certainly informed by his scouts, for that purpose sent out, That he was not in number a quarter so many as the Turks, but lay strongly
C encamped with his waggons and carriages, as in a sure sort, in such order as that he could not without great danger be assailed, and yet might at his pleasure come forth, and so if need were retire againe, as into a strong hold: he wondred at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping; yet presuming of his owne multitude and strength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither side vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victory, they thought it not best to attempt any thing rashly, but betooke themselues both vnto the highest of their wits, as willing in so great a conflict, as well to shew the vtmost of their policy and skill, as of their courage and valor. The Turke thought it not best to joyne battell with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding so great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certaine
D battalions, and so to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable: or if he conld not do so, then with his multitude to inclose the Christians round, and so to ouerwhelme them. On the other side, *Huniades* charged his soldiers, aboue all things to keep their order, and in no case to suffer themselues to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call Vascape, both the armies by the breake of day began to dislodge; at which time the Bassa spent a good space in the martialling of his great army, as did also *Huniades*, seeking by prouident foresight and policy to match the multitude of his enemies. And so hauing set all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captains and commanders of his army, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The most Christian speech of Huniades to encourage his soldiers against the Turks.

E *No courage (beleeue me) worthy companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encounter so great a multitude, did not necessity it selfe inforce me, your approued valour perswade me, and the assured hope I haue in Christ Iesus aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his sacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the dishonor of his holy name. In which his especiall choice we are to consider how much he hath beloued vs: and for the same to praise his infinite goodnesse and mercy. Three such commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the same men wee haue been in times past, as that the least thereof were sufficient to encourage men of worth, for the same to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer so deare. First, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues and country, joyned with your whole estate: then, for eternall glory and renowne in this world: and last of all, for immortality and a crowne that shall neuer be taken from you, in*
F *the world to come. How many miseries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than seene the same with your eies, and indured them in your selues. You had long since beene bereft of your beloued wiues and children, whom most miserable seruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither house nor Church, wherein to dwell or to serue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare prowesse beene at hand for present rescue: your*

country,

country, your goods, your honour, your liberty, you could not haue kept, had not your valour, confirmed by an assured confidence in the highest, preserued all these things vnto your selues: The horrible fury of the Turke had now brought all these things into the power of it selfe, had they not beene by your armes defended, and he by so many bloudy ouerthrows repressed. He could not before be stayed; the Grecians, the Macedonians (both sometimes the greatest commanders) the old Thracians, the strong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirots, and Dalmatians, could not abide their force: the Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors and masters of the ancient discipline of war, willingly gaue place vnto these. Vnto vs, is the praise & great glory of the victory by God assigned who oftentimes with a small power, yea, and that sometime against all hope, haue with a notable slaughter ouerthrown them, vanquished them, and put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the World whom they more feare and stand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue by their dayly slaughter and losses, learned no lesse to feare, than if you were many. And now to try the vttermost of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any whit the more to be feared than before, seeing that we all beare armes vnder the conduct of the most mighty God, and are by dayly victory long experience, and approued valour taught, what we are to dare: besides that, the greatest part of their army is of common souldiers, slaues or rude country peasants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries are no good souldier among them, the rest as men enforced, serue them for feare, and against their wils, and they by their cowardise brought into that bondage and slauery. What Greekes, Macedonians, or Sclauonians soeuer are sent to their aid, forasmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Christian faith, deeme them not to stand for them, but for vs: they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerors: in this war they haue giuen vnto the Turks their names, but vnto vs their hearts and power; and pray heartily for our victory: wherefore you ought so much the more valiantly and couragiously to fight, by how much greater you see the victory, the honor, the prey before your eies. We are not to fight for other mens houses and altars, but for our owne; so our present necessity requireth, in such sort, that if wee our selues, deliuer not our selues, and beare our selues vpon our wonted hope and valour, we shall this day be inforced to endure the greatest misery that men may possibly. First, the losse of our goods and substance, the captiuity of our children, the deflouring of our daughters, the rauishing of our wiues, the slaughter of our parents, the burning of our houses and churches, and that which worse is than all this, the scorne of our Sauiour Christ Iesus, and his Saints; whose images you shall see in despight broken, or dragged in the dirt, or moulten and conuerted vnto other prophane vses; all Religion trodden downe, and God himselfe (if it were possible) with violence and despaire driuen out of our hearts, if we stand not manfully vnto it as becommeth worthy champions. God is able with his little finger, if he so will, forthwith, to destroy all the Turks in the world; but seeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he first maketh proofe of our courage and valour, that finding the same faithfull and ready, he may strengthen and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forsooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither will our Sauior Christ be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting to your selues: in the power of his name which is aboue all names, he shall tread downe his rebellious enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their trust in him. Moreouer, the causes that they and we combat for, are diuers, and our hopes much stronger: They fight for their Prophet, a most prophane man, author of all impiety, for spoile and prey, for the destruction of nations and countries, for other mens kingdomes, for the inlarging of their dominions, and territories, for worldly praise and glory: But we contrariwise beare armes for the Sauiour of the world, for our faith and religion, for the Christian common-wealth, for our natiue country, for our wiues and children, for our fortune and state; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid vp for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their country, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often proued, are we ignorant, that God will neuer forsake them that honor, feare, and serue him. Whereby (fellow souldiers) you may plainely perceiue, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Beleeue our Sauiour, promising vnto you an eternall reward: and shew your fidelity and valor vnto God and your country together. Wherefore seeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the signall of battell be giuen, I beseech you collonels, captains, and lieutenants, by your effectuall and Christian exhortations in your regiments and companies, to encourage your soldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords battell, and for the present, euery man by taking a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himselfe according to the necessity of the time, as it were to the receiuing of the Lords Supper. So hauing cleansed your soules, embrace you one another, plight your mutuall faith with your right hand and a kisse; and make a perpetuall couenant among your selues, none of you to forsake one another in this holy battell, but for your religion and country valiantly to fight it out, euen to

the

A *the last man. And a little refreshing your selues with a short repast as you stand, vpon the signall giuen, thrice calling aloud vpon the mighty name of Christ Iesus, fight with the like valour and courage so neer as you can, that he in the agony of death fought for your redemption and liberty: which that you will willingly do, I request and charge you this for our Sauiours sake, for the loue of our country, and for the faith you owe both to God and man. I also pray and beseech you, so to fight, as men resolued either to gaine a most glorious victory, (whereof I doubt not) or else if it should otherwise chance, this day to purchase vnto your selues a blessed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to sup in hell with the Turks, but with the blessed wights in heauen: for Christ Iesus our Sauiour will be alwaies present with vs, who (beleeue me, and so hope) will this day not onely deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turks, but to our immortall glory lode vs with the rich spoiles of our enemies, and so in safety bring all home againe with much joy and triumph.*

B The Bassa on the other side likewise encouraged his souldiers, putting them in remembrance of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their worthy ancestors and themselues, by whose great valor the glory and Empire of the Turks had bin so mightily increased; and vnto whom their great prophet *Mahomet*, the interpreter of the gods, had foretold the Empire of the whole world to be by all the gods allotted; and had by diuine inspiration prophecied, that antient and stately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the scourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto them, what an increase of kingdomes they had got in that short time, since which they first passed ouer into Europe: and filled them with the hope of a great spoile; promising vnto them that should in
C the battell valiantly behaue themselues, not onely the spoile and prey, but whole villages, towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they should deserue. As for the victory, considering the weake power of their enemies, and the great number of themselues, he assured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In conclusion, he told them, that hauing ouercome *Huniades* (whom only, as he confessed, he had found to be the most valiant and skilfull captaine of the Christians) nothing should afterward be able to stand in their way, or to hinder their further conquest: and that if this day they should vtterly ouerthrow him, they should gain the most honorable victory that was euer yet got in Europe. Wherefore he willed them aboue all things, in the battell to seeke after him, promising vnto him that should kill him, a great reward, with most honorable preferments. Hauing thus
D sufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turks, he set forward with his army in order of battell. His horsemen and footmen he diuided into two great wings, betwixt which marched the Ianizaries in a square battell, all men of approued valour: after whom followed the rereward: vnto the wings he had also joyned certaine loose companies of light horsemen to begin the battell, and to fly about the enemies, and so as occasion should serue, either to charge or retire. *Huniades* likewise had placed in both wings two square battalions of men at armes, and with them certaine horsemen with crosse-bowes: before these wings he had also placed certaine troups of light horsemen, to encounter the enemies: in the midst stood two square battels of men at armes: and betwixt them a strong squadron of armed men, guarded behind with a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings he had compassed about with
E a multitude of carts and waggons, and they also well manned. So marching forward, and both armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the signall of battell was on both sides giuen, and the battell begun. *Huniades* seeing the multitude of his enemies, cast his first battell into the forme of a wedge, the more easily to diuide them: and they on the othe side in forme of a paire of sheeres were ready to receiue them: where on both sides they encountred together with such fury and outcry, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or seene. The Turks trusting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horsmen, first with their light staues, and afterward with their crooked Scimaters fiercely assailed the Christians light horsemen, in which first incounter many fell on both sides. But the wedge battell of the Christians could not of the Turks be broken, as consisting all of valiant expert souldiers, and they also
F strongly armed; who, do the Turks what they could, with a great slaughter cut their army in sunder, but not without a great fight, and some losse also vnto themselues. In the wings also the light horsemen for a while fought couragiously and with like hope: but the Turks with that kind of fight better acquainted than the Christians, and better appointed for that purpose, and exceeding in number also, put the Christian light horsemen to the worst, and enforced

A cruell battell betwixt Huniades and Abedin Bassa.

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turks to stay, where both parts desperatly assailing the one the other, was made a most terrible fight, wherin most part of the Turks light horsemen were slaine: for why, thy were not able to abide the force of the men at arms, although in comparison of them but few; but were with their lances and arming swords ouerthrowne and slaine, no otherwise than if they had bin naked men: so that in both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battell in both the wings yet wauering, and the victory doubtfull, in the maine battell was fought a most cruell fight: the Ianizaries with a strong power of men at arms, and certain troups of light horsemen, compassed about the men at armes that stood (as we said) in the maine battell of the Christians, where the old Ianizaries with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in sunder the legs of the horses of the men at arms; of whom many fell down, and lying along vpon the ground, were made shorter by the head: as likewise on the other side, the Ianizaries whilest they seek the destruction of the men at arms, were themselues ouerborn & troden vnder foot. Wherupon such a slaughter was made, that the bloud run like riuers, whilest they desperatly fight with furious rage both on the one side & the other. In this cruel fight most part of the Ianizaries were slain, and many of the Christian men at arms also. The Bassa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better, both in the wings and in the main battell, & yet in hope that with long fight they would faint (although he saw great slaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, and a number of other fresh soldiers which he had left for the garding of his baggage, all yet sound men, in good hope so to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that this cruell fight had endured, when as the Bassa began it afresh: neither was this by him done without reason; for why, he was affraid lest if his men should turne their backes and fly, the whole army should follow after: and therefore to make vse of all the men he had, he brought on his rereward, in hope that his enemies now spent with long fight, would not longer endure a fresh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commanded them to compasse in the Hungarians round, and to dispatch their wearied enemies; vainly boasting, That it would be the last battell that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other side *Huniades* perceiuing the enemies purpose, suffered his men to be in part inuironed, and by and by caused the waggoners with the armed carts & waggons to thrust in behind them, and so to compasse them in, diuided in part from the rest, & afterward with fresh supplies renewed the battel with the enemy. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the slaughter of the Turks was in many places great, yet by reason of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet still most desperatly: vntill that they in the right wing seeing themselues compassed in behind with the waggons, & so from them charged with shot, darts, and other such missiue weapons; standing in doubt which way to turn themselues, & beset with danger on euery side, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, shrunke from the fight. On the other side, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victory, with great and cheerful outcries, as men inspired with fresh spirits, more furiously assailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; encouraging them also that assailed them behind in the waggons, to approch them neerer: with which double danger the Turks hardly beset, fought disorderly, & doubting to be all inclosed round, first retired, & presently after betook themselues to plaine flight. But they which were already shut in betwixt the waggons & them that fought before them, perished euery mothers son. They which fought in the left wing also, discouraged with the flight of their fellows, fled likewise: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Bassa himselfe seeing both the wings of the battel put to flight, & his own battel sore broken also, strucken with despaire fled, with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had stil kept about him against all euents, for the safegard of his person: after whom followed also so many other of the Turks as could; the rest desperatly flying thorow the woods, forrests, & mountains, either there perished with hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians were by them slain. Of so great an army as the Bassa brought into Transiluania, scarce the one halfe returned again ouer Danubius. It is reported by some that waere in that battel, that if *Huniades* hauing them in chase, had pursued them to Danubius, scarcely one of them had escaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with so great a victory, & to haue driuen the enemies out of the field, pursued them not far: but entring into their camp with the spoile therof greatly inricht both himself & his soldiers. Beside the great multitude of the Turks here slain, 5000 more were taken prisoners, and 100 of their ensignes.

The Turks fly.

A furniture, both of men and horses, beside the rich pauillions and tents there standing. In briefe, the wealth there found, was so great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* army, which was not thereby for euer enriched. *Huniades* for this so great victory, and for his country, deliuered from so great a feare, caused generall praier, with thanksgiuing, for the space of three daies, to be made in all churches of those three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatned; and at Vascape, where the battell was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turks ensignes, as trophies of the victory there gotten. This was the famous fattell of Vascape, wherein *Huniades* got the greatest victory that euer any Christian Prince before that time obtained against the Turkish Kings. The fields thereabout lay couered with the dead bodies of the slaine Turks, whose carrion carkasses so infected the aire, that many of the better sort of the inhabitants of
B the country were glad for a season to leaue their dwellings, and to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to Buda, and there presented vnto King *Vladislaus* the enemies ensignes, with such a part of the spoile, as might both well declare the greatnesse of the victory, and beseeme the greatnesse of so great a Prince, which the King thankefully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the fame whereof had in short time filled euery corner of Europe.

Amurath a little before this great ouerthrow of his army in Transiluania, assuring himselfe of the victory, had sent a proud embassage vnto King *Vladislaus* into Hungary, offering him peace, vpon condition, That he should deliuer vnto him the strong city of Belgrade, or else yeeld to pay him a yearely tribute: vnto which, vpon the first report of the victory, answere
C was giuen by the King, answerable to the proud demand, That according to the issue of matters in Transiluania, he would shortly in person himselfe come and giue him further answere. With which short answere the proud Embassadors were dismissed and gone, a little before the comming of *Huniades* to Buda.

How much this late ouerthrow grieued the great King *Amurath*, *Vladislaus* was not ignorant; either of his power or desire of reuenge, as sufficiently warned thereof by the worthy *Huniades*: for the withstanding whereof, he thought it good not to be vnprouided. Wherfore calling together the states of his Kingdome, and with them *Iulian* the Cardinall of S. *Angell*, the Popes Legat; at such time as they were all assembled, he propounded vnto them the greatnesse of the danger threatned by the angry Turke, leauing it vnto their graue consideration to deter-
D mine how the same were by strong hand and plaine force, or otherwise to be auerted. In which most honourable assembly, *Iulian* the Cardinall, of purpose sent thither by Pope *Vrban* to stir vp the Hungarians against the Turks, being requested by the King to deliuer his opinion first, spake vnto them as followeth:

The effectuall speech of Iulian the Popes Legat in the Parliament to perswade the warre.

Since the time that the Turkish pestilence began to rage in Europe, *no newes was euer more welcome vnto the great Bishop, vnto the Apostolicall Senate, and other Princes of* Italy *(most mighty King, and you other most worthy Princes) than when it was told them, That* Vladislaus, *King of* Polonia, *was by you also chosen King of* Hungary. *For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian state, and leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: as he in whom iustice, religion, wisedome, valour,*
E *and martiall skill, doth so abound, that he seemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God sent from heauen, than here in earth chosen by men. By this happy and fortunat choice, the minds also of all the Italians, which before lay heauy and discouraged, were lightened and reuiued: and therefore, that this choice might be vnto the Christian common-weale both glorious and fortunate, they made their solemne vowes and praiers. At such time as the most holy Senate vnderstood of the ciuile discord of this Kingdome, and the danger of the Turks fast by, it sent me hither to deale with you for the appeasing of those troubles, and repressing of that mischiefe (as you haue oftentimes heard me say.) The Kingdome is by your force and valor, by my mediation, and the death of the Queene, well pacified: but yet the other remaineth full of ho-*
nour, full of profit, full of safety, glory and immortality, best fitting Vladislaus *conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkish tyranny and their proud command (worthy Princes) is to be*
F *repressed: yea their seruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our neckes, is to be shaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to do, the valour and fortune of* Huniades *foretelleth you: the fortune, said I, of* Huniades? *nay the fortune of the Christian common-weale, and present mercy of our blessed Sauiour, which suffereth his people to be vp and downe tossed, but not quite drowned. If so great an army of the*

enemies

enemies was vanquished and put to flight by the power of one of thy captaines, and that but small: what is G
to be hoped of thee (most mighty King) if thou shalt leade forth thine armies thy selfe in person, vnder
thine own conduct, and the protection of Christ Iesus. The eies of all Christian Princes are cast vpon thee,
vpon the Hungarian and Polonian forces; vpon thee haue they reposed all their hopes, they all expect that
thou shouldest be the reuenger of the Barbarian cruelty, the defendor of the faith, and protector of Eu-
rope: and that it is for which the Pope doth with his letters dayly sollicite and importune you. And albe-
it, that the common cause and quarrell of the Christian religion require it, yet doth the necessity of Hun-
gary and Polonia no lesse enforce it: of which, the one is most miserably and daily vexed with the Turks
forces and fury out of Seruia and Dalmatia; and the other out of Moldauia and Valachia. Now if
any there be, whom neither the Zeale of religion, the necessity of the cause, the hope of immortall fame and
glory, can moue, let their owne safety, the present seruitude of their wiues and children, the safegard of their H
wealth and substance, the lawfull reuenge of the wrongs done them, stir them vp to take in hand this sacred
expedition. So fit an opportunity is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the selfe same time you may set your
bodies in perpetuall safety and happinesse, your soules in quietnesse and rest, and vnto both giue eternall
glory and happinesse. You lacke not (worthy captains) mony, the sinewes of the war, which shall be brought
vnto you from all parts of the Christian common-wealth, not lusty and courageous souldiers, not policy, not
fortune, not the propitious heauenly powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith
and religion: you want nothing (worthy Princes) but will. It is an expedition necessary, religious, pro-
fitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded most ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to
come. Wherefore (most mighty Prince, and you right worthy Princes all) I pray and beseech you by the
faith of Christ Iesu, by the loue of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your
present destruction, with valiant courage and one consent to take this sacred war in hand, and so thereby I
to enroll your names in the eternall booke of fame. And sith that you are to go, not so much to a worldly
as a spirituall war, against the enemies of Christ and his truth, take vp your armes with such zeale, cou-
rage, and cheerefulnesse, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valour, the present danger, and the
mercies of God toward you, seeme of right to require.

The pitifull cõplaint of the Despot, of the cruelty of the Turks, persuading the Hungarians to take the war against them in hand.

The Legat hauing made an end, forthwith ensued the miserable supplication and tears of the
Despot, persuading them, of the necessity of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vn-
to them the cruelty of the Turks, their torments & strange tortures, his sons depriued of their
sight, and spoiled of their genetoires, many halfe mangled, and moe cut in sunder with sawes; K
some slain quick, & other buried aliue, with many other strange kinds of death, such as would
abhorre any Christian eare to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware
how much they had need to looke to themselues, told them, That they were but by the riuer
Sauus, diuided from the Turks; which in summer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in win-
ter hard frosen, and so to be passed: that the country beyond Danubius lay all open vpon them:
and that he, sometime the rich King of Seruia, was now driuen into exile by the power of the
Turks, depriued of his kingdome, of his children, shamefully disgraced, spoiled of his wealth
and fortune, glad to fly from place to place, and yet not able to find any safe place to rest in.
First he fled (as he sad) to Ragusium, where by and by he was sought after, and endangered by
the Turks: then into Hungary, which was also forthwith by them on euery side inuested; and L
whereof the Barbarian king now asked tribute, to haue some colour for the inuasion thereof:
which dreadfull enemy was not far off from it, but still houered euen ouer it: as well witnessed
Valachia and Transiluania, two of the greatest and richest prouinces of the Hungarian king-
dome; which had not the valour of *Huniades*, the fortune of the common-weale, and aboue all,
the mercy of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthy nation, the state of Hungary had
now bin vtterly forlorne. The euents of war (he said) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that
God would not euery day be tempted. Wherfore with many tears abundantly running down
his aged face, he besought King *Vladislaus* and the rest, not to let slip this faire occasion, nei-
ther by cowardise or negligence to break off the course of their good fortune and victory, but
to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes than of their own, and to sa- M
tisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he said) a sufficient exam-
ple to al men. Besides that, he offred a great sum of mony himself towards the defraying of the
charge of the war, assuring them also of great supplies both of men & mony from diuers other

Chri-

A Christian Princes. Which opinion of the Legat and Despots being generally liked & approued, a decree was made by a whole court of Parliament there assembled, That the king should himself in person, with all speed possible entertain that honorable war. So that though it were now vpon the approch of Winter, yet were men taken vp in euery place, and embassadors sent vnto the Emperor and the other neighbour Princes, to pray of them aid against the common enemy. Who for the most part excused themselues by their own particular affaires, but sent no aid at all. Neuertheless many deuout Christians both out of France and Germany, for the zeale they bare vnto Christ and the Christian religion, forsaking wife and children, and whatsoeuer they had else, came and worthily serued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and supplication made in all places, for the prosperous successe of this religious war,
B King *Vladislaus* the first of May set forward from Buda; where passing the riuer Danubius, and marching faire and softly, & comming to the riuer Tibiscus, he there staied three days for the comming of his army. Departing thence, and marching on alongst the side of Danubius, vntil he came within the sight of Bulgaria, he there at a place called Cobis, ouer against Sinderouia, passed ouer Danubius with his army, which was now grown very great: & so marched directly to Sophia, scituate about six daies march from Danubius, in the frontiers of Bulgaria, so called of a most sumptuous and magnificent temple there built by *Iustinian* the great emperor. Which city being then old and ruinous, & but badly fortified, was easily taken; and afterward *Sophia taken.* for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandement burnt, as were all the other country towns and villages thereabouts, to the terror of the rest. Marching thence, he
C came vnto the riuer Moraua, and there incamped: where the plain country easily riseth & falleth in manner of the sea, when it is moued with a little wind. Here 500 horsemen being sent ouer the riuer, not so much to seeke after prey, as to view the country, which way the army might most safely and easily passe, hapned vpon the Turks scouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderstanding by them, that 2000 of the Turks were comming at hand, knowing themselues too weake to encounter them, they retyred backe again with all speed they could, vnto the riuer; where many of them for feare leapt headlong from the high and broken banks, and so perished in the deepe; the rest tertified with the misfortune of their fellowes, stood still, doubtfully expecting what should become of themselues. Beyond the riuer was another hill vpon the top whereof the King with a great number of horsemen were hunting: whom the
D Turks a far off descrying, and doubtful to fall into some ambush, of purpose laid for them betwixt them and the riuer, without comming on further, retyred. Which they that before fearefully stayd on the further side of the riuer, perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the King downe to the riuer, followed a while after, so to increase their feare; and so hauing well feared one another, retired on both sides worse affraid than hurt. The next day the King passed ouer the riuer, sending out his scouts to see if all were cleare before him: by whom he was aduertised, That the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certaine ambushes fast by, expecting but a fit time to set vpon him. Whereupon entring into councell with his best and most expert captains, what were best to be done, it was resolued vpon, That *Huniades* the next night with 10000 choice horsemen, should vpon the sudden set vpon the enemy, then fearing no- *Huniades with ten thousand horsemen assaileth the Turke by night.*
E thing lesse. Who conducted by the espials, was in the first watch of the night brought very neere vnto them. The Moone by chance, as fauouring his great attempt, did then shine out, so that he might very well discerne how the enemy lay incamped, and which way to charge them for his best aduantage; which was by the same way they were most like to fly, if they should be put to the worst: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a most hidious outcry entred the campe, as then for the most part buried in sleepe and security: when as the Turks awaked with the sudden noyse, as it were out of a dead sleepe, and dismayed with the horror of the cry, began to betake them some to their weapons, some to their heeles. Of whom such as fled lighting vpon the enemies troups standing in their way, ran as fast backe againe: the other scarce yet well awake, and ouercome with feare, and now scarcely themselues, had
F much adoe to make themselues ready to fight. *Huniades* in the meane time riding vp and downe amongst his men, cheered them vp, still crying out and calling vpon them, couragiously to assaile their sleepy, naked, and fearefull enemies, and not to let slip so faire an occasion, and so notable a victory now already in their hands. At the first encounter the Turkes rather made a stirre, than fought; but after that they heard that *Huniades* was there, as men dis-

maied with his name, they turned their backes and fled, finding, which way soeuer they tooke, G
their fellows halfe dead or wounded: yea, such a confusion was raised amongst them with the greatnesse of the sudden feare, that thrusting together, with an inconsiderate desire of flight, they trod one another vnder foot, and thrust themselues one vpon anothers weapons: the greatest part of them driuen headlong into the thickets and other streits, & not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious enemy, fiercely pursuing of them, slain. All that night the fearefull Turks were with great slaughter held in chace: but at soone as it was day, the rest that remained of them, ran also the same fortune with their fellowes. A far greater slaughter was their made, than a man would thinke that so few men could haue made, when as but with 10000 horse, 30000 Turks were in one night slain, and 4000 taken, with a number of their ensignes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many lost, for the greatnesse of the slaughter: most re- H
port not aboue 500, for few of them found any enemy to resist them. There was taken all the spoile of a most rich campe, the enemy hauing carried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* hauing in so short time gained so notable a victory, and inriched his army, returned to the king in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto these victorious souldiers, than vnto the rest of the army, who most joyfully expected their returne. The King and the Despot hea-

The meeting of Vladislaus and Huniades after the victory.

ring of the approch of *Huniades* from the slaughter of the Turks, with the great applause and joyfull acclamation of the other legions, went to meet him three miles: and at such time as at their first meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in no case suffer him so to do, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victory, thanking God in the hearing of the whole army, that he of his mercy had giuen him such a I
Captaine, as, without enuy, in all mens judgements was worthy to rule the Roman Empire. In briefe, he shewed how much his country, his kingdome, yea the Christian commonweale, was bound and indebted vnto him, gaue him his due praises, exhorting all others to imitate his glory: the like honour did also all the rest of the nobility vnto him. As for the common souldiers, they could not be satisfied with beholding of him, but imbracing one another, as if they would haue died one in anothers arms, welcommed their victorious friends. So with joy joyning their forces together, & sending the rich spoile of the enemy, with the prisoners chained together in long ranks before them; the King and *Huniades* in great triumph returned into the campe, where they caused generall praiers, with thanksgiuing vnto almighty God for so great a victory, to be made thorowout the army. K

The Legat *Iulian*, Generall of the voluntary Christians, which for deuotions sake serued of their own charge, after so great a victory most earnestly persuaded the King and the rest of the great commanders of the army, to prosecute their good fortune, and in God his so great fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the rest of Bulgaria. Now had *Huniades* by his espials learned, that from Sophia it was but three daies journy to Philippopolis, a great city of Thracia; and the like distance from thence to Hadrianople, the chiefe seat of the Turkish tyrant; and as much more to Constantinople. The onely difficulty was, how to passe the great and rough mountaine Hemus; which running a maruellous way in length, euen vnto the Euxine sea, and mating almost the skie, diuideth the countries of Bulgaria and Seruia, from Macedonia and Thrace: and for the great height and roughnesse therof, is not to be pas- L
sed ouer but in two places; the one made by the great Emperor *Trajan* and the Romans, where as yet is to be seene a mighty strong gate built of great square stone, whereby the passage that way was opened or shut at the pleasure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call Saltiza. By either of these waies, if he should find them open, *Huniades* vnto whom the King had committed both the leading and the conduct of the army, purposed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke all such towns of Bulgaria as stood in their way; some by force, some by composition: wherein was no small helpe, the conformity of the Christian religion, the horrible cruelty of the Turks, the great affinity of language, the most effectuall means to win the loue of strangers: for the Polonians and the Bulgarians both discended of the Sclauonians, and vsing the same language, the Polo- M
nian horsemen came to no town, but it presently yeelded. But being come vnto the mountain Hemus, to haue entred into Thracia, the Winter weather being now very cold; they learned by their espials, that the aforesaid passages were both fast shut vp with great stones, timber, and such other light matter, so strongly, as that they were very hardly to be forced. Wherfore *Huniades*

A *niades* leauing the straiter way made by the hand of man (which beside the former fortification at the great gate, the Turks had in many places, with aboundance of water poured downe the steep hil in the night, and hard frosen with the coldnes of the weather, made so slippery, as that it was not possible either for man or beast there to stand, or to get vp that way) on Christmas euen came to the other, by which the riuer Saltiza runs, the which he found likewise shut Here they met with many inconueniences: first the difficulty of the passage (which old *Amurath* had (not without great reason) shut vp, and there placed strong garrisons, so at ease, and without danger of battell (so often by the Bassa's vnfortunatly prooued) to defend his kingdom in Macedonia and Thracia, from the inuasion of the Hungarians, who now of al nations he most dreaded. Besides that, in the army was such want of all things, as that the souldiers
B were ready to forsake their ensignes, and to rise vp in a generall mutiny: for the country neer the mountain Hemus, rising high, with broken rocks and inaccessible places, was altogether barren; & victuals failing in the camp, they were glad to liue with a little wheat & flesh boiled together, and that so sparingly, as that the soldiers began now generally to grow weak and faint. Besides that, the winter was exceeding cold, & the frost so great, that many times they could not go out of their tents to seek for forrage or water. So the army inforced with hunger and cold, and the difficulty of the passage, began to retyre, and had vndoubtedly bin dissolued, had it not bin for the often and earnest persuasions of *Huniades*: for he daily told them that the greatest difficulties were past, that that which remained was with their wonted valor and courage to be endured, wherunto nothing was high or difficult: That they should forth-
C with come into the borders of Thracia, where they should find plenty of all things: that they were now come so far, that if they would go back again, they should in those wast Countries through which they were to passe, find greater difficulties and dangers than in going forward: that these streits once opened, remained no more trauel, but cheerfully to fall to the spoil of a most rich and pleasant country. They were not (as he said) to stay in the midst of their fortunes, for that it was not alwaies permanent, and for that the contempt of Gods fauors caused them oftentimes to be taken from vs. All that was yet don (he said) was nothing, if they proceeded no further; for that whatsoeuer they had already won, was easily by the enemy to bee recouered, except that those which yet remained (for the most part of them, as he said, were slain, with their houses burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of Thracia and Macedonia,
D and so quite out of Europ. So whilst the soldiers heard *Huniades* speak, euery man was wel incouraged; but when they remembred the miseries wherwith they were inuironed, they cursed all the rash attempts of ambitious princes. In the mean time news was brought by the scouts that the Turks were comming after them: but then began they to rejoice, as deeming it much more honour, manfully to die in battell, than to starue with hunger and cold. Against these Turks was *Huniades* sent with certain troups of horsmen; who incountring with them, easily inforced them with losse to retyre. Eight times he incountred them (as the souldiers there present reported) and as often put them to flight. In retyring backe from the impregnable mountain, the King with the greatest part of the army went before, after whom followed *Huniades* and the Despot, a good days march: When the Turks that kept the passage vpon the
E mountain, vnderstanding of their return, followed them down the hil, in good hope to be well reuenged of them before they should get out of Bulgaria. *Carambey* Bassa of Romania, and brother to *Caly Bassa* (a man of all others in greatest fauor with *Amurath*, and his brother in law, as hauing maried his sister) was General of this army, & by him appointed to keep these streits; with expres charge, vpon no occasion whatsoeuer, although it made shew of neuer so assured a victory, to fight with the enemy: for he thought it victory enough, without any losse to haue kept his enemies out of Thracia. Which the old Kings command *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory easily to answer the contempt of that hee was commanded. The Christian army descending down the broken mountains, was come to a great mountain which the Bulgarians call Cunobiza, and part of the mountain Hemus. At
F whose heels followed *Carambey* with his Turks, stil houering ouer their heads to take them at some aduantage: whom the Christians beholding, could not by their Captains be stayd, but that they would many times by Companies fly forth vpon them, and desperately fight with them in places of great disaduantage; saying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than starue with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*, being himself a man of great courage, and desi-

The Hungarians inforced by the difficulty of the passage of the Mountain Hemus, retyre.

rous of honor,and by the rashnes of his enemies allured to fight;and withal,beside the aduan- G
tage of the ground, perceiuing himselfe to exceed his enemies both in strength and num-
ber of men,could not be staid,but would needs giue battel,with such a desire as if hee had al-
ready bin assured of the victory. *Huniades* & the Despot had before perceiued,that the Turks,
prouoked with the brauing of their men, would assuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore
much troubled with the absence of the King,who(as is before said)was gon a days march be-
fore they saw they could neither shun battel, neither could they haue so don, would their de-
sperat soldiers be stayd,for the desire they had to fight. Yet seeing *Carambey* comming down
vpon them,they put themselues(though vnwillingly)in best order they could to receiue him;
persuading their soldiers not rashly in fury to run vpon their enemies,as desperat men prodi- H
gall of their liues, but to keep their ranks,and orderly to fight,and so like valiant men to car-
ry away the victory,or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloudy remembrance therof. Now had
A great battell betwixt Huniades and the Bassa Carambey, wherein he is taken prisoner *Carambey* sent his horsmen down the hill, and the battell was begun; where both the armies
met together with great fury,and a cruel fight was made both at the foot of the hil,& among
the hils and vallies also: in which hard incounter many were slaine, as well on the one side as
the other. The Polonian men at arms (whom the King but a litle before had left with *Huniá-*
des against all euents) with the Hungarian light horsmen (of whom the Despot had the lea-
ding) fought so that day,as if they had fought for nothing more than how honorably to die:
and the Turks for a space stood hard to it,so that many were there slain: yet at length finding
themselues hardly laid to, as by desperat men, resolued to sell their liues dear, they began to
faint and to giue ground:when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with fresh supplies,ra- I
ted the cowardly,stayd them that were flying, and somtimes with rough speeches, somtimes
with fair persuasion, incouraged the wauering, and restored the battel, before almost quite
lost. Neither did *Huniades* and the Despot lesse bestir them: but as soone as they perceiued
the enemy a little to faint, by and by cried out, Victory; with cheerfull speech encouraging
their men,stil calling vpon them to keep their ranks strong,& to vrge their present good for-
tune, assuring themselues that they fought against those infidels vnder the fauor and prote-
ction of the Almighty: who forthwith sent certain companies of footmen, who climing vp
the hil among the bushes,with their half pikes and boar-spears panched the Turks horses, as
they passed by them. These loose companies did the Turks horsmen great harm,and here be-
gan their battel to decline; they which were comming downe, for fear of the danger retyring K
back again vnto them that were left aboue for the keeping of the streit;and the bolder sort of
them which were come down into the vallies,compassed about with the men at arms, hardly
recouered the rising of the hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them,one while
called back them that fled,another while relieued them that fainted, and to the vtmost of his
power restoring the battell,performed all the parts both of a valiant soldier and worthy Cap-
tain,couragiously fighting himself in the thickest of his enemies,and by his own valor stayd
for a time the lost battel. At length performing his last indeauour,deceiued by the snow,hee
fel into a bog,where sticking fast with his horse,and not able to help himselfe,hee was taken
prisoner by a common soldier. The rest that escaped out of this bloudy battell,retyred them-
selues vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountain for the defence of the passage. After L
whom the Christians followed,through the vntract & rough places,vntil that hindred from
their further pursuit by the approch of the night,and the abruptnes of the way,they were glad
to sound a retreit,and so retyred vnto the camp. Many other great men were taken beside *Ca-*
rambey,but many moe slain in the battell, and most of all in the flight; few escaped but such
as fled back again vp into the mountains. In the retreit, *Huniades* seeing so gallant a man as
was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknowne) vnworthily bound and led prisoner by a
common souldier, asked him if he would sell his prisoner? Who said hee would; and asked
for him ten ducats, a poor price for so great a man. Vnto whom *Huniades* commaunded to
be giuen four hundred, and so sent him vnto his Tent, comforting of him vp with cheerfull
words,and willing that he should be well vsed. The Despot the same night comming vnto M
Huniades his Tent,to confer with him about the remainder of the war, and seeing so braue a
man standing amongst the rest by the fire side, began to talk with him in the Turkish Lan-
guage, wherof he had some knowledge, by reason of the neerenesse of the Nation, and such
matters as he had somtimes to do with them. And hauing some guesse by his talke, what
hee

A he was, and pittying his estate, asked *Huniades* how he would ransom him? who said, That he cost him 400 ducats, but that he valued him at forty thousand: which the Despot offred to pay him. Thus by the strange change of fortune, was *Carambey*, of late so great a commander, and so neer allyed to the great Turk, valued and prised twice in one day by his enemies, as a mirror of the vncertaintie of worldly blis and felicity. The Polonians report somwhat otherwise of this battel; as that *Vladislaus* should himself therin be present, and the chief that therin commanded. Howbeit the Hungarian Writers, whose credit we herin follow, report it as before, not to haue bin fought vnder the good fortune of the King, then absent, but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Despot.

B Out of this battel (or as some others report, a little before, out of the battel of Morava) fled the great captain *George Castriot*, otherwise of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now seeking to deliuer both himself and his natiue country of Epirus out of the thraldom of the Turks, as presently after he did. Whose vnwonted flight not a little terrified the rest of the Turks Army, and much furthered the Christians victory, whose proceedings he alwaies secretly fauoured, hauing (as it was thought) secret intelligence with the great Captain *Huniades*, who not without instructions from him (as some say) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turks at Morava. But of him and his worthy acts don for the deliuerance and defence of his country, more shall be said herafter.

Scanderbeg reuolts from the Turks.

Shortly after this great ouerthrow and discomfiture of the Turks, the two great Captains, *Huniades* and the Despot, together with the King, consulted for the remouing of the Turkes
C garrisons left aboue for the keeping of the streit passages of the mountaine, and the prosecution of the war. Which *Vladislaus* (considering the difficulty of the matter, and his souldiers necessity) thought it not good further to prosecute, but forthwith to return. But *Huniades* and the Despot, the one thirsting after honor, and the other in no lesse hope, by the good succes of this war to recouer again his lost kingdom, said, That the Turks were in any case to be remoued, the passage opened, and the sparks which yet remained, for feare of raising a greater fire, extinguished. Opposing against the difficultie by the King alledged, the invincible courage of his soldiers, wherunto (they said) nothing was impossible or difficult. To which opinion the King also (lest he should seem to distrust the valor of his captains and soldiers) easily yeelded, and so commanded on Gods name to set forward. The first that mounted the hil was the
D Kings battel, which by the roughnes and abruptnes of the mountain hindred, oft times stayd. But *Huniades* still caried with an earnest desire to prosecute the victory, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in searching about found a crooked turning way, wherby he and his men more easily and readily got vp to the top of the mountain, euen with their enemies, vndescried or molested, by reason of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope easily to haue come to their enemies. But being come vp to the place they desired, they found such a deep and wide gaping of the rocke betwixt them and the enemy, as was neither to bee stopt nor filled vp: yet being come very neer, they attempted by crosbow shot & great stones cast out of slings, and other such engins, to haue remoued the Turks from their places. Who were therwith, and with their vnexpected approch, at the first so greatly both annoyed & dis-
E comfited, that they were almost at the point to haue forsaken the passage, had not *Alis-Beg* (but the night before chosen their General in stead of *Carambey*) incouraged them, and taught them how by shrouding themselues vnder the broken rockes, and parapets with tumultuary labor cast vp, to saue themselues from the shot of their enemies. In the mean time also *Huniades*, by another more high and steep way wherby the enemy was also to be approched, had sent vp other companies of soldiers, who fighting at too much disaduantage, were easily by the Turks rejected. So at length, seeing the vain attempt giuen by himselfe vpon the top of the hil, and the desperat danger of others in climbing the inaccessible mountain, where one might keep down a hundred; dispairing to inforce the enemy, he by the Kings command caused a retreit to be sounded, and so again retyred down the mountain, to the great rejoicing of
F the Turks. The next day, the winter cold raging, and wants in the army daily more and more increasing, the King with the great commanders entred into consultation for the hasting of their return out of that rough and barren country, into places of greater plenty, before the army were brought into any greater extremity. Wherunto *Huniades* (giuing place to necessity which always suffreth not to be regarded what is seemly) now easily yeelded: only the despot

Vladislaus seeketh in vain to open the passage of the mountain Hemus.

ſpake againſt it, blaming them, that hauing taken the General, and put the enemies to flight, G
and victory now as it were in their hands, they would not proſecute the ſmall remainder of
the war, but cowardly turn their backs to their vanquiſhed enemies; promiſing that he him-
ſelf would find mony enough for the prouiding of all things needfull for relief of the Army.
So ſaid the Popes Legat alſo. But foraſmuch as the wants of the army were great, and the ſol-
diers preſently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it
neuer ſo great, be perſuaded to ſtay; openly crying out, that it was not their captains & lieu-
tenants that wanted any thing, but them the poor ſoldiers that ſtarued for hunger. As for the
Deſpot, That he in hope of recouering his kingdom perſuaded things impoſſible, and no way
to be performed, neither to be any thing moued with the death of their men and cattel. Need
(they ſaid) could not be vanquiſhed; but that when winter was paſt, they would willingly re- H
turn again vnto the ſacred war. In the mean time, Winter raging, and hunger commanding,
let vs giue ouer (ſaid they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refreſh our bodies,
ſpent with labor, cold, and hunger. For which reaſons, the King ſending his baggage before,
retyred again the ſame way he came. Which the Turks from aboue beholding, and ſtrength-
ned with new ſupplies, followed after them as after men that had fled, oftentimes aſſailing
them in the rereward, & ſetting vpon them ſomtimes on the one ſide, ſomtimes on the other,
with often skirmiſhes both did and receiued much harm. Whoſe maner of fight was, to re-
tyre when they were themſelues charged, and preſently by great troups to charge again their
enemies, their backs once turned to them; and ſo troubled the army, that it was conſtrained
oftentimes to ſtay: beſides that, loded with the rich ſpoil of the enemy, and much baggage, I
The Hungurians much troubled in paſſing a thick wood. it could not of it ſelf make any great haſt. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke
wood, full of deep bogs and water-courſes hard to be paſſed thorow: where the reſt of the Ar-
my going before, in the rereward at the entrance of the wood were left certain ſtrong compa-
nies of men at arms, as a wall againſt the purſuing enemy: whom the Turks with their ready
light horſmen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the wood was fought a great fight,
and a great tumult raiſed: vnto the noiſe whereof they which marched before haſtily retur-
ning, in skirmiſhing, many of them fel into thoſe deep bogs and queachy places, out of which
they could hardly rid themſelues again. Beſides that, there were many crooked and trouble-
ſome turnings and windings, with ſudden deſcents ſo ſteep, as that going down the ſame, their
horſes came tumbling heels ouer head, and there lay ouerthrown together with their riders: K
in ſuch ſort, as that to auoid theſe difficulties, they were oftentimes inforced to fight on
foot. In which troubleſome skirmiſh about fourſcore of the men at arms were loſt; but of the
Turks, beſide them that were ſlain, were taken an hundred and ſeuenty, all whom *Huniades* cau-
ſed preſently to be ſlain. In this wood the Chriſtians were more troubled with the difficul-
ties of the place, than the enemies aſſaults. Wherfore wants daily more and more increaſing
in the army, which by reaſon of the multitude of their cariages, abundance of their baggage,
and often aſſaults of the Turks, was able to make no way; the King for fear his Army ſhould
in ſo long and ſlow a march thorow thoſe troubleſome and barren countries, bee conſumed
with hunger and ſuch other wants, cauſed all the carriages and baggage to be brought into
the midſt of the army, & of it, all ſuch things as ſerued rather for burthen than vſe, to be there L
burnt; and the arms as wel of ſuch ſouldiers as he had there loſt, as of the enemy, to be buried
in the ground, and all the weak beaſts that ſerued for burthen, to be killed. So the army well
diſcharged of ſuch vnprofitable burdens, marched much more ſpeedily, neither was ſo much
ſubiect vnto the aſſaults of the Turks as before. And ſo at length by long journies *Vladiſlaus*
arriued with his army at Belgrade, where he was of his ſubiects honorably receiued. And ha-
uing there ſtaid certain daies, and wel refreſhed his army, departing thence, and paſſing the ri-
Vladiſlaus honorably receiued at Buda. uer Sauus, came to the royal city Buda, where he was of al his ſubiects joyfully receiued alſo:
the Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Deſpot on the left: after whom fol-
lowed other colonels, captains and lieutenants with their companies; who at the firſt meeting
with the citiſens, more than a mile from the city, in token of their mutuall joy, gaue together M
ſuch joyfull acclamations and outcries, as that the heauens ſeemed to reſound, and the earth
to ſhake with the noiſe therof. Before the King, at his comming to the city, went a long com-
pany of the notable Turks Captiues; and next before him *Carambey* bound in chaines, vpon
whom all mens eies were fixed. With them were alſo caried the enemies enſignes, and ſuch

ſpoils

A spoils as had bin saued. Behind the King came *Huniades* in a triumphant robe, in the midst betwixt the Legat on the right hand, and the Despot on the left, as he that next vnto the King had best deserued the honor of the triumph. Next vnto them followed the deuout Christians, that for the zeal of religion had most honorably of their owne charges voluntarily serued in those wars: and on both sides of them the ciuil magistrats and best of the citisens. Behind them came the rest of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiscuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praises of the king and *Huniades*. Before all these went the Prelats and Priests in solemn procession, singing hymns and psalms of thanksgiuing vnto almighty God. *Vladislaus* comming to the gate of the city, acknowledging God to haue bin the author of so great a victory, alighting from his horse, on foot went
B first to the Cathedral church of our Lady, and there giuing most hearty thanks vnto almighty God, hanged vp the enemies ensignes, and part of the spoile, in perpetuall remembrance of so notable a victory; which he afterwards caused to be most liuely depainted in a faire table of most curious work, and there in a fair church to be hanged vp; as were also the Arms of all the notable Christians that serued in that most famous expedition, which remained there a long time after. These solemnities ended, he went to his palace in his castle, and there hauing giuen to euery man, but especially to *Huniades*, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom the Polonians in most part agree, report of this notable expedition of their King *Vladislaus*. Howbeit the Turks (notable dissemblers of their own losses) confessing the great ouerthrow, call the Bassa so ouerthrown, not by the name of
C *Carambey*, but of *Cassanes*; and the noble prisoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet-Beg*, Sanzack of Ancyra, *Amuraths* son in law, and brother to *Caly Bassa*, *Amuraths* great counsellor, of some called *Carambey*, after the name of his father.

Out of this late slaughter of the Turks, where *Carambey* was taken, scaped that valiant Prince and famous warrior *George Castriot* (of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared: whose noble mind had long desired to break out of the golden fetters of the Turkish thraldom, and to be reuenged of the intolerable injury by *Amurath* don to his Countrey, his parents, his brethren and himself. Although he had always most warily dissembled the same, for fear of the old tyrant: being oftentimes solicited and animated therto by secret letters and
D messengers from his friends in Epirus, knowing right wel that the least fortune thereof had bin vnto him present death. But finding no fit means for the accomplishment therof, wisely dissembled the same, with all the shews of loue and loyaltie to *Amurath* that might be; vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turks army vnder the leading of *Carambey*, and in so great a confusion, he took occasion to put in practise what he had long before in his deep conceit plotted, for the deliuery both of himself and his country from the Turkish bondage and slauery. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for so we wil henceforth cal him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto some of his trusty friends and countrymen, no lesse desirous of liberty than himself, but especially to his cousin *Amesa* the son of his brother *Reposius*, a yong man of great courage; in great confusion of the Turkish army, when euery man was glad to shift for himself, had euer in his flight a vigilant eye vpon the Bassa's principal secretary; whom ac-
E companied with a few Turkes, hee with *Amesa* and other his faithfull friends closely followed as he fled from the slaughter: but when he had got the Secretary and his followers in place most conuenient for his purpose, he set vpon the Turks and slew them euery one, & carrying the secretary away with him fast bound, when he had brought him whither he thought good, with great threats compelled him (sore against his wil) to write counterfeit letters as from the Bassa his master, vnto the gouernor of Croia, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, forthwith to deliuer vnto *Scanderbeg* the new chosen gouernor, the charge of the city with the garrison there: cunningly interlacing many other things in the said letters, wherby the matter might seem more probable. Which letters so extorted, he presently slew the Secretary, with as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpose that his doings might the longer
F be kept from *Amuraths* knowledge, who not hearing what was become of him, might easily conjecture that he was slain by the Hangarians among the rest of the Turks.

Whilst the fame of this great ouerthrow is going to Hadrianople, and there filleth the Turks court with sorrow and heauinesse; in the mean time *Scanderbeg* hauing with him three thousand Epirot souldiers which followed him out of the battell, as men desirous rather to fight

Scanderbeg wisely dissembleth his desire for the deliuery of himself and his country.

fight for the liberty of themſelues and of their country, than in the quarrell of the Turk, was G
with incredible celeritie come into the vpper country of Dibra, in the borders of Epirus, a-
bout 70 miles from Croia: where was moſt joyfully receiued, and ſtaying there but a day, he
choſe a few of thoſe 300 he brought with him, to wait vpon him when he went to Croia, as
if they had bin his domeſticall ſeruants: the reſt, with other 300 ſouldiers which were then
come vnto him out of Dibra, he appointed to be led by ſecret by-wayes thorow the Woods
and mountains by perfect guids, vntill they came ſo nigh Croia as was poſſible for them to
come vnperceiued; and there to ſtay vntill hee might find opportunity to conuey them into
the city to oppreſſe the Turks garriſon. So he with a ſmall company of followers, as if they
had bin his priuat retinue, took the way towards Croia. But when he began to draw neer to
the city, he ſent *Ameſa* before with two ſeruitors attending vpon him, as if he had bin his Se- H
cretary, to certifie the gouernor of his comming. This yong gentleman, as he was of a ſharpe
wit and well ſpoken, ſo had he framed his ſpeech and attyre, that hee ſeemed to bee a naturall
Turke. Who as ſoon as he was come into the city, went vnto the Gouernor, whom after hee
had ſaluted according the Turkiſh manner, he deliuered his meſſage as from *Scanderbeg* his
maſter, with ſo good grace, and words ſo wel placed, that all he ſaid was verily beleeued for
truth. But when *Scanderbeg* himſelf came, and had deliuered the great Commaunders Let-
ters, the Gouernor made no further queſtion of the matter, but preſently deliuered vnto him
the gouernment of the City, and the next day departed out of Croia with all his houſhold
toward Hadrianople. *Scanderbeg* hauing by this policie got the gouernment of the chief city
of Epirus, the next night following found means in the dead time of the night to conuey in- I
to the city the ſoldiers of Dibra, who were by this time come according as he had before ap-
pointed. Moſt part of them he placed in moſt conuenient places of the city, and for the ſpee-
dy ſuppreſſion of the Turks garriſon, he with the reſt firſt ſet vpon the Turks which kept the
watch vpon the wall, and ſlew them; and afterwards breaking into their priuat houſes, ſlew
many of them in their beds: the Chriſtian citiſens alſo taking vp arms at the ſame time, hel-
ped to increaſe the ſlaughter of the Turks, ſo that in the ſpace of a few hours there was none of
the Turkiſh garriſon left aliue, except ſome few, which were content to forſake their Maho-
metan ſuperſtition, and to become Chriſtians. Many of the Turks might ſo haue ſaued their
liues and would not, chuſing rather to die, and (as it is reported) alſo to kil themſelues, than
to forſake that their damnable ſuperſtition: ſo ſmall is the regard of life to reſolute mindes, K
in what quarrel ſoeuer.

The city of Croia being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recouered (wherin appeared both the
greateſt difficulty, and hope of his good or bad ſucces in ſo great an attempt) hee preſently
ſent *Ameſa* back again into Dibra, and other ſpeedy meſſengers alſo into all the parts of Epi-
rus, to diſperſe the news, and to ſtir vp the people to take vp arms for recouery of their loſt li-
berty. But flying fame, the ſpeedieſt poſt, had preuented the meſſengers by him ſent, and al-
ready filled euery corner of Epirus with report of *Scanderbegs* comming, and of all that was
don at Croia: and the oppreſſed Epirots who had long wiſhed to ſee that happy day, were
now vp in arms in euery place, wanting nothing but leaders; whoſe comming although they
greatly deſired, they ſtaied not therupon, but running together by heaps (as the maner of the L
common people is in all great tumults) they ſet vpon the Turks garriſons which lay abroad
in the country, and ſlew moſt part of them: wherby it came to paſſe, that no Turke could ſtir
in the country, but that he was ſnatched vp and ſlain; ſo that in few days there was not a Turk
to be found in Epirus, but ſuch as lay in garriſon in ſtrong towns. In this common fury, the
Gouernor of Croia with all his retinu was by the countrey people by the way as he went ſet
vpon and ſlain, and all his goods taken as a prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recouered Croia, and ſcoured the Countrey, yet to remoue the
garriſons which *Amurath* had put in euery ſtrong city, was thought to be a matter of greateſt
importance, and moſt difficulty. For which purpoſe he commanded thoſe whom he had ap-
pointed for Captains, ſpeedily to repair vnto Croia with all the power they could make. At M
which time alſo diuers Noblemen his nigh kinſmen reſorted to him with their followers: ſo
that within a few daies he had together at Croia 12000 ſoldiers well appointed. With this
army he marched from Croia to Petrella, a ſtrong City fiue and twenty miles diſtant from
Croia, and incamped before it. This City is ſtrongly ſcituat vpon the top of a ſteepe rocky
mountain;

Scanderbeg commeth with his Army to Petrella.

A mountain, as all the reſt of the cities of Epirus be, and was by the Turks wel furniſhed with men, munition, and other things needfull; yet *Scanderbeg* was in hope that the Turkiſh gariſon there, terrified with the fortune of the garriſon of Croia, and the ſlaughter of the Turks in the country round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reaſonable conditions. Which to make proof of, as ſoon as he was incamped, he ſent one of thoſe ſoldiers which had followed him out of Hungary (a faithfull and wiſe fellow) vnto Petrella, to offer vnto the ſoldiers, that if they would yeeld vp the city, it ſhould be at their choice, either to continue in ſeruice with *Scanderbeg* (with whom they ſhould find moſt bountifull entertainment) or els to depart with bag and baggage at their pleaſure, with an honorable reward to be diuided among them. The ſubtill meſſenger comming thither, and framing his tale according to the preſent occaſion,
B and neceſſitie of the time, firſt declared vnto them, how that *Amurath* of late ouercome by the Hungarians in a great battel, and looking euery day to be ſet vpon by diuers other Chriſtian Princes, was ſo buſy that he had not leiſure to looke into Epirus, or to ſend them any reliefe. After that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the conditions before rehearſed, ſetting the ſame forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way, to conſider the dreadful miſery that but the other day befel to the gariſon at Croia, and others their fellows abroad in the country, whoſe dead bodies as then lay in euery corner of Epirus, as a prey to the hungry dogs and greedy wolues. Which thing was eaſily beleeued of them of the garriſon, for that diuers of the Turks lately fled out of the country into the City, had themſelues ſeen the ſame to be true. The gouernor hauing a little conſidered of the matter, was content
C to giue vp the city, vpon condition, that he with the ſoldiers might in ſafety depart with ſuch things as they had; not couenanting vpon any further reward, becauſe it ſhould not bee ſayd that he had ſold the city. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promiſed to performe, the Turkiſh gouernour comming forth with all his garriſon, yeelded vp the city, and *Scanderbeg* mindful of his promiſe, gaue vnto them both meat and mony, and ſent them with a ſufficient convoy of horſmen in ſafety out of Epirus.

Petrella yeelded to Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained Petrella, he placed therin a conuenient garriſon, and ſet all things in order as he thought good: but ſuffered none to enter into the City but the appointed garriſon, although it was then very cold and froſty weather. This don, he preſently raiſed his camp, and following his good fortune marched toward Petra-Alba in ſuch haſt, as
D if the city had bin running away from him. Well knowing, that though time be euermore pretious, yet neuer more than in martiall affaires, wherein the leaſt moment is oftentimes of ſuch power, as to effect or-fruſtrat mens greateſt deſignes. Petra-Alba is a City in the country of Æmathia, diſtant from Petrella three miles, ſtrongly ſcituat vpon the top of a mountain, neer vnto the riuer Æmathus. *Scanderbeg* had ſcarſly well incamped himſelfe before this City, but that the Gouernor therof, terrified with the fortune of Croia and Petrella, offered to deliuer vp the city on the ſame conditions that were granted at Petrella. Which beeing agreed vpon, the city was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

Petra-Alba yeelded.

Petra-Alba being thus taken, and all things ſet in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the courſe
E of his victory, without delay came to Stelluſa, which is alſo a ſtrong city in Æmathia, fifty miles diſtant from Croia, pleaſantly (as it were of purpoſe) built vpon the top of an high hil, ſtanding in the midſt of a pleaſant and fruitful vally, with great plains round about it. There *Scanderbeg* incamped a little before the going down of the Sun, and reſted that night. In the morning he ſent a meſſenger to the city, with like conditions as were accepted at Petrella & Petra-Alba: which moſt part of the garriſon ſoldiers of the Turks would gladly haue accepted, but that *Deſdrot* the Gouernor of the city, with ſome few others, earneſtly withſtood the reſt: wherupon a great contention aroſe amongſt the garriſon ſouldiers. But the greater part deſirous to yeeld vp the city; when they could by no means perſuade the gouernor and thoſe few which took his part, to yeeld to their deſires, they violently ſet vpon him, and deliuered
F him with the reſt, to *Scanderbeg* faſt bound, and ſo yeelded vp the city. For which fact, fearing to return vnto *Amurath*, ſome of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterward became Chriſtians. The reſt were either honeſtly prouided for, or els well rewarded, and ſuffered to depart whither they would. All the other weaker places of Epirus, wherin any of the Turkiſh garriſons lay, hearing that the ſtrongeſt Cities were already deliuered to *Scanderbeg*, in ſhort

Stelluſa yeelded by the garriſon.

time

time yeelded themselues vpon like conditions: only Sfetigrade (otherwise called the Holy G
city) remained in the possession of the Turks: which city is placed in the vpper Countrey of Dibra, in the frontiers of Epirus, vpon the top of a high steep hill, as if it were an Eagles nest. Vnto this city came *Scanderbeg* with all his army; and hauing placed his tents, he began first to assay if he could gain it by composition, as he had don the rest: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he caused his Embassadors to declare vnto them all that had happened at Croia, Petrella, Petra-Alba, & Stellusa, specially how he had vsed the garison of Stellusa which yeelded vnto him, with all bounty and curtesie; and how that on the contrary hee had the gouernor in bands, with all his wilful partakers, whom they should presently see executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the city. This message troubled the minds of all the garrison, but especially of the gouernour, seeing before his eies in the wofull H
example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himself. Wherefore fearing to deliuer his own opinion, and giue answer to the Embassadors, for offending the inconstant multitude and vnknown minds of the people; he first entertained the Embassadors honourably, and afterwards turning himself vnto the citisens and soldiers, said vnto them, *Worthy men and most faithfull soldiers, what is your pleasure, or what shall we answer to these our enemies demaunds?* Then one of the souldiers that stood by, a rough bold spirited fellow, vnwilling for his owne part to giue vp the city, and deeming the gouernor to be of the same mind, in that he termed them worthy and faithfull, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an enemy, drawing out his sword, and with his right hand shaking it on high, answered: I

A notabl speech of a Common souldier to the rest of his Fellowes, for the holding out of the city against Scanderbeg.

Most valiant Gouernor, this same and the like shall make answer for vs. Nothing was to lesse purpose, than with premeditated words to seek to terrifie valiant minds, first with the diuers fortune of Croia, and then of Stellusa: for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, so also are their manners and dispositions. Euery man wisely directeth his own actions according to his own proper humour, and by the same playes the fool or bedlam. We prescribe no lawes to them of Petrella, nor to them of Stellusa, neither let them prescribe any vnto vs. Let neuer so base examples of cowardly slaues euer enter into the thoughts of couragious men. Braue minds disdain to imitate other men in their honest actions, much lesse in their cowardise. And why? for euery man liueth after his own fashion. Wherfore let Scanderbeg *proceed, let him kil the gouernor of Stellusa before our faces, let him sacrifice our fellow soldiers; do you therfore think that we shall die in their bodies? shall our liuing spirits be there extinguished? shall our bloud there bee* K
spilt? But ô happy bodies, ô ghosts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthy defence of your liberty and faith haue indifferently contemned gold, siluer, death, and torture, and whatsoeuer els miserable worldlings hold dear or dismall! Wherfore carry thou back again vnto thy master this answer from a common soldier, If he seek to impose those conditions vpon vs, let him once more bare that arm of his, which men of courage fear not so much as he thinketh. He may peraduenture inforce vs to these conditions of his, if God forsake vs; but assuredly, persuade vs vnto them shall he neuer. And yet for all that, your Master Scanderbeg *is not the man we haue long since heard him reported to be, of an honourable minde, easie to forgiue, and one that will indifferently iudge betwixt the enemy and himself: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernor of Stellusa, for that he freely, iustly, and honorably stood in defence of his King, his faith and liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, whereas he hath not deserued the same, although* L
he hath resolutely offered himselfe therunto for defence of his liberty.

All they which were present listned with great attention to the souldiers speech, neither was he interrupted by any vntill he had said what he would. Then the souldiers thronging about him, and beating their swords and targets together, withall gaue a great shout, in token that they all approued his speech for answer. So the Gouernour incouraged with the cheerfulnes of his souldiers, returned the Embassadour without other answer than that of the common souldiers, and presently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great cheerfulnes ordered all things for the better defence of the City. But when *Scanderbeg* had heard the answer that was sent him from the City, deliuered by the mouth of a common Souldier, hee M
smiled therat, and said, *He is vndoubtedly a valiant souldier, if his deeds be answerable to his words: but if my force fail me not, I will also make him happy amongst the happy ghosts of them of Stellusa.* And by and by after, he commaunded the Gouernour of Stellusa with the other Captiues to be brought before him, and there caused some of them which were content voluntarily to forsake

Scanderbeg his short answer to the Souldiers speech.

A forsake their Mahometan superstition, to be presently baptised, to the great griefe of the other Turks. *Desdrot* the gouernor with the rest, to the terror of the defendants, were in their sight put to death: whereupon the garrison souldiers with great indignation gaue a great shout from the wall, and bitterly railed vpon the Christians.

Desdrot gouernor of Stellusa, executed.

Scanderbeg considering the strength of the city, with the time of the yeare, vnfit for souldiers to keep the field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Moses Golemus*, a most valiant captain, with a garrison of three thousand souldiers, to keepe in the Turks garrison at Sfetigrade, and to defend the borders of Epirus, vntill he might at more conuenient time himselfe returne againe to the siege: and so with the rest of his army repaired to Croia; when he had in the space of little more than one month, to his immortall praise, recouered his kingdome, and dri-
B uen the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; excepting only Sfetigrade: which city also not long after was by composition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his first comming into Epirus, he neuer slept aboue two houres in a night, but with restlesse labor prosecuted his affairs. He euer fought against the Turks with his arme bare, and that with such fiercenesse, that the bloud did oftentimes burst out of his lips. It is written, that he with his owne hand slew three thousand Turks in the time of his warres against them. But of his great and worthy victories obtained against the two mighty Turkish Kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his sonne, more shall be said hereafter in due time and place.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force and policy wrung his inheritance out of *Amu-*
Macedonia spoiled by Scanderbeg.
raths hands, and scoured the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; he proceeded further, and
C ouerran part of Macedonia, making sundry incursions into the heart of that country, being then in the Turks possession, whereby he so enriched his souldiers, that they desired of him no better pay. Which was so vsuall a thing with this restlesse Prince, as that it began to grow into a prouerbe in most Princes courts, That the spoile of *Amurath* his dominion, was *Scanderbegs* reuenues. Complaint hereof came dayly to *Amuraths* court, which the crafty aged sire (being then troubled with the Hungarian warres) seemed at the first to make no great account of, but as of that he could easily and at his pleasure remedy; although he was therewith inwardly grieued at the heart. But when the certaine report of one mischiefe as it were in the necke of another, continually sounded in his eares, and that he saw no end to be expected of these mi-
series, he sent *Alis Bassa*, one of his greatest men of war, with an army of forty thousand sele&
D souldiers, at once to subdue the country of Epirus, and to bring it againe vnder his obeisance.
Alis Bassa with an army of forty thousand sent against Scanderbeg.
The setting forth of this great army, vnder the conduct of so famous a captaine, repleniſhed the minds of the Turks with such an assured hope of victory, that a man would haue thought *Scanderbeg* had bin already taken, and now brought to execution: yea the common soldiers before their setting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the diuision of the spoile they were neuer like to haue: *So ready are men to promise wonders to themselues, whilest they conferre but with their own desires.* And on the other side, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the small country of Epirus, with great terror and feare of *Alis Bassaes* comming. The countrymen with their families fled into the strong cities, and the citisens within their wals fell to fortifying the same, and kept continual watch and ward, as if the enemy had euen then lien fast
E by them: the aged men & women commended themselues and al theirs first, o God by praiers and then to the courage of the lusty soldiers with tears, as in case of extreme peril and danger. Only *Scanderbeg* was nothing moued either with the terrible report of the Bassaes comming, or the vain feare of his subjects; but alwaies kept the same cheerfulnes both of countenance & speech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkish wars, and hauing (as was supposed) certain intelligence before from his secret friends in the Turks court, of all *Amuraths* designes. So that hauing set all things in order for the safety of his country, he began to leauy an army at Croia: at which time most part of his subjects of Epirus, which were able to beare armes, repaired vnto him: the confederat Christian Princes also, his neighbors, and for most part his kinsmen, sent to him great supplies: beside other deuout and war-
F like minded Christians, which voluntarily resorted vnto him from far, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he chose only 8000 horsemen and seuen thousand foot, when as he might haue raised a far greater army: and placing some few in garrisons in the frontier cities where he thought most conuenient, all the rest he sent home againe to their dwellings. At which his confidencie, his friends, yea and his enemies also much maruelled, that when he might

might haue had so many, he would take the field with so few: with which small army of fifteen thousand, he marched from Croia, foureſcore miles to Dybra: where hearing by his eſpials, of the approch of his enemies, after he had with cheerfull ſpeech encouraged his ſouldiers, he encamped with his army in the lower country of Dibra, neere vnto a wood ſide, right in the way where the Baſſa muſt needs paſſe. In which wood he placed *Gnee Muſachee*, and *Ameſa* in ambuſh with three thouſand men: commanding them to ſtand cloſe, vntill they ſaw he had throughly joyned battell with the Baſſa, and then with all their force to breake forth vpon his rereward. The Baſſa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going downe of the Sun, and there reſted that night, making great ſhew of mirth and joy, with great fires in euery corner of the campe, as the Turkiſh manner of encamping is. Wheras in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were ſilent, and no ſhew of any fire at all; for ſo *Scanderbeg* had commanded: which made the Turks the more careleſſe, deeming thereby the Chriſtians as good as already diſcouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his army in order of battell, placing *Tanuſius* in the left wing, with fifteen hundred horſemen, and as many foot; and *Moſes* in the right with like number: and leading the maine battell himſelfe, the rereward was committed to *Vranacontes*, a man renowned in thoſe daies, both for his grauity in councel, and for his valour in armes fit to command or to be commanded; but afterwards, amongſt the reſt, moſt famous for the worthy defending of Croia againſt *Amurath*, being then there himſelfe in perſon. *Alis Baſſa* contemning the ſmall number of *Scanderbegs* army, ſeeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order therof, gaue the firſt charge with a ſmall troup of horſmen: who at the firſt incounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpoſe that the Chriſtians haſtily purſuing their vntimely hope, might diſorder their battel, & ſo giue occaſion to their owne ouerthrow. But by the commandement of *Scanderbeg* (who eaſily perceiued the Baſſaes meaning) their dangerous forwardnes was warily waied, and all with ſafety kept in good order. So both armies comming on, the wings began the battel afreſh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Baſſa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the battels were throughly joyned, *Muſachee* and *Ameſa* ſuddenly iſſued out of the wood, and fiercely ſet vpon the rereward of the Turks army, where they made great ſlaughter, and forced many of the Turks for feare to fly. Thus was the Baſſaes great army driuen to fight both before and behind, being hardly beſet and laid vnto with a ſmall number. The Baſſa had placed his beſt ſoldiers neereſt vnto himſelfe in the maine battel, as his moſt aſſured ſtrength and laſt refuge: theſe valiant men ſtood faſt, and renewed the battell, before almoſt loſt. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a ſtand: vntill that the well aduiſed and valiant captaine *Vranacontes* hauing receiued the wearied ſoldiers into the rereward, and ſetting al things there in ſafety, accompanied with certain troups of freſh ſoldiers which he brought out of the rereward, brake through the Baſſaes army with ſuch ſlaughter of the Turks, that he made way for *Scanderbeg* & all the reſt of his army. The Turks diſcomforted with the inuincible courage of theſe old ſoldiers, and the ſlaughter of their fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their own blood, betooke themſelues to flight; whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued, and ſlew of them two and twenty thouſand: at which time were alſo two thouſand others taken priſoners, with foure and twenty of the Turks enſignes: whereas of the Chriſtians were ſlain not paſt an hundreth and twenty. The enemies tents with all their carriages, were at the ſame time taken alſo. After this great victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his ſeuen thouſand footmen, horſmen, by giuing vnto them the horſes of the ſlain Turks, he brake into the enemies country, and entred farre into Macedonia, where he filled the deſires of his ſouldiers with the wealth and ſpoile thereof, ſparing nothing that fire and ſword could deuoure: and ſo with victory returned to Croia, where he was of his ſubjects joyfully receiued. *Alis Baſſa* with the remainder of his diſcomfited army, returned to Hadrianople, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardiſe and want of diſcretion, for that he had loſt ſo puiſſant an army to ſo weak an enemy. Whereof when he had cleared himſelfe by the modeſt rehearſall of his former victories, and the teſtimony of all the other captains preſent with him in that battell, he was pardoned, and ſo againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of war.

G H I K L M

The battell betwixt Alis Baſſa & Scanderbeg.

A great ſlaughter of the Turks

Amurath in deſpaire.

Amurath hauing receiued two ſo great ouerthrows, firſt from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*, and ſeeing himſelfe elſewhere beſet with ſo many miſchiefs, as that he could not tell which way to turne himſelfe; tormented with deſpaire, and deſire of reuenge,

A uenge, whereof he saw small possibility, fell into such a melancholy passion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, hee was about to haue become the bloudy executioner of himselfe, had not *Caly Bassa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying spirits: by whose persuasion (contrary to his haughty nature) he yeelded by his Embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire peace of *Vladislaus* King of Hungary; vsing the exiled Despot of Seruia (his father in law) then present with the King, as a meane therein. Who at the first gaue small credit vnto the Embassadors, or vnto such things as they told him, vntill that at length better persuaded of the true meaning of the Turke, he so wrought the matter both with the King and the rest of the nobility, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable peace concluded. The capitulations whereof were, first, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces and garB risons, should clearely depart out of Seruia, and restore the same vnto the possession of *George* the Despot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering also freely vnto him his two sonnes, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their sight, he had long time kept in streit prison. Also, That from thenceforth he should make no claime vnto the kingdome of Moldauia, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had in the last wars lost. And finally, That he should not inuade or molest the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 duckats for the ransome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkish tyrant had full sore against his will condescended, a peace for ten yeres was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the same by solemne oath confirmed: King *Vladislaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangelists; and *Amurath* (by his Embassadors) vpon their Turkish AlcoC ran. This was the most honorable peace that euer Christian Prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish Kings, and most profitable also, had it beene with like sincerity kept, as it was with solemnity confirmed.

Amurath with this peace deliuered of his greatest feare, conuerted all his forces against the Caramanian king, in reuenge of the injuries by him don whilest he was occupied in the Hungarian wars. This King of Caramania knowing himselfe vnable to withstand so great an enemy, durst neither meet him in the field, nor trust himselfe to the strength of any his cities or strong castles, but fled into the mountaines, there fortifying himselfe more sure than in any other his strong holds. *Amurath* entring into Caramania, made great spoyle in the country as he went, and tooke great booties. At last comming to Iconium, he laid hard siege to the same. D The poore King seeing his Kingdome thus spoyled, and his chiefe city in danger to be lost, sent Embassadors, and with them his wife also, which was *Amuraths* sister, to intreat for peace; offering to pay vnto him yearely the double tribute which he before payd, and for the performance thereof to giue his sonne in hostage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and so returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldest sonne died, to the great griefe of his aged father, being slaine with a fall from his horse as he was hunting.

Amurath by the persuasion of Caly Bassa, seeketh for peace of K. Vladislaus

The capitulations of the ten yres peace concluded betwixt Vladislaus and Amurath.

Amurath inuadeth Caramania

Old *Amurath* thorowly wearied with continuall warres and other troubles incident vnto restlesse roomes, resolued now to retire himselfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and therefore sent for his son *Mahomet*, being then but fifteene yeares old, to whom he voluntarily resigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Bassa* his tutor, with one *Chosroë* a learned Doctor of E their law, to be his trusty councellors and chiefe directors. And so taking with him *Hamze-Beg* one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greatest pleasure, departed to Magnesia, and there as a man weary of the world, gaue himselfe to a solitary and monasticall kind of life, in the company of certaine religious Turkish Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians, glad before of the Hungarian victory, were now no lesse sorry to heare of the late concluded peace betwixt King *Vladislaus* and the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, that the prosecution of this war so happily begun, would haue bin the vtter ruin & destruction of the Turkish kingdom. Wherefore they sought by all possible meanes to induce the young King *Vladislaus* to breake the league he had so lately and so solemnly made with the Turke: especially *Iohn Palaologus* the F Emperor of Constantinople, did by letters importune the King to remember the confederation he had made with the other Christian Princes, for the maintenance of the wars against the common enemy of Christianity: which Princes were now prest, and ready (as he said) to assist him with their promised aid: adding moreouer, That whereas *Amurath* had diuers times sought to joyne with him in amity and friendship, he had vtterly rejected that offer of peace;

preferring the vniuerſal profit(like to enſue to al Chriſtendome by that religious war)before his own proper ſecurity and profit,being for his part in readineſſe to joine his forces with the Kings, if he would preſently enter into armes: which he could neuer doe in better time than now,whileſt *Amurath* terrified with his late ouerthrow,and ſtill beſet with doubtfull war,had drawn his greateſt forces out of Europe into Aſia,in ſuch diſordred haſt,as that it ſhould ſeem he rather fled for feare of his enemies in Europe, than marched to encounter his enemies in Aſia,and now being weary of all, had betaken himſelfe to a priuat kind of life. To conclude, he requeſted the King, not to leaue him and the other Chriſtian Princes of ſmall power, as a prey to the Turke,who would aſſuredly with all hoſtility inuade them,ſo ſoone as he thought himſelfe ſafe from the danger of the Hungarians. At the ſame time alſo, and vpon the departure of the Turks Embaſſadors,for the performance of ſuch things as they had promiſed,letters came from *Francis* the Cardinall of Florence, Generall of the Chriſtian fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* hauing left almoſt none in Europe, was with all the power he could make, gon ouer into Aſia againſt the Caramanian King,leauing a moſt faire occaſion for the Chriſtians,eaſily to recouer whatſoeuer they had before loſt in Europe, and that he was in good time come with his fleet to the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, according to promiſe, and there lay ready to imbarke the Turks paſſage backe againe out of Aſia. Both theſe letters being read in the councell, ſo much moued the King, with all the reſt of the Nobility of Hungary there preſent, as that they were neuer more ſorry or aſhamed for any thing they had done in their liues,than for the league ſo lately with *Amurath* concluded:for why, they ſaw that all the plot they had laid for their immortall glory, was now by this haſty peace that they had made with the Turke, without the good liking and knowledge of the confederats, brought to nought; and that they had thereby moſt ſhamefully deceiued the generall expectation that the Chriſtian common-weale had conceiued of them;and that they,of long time called the protectors of the Chriſtian faith,the defenders of true religion,the reuengers of Chriſts name,and deliuerers of the faithfull nations;ſhould now be accounted the breakers of the Chriſtian league, men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greekes, contemners of immortality,and louers of their own profit only. In this doubtfulneſſe of minds whileſt they ſtood yet thus wauering, *Iulian* the Cardinall and Legat, alwaies an enemy to the peace, and by reaſon of his place,a man in greateſt authority next to the King, took occaſion to diſſuade the ſame as followeth:

The cunning Speech wherewith Iulian the Cardinall perſuadeth K. Vladiſlaus to breake the League he had before made with Amurath.

If any of you,right Worthy (ſaid he) *ſhall haply maruell that I ſhould ſpeake of breaking the league,and violating our faith,let him firſt vnderſtand, That I at this preſent am to perſuade you to nothing elſe but the faithfull obſeruing both of the one and the other: led with like repentance with you; repentance, I ſay, not ſorrow, when as I, as from a watch-tower foreſeeing all theſe things which were decreed againſt my will, to ſort alſo contrary to your expectation, am not for the duty of my legation, and the Zeale vnto the Chriſtian religion,inforced with you to doubt: and ſo much the rather,for that at this preſent the queſtion is of the loſſe and hazard of all our honors and credit in common: which except we by common conſent, and wonted valor,endeauour to amend,ô how much is it to be feared, leſt for ſhame neither may you go out of Hungary,or I return to Rome,where all things are with moſt deepe judgement cenſured. Conſider I pray you,into what miſeries this haſty reſolution hath caſt vs. We haue entred into league with the Turke, an Infidel, to violate our faith with the Chriſtians, and to breake the holy league before made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes our confederats. And that for what,for what profit I ſay? Forſooth, that ſo we might againe recouer Seruia,long before deſtroied. Verily a ſmall and wofull profit,which may againe in ſhort time be cut off,and depriueth vs of others far greater, and of much longer continuance. For,what can be more fond and inconſiderat, than in our conſultations to haue regard to our priuat profit only,and not to the publcike,without reſpect of religion,honeſty,or conſcience? It is not demanded of you at this preſent, (right Honourable) what you owe vnto the perjured Turke; but you are by me* Iulian, *the great Biſhops and the confederat Chriſtian Princes Legat,and Agent, before the tribunall ſeat of your owne conſciences,accuſed of breach of faith, breach of league,and breach of promiſe; and thereof euen by your owne judgement,rather than by the judgement of God,or other men,I will condemne you. Anſwere me you noble Worthies: After you had happily ſix moneths made wars againſt the Turks in Bulgaria and the borders of Thracia; and after that,triumphantly returning into Hungary,receiued you not honourable embaſſages from almoſt all Italy,and from the great Emperor, with common rejoycing for your ſo glo-*

rious

A rious a victory, and exhortations to continue the war? We receiued them. Did not you in my presence, and I the author thereof, willingly make a most holy league with the Italians and Greeks; That the one should with their aid and power meet you out of Thracia; and the other with a great fleet should come into the Hellespontus? We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keepe the same, being made? Wherefore if the last yeare you made a league with the great Bishop, (God his Vicar here on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Christians, this second league is to be broken, lest you should violate the first, and that a most Christian league: which except you do, I feare least as Iudas betraied Christ, so you may seeme to betray his Vicar; or that God, whom hitherto you haue alwaies found present, propitious, and fauourable, you shall hereafter finde him angry, and an enemy to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, What will you answer vnto the Constantino-
B politan Emperour; who according to your appointment, hath now with the first taken the field, and in so great an opportunity expecteth but your comming? What will you answer the great Bishop? What the Venetians and Genowaies, who haue their great fleet ready, as was appointed? What the Burgundians, who for their Zeale vnto the Christian faith and religion, haue long since passed the Ocean, and so by many dangers of the sea now flote in the Hellespont? Deuise (I pray you) if you can, some excuse and colour, that we may not seeme altogether vnlike our selues: if out of your hidden skill you can coyne any thing, shew it. You promised with the first of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your souldiers both the Spring and Summer, play; so great and so wholesome occasion passing away, thorow your wofull sloth and negligence. O the great blindnesse of mens minds! O grosse cowardise! O detestable League, made to the destruction of the Commonweale! Some man happely will blame me, and aske, why I suffered it with
C the rest? I was present, I must confesse; but as much as in me was, I intreated it might not be. I disliked it; and (as many of you here present can testifie) I vtterly condemned it. I was ouercome by the wisedom and authority of Huniades, and the compassion of the Despot, lest (vnhappy man) he should by my intercession seeme longer to want his Kingdome: and lest any man should call me a contemner or impugner of your good; I, full of sorrow, and vnwillingly, gaue way: not ignorant, the health of the Christian Commonweale to be therein weakened, the hope of your immortall glory extinguished, and vs all (by your leaue may I say it) accounted breakers both of diuine and humane Leagues, forsworne men, and traitors vnto all good Christians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiousnesse be further bruted, we deliuer our selues from this infamy, nothing can be greater, or more miserable, than our shame or villany. If we will so do, we may not so easily, as justly and religiously do it: Hauing made restitution of Seruia and the
D captiues, what remaineth else for you to do, (Noble Worthies) but to repaire your Army, to prepare what so is needfull for war, and to keepe your first League with the Christian Princes? And to say, That King Vladislaus, after his league made with the Grecke and Latine Princes, could not without the consent of these his Confederates and Allyes (vnder whose good fortune that common warre was vndertaken) conclude any thing, especially with the enemies of the Christian Religion? And that therefore if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turke, it was frustrate, and the league to be stood vpon. Who is so partiall an esteemer of mens actions, that would not easily judge, That in case, faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Christian, than with a Turke; with a Beleeuer, than with an Infidell? Against a perfidious enemy it is lawfull (as they say) for a man to vse all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turke first passed ouer into Europe, by little and little he
E crept into that kingdome, he neuer kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by strength: and are you become so blinde, as to thinke it better to keepe your promise with the Turke, deuoid of all faith and humanity, rather than with the faithfull Christians, and especially the most holy Bishop. All great things are done by eduice and policy: the Romans our ancestors vprightly and religiously alwaies kept the leagues with their confederates, but deluded the deceitfull with their cunning. Cæsar was of opinion, that for soueraignty the Law was sometime to be broken. And Philip (the father and master of of him that conquered Asia) oftentimes vsed cunning and deceit for the desire of rule: yet were not these men called traitors. It is sometime lawfull for the common-weals sake, neither to stand to our leagues, neither to keepe our faith with them that be themselues faithlesse. Lawfull it is to breake vnlawfull oathes, and especially such as are thought to be against right, reason, and equity. Was it lawfull for Diomedes,
F vowing for to sacrifice vnto the gods whomsoeuer he first met at his returne into his country, to kill his son by that his vow and oath? Verily it was a great impiety. Wherefore a just and lawfull oath is in the judgement of all men to be religiously kept; but such an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuate, but publike destruction, that ought not to be vaine and frustrate. Wherefore before your faithlesse dealing be further spread abroad, I beseech you worthy men, and thee especially, most glorious King, not in any point to violate

your faith, for the good of the Christian common weale, giuen vnto the most holy father and the other Christian Princes. The league you haue made with the Grecks and the Latines, faithfully and religiously keepe; the expedition by common consent taken in hand, by the example of your confederates, prosecute; the foundation of immortall glory by you laid, build vp. Deliuer the Christian Prouinces, oppressed with the Turkish seruitude; satisfie the hope conceiued of you, and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceiued of you, than which, nothing can be more dishonourable: make no conscience of the league you haue made with the Infidell, but thinke it a great impiety and wickednesse, to violate the holy league made with the great Bishop and the other Christian Princes: thinking, that if you should doe otherwise, God (which he of his mercy forbid) would become of that your falsified faith a most seuere and sharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Sauiour Christ, or more glorious to your selues, than to deliuer the oppressed Christian countries from the cruell slauery and bondage of the Turke. Suffer not this so fit an occasion to slip away, than which, a fitter can neuer be giuen. Europe is vnfurnished of the Turks, busied in the Caramanian war; their returne is embarred by the Christian fleet, now in the sea of Hellespontus; you need but to goe see, and as it were to take a view of Thracia, Macedonia, Grecia, and Epirus, there is no enemy there left to oppose himselfe against you. Wherefore for God his cause, I request you aboue all things to continue the Christian league, and with your happy and victorious forces, to march forward into Macedonia and Thracia, as is before by you with the other Christian Princes your confederates agreed.

Iulian the Cardinal absolueth king Vladislaus & the rest, from their oth before giuen to Amurath.

In conclusion, hauing much spoken of the authority and power of the great Bishop, he in his name disannulled the league whatsoeuer, by the King made with the Turke; and absolued him, with the rest whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promise they had made. Which so well contented both the King and the rest, that there was now no more question of the oath, or of the lawfulnesse of the war, but a decree made for the continuation of the league with the other Christian Princes their confederats, and for the prosecution of the wars against the Turks, as was with them before agreed: whom, they could now say, they were not to forsake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedy enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their request they had taken vp arms in their quarrell. Vnto which vnfortunat Decree, both the Despot and *Huniades* (the chiefe authors of the late peace betweene the King and *Amurath*) easily consented: the Despot, induced with the great hope he had conceiued of the good successe of the war; and *Huniades*, with the desire of the Kingdome of Bulgaria, promised vnto him by *Vladislaus*, and by faire Charter also (as some said) assured vnto him.

Of this the Kings resolution for the breach of the peace with the Turks, notice was with all speed giuen vnto the Constantinopolitan Emperour, and *Francis* the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of seuenty gallies at the streits of Hellespontus: for feare least they hearing of the former concluded peace, should alter also, or else quite desist from their former purposes. In the mean time, whilest these things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promise had withdrawne all his garrisons out of Seruia, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, restoring the same vnto the Despot and others the lawfull owners, although it was not done at the very prefixed day at which it should haue beene done. In which time also he set at liberty great numbers of captiues, and amongst the rest, the two blind sons of the Prince of Seruia; faithfully performing whatsoeuer he had before vpon his religion promised in the league with the Christians before concluded, so desirous he was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit *Vladislaus*, by the counsell of *Huniades*, detained to his own vse certain of the strong holds in Seruia: for which cause, *George* the Despot euer afterwards bore a secret grudge against *Huniades*.

Now as King *Vladislaus* (hauing by the persuasion of *Iulian* the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him and *Amurath*) was preparing his forces, the fame of the Epirot Prince *Scanderbeg* was also (by the recouery of his fathers kingdome of Epirus out of the Turks hands, and by the late ouerthrow of *Alis Bassa*) growne great, euery one speaking of him honour and praise. Wherwith *Vladislaus* moued, and reasonably persuaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughty designes (aiming at no lesse than the vtter ouerthrow of the Turks kingdom in Europe) if he might vnto his owne great preparations joyne also the strength of that so fortunate a Prince, by the consent of his Nobility, with all speed dispatched away his Embassadors

A dors with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honourable purpose for the rooting out of the Turks; and in that common cause praying his aid against such a dangerous and dreadfull enemy. The purport whereof here followeth:

Vladislaus King of Hungary and Polonia, vnto the noble *Scanderbeg* Prince of Epirus, greeting.

The Letters of king Vladislaus to Scanderbeg.

It may be that some good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this present, to the in-
B *tent we might at this time, together with you, rejoyce in the double successe of your prosperity: first, for the happy recouery of your estate; and then, for that the same hath by your wisedome and valour, of late beene so notably defended. Wherefore in this we rejoyce, not onely in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Christians, that it hath pleased God of his goodnesse, by your valour to haue giuen so great an increase and comfort vnto the Christian commonweale: for as much as amongst others our great euils, the losse of the Albanian people hath not beene to be accounted the least, at such time as* Iohn Castriot, *a worthy Prince, your father, oppressed by* Amurath, *and by the vngratefull Destinies taken out of this world, had neither the meanes to leaue vnto you his kingdome and scepter, (as vnto his sonne, then liuing in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwise to prouide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, most happy in such a sonne, might haue till now liued: whose felicity had in that surmounted all others, if he might haue seene you before his death. For as you seeme vnto me aboue all other Princes in the world (without offence be it said) most accomplished with all the good graces and perfections both of body and*
C *mind, so are you indowed also with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not only the whole Kingdome of Epirus may thinke it selfe in security, but all the rest of the other nations also, lately by the detestable fraud and violence of the* Othoman *Kings dismembred from the realme of Macedon, may also recouer the former beauty of their antient lawes and liberties. For (to say nothing of those things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enuied, haue heretofore purchased vnto you an immortall fame and glory euen amongst the Barbarians themselues) what can be more glorious than this victory, which (as we haue heard, and beleeue) you, to your singular admiration, haue obtained, by the ouerthrow and vtter discomfiture of* Alis Bassa, *with his so great and mighty a power? but now, ô* Scanderbeg *(God so appointing it, who in his deepe and secret wisedome hath re-*
D *serued you vnto these so dangerous times, for the publike good, and comfort of the Christian Commonweale) there offers it selfe vnto you an object of far greater glory, with a faire ond fit occasion for you to reuenge your selfe of all the wrongs and injuries both new and old, by* Amurath *the Turkish Sultan done, not in priuate to the person of your selfe onely, but vnto the whole state and Kingdome of Epirus also; and not the domesticall and ciuile miseries of your owne Countrey onely, but the publike calamities also, and those opprobrious disgraces done against the Christian Faith and Religion in generall, now oppressed (I will not say extinguished:) and that is, if you with your victorious Forces, will succour vs in this extre-*
E *mity of our affaires, not yet altogether desperate. Hereunto do all the Princes of Hungary and Polonia, and all other men of courage inuite you;* Iulian *the Cardinall of S.* Angell *intreateth you; with all those deuout and couragious Christians, which long since here with vs, and ready in armes, wish for nothing more than the presence of your victorious ensignes. Which so faire an occasion (by God himselfe now of-*
fered) if you refuse not, will in all mens judgement be a sure meane to vanquish and ouerthrow our common enemy the Turke, and to driue him quite out of Europe, wrongfully by him of so long time possessed. I need not therefore (as I suppose) to vse any kinde of persuasion vnto you in this cause and quarrell, the defence whereof both purchase vnto vs health, light, and liberty: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may ensue thereof. We Christians haue beene too too slacke and backeward in helping one another: the flame hath now well neere consumed vs all, whilest no man thought it would haue come neere himselfe. What do we see of the Greeke Empire? What of the Bulgarians and Seruians? yea, mine owne
F *losses, and many calamities, already, and yet also to be endured, who is able to recount? The braue and most valiant Princes, the surest Bulwarkes and defences of the Kingdome of Hungary, from time to time lost; and the puissant Armies with one and the same fatall chance of war consumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon vp? In so much that there is no house, wife, nor matron, in all Hungary, which is not in some measure partaker of this heauinesse. All this do the Christian Princes heare of, and yet the miserable estate and condition of their allies can nothing moue any one of them, but suffer vs thus as a sacrifice for the rest, to be on all parts exposed to the rage and fury of the common and mercilesse enemy.*

Only Eugenius *the most holy Bishop of Rome, and* Philip *Duke of Burgondy, haue not refused to beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: the one hath sent hither his Legat* Iulian *the Cardinall, with notable and puissant succors; and the other with his fleet at sea, and come as far as Hellespontus, so much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks passage into Europe. And one other hope there is, not now far from vs, and that is your helpe, whereof we are so desirous: which we require of you, moued thereunto partly by your valour so well knowne, and partly in regard of the imminent perill and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you be at leisure to take such an expedition in hand, for the late troubled estate of your affaires, and your new recouered Kingdome, as yet scarcely well established: yet notwithstanding let it not with-hold you, or keepe you backe; assuring you, that as this expedition cannot be but vnto you most honourable, euen so this your present desert shall not be bestowed vpon vngratefull and thankelesse men; but that which you shall now first begin and vndertake for our preseruation and dignity, we will from henceforth and euer continue for your glory, and for the increase of your greatnesse. Fare you well. From our regall city of Buda the fourth of Iuly,* 1444.

Of this the Kings motion *Scanderbeg* liking well, and thinking it farre better now in so fit a time, with his own forces joyned vnto the Hungarians his friends, thorowly to busie *Amurath*, than in short time after, himselfe alone to sustaine his whole power; by the generall consent of the Albanian Princes his confederates and allies, yeelded vnto his request; in liberall termes promising him by his letters, in good time to be present with him with thirty thousand good soldiers. The copy of which Letters I thought it not amisse here to set downe also.

Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirots, vnto *Vladislaus* King of Hungary and Polonia, greeting.

Scanderbeg his answer by Letters vnto King Vladislaus.

Your Letters, most inuincible King, I haue with like joy and contentment receiued: which I in the generall assembly of my Chiefetaines hauing caused publiquely to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of one opinion, but that so just an occasion of war by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalfe also embraced. And so euery man doth both publikely and priuately affirme, That nothing could haue hapned vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by some notable seruice testifie their gratefull minds, and bind vnto them so excellent a Prince; as also to giue so fit succors vnto the Christian Common-weale. In which forwardnesse of my people I my selfe tooke great contentment and pleasure, both in regard of your selfe, and in the behalfe of the publike and common cause: seeing my men of warre, and all other my subjects, of what estate or degree soeuer (without any persuasion vsed on my part) to be so cheerefully and couragiously minded in defence of the faith, and of the Christian Religion; and so well affectioned toward your most royall Majesty. And to say the truth, Who is he (if he be not hatefull both to God and man) albeit there were no question of Religion, or of the Common danger, that would refuse so just and lawfull a warre? for such a King, as vnto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Christians do not onely reigne, but euen liue, breath, and enjoy the liberty of our speech. Who would not willingly take vp armes, and aduenture himselfe into most manifest and certaine danger for the people of Hungary; by whom in all ages the Christian Common-wealth hath with their so many trauels, and so much of their bloud, beene so mightily supported and defended? Who euen from the very cradle haue beene continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen vowed themselues for the honour of the Christian Religion and name. Would God (most mighty and redoubted Vladislaus) *it had beene in my power to haue brought vnto you such forces to this honourable warre, as were answerable vnto my courage and desire: then happily Europe should not longer lie in this ignominious estate, oppressed by* Amurath; *neither should the fields of Varna or Basilia so often smoake with the bloud of the Hungarians; nor euery corner of Macedonia with the bloud of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatory sacrifice of others sinnes and offences; we all now by turnes perish, whilest euery man thinketh himselfe borne but for himselfe alone. But why doe I vnto my selfe poure forth these vaine complaints. Truely, it neither repenteth me of my Forces, neither, as I suppose (if it shall please God that our Forces may once meet and joyne together in so happy a warre) shall the Christian Common-weale haue any cause to sorrow or be agrieued with the issue and euent of our fortune. For vnto those fifteene thousand good souldiers which lately discomfited* Alis Bassa *on the borders of Macedonia, my purpose is to joyne as many moe vnto them: with all which strength as soone as conueniently they may, I will*

begin

A *begin to set forward, ready to follow your ensignes to all euents whatsoeuer. And so fare you well. From Croia the third of August* 1444.

These letters being dispatched away vnto the king, *Scanderbeg* forthwith began to leuy his forces. And first of all he caused with new supplies to be made strong, all those companies wherewith hee had ouerthrown *Alis Bassa*; not suffering any one of them to absent himselfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fifteene thousand, all men of approued valor, he joyned other fifteene thousand moe, no lesse valiant than they: such a power as he neuer either before or after raised for the recouery, or defence of his Kingdome. And so furnished with all things necessary for so honourable a war, cheerefully set forward, accompanied
B with the vowes and hope of all his most faithfull and louing subjects. But being come to the borders of Seruia, he found the streit and difficult passages of that rough country shut vp by *George* the Despot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwise a wicked damned Atheist, and a Christian but in name only) who but lately before restored vnto his kingdome by the helpe of King *Vladislaus*, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his son in law (by whom he had bin before himselfe exiled) and in fauour of his quarrell, and despight of the Hungarians, but specially of *Huniades*, had stopped vp the waies and passages whereby *Scanderbeg* was with his army to passe: who by his Embassador sent of purpose vnto the Despot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in minde of the perjurious dealing of *Amurath* with him, notwithstanding he had married his daughter:
C and of the great pleasures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good proofe: requesting him if it were but in regard of the common cause of Christianity, to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom he was neuer in any thing wronged) passage; and not to staine himselfe with the perpetuall note of infamy, That he being a Christian Prince, and of late so mightily oppressed by the Turke, should now to the great hinderance of the Christian common-weale take part with him against his friends and deliuerers. But what auaileth praiers or requests, be they neuer so reasonable, with a man set downe to mischiefe? *Scanderbeg* out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, resolued so to do: although it much grieued him to spend those forces vpon a Christian Prince, which he had prepared against the capitall enemy both of himselfe and all good Christians, old *Amurath* the Tur-
D kish Sultan.

But whilest he thus discontented, spendeth his time with his army vpon the borders of Seruia, beset with many difficulties; *Vladislaus* prickt forward by the continuall solicitation of *Iulian* the Cardinall, or else drawne on by his owne ineuitable destity, hauing assembled a great army of valiant and couragious souldiers out of Hungary and Polonia (yet in number farre inferiour to that he had in the yeare before, for that most of the voluntary souldiers were returned home) set forward from Segedinum; and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnfit for warres) passed ouer Danubius, and entring into Bulgaria, came to Nicopolis, the Metropoliticall City of that Kingdome (but then in possession of the Turkes) where he burnt the suburbs thereof, and in that fruitfull countrey thereabouts refreshed his people three or
E foure daies, where hee also mustered his Army, and tooke a view thereof: At which time *Dracula* Vayuod of Valachia, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then present, and considering the small number of the Kings Army, began to perswade him to retyre; saying, He had sufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme aright of the power of the Turkish Sultan: who (as he said) was wont many times to carry more men with him into the fields for his disport of hawking and hunting, than was there in the Kings campe: wherefore hee should doe well, not to expose those his small forces vnto so manifest perill, in such vnseasonable time of the yeare, but to reserue them vnto a more fit opportunity, when hee might with greater power encounter his puissant enemy. This his counsell most men of greatest experience, and not carried away with other priuate respects, thought wholesome:
F but the Cardinall author of this fatall warre, extolling with great words the last yeares victory obtained against the Turke, with glorious promises of great aid, as well by sea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the Emperour of Constantinople and other Christian Princes; augmenting also the great troubles in Asia, and promising an easie and happy

King Vladislaus setteth forward against the Turks.

succeſſe vnto theſe warres in Europe: perſuaded the King that *Dracula* his ſpeech proceeded either of ignorance, vpon a ſuperficiall judgement which he made of the Kings power there preſent, without regard of further ſtrength from his friends; or elſe of the priuat reſpect of his owne ſecurity, in regard of a commodious league made a little before betwixt him and the Turke. So that the poore Prince ſeeing his counſell mightily impugned by the Cardinall, and not ſo well taken, as it was meant by him, ſtood in a doubt whether to leaue him to his owne fortune, and himſelfe to his quiet peace, or caſting off the Turkiſh league, to joyne with the King in this chance of war: but at length reſolued as a martiall minded man, preferring the vncertaine glory of the field before his owne aſſured reſt, ſaid vnto the King: G

Seeing that either your Princely fortune, which hath euer hitherto fauoured your high attempts; or elſe the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the ſecret deſignement of your deſtiny, vnable to be auoyded, doth draw your majeſty into a different opinion from me: that your reſolution, which I cannot by reaſonable perſuaſion alter, I will as the ſuddenneſſe of time, and my ſmall ability will permit, moſt gladly further. H

Dracula aideth Vladiſlaus with his ſonne and 4000 horſe.

And therewith preſented vnto the king his ſon, with foure thouſand horſemen well appointed, to ſerue him in thoſe wars; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good ſucceſſe as he himſelfe deſired. Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the King, he preferred vnto him two luſty young men, perfect guides for that country, with two horſes of incredible ſwiftneſſe, and with teares ſtanding in his eies ſaid vnto him:

His laſt farewell vnto the King.

Take this ſmall gift in good part, as a poore refuge to fly vnto, if your fortune hap to faile you, which I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vaine, and ſo they ſhall, if my praiers may preuaile. Yet if neceſſity ſhall inforce you to vſe them, you ſhall find them ſeruiceable at your need. I

And ſo taking his laſt farewell of the King, returned into Valachia. *Vladiſlaus* marching on from Nicopolis toward Thracia, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks for feare yeelded vnto him: at laſt he came to Sumium and Pezechium, where the Turkiſh garriſons truſting as much to the ſtrength of the places, as to their owne valour, ſtood vpon their guard: but the King layed ſiege to both the ſaid places, and took them by aſſault; where he put to ſword fiue thouſand of the Turks.

The Turks Baſſaes terrified with thoſe vnexpected troubles, aduertiſed *Amurath* thereof, requeſting him to leaue his obſcure life, and to leauy the greateſt power he could in Aſia, for the defence of the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, which otherwiſe was in ſhort time like to be loſt: blaming alſo his diſcretion, for committing the gouernment of ſo great a kingdom to ſo young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his ſonne, vnto whom many of the great captaines did halfe ſcorne to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awaked, as it had beene out of a dead ſleepe, left his cloiſter, and with great ſpeed gathered a ſtrong army in Aſia, and came to the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, where he found the paſſage ſtopped by the Venetians and Popes Gallies, and was therefore at his wits end. But marching alongſt the Sea ſide vnto the ſtreits of Boſphorus, he there found meanes to conuey ouer his whole army: vſing therein (as ſome write) the helpe of the Genoway marchants ſhips, paying vnto the Genowayes for the paſſage of euery Turke a ducat, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand duckats: or as ſome others affirme, corrupting with great bribes them that were left for the defence of this paſſage. And being now got ouer, joyned his Aſian army with ſuch other forces as his Baſſaes had in readineſſe in Europe: and ſo marching on ſeuen daies, encamped within foure miles of Varna, a City pleaſantly ſtanding vpon the Euxine Sea ſide in Bulgaria, where the Chriſtian army lay: for *Vladiſlaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with ſo great an army, had retyred thither, hauing but a little before taken the ſame City of Varna from the Turks, with Calachrium, Galata, Macropolis, and others vpon the ſea coaſt. K L

Vpon the firſt report that *Amurath* was with ſuch a mighty army come ouer the ſtreit of Boſphorus, *Vladiſlaus* who before was in good hope that he could not poſſibly haue found any paſſage, entered into counſell with the commanders of his army, what courſe was now beſt to take: where many which before had been moſt forward in that action (preſuming that *Amurath* could by no meanes haue tranſported his army) was now ſo diſcouraged with the fame of his comming, that they aduiſed the King in time to retire home, and not to oppoſe ſo ſmall an army againſt ſuch a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other captains M

of

A of greater courage, and especially *Huniades*, said, It was not for the Kings honor first to inuade his enemies dominions, and presently to turn his back vpon the first report of their comming; wishing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former warres, and that he was to fight against the same enemy whom he had victoriously ouerthrowne the yere before: as for the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he said) not to be moued therewith, for that it was the maner of the Turkish Kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the shew of a huge army, than with the valour of their soldiers, which were nothing to be accounof, but as effeminate, in comparison of the Hungarians. Whereupon the King resolued to try the fortune of the field.

Vladislaus vnderstanding by his espials, that *Amurath* the night before incamped within
B foure miles, was now putting his army in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his forces vnto the valiant captaine *Huniades*: who with great care and industry disposed the same, garding the one side of the battel with a fen or marish, and the other side with cariages, and the rereward of his army with a steepe hil. Therein politickly prouiding, that the Christian army being far lesse than the Turks in number, could not be compassed about with the multitude of their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks army approching, began to skirmish with the Christians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage maintained, and that with diuers fortune, sometime one party preuailing, and sometime the other; but with such slaughter on both sides, that the ground was couered and stained with the dead bodies and bloud of the slaine. At length the battell being more closely joyned, the victory
C began to incline to the Christians, for *Huniades* had most valiantly with his Transiluanian and Valachian horsmen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkish army, and made great slaughter whersoeuer he came. Insomuch that *Amurath* dismaied with the flight of his souldiers, was about to haue fled himselfe out of the maine battell, had he not bin staied by a common souldier, who laying hands vpon the raines of his bridle, staied him by force, and sharpely reproued hiw of cowardise. The captaines and prelates about the King (whom it had better beseemed to haue bin at deuout praiers in their oratories, than in armes at that bloudy battell) encouraged by the prosperous successe of *Huniades*, and desirous to be partakers of that victory, foolishly left their safe stations, where they were appointed by him to stand fast, and disorderedly pursued the chase, leauing that side of the battell where they stood, open vnto the
D Turks, but they were not gone far, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the Turks army, for such purpose placed in a vally fast by. In which fight *Lesco* one of the most valiant captaines of the Hungarians was slaine; and the Bishop of Veradium, a better churchman than souldier, and the first man that disordered the battell, seeking to saue himselfe by flight thorow the fenne, was there strangled in the deepe mud, after he had with his horse therin struggled a great while. The Bishop of Agria, a man of greatest authority with the King, was at the same time also lost, with many other churchmen more. The Cardinall, with some other of the expert captaines retiring toward their former standings, were hardly assailed by the Turks, who by the comming in of the King and *Huniades*, were with great slaughter forced to retire, and euen ready to fly. *Amurath* seeing the great slaughter of his men, and all brought
E into extreme danger, beholding the picture of the crucifix in the displaied ensignes of the voluntary Christians, pluckt the writing out of his bosome, wherein the late league was compriséd, and holding it vp in his hand with his eies cast vp to heauen, said:

The great battell of Varna, fought between king Vladislaus and Amurath.

Amurath praieth vnto Christ.

Behold thou crucified Christ, this is the league thy Christians in thy name made with me: which they haue without any cause violated. Now if thou be a God, as they say thou art, and as we dreame, reuenge the wrong now done vnto thy name, and me, and shew thy power vpon thy perjurious people, who in their deeds deny thee their God.

The King with *Huniades* furiously pursued the chased Turks, with bloudy execution a great space: when as the King in his heat hardly persuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe into his campe, at his comming thither found the Cardinall *Iulian*, with *Franke*, one of his chiefe cap-
F taines, and others, ouercharged with the Turks, which had againe made head against that part of the Christian army: and there yet fought couragiously, by reason of their multitude, being also backt by the Ianizaries, which all this while had stood fast with their old King, as his last and most assured refuge, but were now come in. There began a most cruell and fierce fight: in the successe whereof, the Turks well saw the whole state of their kingdom in Europ to consist,

A cruell fight.

many

many were there slaine of both sides: the Turks feeling their losse lesse than indeed it was, by reason of their multitude; and the Christians, by reason of their courage. A great while the victory stood doubtfull, insomuch, that at length the Turks began to shrinke backe, in that part of the battell where the King and *Huniades* fought. But in the left side they preuailed so vpon the Christians that they were euen ready to haue fled. Which when *Huniades* (hauing a vigilant eie vnto euery part of the army) perceiued, he with speed made thither, and there againe with his presence restored the battell, almost before lost. Which done, he returned againe towards the King, who in the meane time had most valiantly repulsed a great number of the Turks, and now was come vnto the Ianizaries, *Amurath* his last hope. There was to be seene a thousand manners of death, whilst both the armies fought more like wild beasts in their rage and fury, than wary & politick soldiers. In this confused medly, the yong king *Vladislaus* with greater courage than care of himselfe, brake into the battell of the Ianizaries: at which time, *Amurath* himselfe was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the Roads, first wounded with a pike, and after assailed with his sword, and had there ended his daies, but that he was speedily rescued by his guard, by whom this worthy Knight after great proofe of his valour was there slain in the midst of his enemies. *Vladislaus* being got also in among them, valiantly performed all the parts of a worthy soldier, till such time as his horse being slain vnder him, he was forthwith oppressed by the multitude of his enemies and slain: his head being strucke off by *Ferizes*, one of the old Ianizaries, was by him presented vnto *Amurath*, who commanded it presently to be put vpon the point of a launce, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Christian King: which was afterwards so caried thorow the principal cities of Macedonia, and Grecia, as a trophey of the Turks victory. *Huniades* after he had in vaine giuen diuers braue attempts to haue rescued the Kings body, retired with a few Valachian horsemen, and seeing no hope of better hap (for all the Christians being discouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themselues to flight) gaue place to necessity, and reseruing himself to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountains, into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficulty, he got ouer Danubius into Valachia, and was there (as some write) by *Dracula* Prince of that country taken prisoner: In reuenge whereof, after he was inlarged by the Hungarians, he so aided *Danus* against *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his son were both slaine, and *Danus* placed in his roome. *Iulian* the Cardinall flying out of the battell, was found by that worthy man *Gregory Sanose*, lying in the desert forrest by the way side, mortally wounded, and halfe stripped, by whom he was in few words sharpely reproued, as the wicked author of that perfidious war, and there left giuing vp the ghost. Many of the Christians which fled out of that battell, fell into the enemies hands, & so were slain: but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the fens, or that by hunger and cold perished in the woods, or else after long and miserable trauel, finding no passage ouer Danubius, fel at length into the Turkish slauery.

Amurath in danger.

King Vladislaus slaine.

Huniades flieth

This great and mortall battell, as it was with diuers fortune fought, so was also the present report thereof most vncertain: for the Turks that were at the first put to flight, reported in the townes there by as they fled, that the battell was lost: & they which had all the day endured the fight, not altogether assured of the victory, & not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themselues, whilst they suspected some deceit in the Kings campe, by reason of the great silence therin, staied two daies before they durst aduenture to take the spoile therof. The number of them that were slain in this battell, as well on the one side as the other was great; as the mounts and little hils, raised of the bones & bodies of them that were there buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certaine number was not knowne, some reporting mo, some fewer. Yet in this most agree, that of the Christian army, being not great, scarce the third part escaped: and that the Turks bought this victory with a farre greater losse, although it was of them lesse felt, by reason of their multitude; made lesse by that slaughter, as they that report least thereof affirme, by thirty thousand. Which may well seeme rather to be so, for that *Amurath* after this victory, neither farther prosecuted the same, nor shewed any token of joy at all, but became very melancholy and sad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after so great a victory he was no merrier; answered, that he wished not at so great price, to gaine many such victories. Yet in memoriall thereof he erected a great pillar, in the same place where the King was slain, with an inscription of all that was then done: which, as they say, is there yet to be seen at this day. This bloudy battell was fought neer vnto Varna (in antient time called

Dionisio-

A Dionisiopolis (a place fatall vnto many great warriours, and therefore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Christ 1444.

Some maliciously impute the losse of the battel of Varna, and the death of the King, to *Huniades*, who (as they said) fled out of the battell with ten thousand horsemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble disposition of that couragious and valiant captaine, but seemeth rather to haue beene deuised, to excuse the foule dealing of the clergy; who as most histories beare witnesse, were the chiefe authors both of the war, and of the lamentable calamity ensuing thereof.

From the battell of Varna *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople, hauing lost the greatest part of his best souldiers, and there with great solemnity buried the body of *Carazia*, viceroy of
B Europe, slaine in that battell: and then calling together all his nobility, againe resigned vp his kingdome vnto his son *Mahomet*, retiring himselfe vnto Magnesia, where he liued a solitary and priuate life, hauing before vowed so to doe, in the great feare he was in, in the battell against *Vladislaus*: but after he had a short time performed these his vowes in that obscure and melancholy life, he weary therof, as some suppose, as not a little reuiued with the late victory, or else solicited by *Cali Bassa* and other great counsellors, returned againe to Hadrianople, resuming vnto himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome, to the great discontentment of his ambitious sonne *Mahomet*.

Amurath to performe his vow, resigneth his kingdome to his son Mahomet, which he in short time after taketh again vpon him.

Scanderbeg yet sticking in the borders of Seruia, and hearing what had happened vnto king *Vladislaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieued: and hauing now lost the
C hope whereupon hee had vndertaken that so great an expedition, resolued to returne home againe into Epirus. Neuertheless, to be in some part reuenged of the wicked Despot, he with his army forcibly brake into his country, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately escaped from the slaughter at Varna, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremity of their fortune) courteously relieued: and furnished them with such things as they wanted, prouided them shipping to Ragusa, from whence they might in safety returne into their own countries. Thus by the disloyalty and trechery of the faithlesse Despot of Seruia, was *Scanderbeg* staid from being present at the bloudy battell of Varna, to the vnspeakeable losse of the Christian common-weale: for it could not be, but that so many thousands of most resolute and expert soul-
D diers, vnder the leading of so worthy a chiefetaine, must needs haue done much for the gaining of the victory. And what more glorious sight could a man haue wished for, than to haue seene so puissant an army in the field against the sworne enemy of Christendome, directed by two such valiant and renowned chiefetaines, as neuer, either before or since their time, was seene the like in one battell against the enemy of Christ and the Christian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding strength and agility of body, wise, prudent, and subtill; both of long time exercised in the Turks warres, the greatest terror of that nation, and most worthy champions of the Christian Religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commander, and the more politicke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reason of his greater yeares:
E which was well counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetuall good fortune, still as it were attending vpon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the course of his History well appeareth.

The comparison betwixt Huniades and Scanderbeg.

Amurath aduertised of these proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as also of the great harmes by him done in Macedonia, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon Epirus, were by his fury vtterly wasted and spoiled, and his people there for most part slaine, and that the rest had for feare forsaken their dwellings, and left the country desolate and vnpeopled: was therewith exceedingly moued. Yet for so much as he still stood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himselfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more desirous of rest; considering also the young yeares of his eldest son *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernement of so great and
F troublesome a kingdome; with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and malice of *Huniades*: he thought it not best to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into some dishonourable peace for a time, that so he might afterwards at leisure be the better reuenged of him. For which cause he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grieuous threats, and some feigned courtesies, as followeth:

Amurath

G

Amurath Othoman, King of the Turks, and Emperour of the East, to the most ingratefull *Scanderbeg*, wisheth neither health nor welfare.

The sullen and crafty Letters of Amurath to Scanderdag.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to bestow vpon thee all the while thou diddest liue in my court, of all others, most vnkinde Scandeger, *but now I want words wherewith to speake vnto thee, thou hast so highly offended my minde, and touched mine honour, that I know not in discretion what words to vse vnto thee, but of late one of my domesticall seruants. For neither will hard speech mollifie the naturall fierceneſſe of thy proud disposition, neither art thou worthy of better, which hast far exceeded all hostility. And because thou wouldest admit no occasion to prouoke me, hast of late proceeded to that point of folly, that thou hast had thine owne affaires, and the welfare of thine owne subiects, in small regard, by confederating thy selfe in armes with the Hungarians against me. It grieueth me to rehearse other thy vnkindeneſſe, and as it were to touch those sores, if my minde would euer suffer me to forget the same, or that thine so manifold and horrible treasons, and strange examples of a most vnthankefull minde, were to be couered with silence. Yet I thought good to aduertise thee (although perhaps too late) least that thy vnstaied heat do vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy vnlucky kingdome: and then thou wouldest make humble confeſſion of thy long transgreſſion, when thou hast lost thy selfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy desperate estate. We haue hitherto sufficiently suffered thy manifold injuries: thou hast sufficiently prouoked the majesty of the* Othoman *Empire, with wrong and contumelious despight; and I with patience haue borne all these contempts. Thinkest thou that my army by thee betraied vnto the Hungarians shall be vnreuenged? Thinkest thou that so many cities and townes in Epirus, by thee rent from the body of my Empire, with my garrisons there slaine, shall be forgotten? Or thinkest thou with thy late committed outrages to escape my reuenging hands? Remember the destruction of mine army vnder* Alis Bassa; *the wasting and burning of my dominions; and lately, the Hungarian warres, by thee so farre as in thee was, countenanced; with the territories of* George, *the Despot of Seruia my father in law, by thee spoiled. At length amend, thou graceleſſe man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not these trifling allurements of thy good fortune, so puffe vp thy fooliſh desires, and sharpen thy conceits, that thy miserable fortune afterwards may moue euen thy greatest enemies, or my selfe to compaſsion. I would thou shouldest at length remember my courtesies (if any sparke of humanity remaine in thy sauage nature) and make me not longer sorry, that I haue so euill bestowed the same. And although it is not the part of an honourable minde, to rehearse those things which we haue in bounty bestowed vpon any man; yet is it the token of a most vnthankefull nature, so easily to forget all kindeneſſe past, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof: wherefore* Scanderbeg, *I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine estate: For to let passe the health of thy soule (which thou a very reprobate, esteemest as nothing) not to speake of the lawes of* Mahomet *by thee despised, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the Zeale thou hast vnto the Christian superstition: what hast thou (which now holdest thy poore and base kingdome in such price) euer wanted at my hands of all those things which most delight the desire of men? Diddest thou euer want armour, horses, a great traine of followers and seruants, mony, or other superfluities, the allurements of all ages? or diddest thou want matter to exercise thy valor, for increase of thine honour? Wast thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all sorts fit for thine age, both at home & abroad? Was any man in my court dearer vnto me, than thy selfe? what growing wit, not of strangers onely, but of them that were neereſt vnto my selfe, was better welcome vnto me than thine? With what carefull instructions did I cause thee to be brought vp? When thou wast deliuered vnto me almost a child, I dayly cherished and increased thy hoped towardlineſſe, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praises, and honours of the field (which of all worthy things is most glorious) so that in all feats of armes no souldier was to me better knowne, or captaine of me more honoured. For all these great benefits,* Scanderbeg, *thou now shewest thy selfe such an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought vp such a man as I hoped for, but a very serpent in mine owne bosome. But the loue of thy country did moue thee; which if thou hadst asked of me, would I haue denied the same vnto thee? which (if thou doest well remember) I so oftentimes voluntarily profered vnto thee? But thou haddest rather to gaine the same by trechery, than to receiue it of my hands of courtesie. So thine be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good will. And verily, according to my accustomed clemency towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and beene familiarly acquainted with,*

H I K L M

A *with, I now pardon thee all thou hast offended me; not for any thy present deserts, which are none, but because in this publique enmitie it pleaseth me to remember my former kindnes in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulnes somtimes in my affairs: especially for that the time was much longer wherin thou seruedst me, than the time wherin thou hast offended me. Croia and thy fathers kingdom (although thou hast gained the same by foul trechery) I giue vnto thee, vpon condition thou willingly restore vnto mee the other towns of Epirus which by no right belong vnto thee, but are myne by law of Arms, by myself honourably won. Whatsoeuer thou hast taken from my father in law the Prince of Servia, thou shalt presently restore, and make him an honorable recompence for the other harms thou hast don vnto him; and for euer hereafter thou shalt as well forbear to offer violence to any our friends, as to aid any our Enemies. So shalt thou for euer auoid the displeasure of the Turks, and stand in my good grace and fauor, as thou hast don before.*

B *Except thou hadst rather (being taught by thine own harms) then in vain cry for mercy, when thy furious outrage shall haue me in person an implacable reuenger. Thou knowest thy forces, thou knowest the strength of myne arms; thou hast before thyne eies the fresh example of the Hungarian fortune, so that thou needest no further admonition: yet I would thou shouldst write at large what thou intendest to do. Thou mayst also confer with* Ayradin *our seruant, our trusty and faithfull messenger, of whom thou shalt vnderstand more than are in these letters comprised. Farewell if thou be wise.*

From Hadrianople.

To these letters *Scanderbeg* gaue small credit, and lesse to the messenger, but least of all to the old fox himselfe, whom he well knew to haue written nothing simply of good meaning,
C but only to gain a cessation from wars, vntill hee might at better leisure set vpon him with all his forces. Wherfore calling *Ayradin* the messenger vnto him (whom he rather held for a crafty spy, than an honorable Embassador) after he had many times both publiquely and priuatly discoursed with him, so far forth as was possible to sound the depth of his comming, & had also further entertained him with all honorable curtesies, he shewed him all his campe, with the strength therof; which he did, because the crafty messenger should not think that he was any thing afraid of his masters greatnes. And at last greatly complaining of *Amuraths* cruel and perfidious dealing against his father, his brethren, and himselfe; hee sent him away with such answer in writing as followeth:

D

The Soldier of CHRIST IESVS, *George Castriot*, syrnamed *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Epirus, to *Amurath Othoman* King of the Turks sends greeting.

Scanderbegs resolut answer to Amuraths letters.

THou hast in times past (as thou writest) exceeded me in many kinds of curtesies; and at this present I will exceed thee in modest and temperat speech: for I think there is no greater token of a base mind, than not to be able to forbear to giue railing and opprobrious words euen vnto our most mortall enemies. Wherfore we haue with patience receiued and seene both thy letters and messenger; and to confesse a truth, they haue ministred vnto me greater occasion of smile than of choler: whilst at the first thou shame
E *mest not to accuse me of much ingratitude and treason; and presently following a milder passion, seemest carefull of my souls health, being ignorant of thyne own estate, as a studious defender of a most damnable error. And at last, keeping neither law of arms, nor orderly course answering to our affaires, dost most insolently and vnaduisedly, as a valiant Conqueror to his vanquished enemie, propound many conditions of peace, of such qualitie and condition that myne ears scorn to hear the same. Truly,* Amurath, *although thy immoderat railing might moue a man of greatest patience to intemperat speech; yet I impute the same partly to thy great age, and partly to the waiwardnes of thy nature; and the rest, to thy conceiued griefe, which I know thou canst hardly moderat: and the rather, for that I haue not set down my self to contend with thee in foul and vnseemly language, but with arms and the just fury of war. Yet I pray thee, wherefore dost thou so exclaim against me before God and man? as though thou hadst first suffered wrong and*
F *injury from me, and that thou hadst not in truth first don the same. Dost thou call my necessary departing, a perfidious trechery? my natiue country by my policy and valor recouered, dost thou obiect to me as a villanie? obiect the same still and spare not; charge me with such crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindnes toward me, which thou rehearsest, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it*

the sad and wofull remembrance of my greater miseries. Which if they were equally weighed, and G
vprightly compared together, the greatnes of thy good deserts would be quite ouerwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater tyranies, which I had rather thou shouldst count with thy self, than blush whilst I repeat them. Euery man that knoweth them, may maruel how I had power to endure them, or that thou wast not weary at last of thy cruelty and secret hatred. Thou tookst away my fathers Kingdom by force, thou didst murther my brethren, and my self thou didst most wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any such cruelty. And doth it now seem strange to thee, ô Amurath, *that an inuincible mind desirous of liberty, should seek to break out of the bonds of so great and insolent slauery. How long didst thou thinke at length I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many yeers endured, and refused not thy command: I exposed my self to publique and priuat dangers, both voluntary, and by thy designment:*
speeches were giuen out daily by thy self, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deep trecherie H
was rife in myne ears. Yet for all that, of long time I simply beleeued both thy words and deeds to haue bin deuoid of all fraud, vntill thy cankered malice began too too apparantly to shew it self. Then began I also to glose with thee, wholly metamorphosed into thyne own conceits, vntil I found occasion to recouer my liberty. Wherfore there is no cause thou shouldst now grieue if thou be well beaten with thy own rod. But these art but trifles, Amurath, *in comparison of those things which I haue laid vp in hope and resolution of mind. Therfore herafter cease thyne angry threats, and tell not vs of the Hungarian fortune: euery man hath his own resolutions, and euery man a particular gouernor of his actions; and so will we with patience endure such fortune as it shall please God to appoint vs. In the mean time, for direction of our affairs we will not request counsell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victory by the help of God. Farewell.* I
From our Camp.

When *Amurath* had read these letters, and further conferred with *Ayradin*, he was filled with wrath and dignation, wondring at the great resolution of so small a Prince, presently casting in his mind (as was thought) the difficulty of that war. Yet because he would giue no token of fear, oftentimes stroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thorowly angry; with a dissembling cheerfulnes of countenance said,

Amurathspassionat speech in his rage, against Scanderbeg.

Thou desirest (wicked man) thou desirest the title of some honorable death: Wee will giue it thee (beleeue vs) we will giue it thee; we our selues will be present at the buriall of our foster Childe, and in person (though vnbidden) honor the funerall pomp of the great King of Epirus, that thou shalt neuer complain K
among the damned ghosts, that thou didst die a base or obscure kind of death.

And because at that time, by reason of many great occurrents, hee could not conuert his whole power into Epirus, he sent *Ferises* one of his best captains, with 9000 choice horsmen, to keep *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to spoil his country as much as he could. Which was with such speed don, as it was thought *Ferises* would haue bin in the heart of Epirus, before *Scanderbeg* could haue had knowledge of his comming. But for all his hast, he could not so preuent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing therof, and hauing his men alwaies in readines, placed 1500 good footmen in ambush vpon the rough mountains leading into the vally of Movea, wherby the Turks must needs passe into Epirus; placing also 2000 horsmen as he thought most fit & conuenient for the purpose. *Ferises* descending from the high mountains L
full of woods and bushes, by the broken and stony waies leading into the Valley, was in that troublesome and intricate passage fiercely set vpon by *Scanderbegs* ready footmen, suddenly arising out of ambush; where the Turks hauing no vse of their horses, but rather by them incombred, were slain as Deer incloſed in a toil. In this conflict 760 Turks were taken prisoners, and a great number slain, and *Ferises* himself with the rest inforced to fly, crying still out as he fled, *Better some saued than all lost. Scanderbeg* hauing thus ouerthrowne *Ferises*, pursued him into Macedonia, and with the spoil there taken rewarded his soldiers, as he had also many times before done.

Amurath grieued with the ouerthrow of *Ferises*, presently sent *Mustapha* a politique and hardy Captain, with a new supply of six thousand souldiers to take the charge from *Ferises*; M
commaunding him in no case, nor vpon any occasion to enter far into Epirus, but onely to burn and spoil the frontiers therof, saying, That he would account it for good seruice, if hee might but vnderstand that the trees and fruits of that country had felt the force of his anger.

Mustapha

A *Mustapha* hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere to the borders of Epirus, continually sent out scouts before his army, to see if the passages were clear, and so warily entred the vally of Mocrea, where *Ferizes* not long before was ouerthrown. In this fruitful vally (being the frontiers of *Scanderbegs* dominion) *Mustapha* intrenched his army vpon the rising of a hill, and placed espials vpon the top of the high mountains round about, by them to discouer the comming of the enemy, and to haue notice therof by signes into the camp: then reseruing 4000 horsmen with himself to keep his camp, he sent forth the rest of the Army, about 9000 horsmen, to forrage and spoil the country; giuing charge before, that euery man vpon pain of death should presently retyre vnto the Campe, vpon signe giuen from thence, as vnto a place of safety and refuge. The Turkish army ranging ouer that rich and pleasant Valley,
B burnt the villages, cut down trees, spoiled the vineyards, and made hauock of all things that fire and sword could destroy: in that point executing *Amuraths* command to the full. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing neer to this vally with 4000 horsemen and 1000 foot, was aduertised of all the enemies doings by an Epirot soldier, who grieuously wounded, had hardly escaped from the Turks; of him he vnderstood what number of Turks were burning and destroying the country, of the Camp also kept by *Mustapha*, and how espials were placed vpon the mountains. *Scanderbeg* hauing well considered *Mustapha's* wary proceedings, and seeing no policie to be vsed against so carefull an enemy; resolued to vanquish him by plaine force, by assaulting him suddenly in his trenches, before his dispersed soldiers could repair to the camp. *Scanderbeg his valiant resolution for assaulting of Mustapha in his camp*
And hauing to this purpose with effectuall persuasions incouraged the minds of his valiant
C soldiers, ready of themselues to follow him thorow all dangers; when he had set all things in order for the assaulting of the enemies camp, speedily entred the vally, and was presently discouered by the enemies espials from the tops of the high hils, and a sign giuen to the Camp, from whence also the appointed sign was giuen for the dispersed soldiers to retyre: but most of them being strayd from the camp, and busied in taking the spoil of the country, heard not or saw not the sign giuen. Those which were within the hearing therof, retyred to the Camp; after whom followed *Scanderbegs* souldiers, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slain in the entrance of the camp, with their booties in their hands, and presently the Turks trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* soldiers couragiously assaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They hauing won the
D trenches, preuailed stil vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with fear and slaughter. There was no vse of shot in that medly, by reason of the streightnesse of the place, for they were now come to pel mel. *Mustapha* seeing his soldiers put to the worst, & that the camp was not long to be defended, took horse and fled by the port which was fartheſt from the enemy. The rest of the soldiers fled also, making such poor shift for themselues as they could. In this battail 5000 Turks were slaine, and but 300 taken: for the Christians inraged with the spoil of the country, reuenged themselues with the slaughter of the Turks. *Scanderbeg* lost in this conflict but 20 horsmen and 50 footmen. The rest of the Turks army dispersed in the country, hearing the tumult in the camp, misdoubting the fortune of their fellows, fled also: yet many of them were in that flight pursued and slain.

E After this misfortune, *Mustapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuse the misfortune of himself and the other captains before sent, greatly commended the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderfull skil in feats of Armes; persuading *Amurath* either to send a greater power against him, or els none at all: saying, that to send such small Armies, was but to administer matter to the increase of his glory, and the infamy of the Turks; and to vse policy against him the master of policie, was but meer folly. It grieued *Amurath* to hear the praises of his enemy, although he knew the same to be true, by the continuall fortune he had alwaies against his great captains, *Alis Bassa*, *Ferizes*, and *Mustapha*: wherfore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to suffer him to liue in peace: yet commanded *Mustapha* to renew his army for defence of the borders of his kingdome toward Epirus, against the
F innouation of *Scanderbeg*; but streitly commanding him, in no case to inuade any part of Epirus, neither vpon any occasion offered, or conceiued hope of victory, to join battell with *Scanderbeg*, for fear of such euil succes as before.

At this time also the Grecians of Peloponesus (now called Morea, hauing before fortified the streit of Corinth from sea to sea, with a perpetuall wall which they called Hexamylum,

and deep trenches about six miles in length, had also built fiue strong castles in the said wall, G
of purpose to take away all passage by land into that rich country; and began now not onely
to deny the yearly tribute they were wont to pay vnto the Turkish King, but also to inuade
such Princes of Achaia their neighbors, as were content to remain stil the Turks tributaries.
Among whom, *Niceus* Prince of Athens, and *Turacan* gouernor of Thessalia for *Amurath*, cea-
sed not by continuall complaints to insence him against them of Peloponesus. Who hauing
his Army in readines, although it was now winter, and he himself very aged, set forward from
Hadrianople, and marching thorow Thessalia, came into Achaia, where most of the Grecians
were before fled for fear into Peloponesus. So passing on with his army, he came to the streit
commonly called Istmus, where the famous city of Corinth sometimes stood; and there in-
camped his army neer vnto the strong wall and castles lately before built: hoping that the H
Grecians of Peloponesus, terrified with the multitude of his army, would without resistance
submit themselues. But when he perceiued them to stand vpon their gard, & to trust to their
strength, he laid battery to the wal four daies, and hauing made it faultable, brake thorow the
same with his army. The Grecians hauing lost the wall (their chief strength) fled, some vnto
one strong hold, and some to another, as their fortune led them; the Turkes at their pleasure
spoiling and destroying that rich and pleasant country, somtime the nurse of worthy wits and
famous captains; where they found wonderfull riches, and took prisoners without number;
insomuch that they were sold amongst the Turks at most vile price. There *Amurath* for his
pleasure cruelly sacrificed six hundred Christian captiues to the hellish ghost of his dead fa-
Peloponesus made tributary to the Turk. ther *Mahomet*. And afterward imposing a yearely tribute vpon the Peloponesians and other I
Grecian princes now again yeelding vnto him, as an induction to their further slauery vnder
his Turkish tyranny, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of Patras and Sicy-
one. Thus the rich country of Peloponesus, and all the rest of Grecia, somtime fountain of all
learning and chiualry, became tributarie to the barbarous and cruel Turks, in the year of our
Lord 1445.

Old *Amurath* now clogged with years, and wearied with long wars, was content to take his
Bajazet born. rest at Hadrianople: during which time, *Bajazet* the son of *Mahomet* was born in the year 1446;
1446 who afterwards of long time with great glory gouerned the Turkish empire at Constantino-
ple, as in his place shall appear.

The Hungarians after the calamity of Varna (wherein they had together with *Vladislaus* K
their King, lost most part of their nobility also) in a generall assembly of the State, made
choice of *Ladislaus* the posthumus son of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Frederick* the empe-
ror) for their king. But forasmuch as he being then but a child of fiue yeares old, and chosen
king more for the remembrance of the emperor *Sigismund* his grandfather, and *Albert* his fa-
ther, and the good hope conceiued of him, than for any other thing presently to be expected
from him; it was thought more than necessary, to make choice of some notable and worthy
man, to whom they might during the time of the Kings minority, commit the gouernment
and protection of that so great and turbulent a kingdom. Many there were in that honoura-
ble assembly wel thought of both of themselues and others; but such was the glory and valor
of *Huniades*, and so great the remembrance of his noble deserts, both of the kingdom of Hun- L
gary, and of the Christian commonweal, as without his seeking procured him the general fa-
uor and suffrages of all: yea so far, that they which most enuied his honor (as ouershadowing
their own) were glad to hold their peace; for that without him, as it was commonly thought,
Huniades chosen gouernor of all Hungary, in the Kings minority. the state of that shaken kingdom could not long stand. So by the general consent of all the
States there assembled, he was with the great applause of the people chosen and proclaimed
Gouernor; as of all others most fit for so great and heauy a charge. Wherin he quietly spent
some few years in deciding of ciuill controuersies, in composing the quarrels of the Nobili-
ty: not forgetting in the mean time the indifferent administration of justice to all men, en-
ding many controuersies far from the place of judgment, and that without any suspition of
corruption; vsing therin such expedition and neuer-wearied patience in hearing euery mans M
cause, that sitting, going, standing, riding, he dispatched many great and weighty matters: al-
wayes shewing himself affable and curteous, as wel vnto them of the poorer sort, as others of
greater calling that had any suits vnto him. So that it was of him truely said, That no man
was than hee vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more crosse and contrarie.

In

A In time of peace he was alwaies prouident for War, heaping vp great treasure and such other things, as without which the wars could not be maintained. But aboue all things he was carefull for the good agreement of the Nobility, taking great pains in reconciling their displeasures conceiued one against another; and that with such dexteritie, as that hee was both of them and others generally both beloued and feared.

In the mean time, whilst he was thus busied in disposing the ciuil affairs of the Common- 1448
monweal, and the administration of justice, he was aduertised by his espials, how that the old *Huniades goeth against the Turks.*
Sultan *Amurath* was raising great forces both in Asia and Europe, and that as the common
fame went, for the inuasion of Hungary. For the withstanding whereof *Huniades* not vnpro-
uided, as neuer vnmindfull of so dangerous an enemy, or of any thing more desirous than in
B some sort to be reuenged of the great losse receiued at Varna; in the fourth yeare of his gouernment, and in the year of our Lord 1448, accompanied with most part of the Nobility of Hungary, and the Vayuod of Valachia his friend and confederat, set forward against the Turk with an army of two and twenty thousand choice soldiers. So hauing passed the riuer Tibiscus or Teise, and trauelling thorow Valachia, a little beneath where the Riuer Morava running thorow Servia, falleth into Danubius, he with most part of his army passed that great riuer; the rest in the mean time taking passage ouer at a town called Severin. *Huniades* with his Army being thus gotten ouer into Servia, by his Embassadours requested the Despot, as hee had oftentimes before, to put himselfe into that most Christian War, and remembring the great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to shew himself therfore vngrateful,
C than which, nothing could be more dishonorable. And to encourage him the more, certified him both of his own strength, and of the ayd brought vnto him by the Vayuod; and that for the good succes of the War there wanted nothing but his presence and direction, with such troups of light horsmen as he knew he had alwaies in readines; wherewth he requested him with all speed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better affected vnto the Turk than to *Huniades*; the more cleanly to withdraw himself from this war, pretended many excuses: first, The league hee had with *Amurath* his son in law, which he said hee might not break, for fear that if things chanced not well, he might therby fall again into his old misery. Then, The vnseasonablenes of the time, Autumn being now past: which difficulties in those cold Countries they had to their cost too much felt in the late Warres. These with many
D other such like he alledged in excuse that he came not: but the truth was, the malice of the man, beeing much grieued to see *Huniades* preferred to the gouernment of the kingdome before him, and disdaining to serue vnder his ensignes, being himself Despot and King of Servia, descended of the royal race, was the cause of his backwardnes. So that blinded with envy, he could not there rightly iudge of himself, or what was fit for him in this case to haue don. But *Huniades* angry with his vnkind answer, threatned with his own hands to be reuenged vpon him, and to giue away his kingdom to one more worthy therof than he, if hee should with victory return. So passing thorow Servia as thorow the enemies country, hee came vnto Bulgaria. After whose departure, the false Despot by speedy messengers aduertised *Amurath* *The false Despot informeth Amurath both of Huniades his comming, & of his strength.*
both of the comming of the Hungarians, and of their strength; yea he certified him of euerie
E dayes march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a small company of his own, and some weak supplies of the Vayuod, come ouer Danubius: whom if he should not presently meet, but suffer him to come on farther, and so with his army to get betwixt him and home, he might so shut him in, as that he should be hardly able to escape his hands. All which he did, partly for envy, partly to gratifie the Turk, and the better to keep friendship with him. So *Amurath* not contemning the Despots counsel, suffred *Huniades* without resistance to enter a great way into his country, and comming two or three daies march behind him, so stopped the passage, as that he could not possibly retyre, but that he must needs fight. And now they were both come vnto a great plain in Bulgaria, which the Hungarians call Rigomezu; and the Rascians, the plain of Cossova: through the middest wherof the Riuer Schichniza rising out of the moun-
F tains of Illyria, running, at length falleth into Morava, and so into Danubius. This Plaine is about twenty miles in length, and in bredth fiue, environed on each side with pleasant mountains, in maner of a theatre, the riuer and low vallies at the foot of the mountaines being garnished with many country villages and towns. Into this fatall Plain, when as the Hungarians

first,and after them the Turks,were as into a place of combat descended;an old woman dwelling in one of the villages vpon the riuer side fast by,where both armies of late passed, with a loud voice cried out, *O how much I now fear the hard fortune of the Hungarians.* When as their passage ouer by the foord troubled the riuer but one day, and the Turkes three; by the small number of their army diuining their ensuing ouerthrow. In the midst almost of this Plaine ariseth a small hill,by the foot wherof the riuer Schichniza runneth; not far beyond which toward the head of the Plain,was a certain tower built like a pyramide, in memorial of *Amurath* the first of that name,and third King of the Turks,there slain: which tower *Amurath* fearing lest *Huniades* marching before him,should take,and so become vnto him ominous(for in such matters the Turks are very superstitious) he made hast,of purpose to joine battell with him before he should come to the aforesaid tower. *Huniades* being come vnto the hill easily arising in the midst of the plain,there incamped,expecting the comming of *Scanderbeg*; who was said(according to appointment formerly made betwixt him and *Scanderbeg*) to be euery hour comming. Wherfore *Amurath* fearing lest the Tower fast by should be taken, and the enemies power strengthned by the comming of the Albanois, prouoked *Huniades* to battell; who still refused the same,in hope of his friends comming. Which made the Turke more fierce vpon him,seeking by all means he could to draw him to battel,but especially by cutting him off from water & forrage. For why,he much presumed vpon his multitude,hauing in his army about fourscore thousand fighting men. At length *Huniades*,for want of water and other neccessaries inforced to fight,vpon Saint *Lukes* day,being then Thursday,commanded his souldiers to make themselues ready: and diuiding his Army into two and thirty battalions, in such order as he meant to giue battell, the more to encourage them, spake vnto them as followeth:

The ominous speech of an old woman.

Huniades his notable speech to incorage his soldiers against the Turks.

At length(valiant soldiers,and fellowes in arms)the day is come,wherin you may reuenge that dishonor or disgrace you receiued in the battell of Varna; and recouer your former credit of constancie and praise,if you will play the men. The Enemie opposeth against you but these reliques of his armies, by you so often broken and discomfited; who although they bee in number more than you, yet are they in hope, quarrell,and strength far inferior. For what can they hope for,which fight not for their owne,but for an other mans kingdom, and in conquering, procure vnto themselues nothing but bondage in this life, and torment in the life to come, and in both, perpetuall and endles misery? Whereas you on the other side, howsoeuer the matter fall out, fighting for your own kingdom, your children, your country, your houses, your altars,may assuredly hope for in both,eternall and vndoubted blisse. You haue also farre greater cause to fight, as they which if they do not valiantly ouercome their enemies, are in danger, with themselues, to lose all that theirs is. The strength of both is sufficiently tried. Once we vnfortunatly joined battell at Varna, where if we might make exchange of our fortunes there found, haply the Turk would make choice of our flight, rather than of the great slaughter of his own men; who being not able to beat vs, was there notably beaten,with the losse of a great part of his Army: whose great losse there receiued, might counteruail our dishonor; although he suffered the losse perforce, but we our flight by choice. But of that our ouerthrow, the angry powers from aboue(willing to reuenge our breach of faith) were, as I verily beleeue, the cause, rather than our cowardise: for euen there all the authors of that perfidious dealing, euen there, I say, euery one receiued the iust guerdon of their treachery. Whereas we, against our wills drawn into that wofull war, by the mercy of God yet liue with you, preserued for the defence of the Christian commonweal, and especially of Hungary, that it should not be ouer-run with the Turkish power and rage. The number of your enemies is not of you to be feared, when as you with few haue oftentimes learned to fight with their multitudes, and carried away from them the victory. Hitherto we haue rather fought by the power of God than man, and in the name of Christ Iesus our Sauiour haue easily ouerthrowne their prophane battels. Which way soeuer we haue turned our selues in his most mighty name, we haue with our victorious armes opened our way, for that we fought vnder the leading and conduct of the Highest, whose help wee haue alwaies felt at hand: neither shall we therof this day fail, if we be mindfull of his forepassed loue towards vs, and of our wonted valour. God is alwaies present with them that in his iust quarrell fight couragiously. Herunto is ioyned the safe maner of our fight, by reason of our men at arms, and barbed horses, who like a strong castle cannot easily be ouerthrown. Our battalions are such as may easily be commanded, and yet strong enough against our enemies; whereas their great multitude breeds but confusion. We haue many notable

A *notable and forcible engins of war, which they haue not. Besides that, euery hour we look for the worthy* Scanderbeg *his comming. The danger is not so great as that we should feare it, or so little as that wee should contemn it. Back again without victory we may not go, for that our army is hardly by the streits of these mountains to be led: and if the way were neuer so easie, yet without doing that we came for, and glory with victory, we may not retyre. Vnto the Valiant all difficulties are propounded: wherfore sith this your last labor is at hand, wherin the whole strength of the Turks may for euer be cut off; I pray and beseech you (fellow soldiers) by that God vnder whose power and protection we serue, and by the loue you beare vnto your country, your wiues, your children, and wealth, vpon the signall of battell giuen, so to shew your valor, as men resolued to be fully reuenged of the iniuries by that filthy and wicked nation done both to God and man, and especially of the losse receiued at Varna. We lost there a deuout King, who for our safe-*
B *ty, and for the breach of his faith, sacrificed himself; by which royall sacrifice that diuine anger is appeased: vnto whose ghost I beseech you in this battell to make an honorable sacrifice. Not forgetting withall, to reuenge the death of other worthy men in that battell slain. This fear of the Turks is at once and euen at this day to be cut off; and so, as that it should neuer grow again: and the kingdom of Hungary so to bee deliuered from the danger of most cruell slauery, as that it may by this daies work gain perpetuall rest and glory, vnto the injoying of the pleasures both of this life, and of the life to come. Wherfore (worthy soldiers) we must fight with all our force, for that our honor so requireth, our profit so persuadeth, and necessity inforceth. As for our selues, howsoeuer the matter fall out, it shall be well with vs: if victory, perpetuall blisse and happines shall therby be procured vnto our country, and immortall fame vnto our selues: but if we be ouercome, here we shall be most honorably buried in the bed of fame, to liue in heauen with God and*
C *his Saints for euer. Wherfore I beseech you so to fight, as men resolutely set downe to ouercome, or if it should otherwise fall out, as men resolued honorably to die.*

With this the Generals speech all the mindes of the hearers were greatly inflamed, and they all by his words, and their own hot desires, sufficiently encouraged. Neither did old *Amurath* on the other side with lesse care or diligence marshal his Army, and encourage his Turks, sparing neither cheerfull speech, glorious promises, or seuere command. Whose Army being brought into the plain, and ranged in order of battel, filled the same from the one side to the other, euen vnto the very mountains, to the great astonishment of the Christians: and so about nine a clock in the morning set forward. *Huniades* had from the hil where he lay
D sent downe both the wings of his Army, and had a front on both sides before them stretched out certain long troups of light horsmen to begin the skirmish. In the midst betwixt both he had placed *Zechel* his sisters son, with a strong square battell of men at arms: and such as he had kept aloft vpon the hill for rescues, hee had compassed about with his Waggons as with Trenches. The signall of the battell being giuen, the fierce and couragious soldiers on both sides, with cheerfull minds began at first to skirmish afar off: but afterwards fortune as it were fawning vpon both sides, and their courage therupon encreasing, they began with greater force to fight foot to foot, and hand to hand. Which hot fight continued about three hours: at length the Turks battell was put to the worst by *Benedict Losonicus*, who had the leading of the right wing. And so likewise in the left wing by *Stephen Bamffi*, who with much
E slaughter had foiled the great Bassa of Europe, still pressing hard and desperately vpon him. Which discomfiture of his men in both wings *Amurath* perceiuing, presently sent in strong supplies, and in both places renewed the battell: wherby the Hungarian and Valachian light horsmen, before wearied, were inforced to retyre to the men at Arms; who serred together, and standing as a strong wall, easily repulsed the Turks greatest assaults. In which maner of fight many were on both sides slain, but far more of the Turkes, by reason they were neither so well horsed nor armed as were the Christians. *Huniades* in the mean time with the artillerie from the hil did the Turks great harm: which *Amurath* perceiuing, drew as close vnto the hil as he could, by that mean sauing his people so much as was possible, out of the danger of the Artillery, mounted on high aboue them in such sort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt
F them. Which *Huniades* from the hil beholding, came down to the relief of his men, sending new supplies to both wings, somtimes encouraging them with cheerfull speech, and somtime with his own most valiant hand: vnto the weary he sent relief, the fearful he encouraged, them that were flying he staid, & where he saw the enemies fastest comming on, there was he himself present to meet them; omitting nothing that was of a good General or worthy souldier

The great Battell of Cossoua fought betwixt Amurath and Huniades three dayes together.

to

to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reproued, and as a careful General, was himselfe in euery place present. Wherby the battel became so fierce and terrible, that in eueuery place a man might haue seen all fouly soiled with bloud and the quarry of the dead. *Amurath* in like maner still sent in new supplies, nothing discouraged with the losse of his men, presuming vpon his multitude, as fully resolued orderly to fight, and to make vse of his forces, in hope at length, by continuall sending in of fresh supplies, to weary his enemies, whom he saw he could not by force ouercome. Wherin he was not deceiued; for one battalion of the Hungarians was oftentimes inforced to weary four or fiue of the Turks before they could be relieued, they came on so fast. That day they dined & supt in the battell, refreshing themselues with such short repast as they could eat standing, going, or riding. The Turks Army was that day in euery place put to the worst, and oftentimes with great slaughter inforced by the Hungarians to retyre almost to their trenches: yet was the battel still again renued, and so fought on both sides, as well appeared they were resolued either to ouercome, or there to die. This cruel fight, maintained al the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retyring into their own trenches, but with purpose the next day to renew the battel, and not to give ouer or turn their backs, vntill the victory were by dint of sword determined. So with little rest was that night spent, both armies keeping most diligent Watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battel, therin to try whither they should liue or die. It was yet scarse fair day, when both the armies in good order ranged began again the battaile; which at the first was not by the Hungarians fought with such force and courage as before: for there was none of them which had not the day before spent their whole strength; wheras there was yet 40000 of the Turkes which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmished. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his souldiers, not by faint-hearted cowardise to break off the course of the victory by them the day before so wel begun, but couragiously to prosecute the same; beseeching them not to be wanting vnto themselues and their country, but to remember how they had fought the day before, how many thousands of their enemies they had slain, and not now at last to giue ouer, and so shamefully to frustrat all the pains and dangers by them endured: for that they (as he said) were to be thought worthy of honour, not which began, but which ended honorable actions. He wished them to set before their eies the calamities like to ensue, if they should as cowards be ouercome: first, the diuers kindes of death and torture; then the slauery of their wiues and children, the rauishment of their virgins and matrons; and last of all, the vtter destruction of their kingdome, with the horrible confusion of all things, as wel sacred as prophane: all which were by that one daies labor (said hee) to be auoided. And therfore he besought them for the loue both of God and man, with their wonted valor, that day to set at liberty for euer, themselues, their country, their wiues & children, and whatsoeuer els they held dear. In like maner also did *Amurath* incourage his souldiers with great promises and threats, persuading them rather to endure any thing, than by that daies ouerthrow to be quite driuen out of Europ. He carefully viewed his army, ordered his battels, and with many great reasons persuaded them to play the men. But after some light skirmishes being past, both the armies were fully joined, the battel was fought with no lesse force and fury than the day before. Of the Christians many then wounded came now againe into the battell, there either by speedy death or speedy victory to cure their wounds before receiued, and there did right good seruice. Great was the slaughter in euery place, neither could the valour of the Hungarians bee withstood; whose furious impression when the Turks could not by plain force endure, began with their fresh horsmen cunningly to delude their desperat fiercenes: at such time as the Hungarians began most hardly to charge them, they by and by turned their backs, suffring them to follow after them, far scattred and dispersed: who allured as it were with the hope of present victory, eagerly pursued them, and in the pursuit slew diuers of them: and they again vpon a signal giuen, closing together, and turning back vpon the dispersed troups, wel reuenged the death of their fellowes; and with their often charges and retreits wonderfully wearied the Hungarians, notably deluding their furious attempts with that vncertain kinde of fight, all the day long. Many of the Hungarians were slain, and the Turks had that day the better. And so both Armies beeing wearied, night and wearinesse ended the fight, both retyring into their trenches, there keeping most carefull watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day the battel was again begun. *Huniades* his brother,

The battell begun againe the second day.

Huniades encourageth his souldiers.

A brother, General of the Valachians, with his light horsmen setting first forward; after whom in seemly order followed the rest of the nobility with their Companies. Where for certaine hours the battel was hardly fought with like hope on both sides, and a great slaughter made; but specially of the Hungarians, who wearied with the long fight, & most part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third daies labor. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his sisters sonne) valiantly fighting in the front of the battell, was the first of the Leaders there slaine in the thickest of the Turks. *Emericus Marzalus*, and *Stephen Bamffi*, both great Commaunders, inclosed by the Turks, there died also. *Amurath* seeing the formost ensignes of the Christians, which stood in *Zechels* regiment, taken, and his souldiers, discomforted with the death of their Colonell, turning their backs; presently commanded all the Companies (which were many) yet left in the B trenches for new supplies, to issue forth, and at once to ouerwhelm the Christians, being (as he said) but few; and ouerwearied with three daies continual fight. Vpon which, commaund they fiercely breaking out, presently ouerthrew both the wings of the Christians, before wauering; and in a great battel (wherin most of the chief commanders were slain, and their Ensignes taken) discomfited the rest, and with a great slaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* seeing his brother now slain, the ensignes taken, & the battel quite lost, betook himself to flight also, leauing behind him his tents and baggage, all which shortly after became a prey to the Turks; who from noon vntil night fiercely followed the chase with most cruel execution: but at length stayd by the comming on of the darknes, they returned again to their trenches. The rest of the Turks army that followed not the chase, compassing in the Hungarian campe, were C there by the wounded soldiers, the wagoners, and other drudges of the army, kept out so long as they had any shot left; but yet were in the end euery mothers son slain, though not altogether vnreuenged, two or three of the Turkes in many places lying dead by the body of one Hungarian. *Amurath* to couer the greatnes of his losse there receiued, commanded the bodies of his captains there slain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common souldiers to be for the most part cast into the riuer Schichniza: for which cause the inhabitants of the country there by, of long time after abstained from eating of any fish taken in that riuer. The plain by this great battel made once again famous, lay neuertheles many years after couered with dead mens bones, as if it had bin with stones: neither could be plowed by the country people, but that long time after armor and weapons were there still in many places turned vp D and found. Thus albeit that this bloudy victory fel to the Turks, yet was their losse far greater than the Hungarians, hauing lost (as was reported by them that say least) 34000 of themselues, for 8000 of their enemies. Howbeit they themselues report the losse to haue been on both sides far greater; as that of the Christians were slain 17000, and of themselues 40000: which in so long and mortal a battel is not vnlike to haue bin true. In this vnfortunate battell fel most part of the Hungarian Nobility, all men worthy eternall fame and memory, whose names we wil for brevities sake passe ouer. Many in the chase taken, & the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandement of the angry tyrant slaine. Such as escaped out of the slaughter by the way of Illyria, returned in safety; but such as thought to saue themselues by returning back again through Servia the Despots country, found the same so troublesom E as that few of them escaped, but that they were by the way either slain, or quite stripped out of all they had.

The battell begun againe the third day.

Huniades flies.

The number of the Turks and Christians slain in the battel of Cossova.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the rest; who hauing on horseback all alone by vncoth and vntract waies trauelled three days without meat or drink, and the fourth day tyred his horse and cast him off; being himself on foot and disarmed, fell into the hands of two notable Theeues, who in dispoiling him of his apparell, finding a fair crucifix of gold about his necke, fell in strife amongst themselues for the same: wherby he took occasion to lay hand vpon one of their swords, and with the same presently thrust him through; & then suddenly assailing the other, put him to flight also. So deliuered of this danger, trauelling on, and almost spent with thirst and hunger, the next day hee light F vpon a shepheard a sturdy rough knaue, who hearing of the Hungarians ouerthrow, was in hope of prey roaming abroad in that desolat country: who at the first meeting, strucken with the majesty of the man, stood at gaze vpon him; as also did *Huniades*, fearing in his so great weaknes to haue to do with him. Thus a while hauing one well regarded the other, they began to enter talk; the shepheard bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods sake craving

uing of him somthing to eat. When as the shepheard hearing of his hard hap, mooued with his estate, and hope of promised reward, brought him vnto a poor cottage not far off, causing to be set before him bread and water, with a few onions. Who in the pleasant remembrance of that forepassed misery, would oftentimes after in his greatest banquets say, That he neuer in his life fared better or more daintily, than when he supped with this shepheard. So wel can hunger season homely cates. Thus refreshed, he was by the shepheard conducted to Sinderovia: wherof the Despot hauing intelligence (whose Countrey was all laid for the staying of him) caused him by the captain of the castle to be apprehended and imprisoned. But after certain daies spent in talk about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, That all such strong towns in Rascia and Servia, as had by the Hungarians bin detained from the Despot, at such time as his kingdom was by *Vladislaus* restored vnto him, should be again to him deliuered; and that *Matthias*, *Huniades* his yongest son, should for the confirmation of further friendship marry the Despots daughter: with some other such conditions as it pleased the vngratefull Prince for his own behoof to set down. For performance wherof, he required to haue *Ladislaus*, *Huniades* his eldest son, in hostage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto, for fear the false Despot should haue deliuered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortall enemy. So the hostage being giuen, *Huniades* was again deliuered. Who vpon Christmas day comming to Segedinum, was there by all the nobility of Hungary, and great concourse of the people, honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Despots no lesse grieued this worthy man, than the dishonor receiued from the Turk. Wherfore vpon the sudden raising a great army, he inuaded the territory, long before giuen to the Despot by the Emperour *Sigismund* in Hungary, in exchange of the strong town of Belgrade, destroying the country before him, and burning the villages, neuer resting vntil he had got into his power whatsoeuer the despot had in Hungary: and not so contented, presently entred Rascia, where the Despots Embassadours met him, bringing with them *Ladislaus* the hostage honorably rewarded, and humbly crauing peace at his hand, which he at the request of the nobility easily granted, with forgiuenes of all former wrongs or injuries: and so hauing with him concluded a peace, returned back againe into Hungary. But fortune neuer long suffereth the valiant man to rest, but stil keeps him busied, lest he should at too much ease attain vnto honors glory.

Huniades taken prisoner by the despot.

1449 The year following, *Amurath* certainly informed, That *George* the Despot hauing of late *Huniades* in his power, had againe set him at liberty; was therewith exceeding wroth: blaming him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdome which he had at his hands receiued, hee had not deliuered to him his enemy, in ful recompence therof; whom of al others he most feared, & therfore likewise wisht to haue had him perish. In reuenge of which injury, as he took it, the melancholy tyrant sent *Fritze-beg* and *Iose-beg*, two of his most expert captaines, with a strong power to inuade Rascia the despots country: who accordingly entring therinto, strongly fortified Chrysonicum a town before ruinated, vpon the side of the riuer Morava, and from thence with fire and sword destroied the country both far and neer. The Despot dismaid with this sudden and vnexpected invasion, wist not wel which way to turn himself: the angry Turk he wel knew was not to be appeased without yeelding to some great inconuenience; and to pray aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withstand the Turks, he thought but vain, for the wrong he had before don him. So that what to do he wist not; yet had he rather to endure any thing, than again to suffer the heauy bondage of the Turk. In this extremity he thought best to make proof of *Huniades*, of whom he humbly, and not without great shame, craued aid. Which the curteous gouernor, according to his honourable nature, forgetting all former injuries, easily granted; and the rather, for that he desired nothing more, than to be of the Turks in some part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of Cossova: as also for that he wisely foresaw, that the Despots country being lost, he should haue the Turks stil brauing him euen as it were in the gates of Hungary. Wherfore hauing with great speed raised a conuenient power, he forthwith in person himself set forward, and at Synderovia passing ouer the riuer of Danubius, into Rascia, there joined his forces with the Despots, which he found there ready. And so marching forward with such expedition that he preuented the fame of his comming; and the weather also at the same time as it were fauoring his purpose, (and couering the Countrey with a thicke mist) hee was the fourth day vpon the Turks before they were aware of him. Who beeing wonderfully dismayed with

The Despot inuaded by Amurath, craueth aid of Huniades.

the

A the sudden comming of the Christians, and vpon the breaking vp of the mist discouering also *Huniades* his ensignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of resistance, or of the ordering of their battel, but as men discouraged, betook themselues to speedy flight. After whom followed the Hungarian and Servian light horsemen with most bloudy execution, hauing them in chase all that day; *Huniades* with his men at arms following stil after in good order, for feare the Turks should again make head vpon the light horsemen that had them in chase. And had not the comming on of the night ended the slaughter, few of the Turkes had there escaped: but by the approch thereof, many of them got into the Woods, and so saued themselues. *Fritze Beg* the Generall, with most of the Turks best commanders were in that flight taken. *Huniades* after this victory entring into Bulgaria, came to Budina the metropo-
B litical City of that Country; which (as the cause oftentimes of great wars) he burnt downe to the ground. And so hauing well reuenged himself, and cleared the Country of the Turks, he returned back again into Servia, and there gaue to the Despot for a present all the prisoners he had taken; and contenting himself with the honor of the victory, returned with triumph to Buda, there to find no lesse trouble with the Bohemians and some of the discontented Nobilitie of Hungary, than he had with the Turks, to the great hurt of the Christian Commonweal.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the Hungarians, *Mu-Mustapha* lying stil vpon the borders of Macedonia, as *Amurath* had commanded, it chanced that a great quarrel grew betwixt the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*, about the inheritance of *Lech*
C *Zachary* a nobleman of Epirus, then shamefully murthred by his vnnaturall kinsman *Lech Duchagne*; part of whose inheritance lying in the frontiers of Epirus, the Venetians claimed, as belonging to their seigniory: and hauing got possession of the city of Dayna, part thereof by force held the same against *Scanderbeg*. Vpon which quarrell great wars arose betwixt the Venetians and him, who had before bin very good friends; insomuch that in the end they joined battel at the riuer of Drine, where the Venetians were by him in a great battel ouerthrowne. Of which troubles *Mustapha* daily vnderstood, and how that *Scanderbeg* so busied, had left but a small garrison vpon the borders of Epirus. Wherfore being desirous to redeem his former disgrace with some better hap, he would fain haue taken the opportunitie now presented, but that his great mastets command lay so heauy vpon him, as that he durst not without his leaue
D attempt the same: knowing that the danger of his euill fortune, if it should so fal out, would far exceed the vncertain glory of his better succes. Yet ceased hee not from time to time, to giue *Amurath* intelligence of these troubles and wars in Epirus, ernestly requesting him not to let slip so fair an opportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the country, in maner assuring him before hand of the victory: yet the suspitious old King was long in resoluing what to do, stil fearing the fortune of his enemy. At length discharged of the fear of the Hungarians, and commending *Must apha's* forwardnes, he sent vnto him a messenger with letters of this purport, answerable to his desire.

Amurathes letters of aduertisement vnto Mustapha, concerning his going againe into Epirus.

E *The wars thou so greatly desirest, behold* Mustapha *wee grant vnto thee: the glory therof (if those things be true which we hear of the Venetian war) thine own valor and worthy right hand shal giue thee. Yet thou must warily deal with that enemy, and not rashly take vp Arms, which thou maist be inforced shamefully to cast away, when thou thinkest least. Peraduenture the counterfeit shew of war and falling out among the Christians do too much allure thee; for the common saying is, There is no quarrell sooner ended than betwixt the father and the sonne. We in person absent, can neither aduise thee as present, nor commend a foolish forwardnes in arms. Thou must before thou put on arms, dispose of all things, and consider of euery particular which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field. Thou hast a great army of fresh and lusty soldiers; thine enemies are with continual war wearied and spent: in that remains do as thou thinkest good, for I forbid thee nothing which thou thinkest may be for aduancement of our honor.*

F *Mustapha* hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into Epirus, hoping in one battell to end that War. Which hee (presuming vpon the strength of his army) many times offered in the plain field. News herof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then lying at the siege of Dayna against the Venetians) from his garisons lying vpon the frontiers

of

of Epirus; to whom he addreſſed a ſpeedy meſſenger, commaunding them in no wiſe to encounter with the Enemy, but to keep themſelues within the ſafegard of their ſtrong Holds, and to protract the time vntill his comming. Afterwards ſelecting out of his army 500 horſmen, and 1500 choſen footmen, all old beaten ſoldiers, he with that ſmal number marched to the place where he knew his garriſons lay intrenched, in the vpper country of Dibra; leauing *Ameſa* his nephew at the ſiege of Dayna. *Muſtapha* hauing many times in vain ſought to draw the garriſon ſouldiers out of their trenches, by offering them many opportunities of aduantage, and now out of hope that way to circumvent them, began to ſpoil and burn the country round about: but when he vnderſtood by his ſcouts of *Scanderbegs* comming, he ſpeedily called together his army, and incamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* camp, at a place called Oronoche, in the vpper country of Dibra. *Scanderbeg* had there in his Camp, of the garriſon ſoldiers and thoſe he brought with him, 4000 horſmen and 2000 foot, all old expert ſouldiers, where after he had made his trenches ſtrong, he left therein 300 of them, and brought the reſt into the field in order of battell. *Muſtapha* likewiſe on the other ſide likewiſe brought on in good order his army alſo. But whilſt both armies thus ſtood ranged one within view of an other, expecting nothing but the ſignall of battell, ſuddenly a man at arms in gallant & rich furniture, iſſued out of the Turks army, into the midſt of the plain betwixt both armies, and from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Chriſtian army: this Turk was called *Caraguſa*. At the firſt *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers vpon this challenge ſtood ſtill, one looking vpon another; for as they were all aſhamed to refuſe ſo braue an offer, ſo the danger ſo ſuddenly offered ſtaid euery mans forwardnes for a while: vntil that one *Paul Maneſſi*, accounted the beſt man at arms in *Scanderbegs* army (vpon whom euery mans eye was now caſt, as if hee had beene by name called out by the proud Challenger) not able longer to endure the Turks pride, with great courage and cheerful countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requeſting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on Gods name to ſet forward, firſt to win honor to himſelf, and then to giue example of his valor for all the reſt of the army to follow. *Paul* ſtaying a while, vntill he had for that purpoſe moſt brauely armed himſelf, preſently mounted to horſe, and riding forth into the plain, called aloud vnto the Turk, that he ſhould make himſelfe ready to fight. Whom *Caraguſa* required to ſtay a while, that he might ſpeak vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

Caraguſa the Turks ſpeech to Maneſſi.

The victory (ſaid he) *our force and fortune ſhall determin; but the conditions of the victory we are now to appoint our ſelues. If the Deſtinies haue aſſigned vnto thee the honor of this day, I refuſe not but that thou maiſt by law of arms, when I am ouercome, carry away with thee my rich ſpoiles, and at thy pleaſure diſpoſe of my dead body. But if thou ſhalt fal vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the ſame right and power ouer thy captiue body; and that the Generals will grant, that no man ſhall moue out of either army, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.*

Maneſſi his ſtout anſwer to Caraguſa.

Wherunto *Maneſſi* anſwered; *That he agreed to thoſe conditions of the combat, which hee vpon a needleſſe fear had ſo required to be kept: ſaying, That where the fierce ſoul had yeelded, there of good right all the reſt ought to be the Conquerors. And that therfore he ſhould fight without fear of any more Enemies than himſelf, whom ſo ſoon as he had deprined of life, he ſhould haue free power to doe with his dead body what he would. Which if thou wouldſt giue* (ſaid he) *to the tears of my fellow ſouldiers, yet would not worthy* Scanderbeg *ſuffer the carkaſſe of a vanquiſhed coward to be brought backe againe into his Campe.*

Caraguſa maruelled to heare his ſo braue reſolution, and as it was thought repented him of his challenge. But after both the Generals had vpon their honors confirmed the lawes of the combat before rehearſed, both the champions were left alone in the middeſt of the plain betwixt both armies, with all mens eies fixed vpon them. Now both the Armies betwixt fear and hope, ſtood in great expectation of the euent of the combat, preſaging their own fortune in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themſelues one from another a conuenient diſtance, for the making of their courſe, and after with great violence running together, *Caraguſa* was by *Maneſſa* at the firſt incounter ſtruck through the head and ſlain. *Maneſſi* alighting, diſarmed the dead body & ſtruck off his head; and ſo loded with the armor and head of the proud challenger, returned Victor to the Army, where he was

joyfully

joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there presently honorably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* seeing his men by this good fortune of *Maneſsi*, greatly encouraged, and the Turks as men dismaied with the death of their Champion, hanging their heads, like an inuincible Captaine, himselfe set first forward toward the enemy, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they stood, before they had set one foot forward, had not *Muſtapha* to incourage his soldiers, with certain disordred troups opposed himselfe against him; which the whole army seeing, faintly followed: but as they set forward with small courage, so were they at the first incounter easily driuen to retire. Which when *Muſtapha* say, he called earnestly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his own example, put spurs to his horse, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* army, as one resolued either to gaine the victory, or there to die: after whom followed most of the principall captains of his army, which would not for shame forsake their Generall: thus by his valor the battell was for a while renewed. But *Moses* preuailing with great slaughter in one part of the Army, the Turks began to fly: in which flight *Muſtapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the chiefe men in that army, were taken prisoners, but of the common soudiers few were saued. There was slaine of the Turks army ten thousand, and fifteene ensignes taken; whereas of the Christians were slaine but three hundred. The Turks tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* soldiers: wherewith although he had satisfied the desires of them all, yet to keep his old custom, he entred into the confines of Macedonia, and there burnt and spoiled all that he could. And afterward leauing a garrison of two thousand horsemen and a thousand foot for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the rest of his army to the siege of Dayna.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Muſtapha.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* desirous to redeeme his Captaines, about the same time sent great presents vnto *Scanderbeg*, with fiue and twenty thousand duckats for the ransome of *Muſtapha* and the other chieftaines; whom *Scanderbeg* so honorably vsed, as if there had neuer been any hostility betwixt him and them: and so with a safe conuoy sent them out of his country. The ransome of *Muſtapha* and the other Turks he diuided amongst his soldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, he forthwith led his army againe into Macedonia, with the spoile of that country to make his soldiers better pay, as his vsuall manner was. And to do the greater harme, he diuided his army into three parts, wherewith he ouer-running the country, wasted and destroied all before him, putting to the sword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Christians that there liued among them, he spared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the Countrey he vtterly consumed with fire, so that in all that part of Macedonia which bordereth vpon Epirus, nothing was to be seene more than the bare ground, and the shews of the spoile by him there made. Which vnmercifull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turks should finde no reliefe in those quarters, whensoeuer they should come either to lie in garrison in that country, or to inuade Epirus. The spoile he made was so great, that it was thought he left not all that country, so much as might relieue the Turks army for one day.

Muſtapha ransomed.

Of all these great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in Macedonia, *Amurath* was with all speed aduertised; and therewith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he resolued with his great counsellors, no more to send any of his Bassa's or captains, but to go himselfe in person, with such a royall army as should be sufficient not to conquer Epirus, but if need were, to fill euery corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commissions to be speedily directed into all parts of his Kingdomes & prouinces, for the leuying of a great army for Hadrianople: yet whither he intended to imploy the same, was not knowne to any in the Turks court, more than the Bassa's of the councell. Which caused all the bordering Christian Princes to make the best preparation they could for their own assurance, euery one fearing lest that growing tempest should break out against himself. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkish policy, easily perceiued all that great preparation to be made against him: which he was the rather induced to think, by reason of the vnaccustomed quietnes of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither sent any army to reuenge *Muſtapha's* ouerthrow, nor so much as a garrison for defence of the borders of his kindome, but had let all things negligently passe, as if he had bin in a dead sleepe. Besides that, it was also thought that he had secret intelligence from some of his old friends

and acquaintance in *Amuraths* court, who probably suspected the matter. Wherfore *Scanderbeg* G
setting all other things apart, gaue himself wholly to the preparing of things necessary for the defence of his small kingdome against so mighty an enemy. First, he by letters and messengers aduertised all the Christian Princes his neighbors and friends, of the greatnes of the danger of that war: wherein *Amurath* (as he said) sought not only his destruction, but the vtter ruine of them all: exhorting them therefore to consider, how far the danger of so great an army might extend, and therefore to stand fast vpon their guard. Then he sent *Moses* and other his expert captains into all parts of Epirus, to take vp soldiers, and all the prouision of corne and victuals that was possible to be had. Wherin he himself also busily trauelled day and night, nor resting vntill he had left nothing in the country, whereupon the enemy might shew his cruelty. Most part of the common people, with their substance, were receiued into the strong cities; the rest H
tooke the refuge of the Venetian and other Christian Princes townes and countries farther off, vntill this fury were ouerpast: all such as were able to beare armes, were commanded to repaire to Croia; where when they were all assembled, they were ynow to haue made a right puissant army. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old expert soldiers, whom he purposed to lead himselfe, to incounter with the Turks great army, as he should see occasion, and placed 1300 in garrison in Croia. The citizens also themselues were thorowly furnished with all manner of weapons & other prouision meet for the defence of their city. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men vnfit for wars, with the women and children, should depart the city, and none to be therein left, but the garrison soldiers, and such citisens as were willing to tarry, and able to beare armes. This city of Croia I
was the chiefe city of Epirus, and of the fortune thereof seemed to depend the state of all the other strong townes and cities, and so consequenly of the whole kingdome: for which cause, *Scanderbeg* had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miserable sight, to see the lamentable departure of this weake company out of Croia; all was full of weeping and wailing; no house, no street, no part of the city was without mourning: but especially in the churches was to be seene the very face of common sorrow and heauinesse; where all sorts of people in great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout praiers, with fountaines of teares, ringing their hands; yea, and some in the impatiency of their griefe forgetting themselues, seemed to expostulate their griefe with God. But when their sorrow was with tears assuaged, and their hearts somewhat eased, the aged mothers kissing their sons, gaue them many a fearefull K
commandment, sometime rehearsing, how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp, and other sometimes shewing vnto them their feeble lims and hoary haires, willing them to be mindfull of them. The wiues presented their children vnto their husbands, bewailing to leaue them as childlesse widowers, and their houses desolate. The old men mute with sorrow, and carefull of their children, durst neither incourage them, for feare of making them too forward; neither dissuade them from aduenturing themselues, lest they should seem to loue them more than their natiue country. In the middest of these passions commandement came from *Scanderbeg*, that they must now depart, that the souldiers might take their places and charge. Then began their sorrows afresh, with pitteous scriching and tears: a man would haue thought the city had euen then bin presently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawne from L
the imbracing of their friends, all now desiring to remain still with them in the city, partakers of their common danger. But when they saw the officers begin to be earnest vpon them, and to hasten their departure, then with heauy hearts they took as it were their last farewell, and departed out of the city, setting their feet many times they wist not where, for desire they had to looke backe againe vpon the city. This great multitude was conueied also into the Venetian cities and other places free from danger: whither all the country people which were not before receiued into the strong cities, resorted also, with all their subjects and cattell; leauing nothing in all the country of Epirus, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey vpon. After this multitude was departed, and all well quieted, and none left in the city but men fit for seruice, *Scanderbeg* thorowly stored it with all things needfull for the defence thereof, and for the induring of M
a long siege: besides that, he gaue to euery soldier conuenient armor, with some small reward. Then he placed *Vranacontes* (a valiant and famous captaine, honorably discended) Gouernour of the city. And so hauing set all things in order for the safegard thereof, after he had in few words exhorted them couragiously to endure the siege, and not to listen to *Amuraths* flatte-

The lamentable departing of the weake citizens out of Croia.

ring

A ring and deceitful charms, he departed out of the city vnto his army, then lying within view, and began presently to march toward Dybra. But he was not farre gone, before he met with *Moses* with a gallant troup of horsemen comming from Sfetigrade, a strong city of Dybra, scituate in the confines of Epirus, bordering vpon Macedonia: which city was *Scanderbeg* his second care, for that it was like to be the first that should indure the angry tyrants fury, standing first in his way, as it were the fortresse of that country. *Moses* had there set all things in like order, as had *Scanderbeg* in Croia, and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and politique man) Gouernour, with a strong garrison of soldiers chosen out of all the country of Dybra, which were alwaies accounted the best men of war in all Epirus, and was for so doing greatly commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who deliuering vnto him all the forces he had prepared for the
B defence of the other castles and cities of Epirus, sent him with diuers others of his Nobility and Captaines, to take order for the safety of those places, appointing vnto euery man his charge. As for himselfe, he with a small troupe of horsmen went to Sfetigrade, carefull of that city aboue measure, as it were before diuining the ensuing danger. Being come thither, and all the soldiers assembled by his commandment into the market place, he there in open audience spake vnto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg commeth to Sfetigrade.

The effectuall speech of Scanderbeg vnto the soldiers and citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage thē against the comming of Amurath.

Almighty God could not this day offer vnto you (worthy soldiers of Sfetigrade) better matter, neither could a fairer occasion be presented vnto braue minds and soldiers desirous of honour, than that which now
C *hath caused you to take vp most just armes. Wherein you may for euer, by worthy example, make knowne your constant faith and worthy valour, both towards me in priuate, and the people of Epirus in generall. Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we must fight for our liues, our liberty, and the wals of our country. You must now force your selues, that you do not by reproch and cowardise staine the worthy praises you haue already deserued by the great victories by you obtained vnder my conduct. The greatest part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For, the first passage of* Amurath *into Epirus (that I my selfe may be vnto you the first messenger of that danger) will be this way, the first fury of the Turks will assaile you, that hauing here as it were broken downe the strongest fortresse of Epirus, he may afterwards breake into the country, more subject to danger. The first fruits of this war is, yours, you (if you beare the hearts of courageous men, mindfull of your liberty) may beat downe the proud strength of the haughty enemy, and discouer his high conceits. The* Othoman *King shall haue his begin-*
D *ning both of his hope and feare: if he shall see you so minded, as I now see you gallantly moued, and with joy heare your violent indignation; he will in euery place feare a great force of danger, and therby learne to abstaine from the other cities of Epirus. Neither will he lie here long at a vaine siege, except the wayward old man will foolishly hereupon gage all his whole forces: for such is the scituation and strength of this city, that it may easily set at nought an angry enemy. Wherefore resolue with your selues (worthy soldiers and citizens) onely by constancy and faithfulnesse, without bloudshed, to gaine vnto your selues an honourable victory. Of your valour (which I willingly speake of) dependeth for the most part the faithfulnesse of all the rest; they will looke vpon you, whom they may praise or accuse, and whose example they may follow in the fortune of these warres. But to what purpose should men of worth in their actions pretend the necessity of faith, or chance of fortune? whereas by Reason, things are both best begun and accom-*
E *plished. It seldome chanceth, that fortune faileth the second aduice, or is not obedient to vertue: and you haue all things which most politique care could prouide for your safety. You want not armour, you want not plentifull prouision of victuals, you want not valiant men: the superfluous multitude of vnnecessary people, the pittifull lamentation of women, and troublesome crying of children shall not withdraw you from your publique charge, from your seruice and defence of your country; I haue left you alone to your selues, for defence of your city, your Religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the prouocations of honour and liberty, with the emulation of aduenture and danger, and the very sight one of another; and I my selfe will not be far off with my couragious soldiers, a silent beholder, and encourager of your vertue: where although I may not auert from you all the force of the cruell enemy by rash aduenture, nor try the whole fortune of this war in plaine field; yet will I turne a great part of your danger vpon my selfe,*
F *and trouble the enemies designes with many an hot skirmish. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor safer kind of war for vs, amongst such a multitude of men, & so many thousands of soldiers, than neuer to offer battell vnto the enemy in plaine field, neither to aduenture all vpon the fortune of one conflict, although a man did see apparant signes of victory. He will of purpose at the first giue vs the opportu-*

nity of good hap; he will feed our hardineſſe with the bloud of his baſe ſoldiers, the eaſilier to intrap or oppreſſe our raſhneſſe, allured with the ſweet baits of good fortune: but the crafty deuices of the Othoman *Kings are by great policy and conſideration to be fruſtrated: this mighty enemy is by little and little to be cut off, as time and place ſhall giue occaſion. For truly that victory ſhall be vnto me lamentable, which I ſhould buy with the bloud of my ſoldiers: and beleeue me, it would be vnto me a more ſorrowfull than pleaſant ſight, to ſee eight or ten thouſand of my enemies ſlaine, with the loſſe of a few of you. I praiſe and honor my ſubiects of Epirus for valiant conquerors, if they ſhall not ſuffer themſelues to be conquered of the Turkiſh King. The reſt I had rather you couragious ſoldiers of Dybra ſhould conſider with your ſelues, than that I ſhould ſeeme to diſtruſt of your aſſured faith, by giuing you a carefull and tedious admonition.* G

When *Scanderbeg* had with cheerefull perſuaſion thus encouraged the minds of them of H
Sfetigrade, he departed thence, and viſited diuers others cities of Epirus; where finding all things politiquely ordered by *Moſes* and the other captaines, whom he had put in truſt, he returned to his army, then lying neere vnto Croia.

Whileſt *Scanderbeg* was with great cheerfulneſſe yet thus ptouiding for the ſafegard of his Kingdome, in the meane time *Amurath* his army was aſſembled at Hadrianople, to the number of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other baſe ſeruices neceſſary at the ſiege of townes. Of this great army *Amurath* ſent forty thouſand light horſemen before him to Sfetigrade; who according to his command came and incamped before the city. The newes of their comming, with a great deale more than truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his ſmall Army neere Croia: I
whereupon he with foure thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, tooke the way toward Sfetigrade, and ſtrongly incamped his Army within ſeuen miles of the city. Where hauing ſet all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moſes* and *Tanuſius* went by certaine blinde wayes thorow the mountaines and woods, vntill he came ſo neere vnto the city, that from the place where he ſtood, he might eaſily diſcouer in what ſort the enemy lay incamped: and ſo returning backe againe to his campe, roſe with his army in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks army as he could, vndiſcouered, placed all his army in the couert of the woods and ſecret vallies, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that, he ſent forth *Moſes* and *Muſachi* his nephew, with thirty of his beſt horſemen, apparelled as if they had beene but common ſouldiers, but paſſing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horſes laden with K
corne, by a by-way, as if they had ſecretly purpoſed to haue got into the city. The day then breaking, they were diſcouered by the Turks ſcouts, and ſet vpon: where at the firſt *Moſes* and the reſt began of purpoſe to fly; but when hee ſaw that they were purſued but with like number to themſelues, he turned backe vpon the Turks, and ſlew fiue of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the campe. The Generall ſeeing what had hapned, ſent forth foure thouſand horſemen to purſue theſe ſuppoſed victuallers: whom they quickely recouered ſight of, for that *Moſes* of purpoſe had made ſmall haſte to fly: but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Moſes* left the horſes laden with corne, and fled; yet ſo, that he ſtill drew on the Turks with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his army lay in wait: by whom they were ſuddenly aſſailed on euery ſide, and with great ſlaughter put to flight. In L
this conflict two thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and a thouſand of their horſes taken: of the Chriſtians were loſt but two and twenty. This was the firſt welcome of the Turks army to Sfetigrade.

A notable ſtratagem of Scanderbeg for the intrapping of his enemies.

About eight daies after, came *Amurath* with all his army, in the beginning of May, *Anno Dom.* 1449, and hauing made the greateſt ſhew he could with his huge army to terrifie the defendants; he incamped the baſer ſort of his footmen at the foot of the hill whereon the city ſtood, and lay himſelf with his Ianizaries, & other his moſt valiant ſoldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had lien ſtill one day, and well conſidered the ſtrength of the place, toward euening he ſent a meſſenger to the city, who requeſted to ſpeake with the Gouernour *Perlat*. Whereof he hearing, came to the wall: of whom the meſſenger requeſted, M
That he would command the ſouldiers ſtanding by, to goe further off, for as much as he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto him from his maſter. Vnto whom *Perlat* merrily anſwered; It is like indeed to be ſome great ſecret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

1449 *Amurath commeth to Sfetigrade with his Army.*

A ring of my souldiers, but from the very light of the day, and therfore haue chosen the night: but I haue not learned of myne elders, to hear any message from myne enemies by night, neither at any time els out of the hearing of the garrison soldiers, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of the City, and I the safegard of my person. You must therfore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your master so please, I wil hear you at large. And therwith commanded him to depart from the wall. So he returned at that time without audience as he came. It grieued *Amurath* not a little to see his messenger so lightly regarded; yet forasmuch as he had more hope to gain the City by large offers, or some reasonable composition, than by all his great force; he dissembled his wrath, and the next day sent the messenger again with one of his Bassa's, a graue and wel spoken man, himself born in Epirus. This Bassa, with three
B soldiers and two seruitors was by the Gouernors command, by one of the ports receiued into the city, and brought into S. *Maries* Church, where after he had with great eloquence sought to insinuat himself into the minds of the Gouernor and hearers; and afterwards augmented the terror of *Amuraths* power beyond all measure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained against the Hungarians and the other Christian Princes; in fine hee exhorted them to yeeld the City vnto him. In whose name he promised first, that the citizens should in all respects vnder his gouernment liue as they had before don vnder *Scanderbeg*. Then, That the Gouernour should receiue at *Amurath* his hands most honourable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts. And, That it should be lawfull for the garrison souldiers to depart in safety whither they pleased; and to haue three hundred thousand Aspers diuided a-
C mongst them in reward. But when the Bassa had ended his speech, the Gouernour in this sort replied.

If you had not deliuered this speech vnto resolute men, denoted vnto the defence of their liberty, perhaps it might haue wrought some effect; and we (said he) *might peraduenture listen vnto your offers, if wee were either afraid of the* Othoman *King, and the vain threats of our enemies, or els were weary of the gouernment of the noble* Scanderbeg. *But forasmuch as no euill desert of his, nor good desert of your Masters, hath yet passed, for which we should prefer a stranger before our naturall Soueraign, an enemie before a friend, a Turk before a Christian; let your master proceed first in his action begun, let him proue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat down our walls, make hauock of our men, and by strong hand* The resolute answer of Perlat the gouernor to the Bassa
D *driue vs to humble our selues at his feet, and to sue for peace. But it were a great dishonor, yea a thing almost to be laughed at, if we should cowardly accept of these conditions by him offered, before any assault giuen, before one drop of blond spilt, before any soldier did so much as once groan for any wound receiued, before one stone were shaken in the wall, or any small breach made. But your master should do better to raise his siege, and get him back again to Hadrianople, there to spend the small remainder of his old yeares in quiet; and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whose courage in defence of our liberties, and fidelitie towards our Prince he hath so oftentimes proued to his great dishonour, and losse of his armies. The faith I haue once giuen to my Soueraign for the defence of this city, I will neuer forget, vntill the effusion of the last drop of my bloud. It shall be vnto me reward and honor enough, if I either liuing defend this city, or with losse of my life shall leaue my guiltlesse soul at liberty, and my carkas among the dead bodies of wor-*
E *thy soldiers, when I shall find a way into a far better place.*

The General hauing giuen this resolute answer vnto the Bassa, bountifully feasted him that day at dinner, and afterwards led him thorow the midst of the city; where he saw great store of victuals, by the gouernor commanded of purpose to be set in shew, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the city by long siege. And so sent the Bassa out by the same port whereby he came in, much discontented with the answer he was to returne to his Master.

When *Amurath* vnderstood by the Bassa, of the gouernors resolution, he was therewith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the city three daies without intermission. And hauing by the fury of his artillery made a small breach, he forthwith gaue
F thereunto a most terrible assault, laboring first to win the same by force and multitude of his common soldiers, which the Turks call Asapi, whom he forced by great numbers to that seruice. Of these souldiers the Turke in his wars maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the swords of his enemies, or to abate their first fury, thereby to giue the easier victory to his Ianizaries and other his better soldiers: which the *Othoman* Kings hold for good policy. Whilst *Sfetigrade assaulted.*

these forlorn soldiers without respect of danger pressing forward, were slain by heapes at the G
breach, the Ianizaries at the same time in another place attempted to haue scaled the wals of
the city: but whilst they with much labor and difficulty first crawl vp the steep rock whereon
the city was built; and afterward desperatly mount vp their scaling ladders, they were by the
defendants, with huge stones & weighty pieces of timber cast vpon them, beaten down, wher-
with they were driuen headlong to the bottom of the rock, and so miserably slaine. Many of
them together with their scaling ladders, were by the Christians thrust from the wall, and
tumbling from the rock, violently caried with them others comming vp behind them. Some
few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the walls, lost some
their fingers, some their hands, but most their liues, being beaten down as the other were.
Many of them which stood farther off, were then wounded also, and with shot from the Wals H
slain. With this miserable slaughter, and no hope to preuail, the Turks discouraged, began to
withdraw themselues from the assault: but the Bassa's and Captains standing behind them,
forced them again forward, exhorting some, threatening others, and beating the rest forward
with their truncheons. By which means the assault was again renued, but not with like cou-
rage as before, though with no lesse slaughter: which the defendants seeing, gaue from the
Walls, great tokens of ioy and triumph. *Amurath* seeing his discouraged souldiers ready of
themselues to forsake the assault, presently sent *Feri Bassa* (one of his most valiant Captains)
with a new supply of 3000 chosen soldiers to renew the fight. The Christians well aware of
their comming, ceased not with continuall shot to beat them from the wals: but such was the
forwardnes of that fierce captain, that without regard of danger he brought his men vnto the I
wals, where the defendants from aboue ouerwhelmed them with stones, timber, wild-fire, and
such other things as are vsually prepared for the defence of towns besieged. For all that, *Feri-
Bassa* gaue so great an assault, that he slew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, & had there
forcibly entred, had not the gouernor, perceiuing the danger, with a company of fresh souldi-
ers come with speed to the defence of that place; wherby the enemy was presently repulsed
The Turks re-pulsed, retyre. and driuen again from the wals. *Amurath* seeing the great losse of his men, and no hope of suc-
ces, caused a retreit to be sounded, & so leauing the assault, retyred again into his camp. The
great losse and dishonor at this assault receiued, much troubled his waiward minde; who for
all that yet ceased not to giue the like vain attempts. At length the captain of the Ianizaries
perceiuing that part of the city which was farthest from the camp, to be commonly but slen- K
derly manned, by reason that it seemed a place impregnable, both for the height and steepnes
of the rock; told *Amurath* that he would assay (if it so pleased him) secretly in the night to
attempt by that place to enter the city; wheras they thought nothing was more to be feared
The Janizaries desperatly attempt to surprise the city. than the hight therof, which they, supported with the wings of desire, doubted not to mount
vnto. This his deuice exceedingly pleased the King, and was the next night with great silence
put in execution. But such was the carefulnes of the gouernor ouer euery part of his charge,
that nothing could bee done against the same, but that it was forthwith by him discouered.
The gouernor aduertised by the watch, of the Turks attempt, with great silence presently re-
paired to the place with a great company of the garison soldiers, and standing close, from the
top of the wal beheld the Turks, as it had bin a swarm of Emmets, climing vp the high rocks, L
and one helping vp another, by such a desperat way, as was in reason to be thought no man
would baue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rock, and now euen ready
to enter, they were from aboue suddenly ouerwhelmed as it had bin with a shour of shot, and
The Janisaries repulsed. so violently forced down that steep rocke, that most of them which had got vp to any height,
were miserably crushed to death, either with the weight of themselues, or with others falling
vpon them, and many of the rest slain with shot from the top of the rock. Wherof *Amurath*
presently vnderstanding, was therwith exceedingly grieued.

During the time of this siege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long stil in one place, but remoued con-
tinually from place to place as best serued his purpose, breaking somtime into one quarter of
the Turks camp, and somtime into another, & straitway so suddenly gon again, and as it were M
vanished out of sight, that *Amurath* many times wondred what was become of him. At this
time, being the later end of Iune, he was come with his army within eight miles of *Amuraths*
camp: and from thence sent *Moses* his greatest Captain, in the attyre of a common souldier,
with two other, to take view how the enemy lay incamped. By which trusty Espials he was
informed,

A informed, That the Turks lay in great securitie as men without feare, keeping but negligent watch. Of which opportunitie *Scanderbeg* rejoicing, the night following suddenly assaulted one quarter of the Turks camp: whose comming, although it was a little before by the Turks scouts discouered, yet his furious assault was so sudden and forcible, that he slew 2000 of the Turks, and filled euery corner of that great camp with fear and tumult, before they could wel arm themselues or make resistance. After which slaughter he safely retyred, carrying away with him two hundred and thirty horse, with seuen of the Turks ensignes, hauing in this skirmish lost of his men but 42: whose dead bodies the Turks the next morning, in reuenge of their slain friends hewed into small pieces.

Vpon these great disgraces one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* hauing no other
B object but the city to shew his fury vpon, fiercely assaulted the same thrice one after another, and was alwaies with losse both of his men and honor repulsed. But the more he lost, the more he burnt with desire of reuenge; persuading his soldiers, that as the strongest cities & fortresses were built by mens hands, so were they to bee ouerthrowne and laid euen with the ground by resolute and valiant men: incouraging them to a fresh assault, with greater promises of reward than euer he had done before in all his wars, from the first beginning of his reign. And because he would with more safety giue this his last and greatest assault, he commanded *Feri Bassa* with 12000 horsmen and 6000 foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if hee should hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the assault by assailing of his camp. *Feri-Bassa* glad of this charge, wel hoping now to redeem his former ouerthrow with some great victory, and
C leading forth his army a little from the camp, as he was commanded, so lay; wishing for nothing more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*; vainly boasting, That he would seek him in the field, and there try his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did shortly after to his cost. When *Amurath* had thus set in order all things requisit, as wel for the siege as for the safegard of his Camp, the next morning he compassed the City round about with his army, and couered the ground with his men of war, purposing at that time to gage his whole forces vpon the taking therof. The wals he had before in some places battered, so much as was possible; and yet but so, as that they were not without scaling ladders to be assaulted; partly for the naturall defence of the place, and partly for that the defendants had with great diligence continually repaired and filled vp with earth what the fury of the cannon had thrown downe.
D This assault *Amurath* began first with his archers and small shot, who deliuered their arrows and bullets vpon the top of the wall, and into the city, as if it had bin a shour of hail, thereby to trouble the tumultuary soldiers. In this heat ladders were clapt to the wals in euery place where any could possibly be reared, and the Turks began desperatly to scale the wals. But the Christians nothing dismaid therat, with great courage resisted them, & with shot from their safe standings wounded & slew many of them: yet others stil pressed vp in the places of them that were slain, so that the assault began most terrible in many places at once, but especially neer the great gate of the City; where the Turks had vpon the sudden, with ladders, timber, and planks clapt together, raised close vnto that tower, as it had bin a wooden tower, equall in
E hight to the wall: from whence the Turks greatly distressed the Christians in that place, fighting with them as if it had bin vpon euen ground, stil sending vp fresh soldiers in stead of them that were slain: and therby preuailed so far, that they had set vp certain of *Amuraths* Enfignes vpon the wal, to the great comfort of the Turks, and astonishment of the besieged Christians. The Gouernor seeing the imminent danger, hasted to the place with a company of fresh and valiant soldiers, by whose force the Turks were quickly repulsed from the wal, their enfignes taken and sent into the market place; and the tower of wood, with many ladders and much timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly consumed with Wild-fire cast vpon the same from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the City of this fear, presently placed fresh soldiers in stead of them that were slain or hurt, and so worthily defended the city.

Whilst *Amurath* was giuing this great assault to Sfetigrade, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him
F from the same, came with nine thousand souldiers to assail the Turks Camp, as *Amurath* had before suspected, and was now come very neer the same. *Feri Bassa* glad of his comming, opposed his army against him: which *Scanderbeg* seeing, retyred a little, of purpose to draw the Bassa farther from the camp, and then forthwith began to join battell with him. The Bassa considering the small number of his enemies, and his own great power, withdrew four thou-

Scanderbeg comming to trouble the assault, is met by Feri Bassa.

sand

sand horsmen out of his army to fetch a compasse about,and to set vpon the rereward of *Scanderbegs* army:hoping so to inclose him that he should neuer escape thence,but there either to be slain or taken aliue,and his army vtterly defeated. But the expert Captain perceiuing his purpose,to meet therwith,left *Moses* to lead the main battel,and he himself with 2000 horsmen so valiantly charged those 4000 of his enemies before they were wel departed from the rest of the Bassa's army,that they had now more cause to looke to their own safety, than how to circumvent others. In this conflict *Feri Bassa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before desired,encountring with *Scanderbeg*,was by him there slain. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri Bassa* in the right wing of the army,and *Musachy* in the left,*Moses* stood fast, receiuing the assault of the enemy without mouing any thing forward, expecting the succes of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing discomfited the right wing,and slain the Generall,comming now in, he set forward with such force and courage, that the Turks not able longer to abide his force,turned their backs and fled,of whom many were slain in this chase, although *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemy so nigh at hand,durst not follow them too far,but sounding a retreit,put his Army again in good order,for fear of some sudden attempt from the camp,and after appointed some of the meanest of the souldiers to take the spoile of the slain Turks. When *Amurath* vnderstood what had hapned to *Feri Bassa*,hee was so ouercome with anger and melancholy,that for a while he could not speak one word. But after the heat was a little past,he commanded certaine small pieces of ordnance which hee had before vsed against the city,to be remoued into the camp,and there placed vpon that side which was most in danger to the enemy. He also presently sent thither 4000 souldiers to join with the remainder of *Feri Bassa's* Army,for defence of the Camp, with streit charge that they should not issue out of the trenches. Neuertheles he himself continued the assault of the city all that day:but when night drew on,and no hope appearing for him to preuail, he caused a retreit to be sounded,and leauing the assault,he returned again into his camp. At this assault *Amurath* lost 7000 men,beside many that died afterwards of their wounds: but of the garison soldiers were slain but seuenty,and ninety more hurt. G H I

The terror of the Turkish army began now to grow in contempt throughout Epirus; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope,that *Amurath* after so many ouerthrows and shamefull repulses, would at length raise his siege and be gon: yet hee sent spies continually to discouer what was don in the Turks camp,and he himself with two thousand soldiers would oft times shew himself vpon the sides of the mountains,neer to *Amuraths* camp,of purpose to draw the Turks out,that he might take them at some aduantage. But the old King had giuen commandment vpon pain of death,that no man should go out of the trenches without leaue,or once to speak of giuing battell or assault. So that he lay certain daies in his camp,not like a King besieging a city,but more like a man besieged himself:the which his stil lying *Scanderbeg* had the more in distrust,fearing greatly that he was hatching some mischiefe, which so soon as it was ripe, would violently break out. K

Amurath by great promises seeks to corrupt the garrison of Sfetigrade, & a traitor thereupon conspires to betray the city.

Amurath considering with what euil succes he had many times assaulted the city,& holding it as a great dishonor to raise his siege & depart, hauing don nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once again to proue if it were possible to ouercome the mindes of the garison soldiers with gifts,whom he was not able to subdue by force. For which purpose he sent an embassador vnto the city,offering vnto the besieged and garrison soldiers easie conditions of peace,with such large gifts and rewards as had not bin heard offered to any garison in former time. Al which his magnifical promises were lightly rejected by the common consent of the whole garison,preferring their faithfull loyaltie before all his golden mountains. For all that, *Amurath* was in hope, that among so many some would be found, into whose minds his large offers might make some impression. Wherein he was not deceiued; for one base minded fellow among the rest,corrupted with the Turks great promises,preferring his own priuat wealth before the welfare of his country, waiting his time, had secret conference with the Turks espials, promising vpon assurance of such reward as was before by *Amurath* profered, to find means that in few days the City should be deliuered into his power. This corrupted traitor had layd many mischieuous plots for the effecting of this horrible treason: but the first deuice he put in practise, which of all others a man would haue thought to haue bin of least moment,serued his wicked purpose in stead of all the rest. All the garison souldiers L M

A diers of Sfetigrade were of the vpper country of Dybra, put into that city, by *Moſes*, for their approued valor aboue all the other ſoldiers of Epirus. But as they were men of great courage, ſo were they exceeding ſuperſtitious both in their religion and maner of liuing, putting nice difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other: accounting ſome clean, ſome vnclean; abhorring from that, which they fondly deemed vncleane, with more than a Iewiſh ſuperſtition, chuſing rather to die than to eat or drinke thereof: ſuch is the ſtrong deluſion of blind error, where it hath throughly poſſeſſed the minds of men. The city of Sfetigrade (as is aforeſaid) is ſcituate vpon the top of a great high rocke, as moſt of the cities of Epirus now be, and was then watred but with one great well in the midſt of the city, which ſunke deepe into the rock, plentifully ſerued both the publike and priuat vſe of the inhabitants. Into this common

B well the malicious traitor in the night time caſt the foule ſtinking carrion carkaſſe of a dead dog, knowing, that the conceited garriſon ſouldiers of Dybra, would rather indure the paines of death and ſtarue, or els yeeld vp the city, vpon any condition, than to drink of that polluted water. In the morning when that ſtinking carrion was eſpied, and drawne out of the well, the report therof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the city, & that the well was poiſoned: ſo that al the people were in maner in an vprore about the finding out of the traitor. The citizens were exceeding ſorry for that had hapned, but the garriſon ſoldiers deteſted that loathſom and vnclean water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkiſh ſeruitude, proteſting, that they would rather periſh with thirſt than drink therof. Wherupon ſome of them deſired to ſet fire vpon the city, and whileſt they had yet ſtrength, to breake thorow the enemies camp or there

C manfully do die. And they which thought beſt of the matter, requeſted that the city might be yeelded vp; for now, they diſcouraged with a ſuperſtitious vanity, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of peace, yea, they were ready enough of themſelues to ſue to *Amurath* for peace, though it had been vpon harder tearmes. The Gouernour troubled with that had hapned, and aſtonied to ſee ſo great alteration in the minds of his ſouldiers vpon ſo ſmal occaſion: could not tell whether he might thinke it to proceed of a ſuperſtitious conceit, or of ſome ſecret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter, he came into the market place, and there in the hearing of al the garriſon, with many effectual reaſons, exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their Prince and country in that honorable ſeruice; and in a matter of ſo great conſequence to make ſmall reckoning to vſe that water, which

D would eaſily in ſhort time be brought again to the wonted purity and cleanneſſe: and to perſuade them the rather, he went preſently to the well himſelf, and in the ſight of them all drunk a great draught of the water, whoſe example the citizens following, drank likewiſe. But when it was offered to the captains and ſoldiers of the garriſon, they all refuſed to taſte thereof, as if it had bin a moſt loathſome thing, or rather ſome deadly poiſon, and with great inſtance cried vnto the Gouernour, to giue vp the city: for which cauſe many thought they were corrupted by *Amuraths* great promiſes. Howbeit none of the garriſon (except that one traitor) did euer afterwards reuolt to the Turkiſh king, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued, whereby ſuch ſuſpition might be confirmed. When the Gouernor ſaw that the obſtinate minds of the garriſon were not to be moued with any perſuaſion or reward (whereof he ſpa-

E red not to make large promiſe) nor by any other means which he could deuiſe; he called vnto him his chief captains, with the beſt ſort of the citizens, & reſolued with them ful ſore againſt his wil, to yeeld vp the city to *Amurath*, on ſuch conditions as they themſelues there agreed vpon: which were, That it ſhould be lawfull for all the captains and ſoldiers to depart in ſafety with their armor and all other things; and that ſo many of the citizens as would ſtay, might there ſtil dwel in the city, in ſuch ſort, as they had done before, vnder the gouernment of *Scanderbeg*; the reſt that liſted not to remain there ſtil, might at their pleaſure with bag & baggage depart whither they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him, and granted them all that was deſired, ſauing that he would not conſent that the citizens ſhould continue in the city, yet was he content that they ſhould liue vnder him as they had done before,

F quietly enjoying all their poſſeſſions, but to build their houſes without the wall of the city: which condition ſome accepted, and ſome forſaking all, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was thorowly agreed vpon, the keys of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath*, & the gouernor with the captains, & all the garriſon ſoldiers ſuffered quietly to paſſe thorow the Turkiſh camp, as the King had promiſed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the ſon of *Amurath*, a Prince of a cruell diſpoſition, earneſtly

The carkas of a dead dog caſt by the traitor into the common wel that ſerued the city.

The Gouernour in vain ſeeketh to perſuade the garriſon ſouldiers to drinke of the water of the well.

earnestly persuaded his father, to haue broken his faith, and to haue put them all to the sword: G saying, it was one of their Prophet *Mahomets* chiefe commandements, to vse all cruelty for the destruction of the Christians. But the old King would not therein hearken vnto his son, saying, That he which was desirous to be great among men, must either be indeed faithfull of his word and promise, or at leastwise seeme so to be, thereby to gain the minds of the people, who naturally abhor the gouernment of a faithlesse and cruell Prince. The traitor which corrupted the water, remained still in the city, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich suits of apparell, and fifty thousand aspers, and had giuen vnto him besides a yearely pension of two thousand duckats. But short was the joy the traitor had of this euill gotten goods: for after he had a few daies vainely triumphed in the midst of *Amurath* his fauors, he was suddenly gone, and neuer afterwards seene or heard tell of; being secretly made away (as was supposed) by the H commandement of *Amurath*; whose noble heart could not but detest the traitor, although the treason serued well his purpose. *Amurath* entring into Sfetigrade, caused the wals to be forthwith repaired, and placed one thousand two hundred Ianizaries in garrison there. And raising his campe the first of September, departed out of Epirus, hauing lost thirty thousand of his Turks at the siege of Sfetigrade; much grieued in mind for al that, that he could not vanquish the enemy, whom he came of purpose to subdue. In his returne, the viceroy of Asia marched before him with the Asian souldiers; in the rereward followed the viceroy of Europe with his Europeian souldiers: in the middest was *Amurath* himselfe, compassed about with his Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed speedily with eight thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot, and taking the aduantage of the thicke woods and mountaine streits (to him well knowne) whereby that great I army was to passe, oftentimes skirmished with the Turks, charging them sometime in the vaward, and sometime in the rereward, somtime on the one side, and sometime on the other, and slew many of them: whereby he so troubled *Amurath* his passage, that he was glad to leaue the viceroy of Romania, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himselfe might in the meane time with more safety march away with the rest of his army. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the stay of the viceroy, ceased to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be enclosed betweene those two great armies. The viceroy seeing that *Scanderbeg* was retyred, after he had staied a few daies, followed his master to Hadrianople, and so *Scanderbeg* returned to Croia.

A traitor worthily rewarded according to his treason.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of Epirus, *Scanderbeg* left two thousand soldiers K vpon the borders for defence of the country against the Turks. These souldiers so streightly kept in the Ianizaries left in garrison at Sfetigrade that they could not looke out of the city, but that they were intercepted and slaine. And within a few daies after came himselfe with an army of 18000, and laid siege to Sfetigrade the space of a moneth, which was from the middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great assaults to haue recouered the city, but was both times repulsed, with the losse of fiue hundred men. *Amurath* vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the siege of Sfetigrade, sent with all speed to recall his army but lately before dispersed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, considering also the difficulty of the enterprise, with the approch of Winter, raised his siege, and returned to Croia: where he set all things in the same order he had done before the comming L of *Amurath* to the siege of Sfetigrade, and put two thousand of his best souldiers there in garrison, vnder the charge of the famous captaine *Vranacontes*, and stored his city with sufficient victuall for a yeares siege, wherein he had great helpe from the Venetians and other Christian Princes, for that there was then great scarcity of all things in Epirus, by reason of the late wars. The like care he had also of all the rest of his cities, being continually aduertised from his secret friends in the Turks court, of the great preparation intended against him by the Turkish King, against the beginning of the next Spring.

1450 *Amurath assembleth again his army at Hadrianople.*

Amurath vnderstanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from Sfetigrade, changed his former determination for the calling backe againe of his army, and appointed it to meet againe at Hadrianople, in the beginning of March following: whither the Bassaes, and other great com- M manders, at the time appointed, assembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had before commanded. So that by the latter end of March, he had there in readinesse an army of an hundred and threescore thousand men strong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkish wars, sent forty thousand horsemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a politick captaine,

A captaine, as his vauntcourriers into Epirus, in the beginning of Aprill, in the yeare 1430. The valiant captaine with great speed and no resistance entred into Epirus, as was giuen him in charge, and without let came to Croia: where, after he had aduisedly considered of the scituation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he strongly encamped himselfe neere thereunto in the pleasant plaine called Tyranna: and there with his trenches kept his souldiers close, attending nothing more, but that no new supply of men, munition, or victuals, should be conueied into the city, more than was therein before his comming. For he was not able with his horsmen to do any thing against the city: and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the country subject to his fury. Besides that, he was expresly by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any thing against *Scanderbeg* himselfe.

B After *Sebalyas* had twenty daies thus lien encamped before Croia, neither doing nor taking harme; *Amurath* by reason of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but fiue miles a day, came thither also with his whole army, wherewith he filled all the country round about: the very sight whereof had bin enough to haue discouraged the small garrison in Croia, had they not been men both of great experience and resolution. Where after he had spent foure daies in settling of his campe, he sent two messengers vnto the Gouernour (as the manner of the Turks is) offering him if he would yeeld vp the city, that it should be lawfull for him with all his souldiers in safety with bag and baggage to depart; and the Gouernour himselfe to receiue in reward two hundred thousand aspers, with an honourable place amongst the great Bassaes of his court, if it would please him to accept thereof: and further, that the Citizens
C should enjoy all their antient liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promise also of greater. These messengers comming to the gates of the city, could not be suffered to enter, but standing without, were commanded there to deliuer their message: which when the Gouernor had heard, he scornefully rejected their offers, and returned the messengers shamefully derided by the souldiers which stood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this contempt, than the refusall of his offers; and seeing no other means to gaine the city, conuerted all his deuises vnto the siege thereof. Wherefore he first commanded ten great pieces of artillery to be forthwith cast, for he had brought with him none ready made, because of the difficult passage ouer the high mountaines of Epirus; whereby it seemed to be a matter of infinit trouble to haue brought his great ordnance: and therefore carried with him great store
D of mettall in masse, whereof at his pleasure to make his great artillery as he saw cause. In fifteen daies this worke was brought to perfection, and ten pieces of huge greatnesse were ready mounted vpon carriages. Six of them he placed against the East side of the city, towards the plaine of Tyranna, and the other foure against the gate: in which two places only, Croia was subject to battery, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rockes, vpon the tops whereof were built faire battlements, more for beauty than needfull defence. These two places *Amurath* battered foure daies continually, and with the fury of his artillery had in both places beaten downe halfe the wall, and sore shaken the rest. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, & with great cheerfulnes made all things ready to assault these breaches, whensoeuer *Amurath* should command, striuing among themselues who should shew
E himselfe most forward in that dangerous enterprise. And *Mahomet* the yong Prince, the more to encourage the soldiers, besides the great rewards by his father proposed, promised of himselfe to giue an hundred thousand aspers vnto him that should first set vp an ensigne vpon the wals of the city. The garrison soldiers on the other side, considering that the whole state and welfare of Epirus was reposed in their valour; and that the eies of most part of Christendome were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing dismaied with the breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that might possibly chance: but especially the worthy Gouernour *Vranacontes*, who going through the middest of his souldiers, and shaking some of them by the hands, withall said:

Croia battered.

F *These, these are the fortresses of our City, these are the inuincible bulwarkes, these are the irremouable stones and surest sement. What honour? what praise? what triumph should we hope for? if these wals standing whole and strong, we should lie shrouded vnder the defence of them, and not they defended by vs? So can cowards defend cities, and sheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are safely shut vp within the wals of their sheepecoats: But that is the praise of the wals, and not of the men.*

The thereful speech of Vranacontes the Gouernour to encourage his souldiers.

Worthy

Worthy Castriot *our Prince hath commended this his city to be defended by vs, and not vs by it. Honour is attended vpon with danger, and fostered vp amongst perils: euery base mariner may be a master in faire weather: and firme things stand of themselues, and need not our vpholding. Wherefore, men of worth shun such things, which being kept or lost, yeeld like praise. Things ready to fall, need shoaring, and thither hasteth honour, and there (worthy souldiers) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend these broken breaches, and in stead of these dead wals, couragiously oppose our lusty and liuely armed bodies against the force of our enemies. If these wals stand still firme, and vnbattered, you should then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are something shaken, you shall as men stand vpon somewhat more euen ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to satisfie your furious desire. Where I also in the thickest, shall easily view and judge of euery mans priuate courage in particular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if we well consider of the matter, the place it selfe doth yet notably make for vs; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by these small breaches diminished: for, this rising of the hill (not possible to be taken from vs) although it be not so high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not serue vs sufficiently at great aduantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their assault? The steepnesse whereof, as it will be troublesome vnto them, so will it keepe vs most fresh in strength, and make our shot more forcible. Wherefore this had beene a thing of vs to haue beene wished for, if we desire the slaughter of our enemies at this siege, or if we wish for perpetuall honour and glory by this warre. For this breach of the wals will encourage these barbarians, and allure their armed men to clime vp in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof so many shall on euery side be easily slaine, as we shall but aime at: except you had rather sit still, holding your hands together in your bosome as cowards. Their dead bodies shall fill vp the breaches againe, if you be men mindfull of your liberty. What is there (worthy captains and souldiers) that letteth our victory? or memorable slaughter of our enemies? by whom only these two places of the city can be assaulted: all the rest is out of danger and feares no enemies force. Here only is the pains to be taken, this onely is left for you to defend, and here shall you all be: the courage, force, and strength of you all shall in this place appeare. How will you so many worthy captains, and valiant souldiers, in so little roome bestow your selues? we are too many defendants for so small breaches. Yet let vs play the men, and do our endeuour: let vs in one conflict weaken the tyrants strength, and burst his proud heart; he will forsake this city, and raise his syege vnfortunatly begun, so soone as he shall see his first assault to cost him the liues of so many thousands of his men.*

Croia assaulted. When *Vranacontes* had with this comfortable speech thus encouraged his soldiers, against the assault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence set al things in order for the same, & repaired the breaches as wel as was possible in that case, he gaue them leaue for that night to take their rest. In the morning *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks cheerefully begun, and euery man busie to perform the seruice he was appointed vnto. But by that time that the assault was well begun, a sudden alarum was raised throughout all the Turks campe: for *Scanderbeg* with fiue thousand valiant soldiers, had suddenly broken in vpon one side of the Turks great camp, and at the first encounter had slain six hundred of the Turks, & was now spoiling their tents. The rumor whereof troubled the whole campe, and made the Turks with lesse courage to assault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the safeguard of his tents, yet for more surety sent *Seremet* one of his greatest captains, with foure thousand souldiers backe into the campe, for more surety; saying, that nothing could be too sure, against that wild beast: meaning the fury of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* also the yong prince, hasted thither in great choler with his guard, much against his fathers will. But *Moses*, *Scanderbegs* lieutenant, knowing himself too weake to withstand the multitude that was swarming thither (contenting himself with that which was already done) had before *Mahomets* comming, speedily retired with all his army into the safegard of the mountains, from whence he came: hauing done great harme in the Turks campe, with the losse but of ten men. *Scanderbeg* in the heat of this skirmish, forgetting himself had so far ingaged himself among the Turks, that he was by them on euery side inclosed, & in great danger to haue bin slaine or taken: yet valiantly breaking through them, he escaped the danger, and recouered the mountains, and with much ado came at length to his camp, to the great joy and comfort of them all, being before in great feare he had bin lost. This was accounted

Scanderbeg in danger.

the

A the greateſt ouerſight of *Scanderbeg* in all his wars; for ſo much as the office of a good Generall conſiſteth not in aduenturing of his perſon to manifeſt danger, but in the politick gouernment of his charge. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus aſſailed the Turks camp, *Amurath* but faintly aſſaulted the breaches, expecting the ſucceſſe in the camp: but when he vnderſtood that *Scanderbeg* was retyred, and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the wals: and firſt with the multitude of his archers and ſmall ſhot labored to driue the defendants from the wals, ouerwhelming them with arrows falling as thick as haile. And likewiſe at the ſame time other common ſoldiers of baſer account, brought ſcaling ladders and other things needfull for the ſcaling of the walls. After whom alſo followed the Ianizaries and other choſen ſoldiers, ready to mount the ladders ſo ſoone as they ſhould be ſet to the wals. But whilſt they climb vp the
B high hils in this order, the garriſon ſoldiers made ſuch ſlaughter of them with ſhot from the wals and out of the city, that they would haue preſently retyred, had they not bin forced forward by their captains, who ſpared neither ſtripes nor wounds, when words would not ſerue: by this tyrannicall means, the ſcaling ladders were with great ſlaughter of the common ſoldiers ſet vp againſt the wals, and the Turks climing vp, came to handy blowes with the defendants at the breaches: nothing was to be heard but the crying of the people, the clattering of armor; and the inſtruments of warre, which was terribly redoubled with the eccho's from the mountains round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the breaches, were by the Chriſtians worthily repulſed, and with their ladders tumbled headlong down the mountain, with ſuch horrible ſlaughter and diſcomfiture, ſpecially of the common ſoldiers, that none of them
C would ſet one foot forward again toward the wals, although they had ſmal hope to ſaue themſelues by retiring backe: for the fierce young Prince *Mahomet* euen then making ſhew of his cruell diſpoſition, cauſed them that returned, to be ſlain, by the terror thereof to driue others forward. Theſe common ſoldiers, whom the Turks make ſmall reckoning of, are for the moſt part miſerable Chriſtians, which liued in ſuch countries as had ſometimes receiued the faith of Chriſt, but are now vnder the Turkiſh ſlauery; of which ſort of wretched people the Turkiſh tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres, moſt commonly vnarmed, becauſe they dare not well truſt them in wars againſt the Chriſtians: theſe carry all the baggage of the camp; theſe ſerue to fetch wood and water for other ſouldiers of better account; theſe ſerue in ſtead of pioners to caſt trenches and raiſe bulwarks; and when battell is to be giuen, if
D it be in plaine field, theſe haue their weapons put in theirr hands, and thruſt into the fore front of the battel, to blunt the enemies ſwords: but if a city be to be beſieged, theſe ſerue as fit matter to fil vp the breaches with their dead bodies, or to make bridges for other ſoldiers to paſſe ouer vpon: and if they ſhrinke to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly vſed by their commanders than by their enemies. When *Amurath* ſaw his ſouldiers ſo diſcouraged, he ſtood in doubt whether it were better for that time to ſound a retrait, or to ſend a new ſupply: but being inraged with the loſſe of his men, and deſirous to be in ſome part reuenged, he ſent diuers companies of his better ſoldiers, for the incouragement of them which were before diſcouraged, and ſo gaue a freſh aſſault: but with as euill or worſe ſucceſſe than before; for *Vranacontes* had withdrawne from the breaches all thoſe ſouldiers which had endu-
E red the former aſſault, and placed other freſh & luſty men in their ſtead; who encouraged with the former victory, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellows, repulſed the Turks with double ſlaughter: vntill that the aged King, not able longer to behold the endleſſe loſſe of his men, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded; which all his ſouldiers were glad to heare, and ſo returned into his camp, hauing loſt in thoſe two aſſaults eight thouſand men, without any notable harm done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

This ſhamefull repulſe much grieued all the captains and commanders of *Amuraths* army, but eſpecially *Mahomet* the young Prince, whoſe violent nature vnacquainted with miſhap, burnt impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched on the mountaine of Tumeniſt, not far from his fathers army, he drew moſt of the beſt and readi-
F eſt ſoldiers of all the whole camp, into that quarter which was neereſt vnto *Scanderbeg*: of purpoſe that if he ſhould againe aſſaile the camp in that place (as it was moſt like he would) he ſhould be encountred with ſo many braue and valiant men there in readines, as that it ſhould be hard for him either to do any great harme, or for himſelfe to eſcape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg* by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as alſo in what order the camp lay: wherupon he

Mahomet thinking to deceiue Scanderbeg, is himſelf by him deceiued.

left *Moses* with fiue hundred soldiers in the place where he lay; taking order with him before G
his departure, that he at a certain appointed houre in the night following, should assaile the
Turks camp in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay; and hauing there raised some
tumult, speedily to retyre again vnto his assured strength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* him-
selfe with the whole strength of his army, in number about 8000, in the mean time tooke a
compas, and by certain secret by-waies through the woods and mountains, came to the far-
ther side of the Turks camp, to a place called Mountecle. The night following, *Moses* at the
appointed hour, with his 500 soldiers assailed that part of the Turks camp next to him, with
such noise and tumult as if it had bin some great army: by occasion whereof, all the Turks
camp was in alarm, and drew in hast to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was
before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the same instant *Scanderbeg* with al his army brake H
into the other side of the Turks army, where he was least feared or looked for, & from whence
the best soldiers were before drawn by *Mahomet*; and there made such slaughter and hauocke
of the rest (not knowing which way to turn themselues) that the losse a little before receiued
vnder the walls of Croia was now forgot, as a small thing in comparison of this. *Moses* ha-
uing raised a great fear, and don little harm, returned in safety to his wel known strength; and
Scanderbeg hauing made great spoil in the Camp, fearing to be oppressed with the multitude
of his enemies, if hee should there longer stay, returned in good time, hauing scarce lost one
man.

Amurath after this great losse and trouble of his Camp, withdrew the greatest part of his
small Ordnance which he had before bent against the City, into his Trenches, placing them I
as commodiously as he might, for the defence therof against the sudden attempts of *Scander-*
beg. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot season of the year so closely incamp his Ar-
my, but that some part therof would still be in the like danger as before; he therfore appoin-
ted *Sebalias* with sixteen thousand soldiers to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he should no more
trouble the Camp. After which order taken, he battered the Walls of Croia afresh, and
with his great Ordnance ouerthrew whatsoeuer the Citisens had with great labour repaired,
making the breaches greater and more saultable than before, intending once againe by a new
assault to proue his fortune and the force of his soldiers: which he appointed to be the next
day. But when he saw no sign of courage or good hope in the heauy countenances of them
discouraged; and that they yeelded vnto him their consents rather for fear and shame, than K
for hope of victory: he called them Cowards, discouraged with the least frown of fortune;
and said,

Amurath his comfortable speech vnto his wearied souldiers.

Euery weak castle is able to hold out one assault; but if you wil draw these wild beasts out of their dens,
you must arm your selues like resolute men of inuincible courage, to endure what thing soeuer shal happen.
Great Captains with their puissant armies haue grown old vnder the walls of their enemies, vpon light
and small displeasures: and will you, hauing receiued so many disgraces of these periured Epirots, leaue
them all vnreuenged? What great victory was euer yet by any man gained without bloudshed? Remem-
ber the most glorious victory of Varna. It is hard without bloudy hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce ene-
mies neck. All honorable things are brought to passe with aduenture and labor; and the end of this War L
dependeth vpon the taking of Croia: if it were once won, all this war were at an end; which if Scander-
beg lose (being the strength of his kingdom) he will not tarry one day longer in Epirus. Wherfore bee of
good cheer, and couragiously set vpon it: there is not more vncertaintie in any thing than in matters of
war. Fortune is to be proued, and oftentimes prouoked of him that will wed her. And yet I wil not deny,
but that we must go more warily to work against this enemy, and hasard our selues with better aduisement,
and not without reason like wild beasts to run headlong vpon our own death. At length we shal wear them
out, if we kill but ten of them at an assault; yet are they daily to be assailed, that they may haue no leisure to
refresh themselues, and to make vp their breaches; and peraduenture if force may not preuail, fortune may
find some mean that we look not for, as it fell out at the siege of Sfetigrade, beyond all our expectation.
Treason is ingenious, and mens desires great where rewards are propounded. M

With these and the like speeches old *Amurath* incouraged his captains & soldiers, and the
next morning early began the assault; which the Turks valiantly attempted, and without
any regard of danger, came vnto the gates of the City, assaying, but with vain and desperat la-
bour,

A bour to haue broken them open. In this assault wilde-fire was cast into many places of the city, and the great Artillery oftentimes discharged into the breaches, whereby many of the Turks themselues were slain with their own great shot, together with the Christians: for *Amurath* desperatly set, was content to buy the life of one Christian with the losse of twenty of his Turks. But the Christians still valiantly repulsed their enemies, so that of them that came to the gates, none escaped aliue; and of them that assaulted the great breach, the forwardest were first slain, and they which stood farther off were sore wounded with great shot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* still maintained the assault by sending in of new supplies, delighted to see them go forward, but grieued at the heart to see them so slain; vntil at last, weary with beholding the slaughter of his men, he caused a retreit to be sounded, and so ended the assault; *The Turks retyre.*
B persuaded by his Bassa's, not wilfully to cast away his valiant souldiers where there was no hope to preuail, but to preserue them for his better seruice.

Amurath now out of hope to win the city by assault, thought good to prooue what might *Amurath seeks to vndermine Croia.*
be don by vndermining the same: during which work he caused small alarms daily to be giuen to the city, to the intent that the defendants busied therwith, should not perceiue the secret work of the mine. About which time his prouision of corn began to fail in his camp: for which cause he sent his purueyors for Corn to Lysia, a City of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, and bought of them great store of corn. But as his officers were conueying it to the camp, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence therof, slew the Conuoy, and carried away with him all that prouision, diuiding it among his own soldiers. Howbeit not long after, *Amurath*
C receiued great abundance of corn and other prouision out of Macedonia. Beside that, the Venetian merchants afterwards furnished him with plenty of corn, oil, honey, and other necessaries: which *Scanderbeg* might wel haue hindred, but that he would not in so doing offend the Venetians, who were also his secret friends; considering that *Amurath* might haue had all the same prouision out of the further part of Macedonia, Thracia, Mysia, and such other places, if he had not otherwise had it from the Venetians.

Whilst *Amurath* thus lay expecting the succes of his mine, 400 of the garison soldiers of Croia sallying out of the city, chased diuers of the Turks that were come forth, back again to the Camp. Wherof *Amurath* was glad, hoping that they, incouraged with that good hap, would to their further losse giue the like attempt afterward. But the staid discretion of the
D gouernor deceiued that his expectation: who considering the danger, would not suffer his soldiers any more to sally out of the city. *Scanderbeg* also at this time hauing increased his army with a new supply of 2000 soldiers, diuided the same into three parts, deliuering one part to *Moses*, another to *Tanusie*, and reseruing the third vnto himself. With this Army of 9000 thus diuided, he determined by night at one instant to assail the Turkes great Camp in three diuers places, appointing in which quarter euery one should charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed was comming toward the Turks camp, he was discouered by their Scouts; wherupon a sudden alarm was raised in the camp, and all mens minds turned that way, & soldiers appointed with all diligence to gard that side of the camp. But whilst the Turkes were all at gaze this way for fear of *Scanderbeg*, *Moses* & *Tanusie* in the dead of the night at one time
E assailed the Turks Camp in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they slew a number of the Turks, and made great spoil. At which time *Scanderbeg* did also what he might, but by reason he was before discouered, did not much harm. Vpon the approch of the day *Scanderbeg* retyred again to the hils, and by that time it was fair day light sate down vpon the side of a great mountain about 20 furlongs off, in the open sight of all the Turks camp: which he did of purpose, that *Moses* and *Tanusie*, which were by night retyred into the mountaines, might see which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that he stood there to braue their whole camp, and as it were to out face them, to the great incouragement of the besieged; diuers of them earnestly craued leaue of *Amurath* that they might go vp to him, and at leastwise beat him out of sight: which he granting, 12000 of his best soldiers, of
F which 7000 were horsmen, and the rest foot, presently set forward to incounter them. *Scanderbeg* seeing them all the way they came, vpon their approch softly retyred a little farther vp into the mountains, stil expecting the comming of *Moses* & *Tanusie*. The Turks vnacquainted with such difficult waies, marched vp the steep hils after *Scanderbeg* with much labor and

pains, wel wearied of themselues: but when they were come a great way into the mountaines, they perceiued by the rising of the dust, that some greater force was at hand, and soon after they might plainly see the formost of their enemies. Wherfore fearing to bee inclosed, they began to retyre: in which retreit *Scanderbeg* hardly pursued them, and, hauing the aduantage of the ground, slew many of them, but especially with his archers. *Moses* also comming afresh on another side, caused them to fly down the hil amain, & beside the slaughter that he made, took diuers prisoners. After which victory by *Scanderbeg* obtained in the sight of *Amurath* and his whole army, he retyred again into the mountains. G

The late spoil of the Turks camp, with this ouerthrow of the soldiers but now sent against *Scanderbeg*, much grieued the old tyrant: but the work of the mine, wherin he had of long laid vp his greatest hope, sorting now to no great purpose, beeing deemed as wel an endlesse piece of work, for the natural hardnes of the rock, as also of small importance, for that it was by the defendants discouered, draue him to his wits end. His forces he had to his great losse sufficiently proued, and stil found them too weake; and policie preuailed not. Nothing remained now, but to proue if by great gifts and glorious promises hee could first corrupt the faith of the Gouernor, and afterwards the garrison: wherin he determined to spare no cost. Wherupon he sent one of his Bassa's (a man of great authoritie and dexteritie of wit) vnto *Vranacontes*, with such rich gifts and presents as might haue mooued a right constant mind: commanding the Bassa, if it were possible, first to fasten the same vpon the Gouernor, as presents sent from *Amurath* of meer bounty, in the honor of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his message, not sparing to promise any thing for the deliuering vp of the city, yea more than should be desired. The Bassa attended on but with two seruants, came with this rich present neer to the gates of the City, and there stayd vntill the Gouernors pleasure were known. By whose commandement he was receiued into the city, and brought to his presence. Then the Bassa with much reuerence and many magnifical words, presented vnto *Vranacontes* the rich gifts sent from *Amurath*; and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him as the reward of his valor. But *Vranacontes* willed him first to declare his message from *Amurath*, vpon the hearing wherof he would (he said) as he saw cause, either receiue or refuse them: before which time he would not be beholden to his enemy, by receiuing from him the least curtesie. With which answer the subtil Bassa nothing dismaied, with great constancie thus began to deliuer his message: H I K

The Bassa sent from Amurath craftily seeks to corrupt the gouernor, and to persuade the soldiers to yeeld vp the city.

Howsoeuer we agree (said he) *vpon other matters we come for, we brought not these gifts of purpose to deceiue any: for so men vse to deal with their children and seruants, and not with men of courage and valour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be suspected, (as you haue right wisely said, and wee our selues know) yet we durst not for shame come vnto so worthy a Gouernor (as the common saying is) empty handed. Neither ought you, if you be the man you seem to be, and whom men report you are, to refuse our curtesie. Take this present in good part, which shall no way inforce or hinder you to determin or dispose of your affairs otherwise than shall seem vnto you good: neither shall wee once obiect vnto you these gifts, which we so frank and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you reiect or admit his demaunds and message: wherin there is (perhaps) no lesse regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a base mind, than to giue in hope to receiue again. We come vnto you frankely, (worthy Gouernor) I speak it from my heart, wee goe not about with filed speech and rich rewards to circumuent thee, whose inuincible minde we haue so often in vain proued with our forces and power. That is it for which* Amurath *loueth thee. He doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies, and if it were possible, desireth to haue them with himself. There verily with so mighty a Monarch might thy inuincible mind and pregnant courage find a better way vnto the highest type of Fortunes blisse. Not that I condemn* Scanderbeg *(whom we his enemies do highly commend) for his Countrey so wel recouered, and so often times worthily defended, yet chiefly by your help; but you are worthy of another manner of Souereign, and of another maner of calling, and not to spend all the daies of your life, and such heroical vertues in obscuritie, and (without offence be it said) in contemptible basenes. Besides that,* Scanderbegs *estate is but momentary, the Destinies haue assigned vnto him too too mighty an enemy; his destruction may wel be deferred, but not by any means auoided.* Amurath *hath conceiued against him an implacable displeasure, and prepared his forces accordingly: he hath sworn to spare no cost, no labor, no danger: and that he* L M

will

A *neuer whilst he liueth depart out of Epirus, before he haue imposed a deadly yoke vpon his neck. And behold, the first of his misery beginneth at this city, and vpon your selues. We daily hear his pauilions sound with these and such like speeches, That he will neuer depart out of this place before he haue taken this city, and satisfied his angry mind with the torture of your bodies; no, not if he should therfore lose Hadrianople, yea and that more is, his whole kingdom. And verily he will do it, which I fear to diuine or think vpon: For although I with others bear against you the mind of an enemy, yet am I a man, and mooued with human compassion. Beleeue me, ye men of Croia, beleeue mee, my eies would scarsely endure to behold the horrible spectacle of your miserable fortune. I tell you again, he will do it, except you change your purpose, and now receiue health, life, liberty and peace, whilst it is so freely offered. For albeit that this notable strong place, these impregnable walls, and especially your own valour, do yet defend you; how long will it*

B *hold out? Verily no longer than you haue victuals, no longer than you haue meat to sustain your bodies. Do you think that* Amurath *wil raise his siege in the middle of the heat of this war, and begon? No, no, if force will not preuail, if all his attempts fail, yet shall you see and feel these enemies continually to your hurt; you shall alwaies haue these tents in your eies, and at your gates, vntill long famine, which mastreth all things, tame your courage also. I pray you, what hope haue you left? from whence ariseth in your resolute minds such desperat contempt of danger? Can* Scanderbeg *victuall you being so streitly besieged? who hideth himself (poor man) in the woods all day, and flieth ouer the tops of the mountains, loden with trauell and care, scarse able to relieue his own misery. Or will the Venetians relieue you, who daily bring vnto vs, and store vs with too too great plenty of all things for this war against you. Wherfore repent your too much hardines, and gather your wits together: behold, I your enemy aduise you; you haue long enough*

C *continued in your obstinacy; your country and liberty is not so far to be defended, as that you should therfore fight against God. But wherfore do I call this, liberty? you must giue place vnto your fortune, and learn to obey them that be too strong for you. You shall find assured liberty, rich rewards, perpetuall rest with* Amurath. *Prouide for your selues, if you be wise, whilst all things are yet whole for you to determin of; whilst we your enemies exhort and request you, and had rather haue you our voluntary companions, than our inforced seruants and slaues.*

This the Bassa spake with great grauitie, and no lesse vehemencie, expecting some great motions to haue risen in the minds of the soldiers. But when he perceiued that his speech had rather filled them with indignation, than with fear; and that it was but a vain thing to go a-

D bout to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of *Amurath* could not make afraid with weapons; he requested to talk alone with the gouernor in secret; which was also granted. For all men had no lesse good opinion of the worthy gouernors fidelitie, than of his wisdom and valor. The crafty Bassa hauing him by himself, began with great cunning to deliuer his more secret message. When *Vranacontes* perceiuing by a little, what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his speech, and without more ado commanded him to depart, streitly charging him, that neither he nor any other should after that time presume to come from his master to the city, to speak with him about any such dishonorable matter; for if he did, he would in detestation therof cause their hands, nose, and ears to be cut off, and so return them dismembred in stead of answer. And so the Bassa was with his presents turned out of the city,

Vranacontes reiecteth Amurathes presenes, and threatens the Bassa.

E and no man suffered to receiue any thing of him in reward; although the soldiers could haue bin wel content to haue eased him and his seruants of that cariage, if the gouernor would but haue winked therat.

Great was the expectation in the Turks camp, of the Bassa's return; but when they saw the presents were not receiued, they easily ghessed that all went not as they wished. But when *Amurath* himself vnderstood the gouernours resolute answer, he in great rage commanded all things to be made ready for a fresh assault: which he did rather to satisfie his anger, than vpon any hope he had to preuail therin. The next day he caused a furious assault to bee giuen to the city, but with greater losse to himself than before; the Christians stil valiantly defending the city against the Turkish fury. In this assault many of the Turks were slaine at the

Croia againe in vain assaulted.

F breach with their own great shot: for whilest *Amurath* sought therwith to driue the Christians from the defence of the breach, he slew a great number more of the forwardest of his own men, than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endles slaughter of his men, he gaue ouer the assault, and returned into his camp, as if he had bin a man halfe frantick

tick or distract of his wits; and there sate down in his Tent all that day full of melancholy G
passions, somtimes violently pulling his hoary beard & white locks, complaining of his hard and disaster fortune, that he had liued so long to see those daies of disgrace, wherin all his former glory and triumphant victories were obscured, by one base town of Epirus. His Bassa's and graue counsellors laboring in the meane time with long discourses to comfort him vp: somtimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories, and otherwhiles producing antient examples of like euent. But dark and heauy conceits had so ouerwhelmed the melancholy old Tyrant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying spirits: so that the little remainder of naturall heat that was now left in his aged body, now oppressed and almost extinguished with melancholy conceits, and his aged body dried vp with sorrow, he became sick of griefe. Wherupon by the counsell of some of his Bassa's he sent an H
Embassador to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, if he would yeeld to pay him a yearly tribute of ten thousand Duckats: thinking by that means his honour to be well saued, if before his departure out of Epirus, hee could but make *Scanderbeg* his Tributary. This Embassadour was by *Scanderbeg* honourably entertained in his Campe; but the offered peace at the same time vtterly refused. The Embassadour returning vnto *Amurath*, declared vnto him the euil successe of his Embassage, which greatly encreased his melancholy sickneſſe. And *Scanderbeg* to grieue him the more, vnderstanding that he was dangerously sicke, and that the great Bassa's were more carefull of the Kings health, than of the successe of the wars; diuers times assailed the Turks Camp. Which thing though the Bassa's kept from his knowledge with all carefulneſſe; yet he oftentimes suspected the matter, by the often alarums and tumults I
in the Camp, and with the grief therof languished. So feeling his sickneſſe daily to increase, and that he could not much longer liue, lying vpon a pallet in his pauilion, grieuously complained vnto his Bassa's, That the Destinies had so blemished all the former course of his life with such an obscure death, That hee which had so often represſed the fury of the Hungarians, and almost brought to nought the pride of the Grecians, together with their name, should now be inforced to giue vp the ghost vnder the walls of an obscure Castle (as hee termed it) and that in the sight of his contemptible enemy. After that, turning himselfe to his son *Mahomet*, he erneſtly commended him to the faithfulnes of his Bassas, and gaue him many graue aduertisements, somtimes in secret betwixt themselues, and somtimes in the hearing of others: want of strength, and abundance of tears running down his aged face (vpon the sight K
of his son) oftentimes interrupting his speech. Yet sick vnto death as hee was, and drawing fast vnto his end, he forced himselfe, to warn his son of such things as now at his death grieued him most.

The last speech & admonition of Amurath to his son Mahomet vpon his death bed.

Let myne example (quoth he) *be a warning vnto thee, my son, neuer to contemn thine enemy, be hee neuer so weak: of which one thing aboue all others I haue repented my self too long, and shall do after my death, if any feeling of human things remain in the dead. And that I was so fooliſh and inconsiderate to foster vp as it were in my bosom this my domesticall and neglected enemy, wherby I haue purchased vnto my self this calamity, and for euer blemished the honor of the* Othoman *kings; whilst I so basely ending my daies vnder the walls of Croia, shall become a by-word vnto the world and all posterity for euer. This* L
Traitor should euen then haue bin oppressed, when he by treachery first recouered his wicked kingdom: in that newneſſe of his estate, and before the minds of the people were assured vnto him, then it had been an easie matter, without bloud-shed vtterly to haue extinguished the wretch, together with his name. Alis Bassa, *whose euill fortune was the first beginning of his good; nor the other Generals, who by him slaine or taken prisoners, increased his strength & credit vnto his subiects, should not haue bin sent against him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but would scarse haue beleeued, that euer I should haue therby receiued such disgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdom, if I had not beene taught the same by myne own experience, to my great losse and hearts grief. We entred into Epirus, and here incamped an hundred and threescore thousand men strong: now if leisure serue you, take view of* M
them, examin the matter, you shall find a great want of them. The fields could not contain our regiments and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents stand empty? how many horses want riders? You shall go to Hadrianople with our forces much impaired. As for me, the Destinies haue vowed my spirits to this country of Epirus, as vnto me fatal. But wherfore do I impute vnto my self these impediments

and

A *and chances of fortune? for then first began this seed of mischief in Epirus, when the Hungarians and other the Christian princes rose vp in arms against vs; at which time we fought not with them for soueraignty, but for the whole state of our kingdom, as the bloudy battels of Varna and Cossova still witnes to the world. So whilst I had neither leisure nor sufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once, in the mean time this enemy grew as you see. But how or in what order you are hereafter to wage war against him, you may not look for any direction from me, which haue in all these matters so euil directed my self. Fortune neuer deceiued my indeauors more than in this: but haply thou* Mahomet *my son mayst proue a more fortunat warrior against him: and for so many honors already giuen vnto me, the destinies haue reserued the triumph of Epirus for thee. Wherefore, my son, thou shalt receiue from me this Scepter, and these royall ensignes: but aboue all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemie, charging thee not to*
B *leaue my death vnreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for so great and stately a patrimony as thou art to receiue from me: it is the only sacrifice that my old departing ghost desireth of thee.*

Shortly after he became speechles, and striuing with the pangs of death half a day, he then breathed out his gastly ghost, to the great ioy and contentment of the poor oppressed Christians. He died about the middle of Autumn, *Anno Dom.* 1450. when he had liued 85 years, as most write, and therof reigned 28, or as some others report 30; about fiue months after the besieging of Croia. *Amurath his death.*

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erst not inferior vnto the greatest monarchs of that age, dead almost in dispair: a worthy mirror of honors frailty, yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end
C neither comfort nor relief. Who had fought greater battels? who had gained greater victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than did *Amurath?* who by the spoil of so many mighty Kings and Princes, and by the conquest of so many proud and warlike nations, again restored and established the Turks kingdom, before by *Tamerlane* and the Tartars in a manner clean defaced. He it was that burst the heart of the proud Grecians, establishing his Empire at Constantinople, euen in the centre of their bowels; from whence haue proceeded so many miseries & calamities into the greatest part of Christendom, as no tongue is able to expres. He it was that first brake down the Hexamile or wall of separation on the streit of Corinth, and conquered the greatest part of Peloponesus. He it was that subdued vnto the Turkes so many great countries and prouinces in Asia; that in plain field and set battell ouerthrew di-
D uers puissant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his subiection; who hauing slaine *Vladislaus* king of Hungary and Polonia, and more than once chased out of the field *Huniades* that famous and redoubted warrior, had in his proud and ambitious heart promised to himself the conquest of a great part of Christendom. But ô how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did these his last speeches differ from the course of his forepassed life! full of such base passionat complaints and lamentations as beseemed not a man of his place & spirit; but some vile wretch ouertaken with dispair, & afraid to dy. Where were now those hauty thoughts, those lofty looks, those thundring and commanding speeches, at which so many great Captains, so many troups and legions, so many thousands of armed soldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that head, before adorned with so many tro-
E phies and triumphs? Where is that victorious hand that swaied so many scepters? where is the majestie of his power and strength, that commanded ouer so many nations & kingdoms? O how is the case now altred! he lieth now dead, a ghastly filthy stinking carkasse, a clod of clay vnregarded, his hands closed, his eies shut, and his feet stretched out, which erst proudly traced the countries by him subdued and conquered. And now of such infinit riches, such vnmeasurable wealth, such huge treasures, such stately honors and vain-glorious praises as he in his life time enioyed; his frail body enjoyed nothing, but left all behind it. O the weake condition of mans nature! ô the vain-glory of mortal Creatures! ô the blinde and peruerse thoughts of foolish men! Why do we so magnifie our selues? why are wee so puft vp with pride? why do we so much set our minds vpon riches, authority, and other vanities of this life?
F wherof neuer man had yet one daies assurance, and at our most need, and when we least think, quite forsake vs; leauing euen them that most sought after them, and most abounded in them, shrouded oft times in the sheet of dishonor and fame. *Amurath an example of the vanity of worldly honor.*

That his death is otherwise by some reported, I am not ignorant; the Turks saying that he died miraculously forewarned of his death at Hadrianople. And some others, That hee died

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in Asia, strucken with an apoplexy proceeding of a surfet taken of the immoderate drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barlesius*, who liued in his time in Scodra fast by Epirus, whose authoritie in the report of the wars betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, sets it down in such maner as is before said. G

Amurath buried at Prusa.

Presently after his death, *Mahomet* his son, for fear of some innouation to be made at home, raised the siege and returned to Hadrianople: and afterward with great solemnitie buried his dead body at the West side of Prusa, in the suburbs of the city; where he now lieth in a chappel without any roofe, his graue nothing differing from the manner of the common Turkes: which they say he commanded to be don in his last will, that the mercy and blessing of God (as he termed it) might come vnto him, by the shining of the Sun and Moone, and falling of the rain and due of heauen vpon his graue. H

He whilst he liued mightily inlarged the Turkish kingdom, and with greater wisdom and policie than his predecessors established the same. Insomuch that some attribute to him the first institution of the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court (the greatest strength of the Turkish empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the first, his great grandfather, (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented, and the policy of that state, wherein it euer since in his posteritie flourished, euen by himselfe plotted. For the better establishing wherof in his own house, & to cut off al occasion of fear, as also to leaue all such as he thought might rise against him, naked & bare of forces to resist (but especially the other antient and noble families of the Turks, stil secretly repining at the great honor of the *Othoman* kings) he as a man of great wisdom and iudgment, to keep them vnder in the beginning of his reign, by manifold fauors began to bind to himself men of strange and forrein countries, his seruants; and by ordering his most weighty affaires by their authoritie, purposed so by little and little to cast off the seruice of his natural Turks: they in the meen time little or nothing at all looking into this his practise. And wheras the *Othoman* Kings his predecessors had for the most part, or rather altogether raised their Ianizaries and other soldiers of the Court, of such children of the Christians as were taken in the Wars; hee, seeing by experience how seruiceable those new kind of soldiers were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himself an army altogether of such able persons, his own creatures, and so to bring in a new kind of Warfare, wholly depending of himself. And to that end, by his officers appointed for that purpose, took from the Christians throughout his dominions, euery fift child; the fairest and apteſt of whom he placed in his own Seraglio at Hadrianople, and the rest in other-like places by him built for such purpose: where they were by sufficient teachers, first instructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion, and then in all maner of actiuity and feats of arms. Of these being grown to mans state, he made horsemen, gaue them great pensions, and sorting them into diuers orders, appointed them also to gard his person; honoring the better sort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to say, his sons the Knights: and of these hee began to make his Bassa's, his Generals of his armies, and the gouernors of his prouinces and cities, with all the great offices of state. The rest, & far the greatest part of these tribute children, taken from their Christian parents, and not brought vp in the Seraglio's, hee caused to be dispersed into euery city and country of his dominion in Asia, there for certain years to be brought vp in all hardnes and painful labor, neuer tasting of ease or pleasure: out of which hard brood so inured to pains, he made choice of the most lusty and able bodies, fittest for seruice, as hee thought good; who kept in continuall exercise, and by skilfull men taught to handle all maner of weapons, but especially the bow, the piece, and the scimitar, were by him as occasion serued, added to the other Ianizaries, and appointed for the garding of his person; commonly calling them by the names of his Sons. The remainder of these Tribute children, as vnfit for the Wars, he put vnto other base occupations and ministeries. But vnto those martiall men of all sorts so by him ordained, he appointed a continuall pay according to their degrees and places: and by great liberties and benefits bestowed vpon them, bound them so fast vnto him, as that he might now account himself to haue of them so many sons, as he had soldiers. For they, together with the Christian religion, hauing forgotten their parents and Countrey, and knowing no other lord and master but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only, remained euer bound and faithfull vnto him, and so kept others also, as wel the naturall Turks themselues, as the other oppressed Christians, with- I K L M

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A in the bounds of obedience and loyaltie. A great policie proceeding from a deep iudgment, first to weaken the Christians, by taking from them their best children, and of greatest hope; and then by them depending wholly of himself, to keep in awe and dutifull obedience his natural subiects also: hauing them alwaies as a scourge ready to chastise the rebellious or disloyal. Now the other *Othoman* Kings and Princes (the successors of *Amurath*) keeping this custom, and also increasing it one after another, haue therby not onely kept the empire still in their house and family, where it was first gotten; but also so maintained the majesty of their state, as that they are of their subiects feared, obeyed, and honored not as Kings, but as Gods. For the naturall Turks their subiects losing courage continually, and daily growing more base and dastardly, by reason they are not suffered to practise the knowledge of arms; and the
B soldiers in whose power all things are, knowing nothing of their own, but holding & acknowledging all that they haue to come of their Lord, account them as Lords and Kings of all: ruling much after the maner of the *Pharaohs* the antient Kings of Egypt; who were absolute Lords and masters both of the publique and priuat wealth of their subiects, whom they kept vnder as slaues and villains. And herof comes it to passe, that the better part of them whom we cal Turks (but are indeed the children of Christians, & seduced by their false Instructers) desire to be called Musulmans, that is to say, right beleeuers; holding it a reprochfull & dishonorable thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and aboue other people. For that they knowing right wel, that there is not one natural Turk among all those that bear authoritie and rule, and are had in greater honor and reputation than the rest (such as are the men of
C war and the courtiers) but he is born a Christian either of father, or at the least of his grandfather; auouch them only to be Turks who liue in Natolia, all of them either merchants, or of base and mechanical trades, or poor laborers with the spade and pick-ax, and such like people vnfit for the wars; the rest (as I say) holding it for a title of honor, to be descended of Christian parents. Yea the grand Seignior himself, although by the fathers side hee be come of progenitors such as were naturall Turks born; yet many of them had Christian mothers, which they accounted in the greatest part of their nobility and honor. Thus by *Amuraths* wisdom was the Order of the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the Court greatly aduanced, though not by him begun; and the politick state of the kingdom (to say the truth) quite altered: the natural Turks (more than the Sultan himself) now bearing therin no sway; but only these new
D souldiers, all of them descended from Christian parents, and by adoption as it were become the sons of the Turkish Sultans, and vnder them commanding all. By whom they haue euer since mannaged their estate, and by their good seruice wonderfully, euen to the astonishment of the world, increased and extended their empire. But of them more shall be said hereafter.

A great policie.

This great King was of his subiects while he liued, wonderfully beloued, and no lesse of them after his death lamented. He was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkish Kings either before or after him: by nature melancholy and sad, and accounted rather politick than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great dissembler and painful in trauell, but waiward and testy aboue measure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had issue six sons, *Achmetes*,
E *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Hasan* (otherwise called *Chasan*) *Vrchan*, & *Achmetes* the yonger, of some called *Calepinus*. Three of whom died before; but the two yongest were by their vnnaturall brother *Mahomet*, who succeeded in the Turkish kingdom, euen in their infancie, in the beginning of his reign cruelly murthered.

Amuraths disposition.

The sons of Amurath.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amurath the second.	Emperors	Of the East	John Palæologus.	1421. 24
			Constantinus Palæologus.	1444. 8
		Of the West	Sigismund King of Hungary.	1411. 28
			Albert the second, King of Hungary and Bohemia.	1438 2
			Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria.	1440 54
	Kings	Of England	Henry the fift.	1413. 9
			Henry the sixth.	1422. 39
		Of France	Charles the sixt.	1381. 42
			Charles the seuenth.	1423. 38
		Of Scotland	Iames the first.	1424. 13
			Iames the second.	1436. 29
	Bishops of Rome		Martin the V.	1417. 13
			Eugenius the IV.	1431. 16
			Nicolas the V.	1447. 8

Paul. Iov. Illuſt. viror. Eclog. lib. 3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot vrbes,
Solus & immenſi qui timor orbis eram:
Me rapuit quæcunque rapit mors improba, ſed ſum
Virtute excelſa, ductus ad aſtra tamen.
Major Alexander *non me fuit,* Anibal *& non,*
Fuderit Auſonios tot licet ille duces.
Vici victores Danaos, domuiq; feroces
Caoniæ populos, Sauromataſq; truces.
Pannonius ſenſit, quantum ſurgebit in armis
Vis mea: quæ latio cognita nuper erat.
Arſacidæ ſenſere manus has, ſenſit Arabſque:
Et meа ſunt Percæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat bellare Rhodum, ſuperare ſuperbam
Italiam, ſed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aſpera, quæque ſub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora brevis.
Sic hominum faſtus pereunt, ſic ſtemata, ſicque
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

In Engliſh thus:

I that ſo many nations, towns,
and kingdoms haue brought low;
And haue alone diſmaid the world,
and fil'd the earth with wo:
Am now by death (which all deuours)
brought down from high degree;
Yet doth the glory of my name
ſurmount the ſtarry skie.
The great King *Alexanders* fame
the world no better fil'd:
Nor worthy *Hanibal*, whoſe force
ſo many Romans kil'd.
I vanquiſht the victorious Greeks,
and tam'd with mighty hand
The warlike people of Epire,
and fierce Tartaria land.
My force in field Hungaria felt,
my greatnes is there known;
Which of late time through Italy,
to their great ruth is blown.
Th'Aſſyrians felt my heauy hand;
ſo did th'Arabians wild:
The Perſian King with all his force
I droue out of the field.
I purpoſed to win the Rhodes,
and Italy t'undo;
If that the fatall Deſtinies
had granted leaue therto.
But wo is me, for griſly Death
hath brought all this to nought,
And in the twinkling of an eye
is periſht all I thought.
So periſheth the pride of man,
his honor, wealth, and power,
His gold, and whatſoeuer els,
it fadeth as a flower,

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING, AND FIRST EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS, FOR HIS MANY VICTORIES SYRNAMED THE *GREAT*.

C THE report of the death of old *Amurath* the late King, was in ſhort time blowne thorow moſt parts of Chriſtendome, to the great joy of many; but eſpecially of the Greekes and other poore Chriſtians which bordered vpon the tyrants Kingdome; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkiſh King, to make exchange alſo of their bad eſtate and fortune: and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, being in his childhood inſtructed therein (as was ſuppoſed) by his mother the daughter of the Prince of Seruia, a Chriſtian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but ſhort, as afterward by prooſe it appeared: For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twenty yeares, ſucceeding his fa-
D ther in the Kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in ſhew the Mahometan Re- 1450
ligion, abhorring the Chriſtian; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or *Mahomet of no Religion.*
of the other, but as a meere Atheiſt, deuoyd of all Religion, and worſhipping no other god but good Fortune, derided the ſimplicity of all ſuch as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions: which graceleſſe reſolution ſo wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his luſt, and making conſcience of nothing, kept no league, promiſe, or oath, longer than ſtood with his profit or pleaſure.

Now in the Court men ſtood diuerſly affected towards the preſent ſtate: the mighty Baſſaes, and others of great authority, vnto whom the old Kings gouernment was neuer grieuous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting leſt the fierce nature of the yong King ſhould turn to
E the hurt of ſome of them in particular, and the ſhortning of their authority in generall, as indeed it ſhortly after fell out. But the luſty gallants of the Court weary of the old King, who in hope of preferment had long wiſhed for the gouernment of the yong Prince, were glad to ſee him ſet vpon his fathers ſeat. And the vulgar people (neuer conſtant but in vnconſtancy, and alwaies fawning vpon the preſent) exceedingly rejoyced in their yong King. The Ianizaries alſo at the ſame time (according to their accuſtomed manner) took the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iews that dwelt amongſt them, and eaſily obtained pardon for the ſame: whereupon he was by the ſame Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the Court, with great triumph ſaluted King. Which approbation of theſe men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Kings a greater aſſurance for the poſſeſſion of their Kingdome, than to be borne the eldeſt ſon of the King, as in the pro-
F ceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall appeare: ſo great is the power of theſe maſterfull ſlaues, in promoting to the kingdome whichſoeuer of the Kings ſons they moſt fauour, without much regard whether they be eldeſt or not.

This yong tyrant was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his fathers kingdome, but that he forgetting the *Mahomet murdereth his brethren.*
lawes of nature, was preſently in perſon himſelfe about to haue murthered with his owne

hands, his youngeſt brother, then but eighteene moneths old, begotten on the daughter of G
Sponderbeius. Which vnnaturall part, *Moſes* one of his Baſſaes, and a man greatly in his fauour, perceiuing, requeſted him, not to embrue his own hands in the bloud of his brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to ſome other: which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the author of that counſell forthwith to do. So *Moſes* taking the child from the nurſe, ſtrangled it, with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young lady vnderſtanding of the death of her child (as a woman whom fury had made paſt feare) came, and in her rage reuiled the tirant to his face, ſhamefully vpbraiding him for his inhumane cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appeaſe her fury, requeſted her to be content, for that it ſtood with the policy of his ſtate: and willed her for her better contentment, to aske whatſoeuer ſhe pleaſed, and ſhe ſhould forthwith haue
A cruell reuenge of an angry woman. it. But ſhe deſiring nothing more than in ſome ſort to be reuenged, deſired to haue *Moſes* (the H
executioner of her ſonne) deliuered vnto her, bound: which when ſhe had obtained, ſhe preſently ſtruck him into the breaſt with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankfull maſter for helpe:) and proceeding in her cruell execution, cut an hole in his right ſide, and by piecemeale cut out his liuer, and caſt it to the dogs to eat. At the ſame time alſo he cauſed another of his brethren, committed by his father to the keeping of *Caly-Baſſa*, and now by him betraid into his hands, to be likewiſe murthered.

Mahomet reformeth the Turkiſh common-weale. Thus beginning his tyrannous raign with the bloudy execution of them that were in bloud neereſt vnto him, and whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he preſently after began to frame a new forme of a common-weale, by abrogating and altering the old laws & cuſtoms, and publiſhing of new, better fitting his own humour, and more commodious for himſelfe: I
impoſing alſo new taxes and ſubſidies vpon his ſubjects, neuer before heard of: thereby to increaſe his treaſures, and ſatisfie his auaritious deſire: which amongſt many other his vices, ſo much reigned in him, as that he was thought ouer-ſparing vnto himſelfe, as well in his apparel as in his diet. And proceeding further, he called vnto ſtreit account all the great officers of his kingdome: of whom ſome he put to death, and confiſcated their goods: others he put to great fines, or quite remoued them from their offices. In like maner he dealt alſo with his great Baſſaes, admitting many falſe and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt them: whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercy was to be looked for. By which meanes he became no leſſe terrible vnto his ſubjects, than he was afterwards vnto his enemies: and ſo was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Among other things, he much miſliked in his court the ex- K
ceſſiue number of faulconers and huntſmen, which was growne ſo great by the immoderate delight which his predeceſſors tooke in the pleaſures of the field, that there were continually maintained of the Kings charge ſeuen thouſand faulconers, and not many fewer huntſmen; ſaying, that he would not be ſo much a foole, as to maintain ſuch a multitude of men to attend vpon ſo meere a vanity. And therefore tooke order, that from thenceforth there ſhould be allowance made for 500 faulconers only, and 100 huntſmen: the reſt he appointed to ſerue as ſoldiers in his wars. At the ſame time alſo he entred into league with *Conſtantinus Palæologus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople, and the other Princes of Grecia: as alſo with the Deſpot of Seruia, his grandfather by the mothers ſide, as ſome will haue it; howbeit, ſome others write, that the Deſpot his daughter, *Amurath* his wife, was but his mother in law, whom he, vnder L
the colour of friendſhip ſent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, ſtill allowing her a princely dowry. But if ſhe were not his mother (as like enough it is that ſhe was not) much more happy was ſhe that ſhe neuer groned for ſo graceleſſe a ſon.

1451 Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuill affaires, *Ibrahim* King of Caramania,
Mahomet goeth againſt the king of Caramania. who long before had maried *Amuraths* ſiſter, and yet for all that, had (as his anceſtors had before him) alwaies enuied the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Othoman* Kings, tooke occaſion in the firſt yeare of *Mahomet* his reigne, with fire and ſword to inuade his dominions in Aſia. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, he diſplaced *Iſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, as a man not ſufficient to mannage ſo great warres, and appointed *Iſaac-Baſſa* in his roome, a moſt valiant man of war, vpon whom not long before he had vpon ſpeciall fauour beſtowed in marriage the faire M
daughter of *Sponderbeius*, one of his fathers wiues, of whom we haue ſpoken before. This great Baſſa paſſing ouer into Aſia, raiſed a great army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in perſon himſelfe with a greater, out of Europe: and hauing all his forces together, entered with great hoſtility into Caramania. But the Caramanian King perceiuing himſelfe vnable to withſtand

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A so puissant an enemy, fled into the strength of the great mountains, and by his Embassadours offered vnto *Mahomet* such reasonable conditions of peace, as that he was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by solemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his army to Prusa: but when he was come thither, the Ianizaries presuming that they might be bold with the young King, putting themselues in order of battell, came and with great insolency demanded of him a donatiue or largious, as a reward of their good seruice done. With which so great presumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for so much as they were his best souldiers, and already in armes, he wisely dissembled his anger for the present, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Bassa*, and *Turechan beg*, two of his great captains, who had got some suspition of the matter: wherefore to content them, he caused ten great bags of aspers to be scattered among them; and so pacified the matter. But with-
B in few daies after, he caused *Daganes* (the Aga or chief captain of the Ianizaries) to be brought before him, and to be shamefully whipt: and so presently discharging him of his office, placed one *Mustapha* in the same. The like seuerity he vsed against the rest of the vnder captains, causing them to be cruelly scourged and beaten like slaues: which in that tyrannical gouernment is an vsuall punishment, vpon the least displeasure of the King to be inflicted vpon any man, without respect of degree or calling, if he be not a naturall Turke born. Presently after he sent *Isaac* his lieutenant against *Elias* Prince of Mentesia or Caria, by whom the poore Prince was driuen out of his countrey: euer since which time it hath remained in subjection to the Turkish Kings, as part of their Kingdome and Empire.

Mentesia subdued by the Turks.

C When *Mahomet* had thus ended the Caramanian war, and was determined with his army to returne to Hadrianople, he was aduertised, That the streits of Hellespontus were so strongly possessed by the Christian fleet, that he could not there possibly passe ouer but with most manifest danger: wherefore he tooke his way through that part of Bythinia which lyeth aboue Constantinople, and came to the castle which the Turks call *Acce-Chisar*, and the Grecians, ἀσπρόκαστρον, or white castle, standing vpon the narrow streit of Bosphorus on Asia side, and there passed ouer into Europe at the same place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares before in like manner found passage. Where when he was safely got ouer with his army, he by the aduice of his Bassaes encamped fast by the sea side, and there presently began to build a great strong castle close vnto the streits of Bosphorus, neere vnto Propontis, on Europe side, 1452
D directly ouer against the other castle in Asia. For the speedy accomplishment of which work, he assembled thither al the workmen he could possibly get out of Europe and Asia, apportioning vnto his captaines and soldiers of his army part of the worke also: by whose industry and labor, that great building was in shorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the first expected. This castle which for the greatnesse thereof, is of most writers reputed for a city, was by the Turks named *Genichisar*, and of the Grecians *Neocastron*, or New castle, and also *Lamocastron*, or castle vpon the streits; and was there by the Turks built, as well for the safety of their owne passage to and fro, as for to hinder the passage of the Christians through those narrow streits, they now possessing the strong forts on both sides: and thereby also to distresse the city of Constantinople, from whence this castle was not aboue fiue miles
E distant. When *Mahomet* in the second yere of his reign had finisht this great castle, with some other small forts about the same, and also repaired the other castle in Asia ouer against it, he placed therein strong garrisons, and furnished the same with artillery; in such sort, that no ship could passe through the streit of Bosphorus into the great Euxine, or blacke sea, but shee was in danger to be sunke: whereby the rich trade which the merchants of Venice, Genua, and Constantinople, had to Caffa, and other places lying vpon the Euxine, were almost quite cut off, to the great hinderance of those estates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall desirous to do some such thing as the glory whereof might farre passe the fame of his predecessors, thought nothing more answerable to his high conceits, than to attempt the winning of Constantinople, and the vtter subuersion of the Greeke Empire: Wherupon his father *Amu-*
F *rath*, and his great grandfather *Bajazet*, had before in vaine spent their forces. Besides that, it grieued him to see that goodly city, the antient seat of the Christian Empire, to be so commodiously scituated, as it were in the middest of his Kingdome, and not to be at his command. Hereunto the small power of the Greeke Emperour himselfe, and the other Christian Princes at the same time at mortall discord amongst themselues, ministred vnto his greedy

Mahomet maketh preparation for the besieging of Constantinople.

desire to small hope of succesſe, and serued as spurs to prick him forward vnto so great an enterprise. Wherefore all the Winter he caused great preparation to be made of shipping and other warlike prouision both by sea and land: and gaue out commissions for the leuying of a mighty army, to be in readinesse against the next Spring. But whither he would imploy the same, no man could certainly tell: some ghessing one thing, and some another, as the manner of men is, when such extraordinary preparation is at hand. *Constantinus* the eight of that name, then Emperor of Constantinople, a Prince of a mild and soft spirit, fitter for the Church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkish King, and fearing lest that tempest then growing, should vpon the sudden break forth vpon himself, first made such preparation as his owne small ability would extend vnto. And then sent his Embassadors vnto other Christian Princes, earnestly craving their aid & assistance in that his dangerous estate. But that labour was lost, and all his suit vaine: for they being at variance one with another, and hauing more care of priuate reuenge, than how to repulse the common enemy of Christianity, could not, or would not afford him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that nama, then Bishop of Rome, with *Alphonsus* King of Naples, and the State of Venice, promised to haue sent him thirty gallies, but none for all that came.

Constantinus the Emperor In vaine craueth aid of the Christian Princes.

There were by chance at Constantinople certain ships and gallies of Venice, Genua, Creet and Chios, of whom the Emperour made stay: at which time also it chanced, that *Ioannes Iustinianus*, an aduenturer of Genua, who had beene scouring those seas, came to Constantinople with two tall ships, and foure hundred souldiers: where he was entertained by the Emperour. And forasmuch as he was a man honourably descended, and supposed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the Emperour appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himself. He also entertained six thousand Greekes: which, with three thousand Venetians, Genowaies and others, whom he had made stay of, joyned vnto the citizens, was all the weake strength he had to rely vpon, for the defence of his State and Empire.

1453 Vide Leonarpi Chiensis Archiepiscopi Mityken. hist. de captiuitate Constnatinopolitana.

Against the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish king had in readines a great and puissant army of three hundred thousand men, of whom, the greatest part were taken out of Bulgaria, Seruia, Rascia, Thessalia, Macedonia, and Grecia, which as yet were called the Christian countries, and were themselues either indeed Christians, or else such renegates as had not long before forsaken the Christian faith: vnto these also were joyned diuers other Christians which came out of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, to serue the Turke in his wars. This hath been none of the least means, wherby the Turkish Kings haue growne so great, and their kingdome so mightily inlarged, by inforcing and alluring Christians to fight against Christians, to the vtter confusion of themselues. Among the great multitude of the Europeian Christians, were mingled his effeminate souldiers of Asia, and his naturall Turks and Ianizaries, which were in number fewest, and yet cammanded all the rest.

Mahomet encampeth before Constantinople.

With this great army, well appointed with all warlike prouision, came *Mahomet* the Turkish King from Hadrianople: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before Constantinople, and with the multitude of his army filled all the maine land before the city, from the sea side of Bosphorus, vnto the place where the same sea compassing in the city on two parts, and running far into the land betwixt Constantinople and Pera, maketh there a goodly hauen betwixt them.

The scituation of Constantinople.

This city of Constantinople (called in antient time Bizantium) is in forme of a Triangle, scituated in Europe in the pleasant country of Thracia, vpon a point of the maine land shooting out towards Asia, called of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the promontory Chrysoceras; where the sea of Propontis joyneth vnto that streit of sea, which diuideth Asia from Europe, called in antient time Bosphorus Thracius; sometime the streit of Pontus; and the mouth of Pontus; and of the modern writers, the streit of Constantinople; and about two hundred yeares past, or more, S. *George* his arme. This point of the maine, whereon the city standeth, lyeth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the ancient city of Calcedon, on the other side of the streit in Asia: more than thirty miles distant from the Euxine or blacke Sea, lying from it Northward: And two hundred miles from the streit of Hellespontus or Calipolis, from thence South. Which noble City (of all others most fitly seated for the Empire of the World, and with great majesty ouerlooking both Europe and Asia) is by the Cosmographers accounted to stand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon seuen little hils, of

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A no great and easie ascent: and was there first built by *Pausanias* the Lacedemonian King, and called Bizantium, and so many yeares flouri∫hed as a populous and rich city, vntill the ciuill wars betwixt *Seuerus* the Emperor, and *Niger*: what time it indured the siege of the Romans vnder *Seuerus*, three yeres, with such obstinacy, that it yeelded not vntill it was brought to such extremity, that the citisens did eat one another; and then yeelded, had the wals ouerthrowne by *Seuerus*, and the city it selfe destroied, and brought to the low estate of a poore countrey village, and so by him giuen to the Perinthyans. In which base estate it continued vntill the time of *Constantine* the Great, the son of *Helena* (whom some will needs haue to haue beene an English woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings so stately & sumptuous, that vnto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling place for heauenly wights, rather
B than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, translated his imperiall seat thither, and called it *Noua Roma*, or New Rome; and all that pleasant part of Thracia alongst the sea coast of Hellespontus, Propontis, and Bosphorus, by the name of Romania, of the faire Romane colonies there by him planted; which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks called Rumilia, and Rum-Ili, that is to say, the Romane country. But as for the city it selfe, the glorious name of the founder so preuailed, that the city was & yet is (of him) called Constantinople, or *Constantine* his city: and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, Stamboli. It is (as we said) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longest side, which runneth from Northeast to Southwest, is on the South side washed with the Propontis; and towards the ending of the point, which is about the seuen towers, is somewhat indented; being com-
C monly reputed to be eight miles long. The other side lieth East and West fiue miles in length, being washed with the hauen, which is somewhat more than eight miles long before it meet with the fresh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad: on the further side whereof standeth the city of Pera, commonly called Galata, sometimes a colony of the Genowaies. This hauen is very deepe, and by that reason as commodious as deep, bearing ships ful fraught close to the shoare, so that they may discharge their burthens with the least trouble that may be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantij*, or the Horne of Bizantium. The third side of this city towards the Continent, lieth almost North and South, fiue miles also in length: those two sides that lie vpon the sea, and the hauen, are inuironed and girt in with a single wal, built after the antique maner, with many high towers, which strongly defend and flanke the same. With-
D out which wals (especially towards the hauen) there lieth a street between them and the shore. But the other side which is the third, and regardeth the maine land (beside the ditch, which is also fenced) is defended with three wals: the first wall standing vpon the ditch being but low; and the second not far distant from the first, raised somwhat higher; but the third ouerlooketh and commandeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortresse both the other wals and all the ditch without may easily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole space betwixt them, are now by the Turks but slenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other rubbish, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians: som cause why they with lesse heart & courage defended the same against their barbarious enemy. In the East part of the city, on that point which in the reign of the Grecians was called the cape of S. *Demetrio*, distant from Asia
E not much more than halfe a mile, stands the Seraglio or palace of the great Turk, containing in it selfe a great part of an hill, enclosed round with a wall, as if it were it selfe a city, in circuit more than two miles: wherein amongst other stately buildings, neere vnto the sea standeth a very faire and sumptuous gallery, built for pleasure, with a priuy gate well fortified and planted with great ordnance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times passeth, when he is disposed in his gally to take his pleasure vpon the sea, or to passe ouer the streit vnto his houses or gardens of delight, on the other side in Asia. In this great city are also many other most stately and sumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkish Sultans, since they became Lords thereof, as before by the Greeke Emperors: amongst all which the Temple of S. *Sophia* standing on the East side of the city, not far from the Seraglio (now redu-
F ced vnto the form of a Mahometan Moschy, and whither the great Turke goeth oftentimes to heare seruice, being indeed but the sanctuary or chancel only of the great, stately, and wonderful church (built by *Iustinian* the Emperor) is most beautifull and admirable. That which standeth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the fashion of the Pantheon in Rome, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that: the wals thereof being of the finest

Constantinople built by Pausanias, destroied by Seuerus, redefied by Constantine the Great, and now taken by Mahomet the Turk.

The magnificent Temple of S. Sophia.

marble,and the floore all paued with faire marble alſo. In the middeſt there is a very great and G
large circle,compaſſed in with high and huge pillars of moſt excellent marble of diuers ſorts;
and theſe ſupport a mighty vault that beareth vp as many mo pillars aboue, ſtanding after the
very ſame order, and in a downe-right line, almoſt of the like greatneſſe and goodneſſe of the
marble with the other below: vpon which, aboue the ſecond vault in manner of a looüer, re-
ſteth the great round roofe which couereth all that ſpace of the Church which is compaſſed
with the aforeſaid pillars:being all enameled and fillited,with the pictures of Saints,after the
antient manner of ſome great Churches in Chriſtendome: but that the Turks, who like not
to haue any pictures in their churches,haue put out their eies only, as doth to ſpoile ſuch a rare
piece of worke and vtterly to deface it. In like maner the wals of the vpper vault are wrought, H
painted,or portraied after the ſame order, though in ſome part decaied,by reaſon of their long
continuance and ſtanding. About this church are eighteene or twenty doores of braſſe,right
faire and coſtly,well declaring the magnificence and greatneſſe thereof in more antient times;
when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred doores of like making and greatneſſe:
and beſide the hugeneſſe of the frame and building it ſelfe, had alſo diuers faire monaſteries
and houſes of religion joyned vnto it: whereunto belonged ſix thouſand Prieſts,whoſe houſes
and lodgings extended almoſt all ouer the place where now the Turks palace ſtandeth, and
the other places adjoyning to this great church, which is now their chiefe Moſchy,and called
by them by the proper name of S. *Sophia*, becauſe they hold euen as we doe, the wiſedome of
God to be incomprehenſible and infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this,is the Moſchy of
Solyman,wherin he lieth buried,and his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxolana*: a worke well beſee- I
ming the majeſty of ſo mighty a Monarch. There are beſide theſe alſo many other faire Moſ-
chies, Seraglioes for the Turke his wiues and concubins, Bezaſtanes or Burſes for merchants,
Obeliskes, Bathes,and other publike edifices and buildings of great majeſty and ſtate,all well
worth the beholding: wherin conſiſteth all the beauty of this ſo antient and renowned a city;
far vnlike to that it was in the time of the firſt Greeke Emperors, and before it was ſpoiled by
The frugality of the Turks in their priuate buildings. the Latins. For the Turks priuat houſes in this ſo great and imperiall a city,ſo much renow-
ned thorow the world,are for the moſt part low and baſe,after the Turkiſh faſhion,built ſome
of wood,ſome of ſtone,and ſome of vnburnt bricke, laid with clay and dirt,which quickly de-
caieth again: they after their homely manner (by long cuſtome receiued) neuer building any
thing ſumptuouſly for their own priuat vſe,but contenting themſelues with their ſimple cot- K
tages,how mean ſoeuer,commonly ſaying them to be good enough for the ſhort time of their
pilgrimage:and yet not ſparing for any coſt vpon the publike buildings and ornaments of the
common weale,which they build with great majeſty and pomp;but ſpecially their Moſchies,
wherein they excell. Neuertheleſſe, there yet are in Conſtantinople ſome other houſes alſo
built high and comely enough;but theſe be few,and very old, all inhabited by the Chriſtians
and Iewes,and not by the Turks; but of this enough. And ſo againe to our purpoſe.

The Turks fleet. *Mahomet* with his puiſſant army thus encamped before the city, placing his Aſian ſoldiers
on the right hand towards the Boſphorus;his Europeian ſoldiers on the left hand, toward the
hauen; lay himſelfe with 15000 Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court, in the middle be-
twixt both,againſt the heart of the city. On the further ſide of the hauen alſo by Pera,he pla- L
ced *Zoganus*,one of his chiefe councellors,with another part of his army. At which time alſo
Pantologes his admirall came to the ſiege,with a fleet of 30 gallies,and 200 other ſmall ſhips,
and a number of other leſſer veſſels, which were rowed with three, or fiue oares apiece,full of
Turkiſh archers,fitter for ſhew than ſeruice. But for defence of the hauen,and ſo of the city on
that ſide, the Emperour had cauſed the hauen to be ſtrongly chaind ouerthwart from the city
to Pera:and within the chaine had orderly placed his ſtrong fleet;the greateſt ſtrength where-
of was ſeuen great ſhips of Genoa, with three gallies, and two galliots of Venice, three of
Creet,and a few other of the Iſland of Chios; all which were there, rather by chance vpon
marchants affaires, than that they were prouided for any ſuch ſeruice: yet by this means the
Turks fleet was ſhut out of the hauen,and ſo the city put in good ſafety on that ſide. M

When *Mahomet* had thus conueniently encamped his army, and ſurrounded the city both
by ſea and land:he firſt caſt vp great trenches as neere as he poſſibly could vnto the wals of the
city,and raiſed mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themſelues,from whence the Turks
with their ſhot greatly annoied the defendants. After that,he placed his battery againſt one of
the

A the gates of the city called Calegaria, and terribly battered the same, specially with one piece of ordnance of a wonderfull greatnesse, which with much difficulty was brought from Hadrianople with an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, and carried a bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other shot was) of a kind of hard blacke stone brought from the Euxine sea: for as yet (as it seemeth) so soone after the inuention of that fatall engine, the vse of bullets of mettall was vnknowne. There with continuall battery, he terribly shooke the wals, which although they were very strong, yet were they not able to withstand the fury of so great a battery. The Christians also out of the city discharged their great artillery vpon the Turks, but so sparingly, as if they had bin afraid to shake their owne wals, or loth for good husbandry, to spend shot and poulder, which was to the canoniers very sparingly allowed: yet that
B which was spent, was so well bestowed, that the Turks were therewith grieuously annoyed. The breach also which they had made at the aforesaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour again repaired with faggots and earth, and such like matter best seruing for that purpose, and so made stronger than before. In which most dangerous worke, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Iustinianus* the Genoway, the Emperors lieutenant Generall for defence of the city.

b Yet for all this diligence of the Christians, *Mahomet* continued his battery with no lesse fury than before: but reposing greater hope to finde a way into the city, by the spade and mattocke, than by battery; he emploied his pioners, whereof he had great store, to digge a mine: being altogether directed by Christians, skilfull in that kind of worke, whom he had
C for that purpose entertained. By whose cunning direction, with the industrous labour of the poore pioners, the mine was brought to such perfection, that part of the wall, with one of the strong towers in the same, was quite vndermined, and stood supported, but with such vntrusty staies as the pioners had left for the bearing vp thereof till such time as it should be by the tyrants appointment blowne vp. This dangerous work was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the Constantinopolitans, as a thing not possible to haue bin done: forasmuch as *Bajazet* & *Amurath* had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the same, at such time as they hardly besieged the city. But that which those great kings had with much vaine labor by vnskilfull men made proose of, *Mahomet* had now by men of greater deuice, brought to passe, although it took not such effect as he wished: for one *Io. Grandis*, a German captaine, and a man
D of great experience, suspecting the matter, had caused a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time discouered, and they with fire and sword driuen out of the mine, and the same strongly filled vp againe, and so the city for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. *Mahomet* perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his battery against that place, which was againe so strongly repaired, remoued the same, and planted it against a tower called Bactatina, neere vnto the gate called Porta-Romana, or, Romane-Gate. Which tower shaken with continuall battery, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vtter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was also speedily and with great courage made vp again by the defendants, although the Turks did what they could, with continuall shot to haue driuen them from the same. At which time they also erected certaine
E high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the same from fire, out of which they with their shot slew many of the Christians vpon the wals, and in making good the aforesaid breach: but *Mahomet* seeing this valiantnesse of the defendents, openly said, That it was neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the city: for the Turks commonly call all the Christians of the West by the name of Frankes or Frenchmen.

Constantinople vndermined by the Turks.

The cheerfulnesse and industry of the Christians in defending and repairing the aforesaid breach, was so great, that the Turkish King began almost to despaire of winning the city; which he could no way assault but on one side. When as a bad Christian in his camp, put him againe in good hope, by shewing vnto him a deuice how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the hauen, & therby to assault that part of the city by water, which the citizens least
F feared: by which ingenious deuice, and by the great strength of men, *Zoganes Bassa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought seuenty of the lesser ships & galliots, with all their sailes abroad (to the great admiration of those that saw them) vp a great hil, & so by dry land, out of the Bosphorus behind Pera, the space of eight miles, into the hauen of Constantinople, which running in betweene the city and Pera, runneth into the maine Land (as we haue said) about eight

Seuenty of the Turks galliots brought eight miles ouer land (by the deuice of a Christian) into the hauen of Constantinople.

eight miles. The Christian that discouered this deuise vnto the king, is supposed to haue learned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of Bennacus. Glad was *Mahomet* to see so many of his ships and gallies in the hauen, and the Christians with the sight thereof no lesse discouraged. Neuertheless, they attempted to haue burnt those vessels as they were in launching, but the Turks had so commodiously placed certain pieces of great Ordnance for their defence, that the formost of the gallies of the Christians, approching the Turks fleet was presently sunke; wherewith the rest dismaied, returned backe from whence they came. Certaine of the Christians of the lost gally, whom the Turks tooke vp swimming in the hauen, were the next day cruelly slaine in the sight of the Christians: in reuenge whereof, certaine Turks before taken prisoners into Constantinople, were forthwith brought to the top of the wals, and there in the sight of the campe with like cruelty put to death. G H

A wonderfull bridge made by the Turks ouer the hauen of Constantinople.

Mahomet thus possessed of the hauen, shortly after caused a wonderfull bridge to be made quite ouer the hauen, from *Zoganes* his campe which lay by Pera, vnto the wals of Constantinople: which bridge was built with timber and plankes, borne vp with small boats and empty caske, after a most strange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which bridge his army came ouer the hauen, to assault the city on that side also.

A notable fight betweene foure of the Christians ships, and the Turks fleet.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ships laded with men and munition from the Island of Chios, with one of the Emperours laded with corne from Sicilia, came with a faire winde for Constantinople. The Turks great fleet then lying not far off, within the sight of the camp, set vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were slaine with shot, the gallies boorded the ships: but being much lower, were so far from doing any I good, as that the Turks could not well looke out, but they were from aboue slaine or wounded. *Mahomet* from the shore beholding the vnequall fight, and slaughter of his men, cried out aloud, swearing and blaspheming God, and in great rage rid into the sea so far as he durst; and comming backe again rent his clothes, faring with himselfe like a mad man. The whole army of the Turks beholding the same fight at sea, was filled with like indignation also, but could nothing remedy the matter. The great fleet ashamed in the sight of their King to be ouercome of so few ships, did what they might desperatly to enter: but all in vaine, being continually ouerwhelmed with shot and stones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Christian souldiers. At length weary of their losse, they were glad with dishonour to fall off again, and to get them further off. The report of the losse the Turks sustained in this fight is almost K incredible: some of the Turks fugitiues reported, almost ten thousand Turks to haue there perished: but certaine it is, that such was the losse, as filled the whole army with indignation and sorrow, many hauing there lost their kinsemen or friends. Three of these ships that had made this fight, arriued in safety at Constantinople, the other was lost. *Mahomet* vpon this ouerthrow conceiued such displeasure against *Pantogles* his Admirall, who in that fight had lost one of his eies, that he neuertheles thrust him out of his office, confiscated his goods, and was hardly by the great Bassaes entreated to spare his life.

Whilest *Mahomet* thus lay at the siege of Constantinople, and had thereunto giuen many great attempts, with more losse vnto himselfe than to the defendants, a rumor was raised in his camp, of great aid that was comming out of Italy by sea, and out of Hungary by land, for the L relieue of the besieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due consideration of the danger of the siege, filled the Turks camp with feare: so that the souldiers commonly murmured amongst themselues, saying, That to satisfie the ambitious humor of their young king, they were led to fight against impregnable wals and fortresses, yea, against the bars of nature it selfe, without all reason: Whereupon *Mahomet* entred into consultation with the three great Bassa's his counsellors, Whether it were best for him to continue the siege or not. When *Caly Bassa*, sometime his tutor, a man of greatest authority among the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall secretly fauouring the distressed Emperour; after he had with long & graue discourse declared the difficulty or rather impossibility of the wished M successe in that present war; and confirmed the same, by producing the examples of *Bajazet* his great grandfather, and of *Amurath* his father, who had both in vaine made proofe of their strength against that city: at length concluded, that in his mind it were best for him to raise his siege, & to depart before he had sustained any further losse or disgrace: but *Zoganes* the second Bassa, in great fauor also with *Mahomet*, and secretly enuying the greatnesse of *Caly Bassa*, persuaded

A ſuaded the K. to proceed in his honorable enterpriſe: aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof, and with all the reaſons he could deuiſe, impugned that which *Caly Baſſa* had ſaid. And of the ſame opinion with *Zoganus* was alſo the third Baſſa, rather of purpoſe to croſſe *Caly Baſſa*, and withall to fit the Kings humor, than for any great hope he had in the good ſucceſſe of that he ſo much deſired. Howbeit the ſpeech he & *Zoganus* deliuered, ſo well agreed with the kings affection, that he reſolued to continue the ſiege: and thereupon gaue full authority to *Zoganus* to appoint a day for a great and generall aſſault to be giuen, reſoluing at once to gage all his forces vpon the winning of the city. Which charge *Zoganus* gladly took vpon him, & with his good liking, appointed the 29 day of May for the general aſſault, being then the tueſday next following. In the meane time he ſent one *Iſmael*, the ſon of *Alexander* Prince of Sinope, embaſ-
B ſador vnto the Emperour, to offer him peace: but vpon ſuch hard conditions, as were no leſſe to be refuſed than death it ſelfe. Which thing he did, partly to ſatisfie the minds of his Turks (who were for moſt part of opinion, That God will not proſper them in their aſſaults, except they first make with their enemies ſome offer of peace, how vnreaſonable ſoeuer it ſorceth not) and partly to make proofe what confidence the enemy yet had in himſelf, for the holding out of the ſiege. But that diſhonorable peace ſo offered, together with the intollerable conditions, was by the emperor honorably refuſed: who no leſſe feared the Turks faith (if he ſhould haue accepted therof) than he did the hardnes of the conditions. Three daies before this fatall aſſault was to be giuen, the Turks (according to their maner) kept their ſolemne faſt, eating nothing al that day vntil night; and then making the greateſt cheere & joy they could deuiſe, and
C in the winding vp of the ſame, took their leaue one of another, with ſuch kiſſing & imbracing as if they ſhould neuer haue met againe. At the ſame time *Mahomet* to encourage his ſoldiers, cauſed proclamation to be made thorow his camp, That he would freely giue all the ſpoile of the city for three daies vnto his ſouldiers, if they could win it: and for confirmation thereof, ſolemnly ſwore the Turks great oath, By the immortall God, and by the foure hundred Prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his fathers ſoule, by his owne children, and by the ſword wherewith he was girt, faithfully to performe whatſoeuer he had to them in his proclamation promiſed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Caly Baſſa* diſdaining that his counſel was rejected, and the opinion of his aduerſaries followed; by ſecret letters aduertiſed the Emperour of the day appointed for the generall aſſault, together with all the preparation made againſt him: perſua-
D ding him not to be affraid of them, who were themſelues no leſſe affraid of him; but carefully to prouide to haue all things in readineſſe for the defence of his city, and valiantly to withſtand the raſh and laſt attempt of his enemies.

This wofull Emperour had already done what he could to the vttermoſt of his power for defence of the city all the time of the ſiege: but ſuch was the diſloyalty of the citizens his ſubjects, that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuate trades and occupations, vnto the wals to withſtand the enemy; fooliſhly affirming, That it was to no purpoſe for them to fight againſt the Turks at the breaches, and to ſtarue for food at home in their houſes. For which cauſe, the Emperor commanded a view to be taken of all the corne in the city (which then began to grow very ſcarce;) but vpon diligent ſearch made, ſuch ſtore was found
E in many mens hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in to ſel afterwards at vnreaſonable priſes; or els ſo ſparingly vttered, as if they had none to ſpare) as that it appeared, the dearth and ſcarcity which then began to increaſe, to proceed rather of the couetouſneſſe of men, than of any true want of graine: this ſtore the Emperour cauſed to be proportionably diuided vnto euery family at reaſonable priſes, according to their ſpending; and ſo eaſed the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercinary ſouldiers alſo, regarding more their owne priuate profit than the publike ſeruice, refuſed any longer to go to the wals, than they were ſure of their daily pay: which the poore Emperour, otherwiſe vnable to giue them, was glad to conuert the church plate and jewels into mony, to content them. For he had many times before with tears, in vaine requeſted to haue borrowed
F mony of his couetous ſubjects, to haue bin emploied in defence of the city; but they would ſtill ſweare, that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade: which in few daies after, their enemies found in ſuch abundance, that they wondered at their wealth, and derided their folly, that poſſeſſing ſo much, they would beſtow ſo little in defence of themſelues and their country. But this had beene their vſuall manner of dealing with their Emperours,

The citizens of Conſtantinople without cauſe murmur againſt the Emperour.

A bare ſhift for mony.

in

in that declining ſtate of the empire: as well appeared in the time of the Emperour *Baldwin*, G who for lacke of mony was glad firſt to ſell away many of the goodly ornaments of the city, and afterwards to pawne his own ſon vnto the Venetian merchants, for mony to maintaine his ſtate, as in the former part of this Hiſtory is declared.

But to returne againe to the courſe of our Hiſtory. The Emperour certainly aduertiſed of the enemies purpoſe, for the generall aſſault ſhortly to be giuen, firſt commended the defence of himſelfe and the city to the protection of the almighty, by generall faſting and praier: and afterwards appointed euery captaine and commander, to ſome certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *Io. Iuſtinianus* his Generall, in whoſe valour the Conſtantinopolitans had repoſed their greateſt hope.

But the city being on euery ſide now beſet with the Turks great army, and the defendants H in number but few, for ſo great a city (in compaſſe eight miles) the wals could but ſlenderly in many places be manned, and eſpecially on both ſides toward the ſea, where indeed leaſt danger was. The greateſt ſtrength and beſt ſouldiers, were placed for defence of the vtter wall where the breach was, and the aſſault expected by land. *Iuſtinianus* the Generall himſelfe, with three hundred Genowaies well armed, and certaine choſen Greeks, vndertooke the defence of that part of the battered wall, neere vnto the Roman gate, where the fall of the tower Bactatina had filled the ditch as is aforeſaid: againſt which place *Mahomet* himſelfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and beſt men of war. Neere vnto *Iuſtinianus* lay the Emperor himſelfe, for defence of another part of the wall: and ſo other captains orderly with their companies, all alongſt the vtter wal: and becauſe the defendants ſhould haue no hope to ſaue their liues, more I than their own valour, the Emperor cauſed all the gates of the inner wall to be faſt ſhut vp: and in this ſort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the aſſault ſhould be giuen: all which time they might heare great hurly burly and noiſe in the Turks campe, as they were putting things in readineſſe for the aſſault.

Conſtantinople aſſaulted by the Turks.

A little before day, the Turks approched the wals, and began the aſſault, where ſhot and ſtones were deliuered vpon them from the wals, as thicke as haile, whereof little fell in vaine, by reaſon of the multitude of the Turks, who preſſing faſt vnto the wals, could not ſee in the darke how to defend themſelues, but were without number wounded or ſlain: but theſe were of the common and worſt ſoldiers, of whom the Turkiſh King made no more reckoning than to abate the firſt force of the defendants. Vpon the firſt appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gaue K the ſigne appointed for the generall aſſault, wherupon the city was in a moment and at one inſtant on euery ſide moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks: for *Mahomet*, the more to diſtreſſe the defendants, and the better to ſee the forwardneſſe of the ſouldiers, had before appointed which part of the city euery Colonel with his regiment ſhould aſſaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrowes and ſhot vpon the defendants, ſo thicke, that the light of the day was therewith darkened: others in the mean time couragiouſly mounting the ſcaling ladders, and comming euen to handy ſtrokes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the formoſt were for moſt part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other ſide, the Chriſtians with no leſſe courage withſtood the Turkiſh fury, beating them downe againe with great ſtones and weighty pieces of timber, and ſo ouerwhelmed them with L ſhot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuiſes from aboue; that the Turks diſmaied with the terrour thereof, were ready to retire.

Mahomet renueth the aſſault.

Mahomet ſeeing the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his men, ſent in freſh ſupplies of his Ianizaries and beſt men of war, whom he had for that purpoſe reſerued as his laſt hope and refuge: by whoſe comming on his fainting ſouldiers were againe encouraged, and the terrible aſſault began afreſh. At which time the barbarous King ceaſed not to vſe all poſſible meanes to maintaine the aſſault: by name calling vpon this and that captaine, promiſing vnto ſome whom he ſaw forward, golden mountaines; and vnto others in whom he ſaw any ſigne of cowardiſe, threatning moſt terrible death: by which meanes the aſſault became moſt dreadfull, death there raging in the middeſt of many thouſands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by M heapes vpon the ground, yet other freſh men preſſed on ſtill in their places, ouer their dead bodies, and with diuers euent either ſlew, or were ſlaine by their enemies.

In this ſo terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iuſtinianus* the Generall to be wounded in the arme; who loſing much bloud, cowardly withdrew himſelfe from the place of his charge, not leauing

A uing any to ſupply his roome, and ſo got into the city by the gate called Romana, which he had cauſed to be opened in the inner wall: pretending the cauſe of his departure to be for the binding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether diſcouraged.

The ſoldiers there preſent, diſmaied with the departure of their Generall, and ſore charged by the Ianizaries, forſooke their ſtations, and in haſte fled to the ſame gate wherby *Iuſtinianus* was entered; with the ſight whereof, the other ſouldiers diſmaied, ran thither by heaps alſo. But whileſt they violently ſtriue, all together to get in at once, they ſo wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of ſo great a multitude got in: in which ſo great a preſſe and confuſion of mindes, 800 perſons were there by them that followed, trodden vnder foot, or thruſt to death. The Emperor himſelf, for ſafegard of his life flying with the reſt, in that preſſe
B as a man not regarded, miſerably ended his daies, together with the Greeke empire. His dead body was ſhortly after found by the Tnrks among the ſlaine, and knowne by his rich apparel; whoſe head being cut off, was forthwith preſented to the Turkiſh tyrant: by whoſe commandement it was afterward thruſt vpon the point of a lance, and in great deriſion carried about as a trophy of his victory, firſt in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the city.

The Chriſtians forſake the wals.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Chriſtians, preſently aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the vttermoſt wall, crying victory; and by the breach entered as if it had been a great floud, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth down all before it: ſo the Turks when they had won the vtter wal, entered the city by the ſame gate that was opened for *Iuſtinianus*, and by a breach which they had before made with their great
C artillery; and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further reſiſtance became lords of that moſt famous and imperial city. Some few there were of the Chriſtians, who preferring death before the Turkiſh ſlauery, with their ſwords in their hands ſold their liues deare vnto their enemies: amongſt whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Palæologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannes Stiavus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deſerue to be had in eternall remembrance: who after they had like lions made ſlaughter of their enemies, died in the midſt of them, embrued with their bloud, rather oppreſſed by multitude, than by true valour ouercome. In this fury of the Barbarians, periſhed many thouſands of men, women, and children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. Many for ſafegard of their liues, fled into the Temple of Sophia; where they were all with-
D out pitty ſlain, except ſome few reſerued by the barbarous victors, to purpoſes more grieuous than death it ſelfe. The rich and beautifull ornaments and jewels of that moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Church (the ſtately building of *Iuſtinianus* the Emperor) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt down and carried away by the Turks: and the Church it ſelfe built for God to be honored in, for the preſent conuerted into a ſtable for their horſes, or a place for the execution of their abhominable and vnſpeakeable filthineſſe: the Image of the crucifix was alſo by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and ſo ſet vp and ſhot at with their arrows, and afterwards in great deriſion carried about in their campe, as it had beene in proceſſion, with drums playing before it, railing and ſpitting at it, and calling it, the God of the Chriſtians. Which I note not ſo much done in contempt of the Image, as in the deſpight
E of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion.

Conſtantinople won by the Turks.

But whileſt ſome were thus ſpoiling of the Churches, others were as buſie in ranſacking of priuat houſes, where the miſerable Chriſtians were enforced to endure in their perſons whatſoeuer pleaſed the inſolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that ſtood with their luſt, euery common ſoldier hauing power of life and death, at his pleaſure to ſpare or ſpill. At which time riches were no better than pouerty; and beauty worſe than deformity. What tongue were able to expreſſe the miſery of that time? or the proud inſolency of thoſe barbarous conquerours? whereof ſo many thouſands, euery man with greedineſſe fitted his owne vnreaſonable deſire: all which the poore Chriſtians were inforced to endure. But to ſpeake of the hidden treaſure, mony, plate, jewels, and other riches their found, paſſeth credit;
F the Turks themſelues wondered thereat, and were therewith ſo enriched, that it is a prouerbe amongſt them at this day, if any of them grow ſuddenly rich, to ſay, *He hath beene at the ſacking of Conſtantinople:* whereof if ſome reaſonable part had in time beene beſtowed vpon defence of the city, the Turkiſh King had not ſo eaſily taken both it and the city. But euery man was carefull how to encreaſe his own priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publicke

ſtate;

ſtate; vntill in fine, euery man with his priuat abundance was wrapped vp together with his G
needy neighbor in the ſelfe-ſame common miſery. Yea, the ſecurity of the Conſtantinopolitans was ſuch, that being alwaies enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of ſo much as the inner wall of the city (which for beauty and ſtrength was comparable with the wals of any city in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but ſuffered the officers which had the charge to ſee to the fortifying of the city, to conuert the greateſt part of the mony into their owne purſes: as appeared by *Manuel Giagerus*, a little before a very poore man; and likewiſe by *Neophitus*, who then hauing that office to ſee to the fortification of the city, had in ſhort time gathered together ſeuenty thouſand florins, which became all a worthy prey vnto the greedy Turks.

After that the barbarous common ſoldier had thus by the ſpace of three daies without con- H
trolment taken his pleaſure in the city (as *Mahomet* had before promiſed) and throughly ranſackt euery corner thereof; they then returned into the camp, with their rich ſpoiles, driuing the poore Chriſtian captiues before them, as if they had beene droues of cattell, or flocks of ſheep: a ſpectacle no leſſe lamentable, than was the ſacking of the city. It would haue grieued any ſtony heart to haue ſeene the noble gentlewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull children, and many other faire perſonages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleaſure, to be now become the poore and miſerable bondſlaues of moſt baſe and contemptiple raſcals; who were ſo far from ſhewing them any pitty, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heape more and more miſery vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of dogs. There might the parents ſee the wofull miſery of their beloued children, and the chil- I
dren of the parents; the husband might ſee the ſhamefull abuſe of his wife, and the wife of her husband, and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the leaſt part of heauy comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruell maſters, by whom they were kept aſunder, like in few daies to be diſperſed into diuers far countries, without hope that they ſhould euer find releaſe, or one ſee another againe.

Mahomet ſolemniſeth his feaſts at Conſtantinople with the bloud of the Grecian nobility.

The ſoldiers being all retired into the campe, *Mahomet* as a proud conquerour, with great triumph entered into the city of Conſtantinople, then deſolate and void of all Chriſtian inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, made a ſumptuous & royal feaſt vnto his Baſſaes and other great captains: where after he had ſurcharged himſelfe with exceſſe of meat and drinke, he cauſed diuers of the chiefe Chriſtian captiues, both men and women (of K
whom many were of the late Emperors line and race) to be in his preſence put to death, as he with his Turks ſate banqueting; deeming his feaſt much more ſtately by ſuch effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. Which manner of exceeding cruelty he dayly vſed, vntil ſuch time as he had deſtroied all the Grecian nobility that was in his power, with the chiefe of the late Conſtantinopolitan citizens. At which time alſo diuers of the Venetian Senators, with *Bajulus* their Gouernor, and many rich merchants of Genua and other places of Italy, were in like manner murthered: ſo that of ſeuen and forty Senators of Venice which were there taken (whereof moſt part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there vnluckily ſhut vp) ſome few found the fauour with exceeding great ranſomes to redeeme themſelues.

Amongſt theſe noblemen thus lamentable executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Notaras*, L
commonly called *Kyr-Lucas*, or lord *Lucas*, but of late great Chancellor of Conſtantinople, a man of greateſt account next vnto the Emperour himſelfe: whom the Turkiſh tyrant ſeemed greatly to blame, that he being a man in ſo great credit with the late Emperor, perſuaded him not in time to haue ſought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yeelded vp the city, rather than to haue run that extreme courſe of wilfull miſery. He to excuſe the matter, ſaid, That the late Emperor his maſter was encouraged to hold out the ſiege, by the Venetians and citizens of Pera, from whom he receiued ſecret aid: as alſo by ſome of the greateſt men about his own perſon: for proofe whereof, he drew out of his boſome the letters which *Caly-Baſſa* had to that purpoſe written vnto the Emperor, and deliuered them to *Mahomet*, hoping therby to haue found ſome fauour. But when he had ſaid what he could, the eldeſt of his ſons then liuing (for M
he had loſt two elder in the time of the ſiege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the yongeſt reſerued for the tyrants luſt: and after all this miſery, had his own head ſtruck off with the reſt appointed for that daies ſacrifice. Out of this generall calamity eſcaped *Io. Iuſtinianus* the General, who with all ſpeed fled at firſt to Pera, and from thence to Chios, where in few daies

after

A after he died, of grief of mind (as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happy if he had honorably before ended his daies vpon the wals of Conſtantinople. *Iſiodorus* alſo the Cardinall and Legat from the Pope, diſguiſed in ſimple apparell, and being of the Turks vnknown, redeemed himſelf for a ſmall ranſom, as if he had bin a man of none account, and ſo eſcaped. Whom if *Mahomet* had known, he had vndoubtedly bin made ſhorter by the head.

The glory of this famous City of Conſtantinople continued many hundred yeares, commanding a great part of the world; vntil that by ciuil diſcord and priuat gain it was by little and little ſo weakned, that the Emperors of later times, for the maintenance of their eſtate, were glad to rely ſomtime vpon one, ſomtime vpon another, yet ſtill holding the ſtate and title of an empire by the ſpace of 1121 years, when as (Gods iudgment ſet apart) wonderful and
B ſhamefull it is to conſider, how it was by this Turkiſh King *Mahomet* ſo quickely taken, and the Chriſtian empire of the Eaſt there vtterly ouerthrown. Which hapned on the nine and twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1453. *Conſtantinus Palæologus* the ſon of *Helena*, and laſt Chriſtian Emperor, being then ſlain, when hee had reigned about eight years. Since which time it hath continued the Imperial ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors, and ſo remaines at this day.

Pera yeelded to the Turks.

The Poteſtats and citiſens of Pera, otherwiſe called Galata, a city ſtanding oppoſit againſt Conſtantinople on the other ſide of the hauen, & then vnder the gouernment of the Genoa's, doubting to run the ſame courſe of miſery with their neighbors, ſent their Orators to *Mahomet* the ſame day that Conſtantinople was taken, offering to him the keyes of their gates,
C and ſo to become his ſubjects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and ſent *Zoganus* with his regiment to take poſſeſſion of the city. Who comming thither, according to *Mahomet* his commandement, there eſtabliſhed the Turkiſh gouernment, confiſcated the goods of all ſuch as were fled, and vſed the reſt of the citiſens which ſtayed, with ſuch inſolencie & oppreſſion, as that their miſery was not much leſſe than theirs of Conſtantinople: & becauſe it was doubted that the Genoa's might by ſea giue aid vnto the citiſens, if they ſhould at any time ſeeke to reuolt, he cauſed all the wals and fortreſſes of the city which were toward the land, to bee caſt down and laid euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the Greek empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become Lord of the two famous cities of Conſtantinople and Pera; the one taken by force, the other by compoſition: at which time the miſery of Pera was great,
D but that of Conſtantinople iuſtly to be accounted amongſt the greateſt calamities that euer hapned to any Chriſtian city in the world.

Mahomet notably diſſembleth his hatred towards Caly-Baſſa.

Mahomet had of long time born a ſecret grudge againſt *Caly Baſſa*, ſomtime his Tutor, for that by his means *Amurath* his father in the dangerous time of the Hungarian wars had again reſumed vnto himſelf the gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdom, which he had before reſigned vnto him, then but yong. But foraſmuch as he was the chief Baſſa, and had for many years ruled all things at his pleaſure, to the general good liking of the people, during the reign of old *Amurath*, and was therby grown to be of ſuch wealth, credit, and authoritie, as no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman* Kings; *Mahomet* in the beginning of his reign, before he was well eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, durſt not take reuenge of that injury (as
E he deemed it) but yet ſtil kept it in remembrance, warily diſſembling his deep conceiued hatred as if he had quite forgot it. Neuertheles ſomtime (for all his warineſſe) words fel from him, wherby the wary Courtiers (who as curiouſly weigh their Princes words, as the cunning Goldſmith doth his fineſt gold) eaſily perceiued the ſecret grudge that ſtuck in his ſtomack againſt the Baſſa, and therby diuined his fall to be at hand. So it happened one day, that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he ſaw a Fox of the Baſſa's tied in a chain: which after hee had a while earneſtly looked vpon, he ſuddenly brake forth into this ſpeech; *Alas poor beaſt, haſt thou no mony to giue thy Maſter to ſet thee at liberty?* Out of which words curious heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings diſpoſition toward the Baſſa. This ominous ſurmiſing of the Courtiers (which oftentimes proueth too true) was not vnknown to the Baſſa
F himſelf, but troubled him much. Wherfore to get himſelf out of the way for a ſeaſon, more than for any deuotion, hee took vpon him to go in pilgrimage to viſit the Temple of their great Prophet (as they term him) at Mecha, which amongſt the Turks is holden for a right religious and meritorious work; hoping that the young Kings diſpleaſure might in time bee mitigated, and his malice aſſwaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the diſtruſt of the Baſſa, and

wherof it proceeded,ſeemed to take knowledge therof,and with good words comforted him G
vp,willing him to be of good cheer and not to miſdoubt any thing, neither to regard the vain ſpeech of fooliſh people,aſſuring him of his vndoubted fauour: and the more to put him out of all ſuſpition,continually ſent him rich gifts,and heaped vpon him new honors,as if of all others he had eſteemed him moſt. Vntil that now at the taking of Conſtantinople,it was diſcouered by *Lucas Leontares*,that he had intelligence with the late Emperour of Conſtantinople,and his letters produced. For which cauſe, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the tyrant bare againſt him,as alſo for his great wealth,he was by *Mahomets* commandement apprehended and caried in bonds to Hadrianople; where after hee had with exquiſit torments bin enforced to confeſſe where all his treaſures lay,he was moſt cruelly in his extream old age executed. After whoſe death,his friends and ſeruants(which were many, for H
he was a man greatly beloued in the Court)in token of their grief put on mourning apparel, ſo that in the court appeared a great ſhew of common ſorrow:wherwith *Mahomet* being offended,cauſed proclamation to be made,that all ſuch as did wear ſuch mourning apparel ſhould the next day appear before him: at which time there was not one to be ſeen about the Court in that heauy attyre,for fear of the tyrants diſpleaſure.

Mahomet placeth his Imperial ſeat at Conſtantinople, & is worthily accounted firſt Emperor of the Turks.

After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the Imperial city of Conſtantinople, as is aforeſaid,and had fully reſolued there to place his Imperial ſeat,he firſt repaired the wals and other buildings ſpoiled in the late ſiege,and by proclamations ſent forth into all parts of his dominions,gaue great priuiledges and immunities to all ſuch as would dwel at Conſtantinople,with free liberty to exerciſe what religion or trade they pleaſed. Wherby in ſhort time I
that great and deſolat city was again wel peopled,with ſuch as out of diuers forein countries reſorted thither; but eſpecially of the Iewiſh nation,which driuen out of other places,came thither in great numbers,and were of the Turks gladly receiued. So when he had eſtabliſhed all things according to his hearts deſire, he took vpon him the name and title of an emperor, and is from that time not vnworthily reputed for the firſt Emperor of the Turks.

Now among many fair virgins taken priſoners by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople,was one *Irene* a Greek born, of ſuch incomparable beauty and rare perfection both of body & mind,as if nature had in her,to the admiration of the world,labored to ſhew her greateſt skil; ſo prodigally had ſhe beſtowed vpon her all the graces that might beautifie & com-
mend that her ſo curious a work. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken her,pre- K
ſented vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe, as a jewell ſo fit for no mans wearing as his own: by the beauty and ſecret vertues wherof,he found himſelf euen vpon the firſt view not a little mooued. Neuertheles hauing his head as then ful of troubles,and aboue al things carefull for the aſſuring of the Imperial city of Conſtantinople,by him but euen then won,he for the preſent committed her to the charge of his Eunuch,and ſent her away, ſo to be in ſafety kept vntill his better leiſure. But thoſe his troubles ouerblown,and his new conqueſts wel aſſured, he then began forthwith to think of the fair *Irene*; and for his pleaſure ſending for her, took in her perfections ſuch delight and contentment,as that in ſhort time hee had changed ſtate with her,ſhe being become the miſtres and commander of him ſo great a Conquerour; and he in nothing more delighted,than in doing her the greateſt honor and ſeruice he could. L
All the day hee ſpent with her in diſcourſe, and the night in dalliance: all time ſpent in her company ſeemed to him ſhort,and without her nothing pleaſed:his fierce nature was now by her wel tamed,and his care of arms quite neglected: *Mars* ſlept in *Venus* lap,and now the ſoldiers might go play. Yea,the very gouernment of his eſtate and empire ſeemed to be of him, in compariſon of her, little or not at all regarded; the care wherof beeing by him careleſly committed to others,that ſo he might wholly himſelf attend vpon her,in whom more than in himſelf the people ſaid he delighted. Such is the power of diſordred affections,where reaſon ruleth not therein. But whilſt he thus forgetful of himſelf, ſpends in pleaſure not ſome few daies or months,but euen one whole year or two,to the lightning of his credit,and great diſcontentment of his ſubiects in general;the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court(men de- M
ſirous of imploiment, and grieued to ſee him ſo giuen to his affections, and to make no end therof,began at firſt in ſecret to murmur therat,and ſpeak hardly of him; and at length(after their inſolent maner)ſpared not openly to ſay,That it were wel don to depriue him of his gouernment and ſtate,as vnworthy thereof, and to ſet vp one of his ſonnes in his ſtead. Which

ſpeeches

A ſpeeches were now grown ſo rife, & the diſcontentment of the men of war ſo great, that it was not without cauſe by ſome of the great Baſſa's feared, wherunto this their ſo great inſolencie would grow. But who ſhould tell the tyrant therof, whoſe frown was in it ſelf death? or who durſt take in hand to cure that his ſick mind; which diſtraught with the ſweet, but poiſoned potions of loue, was not likely to liſten to any good counſel, were it neuer ſo wiſely giuen: but as a man metamorphoſed, to turn his fury vpon him who ſhould preſume ſo wholſomly (but contrary to his good liking) to aduiſe him. Vnhappy man, whoſe great eſtate and fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no not by them who of all others in ſo great a peril ought to haue bin therof moſt carefull, but were now for fear all become ſilent and dumb. Now amongſt other great men in the court, was one *Muſtapha Baſſa*, a man for his
B good ſeruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* greatly fauoured, and by him alſo highly promoted: and he again by him alſo as his Soueraign no leſſe honoured than feared. Who no leſſe than the reſt grieued to ſee ſo great a change in the grand Sultan, of whom they had conceiued no ſmall hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and mooued alſo with the danger threatned vnto him by the diſcontented Ianizaries and men of war: eſpying him at conuenient leiſure to be ſpoken vnto, and preſuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to breake with him, and to giue him warning therof.

C *How dangerous a thing it is for a ſubject or vaſſall, without leaue, preſumptuouſly to enter into the ſecrets of his dread Lord and Soueraign, the wofull examples of others (moſt mighty* Mahomet) *haue ſo ſufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyaltie I owe vnto your greatneſſe (far dearer vnto me than myne own life) I would not at this time aduenture my ſelfe vnto the haſard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull ſpeech and meaning, but with others keep ſilence, and in ſecret mourn together with my heauy thoughts: which if I ſhould in ſo great a danger both of your life and empire now do, without warning you therof, I were to be accounted vnworthy not onely thoſe your great fauours and honours moſt bountifully on me beſtowed; but as a moſt vile traitor both vnto your ſtate and perſon, to be of all men deteſted and abhorred. The life you haue of late led euer ſince the taking of Conſtantinople, as a man careles of his eſtate, and wholly wedded vnto his own pleaſure, hath giuen occaſion not vnto the vulgar people only (alwaies ready to ſay the worſt) and ſouldiers of the Court, the garders of your per-*
D *ſon, but euen vnto the greateſt Commaunders of your Armies and Empire, to murmure and grudge, I dare not ſay, conſpire againſt you. Yet pardon me (dread Soueraign) if I ſhould ſo ſay, for that there is no man which with great diſcontentment maruelleth not much to ſee ſo great an alteration in your heroicall diſpoſition and nature: wherby you are become far vnlike that noble* Mahomet, *who hauing ouerthrown the Greek Empire, and taken the great city of Conſtantinople, promiſed both vnto himſelf and others, the conqueſt of Italy, and the ſacking of Rome, the ſtately Seat of the antient Roman Conquerors. You haue giuen your ſelf ouer (as they ſay) for a ſpoil and prey vnto a poor ſimple woman your ſlaue and Vaſſall, who with her beauty and allurements hath ſo bewitched your vnderſtanding and reaſon, as that you can attend nothing but her ſeruice, and the ſatisfying of your moſt paſſionat and inordinat deſires; which how much the more you cheriſh them, ſo much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your*
E *ſelf (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead, with the like time heretofore by you ſpent in treading Honours ſteps, and you ſhall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble* Othoman, *the firſt raiſer of your houſe and family, ſo giuen himſelfe ouer vnto pleaſure, you had not now inhabited the countries of Bithynia and Galatia, with others mo along ſt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his ſon* Orchanes *(the liuely image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed ouer Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria, or extended the bounds of his Empire ſo far as vnto the ſtreits of Helleſpontus. What ſhould I ſpeake of* Amurath *his ſon, and ſucceſſor in the Empire? who in perſon himſelfe, firſt of the* Othoman *Kings paſſed ouer into Europ, placed his Imperiall ſeat at Hadrianople, conquered Thracia, Bulgaria, and Raſcia. Yea* Bajazet *your great grandfather is in his misfortune more than you to be commended, as vanquiſhed in field by mighty* Tamerlane, *with four*
F *hundred thouſand horſmen and ſix hundred thouſand foot, and not by a ſilly woman: comforting his miſhap with the honor and greatnes of him by whom he was ouercome. Neither may I with ſilence pas ouer your worthy grandfather the noble* Mahomet, *who not contented to haue reſtored the ſhaking Empire, conquered alſo a great part of Macedonia euen to the Iconian ſea, and carying the terror of his armies ouer*

into Asia, did greater matters against the Caramanians and others. As for your father Amurath *(of worthy memory) I cannot but to my great griefe and sorrow speake of him, who by the space of thirty years made both the sea and earth to quake vnder his feet, and with strong hand more than once vanquished the Hungarians, and brought vnder his subiection the Countries of Phocia, Beotia, Ætolia, with a great part of Morea; and to speak of him truly, brake euen the very heart and strength of the Grecians and other his fierce Enemies. Let all these most famous Conquests of your noble Progenitors, whose worthy praises (as eternall trophies of their honour, are dispersed into euery corner of the world, awake you out of this heauy lithurgy, wherin you haue too long slept, yea, let the remembrance of the conquest of this Imperiall City, by you to your immortall glory won, stir you vp to greater things: and let it neuer be said of you, That you were able with your sword to ouercome your greatest enemies, and not with reason to subdue your inordinat affections. Think that your greatest conquest, and suffer not your self, so great a conquerour, to be led in triumph by your Slaue. What auaileth it you to haue won Constantinople, and to haue lost your selfe? Shake off these golden fetters wherin the wily Greek hath so fast bound you: which at the first though it seem vnto you hard and painfull, yet shall you in time digest it, and make you to think it both good and necessary for your estate. Wean your selfe from your desires, and giue rest vnto your troubled thoughts. Which if you cannot do at once, striue by little and little to do it: pleasure groweth greater by the seldom vse therof, and saciety bringeth loathsomnesse. Moderat your self therfore, and again take vp Arms. Your Souldiers if they be not imployd abroad, will to your further trouble set themselues at work at home: Idlenesse maketh them insolent, and want of Martiall discipline corrupteth their manners. Herof proceedeth their intemperat and disloyall speeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the honour and inlargement of the* Othoman *Empire, as did all your most noble Progenitors, they will set vp another that shall, euen one of your own children. And what the common soldier foolishly saith, their great Commanders maliciously purpose: which what a confusion it would bring vnto the whole state of your Empire, together with the danger of your Royall person, I abhor to think. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to shew your self, with the majesty of your presence to represse their tumultuous insolencie before it break further out. Rebellions are by far, more easily preuented, than in their heat appeased. The discontented multitude is a wild beast with many heads, which once inraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed: yet do you but shew your self master of your owne affections, and you shall easily master them also. But what is fit for you to do, beseems me not for to say: yea pardon me I beseech you, that I haue thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) already sayd; prouoked (by what Diuine inspiration I know not) euen half e against my will, to discouer vnto you the secret of my heart, and to lay open vnto you those things, which others knowing as well as I, do yet for fear keepe the same from you. And if I haue gon too far, or in any thing that I haue said forgot my selfe, impute the same (my dread Soueraign) vnto the zeal of my loue and loyaltie towards you, or vnto my fidelity so often by you tried, or to our antient education (the ground of your affection toward me) or to what els shall please you, rather than to my presumption, from which how far I haue always bin, I appeal euen vnto your Majesties own knowledge.*

Hauing thus said, he fell down at his feet, there to receiue his heauy doom of his so free speech, if it should be otherwise than wel taken of the angry Sultan: who all this while with great attention and many a stern look, had hearkned vnto all that the Bassa had said; for well he knew it to be all true, and that in so saying hee had but discharged the part of a trusty and faithfull seruant, carefull of his masters honor. But yet the beauty of the Greek was still so fixed in his heart, and the pleasure he took in her so great, as that to thinke of the leauing of her, bred in him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himself, as appeared by his often changed countenance: Reason calling vnto him for his honor, and his amorous affections stil suggesting vnto him new delights. Thus tossed to and fro as a ship with contrary winds, and withall considering the danger threatned to his estate, if he should longer follow those his pleasures, so much displeasing to his men of war; he resolued vpon a strange point, whereby at once to cut off all those his troubled passions, and withal to strike a terror euen into the stoutest of them that had before condemned him, as vnable to gouern his own so passionat affections. Wherupon with countenance wel declaring his inward discontentment, he sayd vnto the Bassa, yet prostrat at his feet:

Although thou hast vnreuerendly spoken, as a slaue presuming to enter into the greatest secrets of thy

A *thy Soueraign, not without offence to be of thee once thought vpon, and therefore deserueſt wel to die; yet for that thou waſt a child, and brought vp together with me, and haſt euer bin vnto me faithfull, I at this time pardon thee; and before to morrow the Sun go down, will make it known both to thee, and others of the ſame opinion with thee, whither I be able to bridle myne affections or not. Take order in the meantime that all the Baſſa's, and the chief commanders of my men of war be aſſembled together tomorrow, there to know my further pleaſure. Wherof fail you not.*

So the Baſſa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in vnto the Greek, and ſolacing himſelf all that day & the night following with her, made more of her than euer before: and the more to pleaſe her dined with her; commanding, that after dinner ſhee ſhould be attyred with more ſumptuous apparel than euer ſhe had before worne: and for the further gra-
B cing of her, to be deckt with many moſt pretious jewels of ineſtimable value. Wherunto the poor ſoul gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her funerall apparel. Now in the meane time *Muſtapha* (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as he was commanded, cauſed all the nobilitie and commanders of the men of war, to be aſſembled into the great hall; euery man much maruelling what ſhould be the Emperors meaning therin, who had not of long ſo publiquely ſhewed himſelf. But being thus aſſembled together, and euery man according as their minds gaue them, talking diuerſly of the matter; behold, the Sultan entred into the palace, holding the fair Greek by the hand; who beſide her incomparable beauty, and other the greateſt graces of nature, adorned alſo with all that curioſitie could deuiſe, ſeemed now to the beholders no mortal wight, but ſome of the ſtately goddeſſes, whom Poets in their ex-
C taſies deſcribe. Thus comming together into the midſt of the hal, and due reuerence don by all there preſent; he ſtood ſtill with the fair Lady in his left hand, and ſo furiouſly looking round about him, ſaid vnto them; *I vnderſtand of your great diſcontentment, and that you all murmur and grudge, for that I, ouercome with myne affection toward this ſo fair a paragon, cannot withdraw my ſelf from her preſence: but I would fain know which of you is ſo temperat, that if hee had in his poſſeſſion a thing ſo rare and pretious, ſo louely and ſo fair, would not be thrice aduiſed before he would forgo the ſame? Say what you think; in the word of a Prince I giue you free liberty ſo to do.* But they all rapt with incredible admiration to ſee ſo fair a thing, the like whereof they had neuer before beheld, ſaid all with one conſent, That he had with greater reaſon ſo paſſed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therwith. Wherunto the barbarous prince anſwered, *Well, but*
D *now I wil make you to vnderſtand how far you haue bin deceiued in me, and that there is no earthly thing that can ſo much blind my ſenſes, or bereaue me of reaſon, as not to ſee and vnderſtand what beſeemeth my high calling: yea I would you ſhould all know, that the honor and conqueſt of the* Othoman *kings my noble Progenitors is ſo fixed in my breaſt, with ſuch a deſire in my ſelf to exceed the ſame, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance.* And hauing ſo ſaid, preſently with one of his hands catching the fair Greek by the hair of the head, & drawing his falchion with the other, at one blow ſtrook off her head, to the great terror of them all: and hauing ſo done, ſaid vnto them, *Now by this iudge whether your Emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.* And within a while after, meaning to diſcharge the reſt of his choler, cauſed great preparation to bee made for the conqueſt of Peloponeſus, and beſieging of Belgrade.

E At the ſame time that the barbarous Turks tooke the Imperiall City of Conſtantinople, *Thomas* and *Demetrius Palæologi*, brethren to the late vnfortunat Emperor *Conſtantinus*, gouerned a great part of Peloponeſus, one of the moſt famous prouinces of Grecia, which in forme of a leaf of a Plane tree, is almoſt in maner of an Iſle, inuironed with the ſeas Ionium and Ægeum, which running far into the land on either ſide therof, ſeparateth the ſame from the reſt of Grecia by two great bayes; leauing but a ſtreit neck of land, called of the Greeks Iſtmos, in bredth about fiue miles, which was ſomtimes by the Grecians, and afterward by the Venetians, fortified by a ſtrong wall, and fiue great Caſtles: neer vnto which place ſtood the great and famous city of Corinth. This prouince is in length 175 miles, and almoſt as much in bredth; wherin are contained the countries of Achaia, Meſſenia, Lacedemonia, Argolica, and
F Arcadia, with many famous great Cities and very goodly hauens, wherin it farre exceedeth all the other prouinces of Grecia. Theſe two princes, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, greatly diſmaied with their brothers diſaſter fortune, began now ſo far to diſpair of their own eſtate, that vpon the firſt brute therof they were about preſently to haue fled by ſea into Italy. And as it commonly falleth out, that one euill happeneth not alone; euen ſo at the ſame time it fortuned,

that the Albanians roſe in arms againſt the ſaid two Princes their Soueraigns, and vnder the leading of their rebellious captain *Emanuel Catacuzenus*, grieuouſly troubled both theſe poor Princes. Theſe Albanians were a rough and hardy kind of people, which liuing after the maner of the rude Scythian people, by feeding of cattel, had of long time planted themſelues in Peloponeſus; differing from the natural Greeks both in their maner of liuing & language; which diuerſitie was no ſmall cauſe that they oftentimes ſpurned, as now, againſt the gouernment of the Grecian princes. In this extremity the two diſtreſſed princes not well knowing
1454 which way to turn themſelues, ſought for peace at *Mahomets* hands, offering to becom his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an inductiõ to the full conqueſt of that countrey; and ſent *Turachan* gouernor of Theſſalia, one of his greateſt men of war, with an army into Peloponeſus, to aid thoſe princes againſt the Albanians; by whoſe help the maſterful rebels were in ſhort time diſcomfited, and the country of Peloponeſus quieted; yet ſo, that it is now become tributary to the Turkiſh King.

Theſe two princes, *Demetrius* and *Thomas* (the laſt of all the Chriſtian princes that reigned in Peloponeſus) hauing loſt their liberty, liued a few yeares as the Turks vaſſals, paying ſuch tribute as they had before promiſed. During which time many diſpleaſures aroſe betwixt the two brothers, being both jelous of their eſtate, and deſirous by all plauſible means to win the hearts of their ſubjects one from another. Wherby it came to paſſe, that whilſt they both deſired to become popular, they weakned their own credit, and had not their ſubiects at ſuch command as beſt ſtood with the ſafety of their ſtate. Neuertheles, as ſoon as they vnderſtood that the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt were making great preparation againſt the Turk; and that *Calixtus*, the third of that name (then Biſhop of Rome) had already put a fleet of Gallies to ſea, which did great ſpoil vpon the borders of the Turks dominions; they vainly perſuading themſelues that the Turks would in ſhort time be again driuen out of Grecia, refuſed to pay any more tribute to the Turkiſh King, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occaſion *Mahomet* with a puiſſant army came down and firſt beſieged Corinth; and afterwards entring into Peloponeſus, took diuers ſtrong towns, and deſtroyed the Country before him: forcing the two princes for ſafegard of their liues to fly, the one to Mantinia, and the other into the ſtrong city of Epidaurus, now called Raguſium. The poor Princes deſtitute of ſuch aid as they expected, and altogether vnable to withſtand the power of the mighty Tyrant, began to ſue for peace: which he, hauing now ſpoiled their Country, granted, vpon condition, that all ſuch places as he had already taken, ſhould be ſtill his own; and alſo, that the city of Patras, with the Country adioyning, ſhould be deliuered vnto him; and that for the reſt the ſaid princes ſhould pay vnto him a yearly tribute. Which hard conditions the poor princes, now in danger to loſe all, were glad to accept of; wherupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

Thomas & Demetrius rebell againſt Mahomet, and are by him ſpoiled of part of their Dominion.

In his return hee took the City of Athens in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciavol* by compoſition (by means of *Omares* the ſon of *Turachan* one of his great captains) promiſing to giue him the country of Beotia with the city of Thebes in lieu therof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius* ſomtime prince of Athens, and had of long time bin brought vp in the Turks court, as one of *Mahomets* minions, and was of him (as was ſuppoſed) intirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedom of Thebes in exchange for his princely ſtate of Athens, he was ſhortly after, as if it had bin in great friendſhip, ſent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus* his Lieutenant in Peloponeſus: by whom he was at firſt curteouſly entertained; but afterwards being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) ſuddenly ſtayed, and when he leaſt feared, cruelly murthered.

About 3 yeares after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and the two brethren, *Mahomet* perceiuing that the Chriſtian kings and princes had combined themſelues againſt him, with a purpoſe to driue him out of Grecia; thought it now high time, and much for the aſſurance of his eſtate, to root out the ſmal reliques of the Grecian Empire which yet remained in Peloponeſus in the aforeſaid two Princes of the Imperiall bloud, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*: wherunto hee ſaw a fair occaſion preſented; foraſmuch as thoſe two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themſelues, neither payd him ſuch tribut as they had before promiſed. Herupon he with a ſtrong army came to Corinth, where *Arſanes* a nobleman of great authority and power in that country, whoſe ſiſter *Demetrius* had maried, came to him from

Mahomet commeth again into Peloponeſſus

A from the prince his brother in law, attended vpon with many gallant Gentlemen his followers, of purpose to aid him against the other Prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harm to haue bin by the Turk intended against himselfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned as their friend. But when *Mahomet* was entred into Peloponesus, and come to Tegea, he caused the said *Arsanes* with all his chiefest followers to be laid hold vpon and cast into bonds: knowing (as it seemed) no man for friend which might any way hinder his ambitious designes.

Demetrius hearing what was hapned to *Arsanes*, fled to Sparta, now called Mizithra; whither *Mahomet* in few days after came & laid siege to the city. But the poor prince considering that he must needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the City, and humbly submitted *Demetrius submits himself to Mahomet.*
B himself with all that he had into his power. Which so wel pleased the Turkish tyrant, that he curteously receiued him, comforted him, and promised in stead of Sparta to giue him other lands and possessions of like value elswhere: neuertheles he committed him to safe custodie, and caried him about with him as his prisoner, vntil he had finished those wars. After he had taken Sparta, he besieged Castria, where he lost diuers of his Ianizaries; for which cause when he had taken the City, hee put all the souldiers therin to the sword, and cut all the Captaines ouerthwart in two pieces. From thence he marched to Leontarium, called in antient time Megalopolis, which he took, with another city called Cardicea, whither they of Leontarium had before conueyed their wiues and children as vnto a place of more safety. There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of those Cities, men, women, and children, in number about
C six thousand, of whom he left not one aliue: and yet not so satisfied, he commanded the very beasts and cattel of those places to be killed. Many cities of Peloponesus, terrified with the dreadfull example of their neighbours, forthwith yeelded themselues; and amongst others, Salvarium a great and strong city of Arcadia, where he caused all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of ten thousand, to be cast into bonds, looking for nothing but present death: all which he afterwards commanded to be sent Captiues to Constantinople, and with them peopled the suburbs of that City. After that, he by the counsel of *Demetrius* sent one of his Captains called *Iosua*, with certain companies of Greek soldiers, vnto the strong city of Epidaurus, to command him in the name of the prince to deliuer vnto him the city, with the princes wife and daughter, which lay there. But the Gouernor trusting vnto the
D strength of the city, refused to deliuer the same; yet suffering the Princesse and her daughter to depart out of the city, being willing to go to her husband; whom the Captain hauing receiued, returned, and presented them vnto *Mahomet*: by whose commandement they were sent into Beotia, there to attend his return to Constantinople; and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the yong Lady, who had so warmed *Mahomets* affection, that he took her afterwards to his wife.

At this time he also subdued the most part of Achaia and Elis, by *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant: whither he came not long after himself, and laid siege to the city Salmenica, which for lack of water was at length yeelded vnto him: but the castle was by the space of a whole year after valiantly defended against the Turks left to besiege it, by Prince *Thomas*; of whom *Ma-*
E *homet* afterwards gaue this commendation, That in the country of Peloponesus he had found many slaues, but neuer a man but him. This valiant Prince seeing the miserable ruine of his country, and the state therof vtterly forlorn; after he had most notably indured a yeares siege in the castle of Salmenica, got to sea, and so arriued in Italy. Where trauelling to Rome, hee was honorably receiued by *Pius secundus*, then Bishop there; who during his life allowed him a large pension for the maintenance of his state. Thus *Mahomet* hauing thrust both the Grecian princes out of their dominions, and subdued al Peloponesus (excepting such strong towns and castles as bordering vpon the sea coast, were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus* *Peloponesus subdued by the Turks.*
F *Bassa* his lieutenant to gouern that new conquered prouince, himself returning with great triumph to Constantinople, carying with him Prince *Demetrius*, with his wife & daughter, and many other noble prisoners. But after he was come to Hadrianople and placed in the Royall seat, he remoued the Eunuch from the fair yong lady, and took charge of her himself. As for *Demetrius* her father, hee gaue to him the City of Ænum, with the Custom arising of the salt there made, as a pension for him to liue vpon. Thus this most famous and populous country of Peloponesus fel into the Turkish thraldom about the year of our Lord 1460, seuen years

after

after the taking of Constantinople. Which I haue here together set downe, as it is reported G
by them who liued in that time, and in the same countries: omitting of purpose other great occurrents of the same time (which shall in conuenient place be herafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common misery of the delicate Grecians, might appear vnder one view; which otherwise being deliuered by piece-meal, as it did concur with other great accidents, according to the course of the time, would but breed confusion, and require the Readers great attention.

The Christian Princes, especially such as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkish tyrant, were no lesse terrified than troubled with the subuersion of the Constantinopolitan empire: for they saw by the continuall preparations of the Turk, that his ambitious desires were rather increased, than in any part satisfied with so great & late victories. Wherfore they with H
all carefulnes fortified their frontier towns, and prouided all things necessary for defence of themselues, and for repulsing so mighty an enemy. Among the rest, *George* the old Despot or Prince of Servia (whose dominions of all other lay in most danger of that tempest) speedily mustred his men of war, fortified his strong cities, placed his garisons, and left nothing vndon that he thought needfull for defence of his Country: for hee had many times before to his great losse indured the fury of the Turkish Kings, although hee were joined to them in the bonds of neerest allyance. And hauing thus politiquely set all things in order at home, in person himself took his journy into Hungary, from thence to craue aid against such time as he should haue need. But the Hungarians, especially *Huniades* (who then bare greatest sway in that kingdom) hauing before had sufficient trial of the vncertaintie and light faith of that I
aged prince, who had so often fashioned himself according to the occurrents of the time, that he was accounted neither right Turk, nor right Christian; refused to promise him any aid, but left him to his own fortunes: wherwith he returned discontented, and ful of indignation. But

The death of George Despot of Servia.

shortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt receiued in a skirmish with *Michael Zilugo*, gouernor of Belgrade; whose brother *Ladislaus* he had but a little before trecherously murdered, as he was trauelling by wagon to Belgrade with his said brother *Michael*, who at the same time hardly escaped. This was the end of the Despot of Servia, when he had liued 90 years; in which time of his long life he had plentifully tasted of both fortunes. A man assuredly of great courage, but of a maruellous vnquiet nature: by profession a Christian, yet a great friend vnto the Turks, whom he many times stood in great stead: a deep dissembler, and double in all K
his dealings; wherby he purchased that credit, that he was not of any of his neighbor Princes whilst he liued, either loued or trusted; and after his death of his subiects so detested, that the people of that country euen at this day in their Country songs stil term him the faithles and graceles despot. *Lazarus* his yongest son succeeded after him, hauing depriued both his elder brethren *Stephen* and *George* of the gouernment: for *Amurath* the Turkish King had put out their eies long before, of purpose to make them vnfit for the gouernment of so great a country: yet these blind princes found means to fly away from him to *Mahomet*, carying with them a great masse of mony; and so incited him against *Lazarus* their brother, that to keep friendship with the tyrant, he was glad to promise him a great yearly tribute. But within a few moneths after, *Lazarus* died, the last Christian prince that reigned in Servia. After whose death L
great troubles arose in Servia for the soueraignty; the blind brethren still crauing aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then liued: and the desolat Widow of *Lazarus*, puting her selfe with her three sons, *Iohn*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians; by which means with much trouble she held her state for a season: vntil such time as that the Servians, seeing small assurance in that kind of gouernment, and weary of the harms they daily receiued from

Servia yeelded to the Turks.

the Turks, yeelded themselues with their country vnto the obedience of the Turkish Sultan *Mahomet*, who for euer vnited the same vnto his empire as a prouince therof, and so it remaines at this day.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continual course of his victories grown to that height of minde, that he thought no prince able to abide his force, neither any enterprise so great, which hee M
was not of power to bring to passe: wherfore he ceased not on euery side continually to vex and trouble the princes whose countries bordered vpon his. But aboue others, his heart swelled most against the Hungarians, for that by them his Aunceſtors had been more troubled, and their state more indangered, than by any or all other the Christian Princes. Where-

fore

A fore he resolued now to take them in hand, which thing hee had from the beginning of his reign greatly desired. And because the city of Belgrade, standing vpon the great riuer of Danubius, was accounted the key of that country, he determined there to begin his wars, and by taking therof to make an entrance into the heart of Hungary. Heruppon he leuied a great army of 150000 of his best souldiers, in whom hee reposed such assured trust and confidence, that he accounted the city already as good as taken, and a faire way made into Hungary. So ready are we to promise to our selues the things we earnestly desire. For the better accomplishment of these his designes, he had prouided in readines a fleet of 200 ships and gallies, which he sent vp the riuer of Danubius, from Vidina to Belgrade, to the intent that no relefe or aid should be brought vnto the city out of Hungary, by the great riuers of Danubius and
B Sauus, wherupon the city of Belgrade standeth. With this fleet he kept both those riuers so streitly, that nothing could be possibly conueyed into the city by water: and not so contented, sent part of his said fleet farther vp the riuer of Danubius, and so landing his souldiers in many places, spoiled the countries all alongst the riuer side. Shortly after he came with all his forces by land, and incamped before the city: wherunto at his first comming hee gaue a most fierce assault, thinking to haue taken them vnprouided. But finding greater resistance than he had before imagined, & that the Hungarians were ready to skirmish with them without the walls, he began to proceed more warily, and intrenched his Army, and to prouide for the safety therof, by casting vp of deep trenches and strong rampiers against the sudden sallies of his enemies: and after, planting his battery, began most furiously to shake the Walls
C with his great Artillery. By the fury wherof he ouerthrew a part therof, and laid it flat with the ground: which the defendants with great industry and labor speedily repaired, by casting vp of new fortifications and rampiers, in such sort as it was rather stronger than before.

Belgrade beseged by the Turks.

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a most worthy Captain) being then Generall for the Hungarians, sent a fleet of ships and gallies well appointed with all warlike prouision, down the riuer Danubius from Buda, which incountring with the Turks fleet, took 20 sail of them, and so discomfited the rest, that they were glad to run themselues aground neer vnto the Kings camp. All which were by *Mahomets* commandment presently set on fire, because they should not come into the power of the Hungarians. By this means the Christians became masters of both the riuers Danubius and Sauus, and so at their
D pleasure by water conueyed all things into the City, needfull for the defence therof. *Huniades* also himself with fiue thousand valiant souldiers, and *Io. Capistranus* a Minorit Frier (by whose persuasion forty thousand voluntary Christians out of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, were come to that War) entred into the City that way with their souldiers and Followers.

The Turks fleet ouerthrown by the Christians.

Mahomet resolutely set down for the winning of the City, had with continuall batterie made the same at length saultable; and so determined the next day to giue a generall assault, appointing which part of the wal euery Colonel with his regiment should assail. But as they were with great diligence and greater stir preparing all things needful for the next daies seruice, it fortuned that *Carazias Bassa, Mahomets* Lieutenant General in Europ, and his best man
E of war, was by chance slain with a great shot out of the town. With whose death *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euil which afterward insued vnto him and his whole army. For all that, prosecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the assault to be giuen, and with the dreadfull sound of Trumpets, drums, cornets, and other instruments of war, brought on the Ianizaries to the breach; who as couragious soldiers fiercely assailed the same, and without any great resistance entred both there and in diuers other places of the City, reckoning the same to be now their owne. For *Huniades* hauing before stored euery corner of the City with his most valiant and expert soldiers, had taken order, that the defendants vpon the first charge of the Ianizaries should forsake their stations, and as men discouraged retyre toward the City, of purpose to draw the
F fierce enemies faster on to their greater destruction; and vpon a sign giuen to set vpon them afresh, and to repair to their former places of defence: which was accordingly done, so that as soon as the Ianizaries, with other of the Turks most forward souldiers, were in great numbers entred, vpon the retyring of the defendants, & the sign before appointed in the city giuen, the defendants, as men quickly changd, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were entred,

Carazies Bassa slain.

Belgrade assaulted.

The Turks notably repulst.

tred contrary to their expectation: and the valiant *Huniades*, at the same time issuing out on G
euery side with his most resolute souldiers, so oppressed the Turks, that few of them that were entred escaped with life, but were there in the city either slaine or taken prisoners; and the rest with exceeding slaughter beaten from the wals. Presently after, *Huniades* in this confusion of the Turks, strengthened with the souldiers that came with *Capistranus* the Friar, made a sally out of the towne, and set vpon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great ordnance; which was with such resolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great slaughter to forsake their charge, and to leaue the ordnance to their enemies.

The Turkish tyrant sore troubled and thorowly chafed with the losse of his great ordnance, couragiously charged the Hungarians afresh, to haue recouered the same againe: but was so valiantly repulsed by *Huniades*, and so beaten with the murthering shot out of the city, that H
he was glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* also retiring turned the ordnance he had lately won, vpon the Turks campe, and with the same did them no small harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Christian army (which then lay on the other side of Danubius) was speedily transported ouer the riuer; and making no stay in the city, joyned themselues with *Huniades*, then lying without the wals of the city. Who notably strengthned with this new supply, assailed the Turks trenches, as if he would euen presently haue entred their Camp. At which his presumption the proud Tyrant (neuer before so braued) disdaining, went out of his trenches, & valiantly incountring him, beat him back again to the great ordnance; from whence he was again by the Christians driuen to his trenches. Which manner I
of doubtfull and dreadfull fight was on both sides notably maintained vntill the day was almost spent: Victory with indifferent wings houering somtime ouer one side, somtime ouer the other.

Mahomet beeing wounded, is caried away for dead.

In these hot skirmishes and conflicts, *Chasanes* captain of the Ianizaries, with many other valiant men were slain. And *Mahomet* himselfe performing the part as well of a couragious soldier, as of a worthy chieftain, was so sore wounded vnder his left pap, that hee was taken vp for dead, and carried into his pauilion, to the great discomfort of his whole army. But comming againe vnto himselfe, and considering that he had in that siege lost his whole fleet, his great ordnance, with most part of his best soldiers, & yet in no possibility of the town, secretly in the night arose with his army, and in great silence shamefully departed; stil looking be- K
hind him when the Hungarians should haue pursued him into Servia, or haue troubled him vpon his way toward Constantinople. At this siege (besides many of his best Captaines and chief commanders) were slain 40000 of his best soldiers. The losse he there sustained was so great, & so stuck in his mind, that euer after during his life, when he had occasion to speak of that siege, he would shake his head and sigh deeply, & many times wish that he had neuer seen that city, wherat both he and his father had receiued so great dishonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horsemen on that side of Danubius, to haue presently pursued the fearfull enemy, that the whole Army of the Turks might haue there beene ouerthrown. This notable victory was obtained against the Turk the sixt of August, *Anno Dom.* 1456. L

The death of the most famous Captaine Huniades.

Shortly after, this most valiant and renowned captain *Huniades*, worthy of immortal praise, died of a hurt taken in these wars; or as some others write, of the plague, which was then rife in Hungary: who when he felt himselfe in danger of death, desired to receiue the Sacrament before his departure, and would in any case (sick as he was) bee carried to the Church to receiue the same; saying, It is not fit that the Lord should come to the house of his seruant, but the seruant rather to go to the house of his Lord and master. He was the first Christian captain that shewed the Turks were to be ouercome; and obtained more great victories against them than any one of the Christian Princes before him. Hee was to that barbarous people a great terror, and with the spoil of them inriched his country: and now dying, was by the Hungarians honorably buried at Alba Iulia, in S. *Stephens* Church. His death was greatly lamen- M
ted of all good men of that age.

Mahomet the Turkish Emperor, no lesse desirous to extend his Empire with the glory of his name, by sea than by land; shortly after the taking of Constantinople put a great fleet to sea, wherwith he surprised diuers Islands in the Ægeum, and hardly besieged the City of the Rhodes,

A Rhodes. At which time *Calixtus* the third then Bishop of Rome, aided by the Genoa's (for the grudge they bare against the Turkes for the taking of Pera) put to sea a fleet of 16 tall ships and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodovicus* Patriarch of Aquilea, who therwith scoured the seas, and recouered again from the Turks the Island of Lemnos, with diuers other smal Islands therabout, and incountring with the Turks fleet neer vnto the Island of Rhodes, at a place called the Burrow of S. *Paul*, discomfited them, sunk and took diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forsake the Rhodes. After which victory at sea, he for the space of three years, with his gallies at his pleasure spoiled the frontiers of the Turks dominions all alongst the sea coast of the lesser Asia, and wonderfully terrified the effeminat people of those countries; and so at length returned home, carrying with him many prisoners
B and much rich spoil.

After that *Mahomet* was thus shamefully driuen from the siege of Belgrade, and his fleet at sea discomfited (as is before declared) hee began with great diligence to make new preparations against the next spring, to subdue the Isles of the Ægeum, especially those which lay neer vnto Peloponesus. But whilst he was busie in those cogitations, in the mean time Embassadors from *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian King arriued at Constantinople, with diuers rich presents sent to him from the said King. Where among other things they presented to him a pair of playing tables, wherin the men and dice were of great and rich pretious stones of inestimable worth, and the workmanship nothing inferior to the matter: which the Embassadors for ostentation said that *Vsun-Cassanes* found in the treasures of the Persian King, whom
C he had but a little before slain and bereft of his kingdom, and had there bin left long before by the mighty conqueror *Tamerlane*. Together with these presents they deliuered their Embassage, the effect wherof was, That those two mighty princes might join and liue together in amity. And that wheras *David* the Emperor of Trapezond had promised to pay vnto *Mahomet* a yearly tribute, inforced therunto by *George* his Lieutenant in Asia, he should not now look for any such thing, forasmuch as that empire after the death of the emperor then liuing, should of right belong vnto *Vsun-Cassanes* in right of his wife, who was the daughter of *Caloioannes* the elder brother of *Dauid* the Emperor, then liuing: and further required him from that time not to trouble or molest the said Emperour his friend and neer allyance; so should he find him his faithful and kind confederat: otherwise it was (as they said) in his choice, to
D draw vpon himself the heauy displeasure of a most mighty enemy. *Mahomet* before enuying at the rising of the Persian King, and now disdaining such peremptory requests, little differing from proud commands, in great choler dismist the embassadours with this short answer, That hee would ere long himselfe bee in Asia, to teach *Vsun-Cassanes* what to request of one greater than himself. This vnkindnes was the beginning and ground of the mortall Warres which afterwards insued betwixt these two, then the greatest Princes of the East, as shall bee hereafter more at large declared. The Embassadors being departed, and *Mahomet* his fleet of 150 sail ready to put to sea, he altred his former determination for the Islands of the Ægeum (which after the losse of Constantinople had for the most part put themselues vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his admiral with that fleet to take his course thoE row the streits of Bosphorus into the great Euxine sea (now called the Black sea; and so sailing along the coast, to come to anchor before Sinope, the chief city of Paphlagonia, there to expect his comming thither with his army by land. This great city of Sinope stands pleasantly vpon a point of the main which runs a great way into the Euxine, somtime the metropolitical city of that prouince; but as then, with Castamona, and all the Country therabout, was vnder the gouernment of *Ismael* a Mahometan prince, vpon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his forces, for no other cause than that he was in league with *Vsun-Cassanus* the Persian King. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuied a strong army, and passing therwith ouer into Asia, was come before he was looked for, to Sinope. *Ismael* seeing himself so suddenly beset both by sea & land in his strongest city, although he wanted nothing needful for his defence,
F hauing in his city four hundred pieces of great artillery, and ten thousand soldiers; yet doubting to be able with that strength to endure the siege, offred to yeeld vp the city to *Mahomet*, with all the rest of his Dominion, vpon condition that hee should freely giue him in lieu thereof the City of Philippopolis in Thracia, with the Country thereunto adjoyning. Of which his offer *Mahomet* accepted: and so taking possession of Sinope, with the strong city of Castamona,

1461 *Vsun-Cassanus King of Persia sends Embassadors with presents to Mahomet.*

Mahomet inuadeth Ismael Prince of Sinope.

mona,and all the reſt of the princes territory, ſent him away with all his things to Philippo- G
polis,as he had promiſed. This *Iſmael* was the laſt of the honourable houſe of the *Iſfendiars*, who had long time reigned in Heraclea and Caſtamona in Pontus. From Sinope he marched on forward with his army to Trapezond. This famous city ſtandeth alſo vpon the ſide of the Euxine or black ſea in the country of Pontus,where the Emperors of Conſtantinople had alwaies their deputies,whilſt that empire flouriſhed & commanded the Eaſt part of the world as far as Parthia: but after it began again to decline (as all worldly things haue but their time) one *Iſaac* (whoſe father Emperor of Conſtantinople, the Conſtantinopolitans had for his euill gouernment ſlain) flying to Trapezond, took vpon him the gouernment of that city, with the Countries of Pontus and Cappadocia,with many other great prouinces, and was at the firſt called the King of Trapezond: but after hee was well eſtabliſhed in the gouernment, H
both he and his ſucceſſors took vpon them the name and title of emperors,which they maintained equally,if not better,than the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, and therfore are of moſt accounted for Emperors. He that then reigned was called *Dauid Comnenus*;which moſt honorable family of the *Comneni* had long time before reigned in Conſtantinople; and out of the ſame were many other great princes deſcended,who ruled in diuers places of Macedonia,Epirus,and Grecia. *Mahomet* comming to Trapezond, layd hard ſiege vnto the ſame both by ſea and land for the ſpace of 30 daies,and burnt the ſuburbs therof,as he had before at Sinope. The fearfull Emperor diſmaied with the preſence of ſo mighty an enemy,& the ſight of ſo puiſſant an army,offered to yeeld vnto him the city with his whole empire, vpon condi- I
tion that hee ſhould take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him ſome other prouince which might yeeld vnto him ſuch yearely profit as might ſuffice for the honorable maintenance of his ſtate. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weaknes of his enemy by his large offers, refuſed to accept therof,and attempted by force to haue taken the city;which not ſorting to his deſire,the matter was again brought to parly:where after long debating to and fro,it was at laſt agreed vpon,That the Emperor vpon the faith of the Turkiſh King for his ſafe return,ſhould in perſon meet him without the city,if haply ſo ſome good attonement might bee made betwixt them. Wherupon the Emperor following the Turks faith before ſolemnly giuen for his ſafe return,as was before agreed,went out of the City to meet him,in hope to haue made ſome good agreement with him. But as ſoon as he was come out, *Mahomet*,according to the K
damnable and helliſh doctrine of his falſe prophet (That faith is not to be kept with Chriſtians) preſently cauſed the Emperour to be caſt into bonds,and ſo to be detained as priſoner. Which when it was bruted in the city,the citiſens vtterly diſcouraged, without further reſiſtance yeelded themſelues with the city into his power.

Trapezond beſieged by Mahomet.

Trapezond yeelded to the Turks.

Mahomet now Lord of Trapezond, entring the city,took priſoners the Emperors daughter, with all the reſt of his children and kindred, and all ſuch of the Nobility as he found within the city; whom he cauſed forthwith together with the Emperour, to be ſent by ſea as it were in triumph to Conſtantinople. Of the reſt of the citiſens he choſe out ſo many as he pleaſed for his own ſeruice; and appointed eight hundred of the Chriſtian children,in whom appeared moſt towardlines,to be brought vp for Ianizaries: many alſo of the other Citiſens were L
ſent Captiues to Conſtantinople: the beautiful women and virgins he diuided amongſt his friends and men of war,certain choſen paragons of whom he ſent as preſents to his ſons. After he had thus taken his pleaſure in the city, and left none there but the baſeſt of the people, he put a ſtrong gariſon of his Ianizaries into the caſtle, and a great gariſon of common ſoldiers into the city,appointing his Admiral to gouern the ſame. The reſt of the emperors ſtrong Towns,diſcouraged with the taking of Trapezond,and the miſeries therof,in ſhort time ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Turkiſh thraldom,wherin they haue euer ſince moſt miſerably liued. So *Mahomet* in the ſpace of a few months hauing reduced that empire into the form of a prouince, returned in great triumph to Conſtantinople; when hee had in this expedition ſubdued Paphlagonia,Pontus,and a great part of Capadocia,with ſome other prouinces neer vnto the Euxine ſea. When he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſent the Emperor with his M
children priſoners to Hadrianople. But afterwards vnderſtanding that the Perſian Queene, the wife of *Vſun-Caſſan*, ſought means to get ſome one of her vncles children, whom by the power of her husband ſhe might, if it were poſſible, aduance vnto her fathers empire; hee ſent for *Danid* the wofull Emperour to Conſtantinople, and there cruelly cauſed him, with

all

A all his ſonnes and kinſmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermoſt of his power rooted out all that moſt honourable family of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the Emperors youngeſt ſonne, who at his firſt comming to Hadrianople turned Turke: whoſe ſiſter (the emperors daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Chriſtian empire was by the Turkiſh tyrant *Mahomet* thus miſerably ſubuerted and brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

The ruine of the empire of Trapezond.

1462

The yeare following, which was the yeare 1462, *Mahomet* hauing intelligence, that *Wladus Dracula*, Prince of Valachia, his tributary, was reſolued to caſt from him his obedience, and to ioyne himſelfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it beſt to proue if he could by policy circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpoſe he

Mahomet ſeeketh to entrap Wladus Prince of Valachia.

B ſent *Catobolinus* his principall ſecretary vnto him to bring him vnto the court, promiſing him greater fauors and promotions from the Emperor, than he had as yet at any time inioyed: and by the ſame truſty meſſenger, he commanded *Chamuzes Baſſa*, Gouernour of Bidina and the country lying ouer againſt Valachia, on the other ſide of Danubius, to do his vttermoſt deuoir for the entrapping of *Wladus*: promiſing him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deuiſed with the ſecretary, that when he had done his meſſage to the Prince, and with all his cunning perſuaded him to take that journey vpon him, he ſhould ſecretly before hand giue notice vnto him of the certain day of his returne backe againe from the Prince: at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courteſie of himſelfe bring the ſecretaire well on his way, being a man of ſo great acount in the court, or at leſt wiſe not refuſe

C ſo to do, being therto requeſted by the ſecretary: at which time the Baſſa ſecretly paſſing ouer Danubius with certaine troups of horſemen, and lying cloſe in ambuſh vpon the way, ſhould ſuddenly ſet vpon the Prince, and ſo either take him, or elſe kill him. The plot thus laid, and euery circumſtance agreed vpon, the ſecretary held on his way; and comming to the Prince, forced his wit to perſuade him to go to the court: ſomtime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his fidelity & valor; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of great honors and princely preferments he was to receiue at the Emperors hands. But when he had ſaid what he could, he obtained no more of the wary Prince, but good words again, and that he would in courteſie conduct him on his way to the ſide of Danubius: whereof the ſecretary by ſpeedy meſſengers gaue *Chamuzes* intelligence: who ſecretly paſſing ouer Danu-

D bius with certain troups of horſmen, and riding a good way into the countrey, lay in ambuſh vpon the way whereby the Prince and the ſecretary muſt needs paſſe: according as was before appointed, the ſecretary accompanied with the Prince, put himſelfe vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambuſh with his horſemen: who ſuddenly ariſing, & on euery ſide aſſailing the Prince, ſlew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Baſſa had ſuppoſed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a ſtrong gard of valiant and ſtout men) ſo receiued *Chamuzes* and his Turkes, that he ſlew many of them, and at length after a hard conflict took him with the reſt priſoners: whoſe hands and feet he cauſed to be cut off, and their bodies afterwards to be thruſt vpon ſharp ſtakes ſet faſt in the ground, to the

Chamuzes Baſſa & the Turks ſecretary hanged.

E terror of all that ſaw them: and did the Baſſa ſo much honor as to hang him and the ſecretary vpon a gibbet a great deale higher than the other Turks. And not ſatisfied with this reuenge, preſently gathered his forces, and paſſing ouer Danubius into the Turks dominions, burnt all the country before him along the ſea ſide, killing man, woman, and child, without mercy: after which great ſpoyle & ſlaughter made, he returned again to Valachia. The report of this news being brought to *Mahomet*, ſet him in ſuch a choler and rage, that he commanded the great Baſſa *Mahomet*, which firſt told him thereof, to be cruelly whipt: which ſeruile puniſhment in that tyrannicall gouernment hath vſually bin inflicted euen vpon the greateſt Princes of the court, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the tyrants, eſpecially if they be not naturall Turks born; accounting the reſt in their anger but as their baſe and contemptible ſlaues, as well appeareth

F by the wofull end of many, euen of the greateſt of them. But when he vnderſtood by moſt ſure aduertiſements that all was as the Baſſa had before reported, or rather worſe, it is not to be in words expreſſed into what a rage he fell: the ſpoyle of his country grieued him much, but the ſhamefull death of the ſecretary his Embaſſador, and of *Chamuzes* the Baſſa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation & deſire of reuenge. Wherfore with all ſpeed poſſible

he assembled his soldiers and men of war, out of all parts of his dominions to Philippopolis: G
and had in short time raised such an army, as the like he had not at any time imployed since the winning of Constantinople. At the same time also, he sent his Admirall with 25 gallies, and 150 saile of other small vessels by the Euxine, to enter the riuer Danubius, and there landing his men, to ioine his forces with the prince of Podolia: who for a grudge he bare against *Wladus*, had promised to ayd the Turke against him. When all things were now in readines, he marched with his army from Philippopolis, and passing ouer Danubius, entred into Valachia; before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the help of the Podolian, had burnt the city of Prailaba, the greatest towne of trade in all Valachia; and was besieging Cebium, called in antient time Lycostomos: where after they had lien a while and receiued some losse, they left the siege and departed, the Podolian backe againe into his countrey, and H
the Admirall to his fleet.

Mahomet himselfe in person inuadeth Valachia.

Mahomet being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made hauocke of all that came in his way. As for prisoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before his comming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnfit for wars, either into their strong cities, or into the refuge of great and thick woods (whereof there is in that countrey plenty) or else into the high and rough mountaines where they were in more safety than in any their strongest holds: and all such as were able to beare armes, followed the Prince, who euer kept the woods and mountaines, still following the Turks army so neere as he possibly could with safety; and many times cut off such as stragled any thing far abroad from the army, into the country: yet neuer durst shew himselfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull I
in comparison of the Turks multitude. *Mahomet* to small purpose roaming vp and downe the country at his pleasure, staid neuer long in one place; and making no reckoning of such a weak enemy as durst neuer shew himselfe, pitcht his tents still in the open plaines, and so lay with his army in great security, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his espials vnderstanding of this the manner of *Mahomets* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, & with all his power furiously assailed that quarter of the Turks camp where the Asian soldiers lay, and slew many of them in their tents; the rest terrified with the suddennesse of the Alarum, fled out of their tents for refuge vnto the Europeian souldiers: the Prince following them at the heeles, and entring into that quarter of the camp also, did there great harme, and struck such a generall terror and feare into all the Turks army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholly forsaken their tents and betaken themselues to flight. K
Yea *Mahomet* himselfe, dismaid with the terror of the night and tumult of his camp, and fearing lest the Hungarians had ioyned their forces with the Prince; not knowing which way to turne himselfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had not *Mahomet Bassa*, a man of great experience in martiall affairs, perswading him otherwise, and by generall proclamation made through the camp, That no man should vpon paine of death, forsake the place wherin he was encamped, staid the flight; and with much ado enforced them to make head against the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turks now to begin to stand vpon their guard, and to make resistance; after great slaughter made, returning, tooke the spoyle of the tents forsaken by the Asian souldiers, and vpon the approch of the day, again retired with victory into the woods. As soon as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly Beg* with certaine com- L
panies of select souldiers, to pursue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the Princes army, tooke a thousand of them prisoners, and put the rest to flight: all which prisoners were by the tyrants command, presently put to the sword. From that time *Mahomet* euery night entrenched his army, and caused better watch and ward to be kept in euery quarter of his camp, than before.

A most horrible spectacle.

As he marched along the country, he came to the place where the Bassa and the Secretary were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the dismembred Turks, impailed vpon stakes about them: with which sight he was grieuously offended. And passing on farther, came to a plaine containing in bredth almost a mile, & in length two miles, set ful of gallows, gibbets, wheels, stakes, and other instruments of terror, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carkases M
of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twenty thousand. There was to be seen the father, with his wife, children, and whole family, hanging together vpon one gallowes; and the bodies of sucking babes, sticking vpon sharp stakes; others with all their limbs broken vpon wheels, with many other strange & horrible kinds of death.

A death: ſo that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets feigne to be in hel, had bin there put in execution. All theſe were ſuch as the notable, but cruell prince, jealous of his eſtate, had either for iuſt deſert, or ſome probable ſuſpition, put to death; and with their goods rewarded his ſouldiers: whoſe cruel manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole family, yea ſometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell diſpoſition, wondred to ſee ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle of extreme cruelty: yet ſaid no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his ſubiects at command. After that, *Mahomet* ſent *Ioſephus*, one of his greateſt Captaines, to skirmiſh with the Valachies; who was by them put to the worſe: but by the comming in of *Omares* the ſon of *Turachan*, they were againe in a great skirmiſh ouerthrowne, and two thouſand of their heads brought by the Turks vpon
B their launces into the Kings camp: for which good ſeruice *Omares* was by the King preferred to be Gouernour of Theſſalia.

Two thouſand of the Valachies ſlaine.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced Valachia, and hauing done what harme he could, ſaw it to be to no purpoſe, with ſuch a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemy, which ſtil kept the thick woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to Conſtantinople, leauing behind him *Haly-Beg* with part of his army, to proſecute that war: and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was alſo called *Wladus*, as a ſtale to draw the Valachies into rebellion againſt the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomets* court, and for his comely feature of him moſt paſſionatly affected: which inordinat perturbation ſo preuailed in the intemperat nature of the laſciuious prince, that he ſought firſt by fair
C words and great gifts to corrupt the youth; and not ſo preuailing, attempted at laſt to haue forced him: wherewith the noble youth being inraged, drew his rapier, and ſtriking at him to haue ſlain him, grieuouſly wounded him in the thigh, and therupon fled. Neuertheleſſe being drawne backe againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and ſo became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honored, and now ſet vp for a ſtale (as is beforeſaid) for the Valachies his countrymen to gaze vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the king, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-Beg* the Turkiſh Generall, to ranſome ſuch friends of theirs as had bin taken priſoners in thoſe wars, and were yet by him detained: to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of diſcourſe declaring the great power of the Turkiſh Emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endles mi-
D ſeries of his natiue countrey; cunningly imputed the ſame vnto the diſordred gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes: aſſuring them of moſt happy and ſpeedy redreſſe, if the Valachies, forſaking his fierce brother, would cleaue to him as their ſoueraigne, in ſpeciall fauour with the great Emperour. Which ſpeech he deliuered vnto them with ſuch liuely reaſons, and in ſuch effectuall termes, that they there preſent, perſuaded by him, and others by them, in ſhort time all, as if it had been by a ſecret conſent, forſooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and choſe *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and ſoueraigne. Who ioyning vnto him the Turks forces, by the conſent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernment of that warlike countrey and people; yet holding the ſame as the Turkiſh tyrants vaſſaile, the readieſt way to infidelity. *Wladus* ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken of al his ſubiects, and his yon-
E ger brother poſſeſſed of his dominion, fled into Tranſiluania, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian king, apprehended and laid faſt in ſtreit priſon at Belgrade, for that he had without iuſt cauſe (as it was laid to his charge) moſt cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in Valachia: yet ſuch was his fortune, after ten yeares hard impriſonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battell againſt his antient enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus.

Mahomet returning out of Valachia to Conſtantinople, ſent the ſame fleet which hee had vſed in his late warres, into the Ægeum, to take in ſuch Iſlands as being before vnder the Conſtantinopolitan empire, had vpon the loſſe of the city put themſelues vnder the protection of the Venetians; but eſpecially the Iſle of Mitylene, called in antient time Lesbos: pretending that *Nicholaus Cateluſius* Prince thereof, did harbor the pyrats of Italy and other places; and
F alſo bought of them ſuch priſoners, and other booty, as they continually tooke from the Turkes at ſea, or alongſt the ſea coaſt, out of many places of his dominions: pretending alſo the chaſtiſing of the ſaid Prince, for that he had by treacherie ſlaine his eldeſt brother, and ſo vniuſtly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus ſet forward, hee himſelfe with a

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small army passed ouer into Asia, and came by land to Possidium a city of Ionia ouer against G
Mitylene. From whence he imbarked himselfe ouer the narrow streit, into the Island, where after he had once landed his army, he in short time ouerran the whole Island, and miserably spoyled the same, leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captiuity; who shortly after were sold at Constantinople like flocks of sheepe, and from thence dispersed into all parts of his dominions. After he had thus harried the countrey, and left nothing therein vnspoyled, he
Mitylene besieged. besieged the Prince in the city of Mitylene, whereof the Island now taketh name: and with his great ordnance continually battered the same by the space of 27 dayes (in which time many sharp assaults were also giuen by the Turks, whereby the defendants were greatly diminished
Mitylene yeelded to the Turke. and wasted. The Prince perceiuing himselfe not able long to hold out, offered to yeeld vp the city, with all the strong holds in the Isle, vpon condition that *Mahomet* should therfore giue H
vnto him some other prouince, of like value to the Island: which his offer *Mahomet* accepted, and by solemne oath bound himselfe for performance of that he had promised. Whereupon the Prince came out of the city, and humbled himselfe before him, excusing himselfe for the receiuing of the men of war (wherwith he was charged) as done for no other purpose, but that they should forbeare to spoyle his owne country, much subiect to their fury: vtterly denying that he had at any time bought, or shared, any part of such prizes as had by those pyrats by sea or land bin taken from the Turks. With which his excuse, *Mahomet* seemed to be reasonably well contented, and with good words cheered him vp: neuertheless as soon as the city, with all the other strong holds in the Isle, were by the Princes meanes deliuered into his hands, he no longer made reckoning of his Turkish faith, but cruelly caused many of the chief citizens of I
Mitylene to be put to death; and three hundred pyrats, whom he found in the city, to be cut in two peeces in the middle, so to die with more paine. And when he had placed conuenient garrisons in euery strong hold in the Isle, he returned to Constantinople, carrying away with him the Prince, and all the better sort of the inhabitants of Mitylene, that were left aliue, together with all the wealth of that most rich and pleasant Island, leauing it almost desolate, none remaining therein more than his own garrisons, with a few of the poore and basest people. *Mahomet* after he was arriued at Constantinople, cast the Prince *Nicholaus* & *Lucius* his cosin (whose helpe he had before vsed in killing of his elder brother) into close prison: where they seeing themselues euery houre in danger of their liues, to win fauor in the tyrants sight, wickedly offered to renounce the Christian Religion, and to turn Turks. Which *Mahomet* vnderstanding, K
caused them both to be richly aparrelled, and with great triumph to be circumcised, and presently set at liberty: yet still bearing in minde his old grudge, he shortly after, when they least feared any such matter, clapt them both fast again in prison, and there caused them to be most cruelly put to death. A iust reward for their bloudy murthers and Apostacy, who to gaine a little longer life, were content to forsake God.

1464 Shortly after it fortuned, that *Stephen* king of Bosna (in antient time called Mæsia Superior) who supported by the Turkish Emperor, had wrongfully obtained that kingdome against his owne brethren, refused now to pay such yearely tribute as hee had before promised: for which cause *Mahomet* with a strong army entred into Bosna, and layd siege vnto the City of Dorobiza: which when hee had with much adoe taken, he diuided the people thereof into L
three parts; one part whereof he gaue as slaues vnto his men of war, another part he sent vnto Constantinople, and the third hee left to inhabit the City. From Dorobiza he marched to Iaziga, now called Iaica, the chiefe city of that kingdome, which after foure moneths siege was deliuered vnto him by composition: in this city he took the Kings brother and sister, prisoners, with most of the nobility of that kingdome, whom he sent as it were in triumph vnto Constantinople. The other lesser cities of Bosna following the example of the greater, yeelded themselues also. But *Mahomet* vnderstanding that the King of Bosna had retired himselfe into the farthest part of his kingdom, sent *Mahometes* his chief Bassa with his European soldiers to pursue him: wherein the Bassa vsed such diligence, that he had on euery side so inclosed him before he was aware, that he could by no means escape, which was before thought a thing M
impossible. So the King for safegard of his life was faine to take the city of Clyssa for his refuge: where he was so hardly laid to by the Bassa, that seeing no other remedy, he offered to yeeld himself vpon the Bassa's faithfull promise by oath confirmed, that he should be honorably

A bly vſed,and not to receiue in his perſon any harme from the Turkiſh Emperor. Whereupon the Baſſaes oath to the ſame purpoſe was with great ſolemnity taken; and for the more aſſurance conceiued in writing,firmed by the Baſſa,and ſo deliuered to the king: which done,the king came out of the city and yeelded himſelfe. The Baſſa hauing thus taken the king priſoner,carried him about with him from place to place,and from city to city,vntill he had taken poſſeſſion of all the kingdome of Boſna;and ſo returning vnto his maſter,preſented vnto him the captiue king:who was not a little offended with him,for that he had vnto him ſo farre engaged his Turkiſh faith. But when the poore King thought to haue departed,not greatly fearing further harm,he was ſuddenly ſent for by *Mahomet*:at which time,he doubting the worſt, caried with him in his hand the writing wherin the Baſſaes oath for his ſafety was compriſed:
B neuertheleſſe,the faithles tyrant,without any regard therof,or of his faith therein giuen,cauſed him preſently to be moſt cruelly put to death,or as ſome write to be ſlaine quicke. Thus was the Chriſtian kingdome of Boſna,ſubuerted by *Mahomet* in the yeare 1464: who after he had at his pleaſure diſpoſed thereof,& reduced it to the forme of a Prouince,to be (as it is at this day) gouerned by one of his Baſſaes;in great triumph returned to Conſtantinople,carrying away with him many a woful Chriſtian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdome.

Mahomet following the example of his father *Amurath*,had from the beginning of his reign by one or other of his great Baſſaes or expert captains ſtill maintained war againſt *Scanderbeg* the moſt valiant and fortunat King of Epirus:the greateſt part wherof, although it did in the courſe of time concurre with the things before declared,and might by peecemeale haue been
C amongſt the ſame in their due time and place inſerted; yet I haue of purpoſe for diuers reaſons wholly reſerued them for this place:firſt,for that I would not interrupt the courſe of the hiſtory before rehearſed,with the particular accidents of this war:and then,for that the greateſt heat of this hereditary war,deliuered as it were from hand to hand,from the father to the ſon,hapned not long after this time,when as *Mahomet* hauing conquered the kingdom of Boſna, had ſurrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* dominion:wherein he had reſpect alſo vnto the Readers eaſe,who may with greater pleaſure and content,and leſſe paines alſo, view the ſame together, than if it had bin diſperſedly ſcattered and intermedled with the other greater occurrents of the ſame time. In which diſcourſe I will but briefly touch many things well worthy of a larger treatiſe. And if forgetting my ſelfe,I ſhall in ſome places happen to ſtay ſom-
D thing longer than the Readers haſt would require,yet I hope,that the zeale and loue he beares vnto the worthy memory of moſt famous Chriſtian Princes, together with the ſhortneſſe of the hiſtory,in compariſon of that which is thereof written in iuſt volumes by others, ſhall eaſily excuſe a larger diſcourſe than this: But againe to our purpoſe.

The great war betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg,are at large written by Marinus Barletius in 12 books, De vita & geſtis Scanderbegi, from whence this hiſtory is taken: and were done betwixt the yeres 1450 and 1467.

Mahomet in the beginning of his reigne ſent embaſſadors to *Scanderbeg*,offering him peace, ſo that he would grant to pay vnto him ſuch yerely tribute as his father *Amurath* had in his life time demanded:which embaſſage the crafty tyrant ſent rather to proue what confidence *Scanderbeg* had in himſelfe,than for any hope he had to haue his demand granted. This diſhonorable offered peace *Scanderbeg* ſcornfully reiected,and ſo returned the Embaſſadors as they came: and preſently vpon their departure entred with his horſmen into that part of the Turks
E dominion which bordereth vpon Epirus:and when he had waſted the country,returned home laded with the ſpoyle therof. In reuenge of which deſpight, *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſent *Ameſa* one of his beſt men of war,with 12000 horſemen into Epirus, to requite *Scanderbeg* with the like ſpoyle of his people & country. But *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding by his eſpials of the Turks comming,lay cloſe in ambuſh with 6000 ſouldiers vpon the great mountaine Modriſſa,ouer which the Turks muſt of neceſſity take their way:and as they were about by night to haue paſſed ouer that rough and ſteep mountaine, and were with much difficulty almoſt got vp to the top therof,they were ſuddenly charged by *Scanderbeg* his footmen,who hauing the aduantage of the place,made great ſlaughter of the Turks,and draue them downe the mountain amaine; at which time their horſes ſtood them in no ſtead at all, but were rather vnto them an hinde-
F rance in that vneuen and troubleſome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and diſorder againe fiercely aſſailed on the one ſide by *Scanderbeg*,& on the other ſide by his nephew,called alſo *Ameſa*,who before the Turks comming had placed themſelues with their horſmen in places of moſt aduantage:ſo that the Turks hardly beſet,and forced on euery ſide,were in ſhort time ouerthrown and put to flight.

Vide Marinū Barletium,lib. de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi.

In this conflict ſeuen thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and *Ameſa* Generall of the Turks army with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* ſent priſoners to Croia: for ioy of this victory at *Scanderbegs* returne, great triumph and feaſting was made at Croia: during which time, *Scanderbeg* cauſed *Ameſa* the Turke, with the reſt of the Turkiſh captains, to be inlarged, to be partakers of that ioy, whereof they againſt their wils had giuen the occaſion; and afterwards vſed them with all kind of courteſie during the time of their abode. This *Ameſa* requeſted of *Scanderbeg*, that he might ſend a meſſenger to Conſtantinople, to certifie *Mahomet* how the caſe ſtood with him and the reſt, whom haply he might think to haue bin ſlain in the battell; and to procure from him their ranſom: which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* eaſily granted, and ſet down their ranſome at thirteene thouſand Duckats. The news of this ouerthrow ſore grieued the Turkiſh tyrant, but afterwards when he ſaw the remainder of his army without their Generall and leaders, hauing for moſt part loſt their enſignes and armour, and alſo the meſſenger was ſent from *Ameſa*; he fell into ſuch a rage that he denied to giue any thing at all for his ranſome: imputing all the loſſe to his treachery, folly, or cowardiſe. Howbeit he was afterwards perſuaded by his Baſſaes, and other great courtiers, *Ameſa* his friends, to think better of the Generall, of whoſe faithfulneſſe and valor he had of long time had great experience, and alſo to ſend his ranſome: by denying whereof, he ſhould, (as they ſaid) diſcourage his other Generals and captains, who by chance of war might hap to fall into the like danger. By whoſe perſuaſion *Mahomet* ſent an Embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ranſome demanded, and other great preſents alſo. Vpon receit whereof, *Ameſa* with the other captains were ſet at liberty, and ſent with ſafe conuoy out of Epirus. All the money ſent for the Turks ranſome, *Scanderbeg* diuided amongſt his captains and ſouldiers.

Debreas ſent with 14000 horſemen to inuade Epirus.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with deſire of reuenge, ſo that he determined forthwith to ſend another army into Epirus: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and moſt expert captains ambitiouſly ſought for. For *Mahomet* had promiſed great rewards and moſt honourable preferments to him whoſe hap it ſhould be to vanquiſh *Scanderbeg*. Among the reſt, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardneſſe and courage, in great fauor with his ſoueraigne) by great ſuit obtained to haue that charge: promiſing with exceeding confidencie vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better ſucceſſe in his warres of Epirus, than others thither by him before ſent: for the accompliſhment whereof, he required to haue no greater power than was ſent the yeare before. But after that *Ameſa* was returned to the court, & had with long diſcourſe ſet forth the vertues and valor of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his ſouldiers, *Debreas* became more temperate in his ſpeech, and was contented to receiue a new ſupply; ſo that he had vnder his charge fourteene thouſand ſoldiers: with which army he marched towards Epirus, and was come to a place called Pologus, where he lay with his army encamped in a plain in great ſecurity, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies country, neither as he ſuppoſed, neere the enemy. Of all this preparation, and of the comming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence, and being reſolued not to expect the comming of the Turks into Epirus, made choice of ſix thouſand of his beſt horſmen; with whom he marched with as much ſpeed as was poſſible into the enemies country, & came by night vnto the plain where the Turks lay, hoping to haue bin vpon them before they were aware, and ſo to haue ouerthrowne them; wherein he was much deceiued: for by the light of the Moone (which then ſhined all night, he was by the Turks in time deſcried, yet the ſuddennes of his approch with the ſtrangeneſſe of the attempt, exceedingly diſmaied the whole army of the Turks. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promiſe he had made vnto his Lord and Maſter, with cheerfull words encouraged his ſouldiers, and preſently ſent out certain troups of light horſmen, to receiue the first charge of the enemy, vntill he might ſet his whole army in order of battell. Betwixt theſe troups, & others ſent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a ſharp skirmiſh; both the armies ſtanding faſt, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his ſoldiers ſhould in his firſt encounter be put to the worſt, it might tend to the great diſcouraging of the reſt of his army; ſeconded his men with other freſh troups vnder the leading of *Moſes* and *Ameſa*; by whoſe comming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chaſed euen to their main battell. In the heat of which chaſe, *Moſes* forgetting himſelfe, had with great danger in following on too faſt, bin incloſed by the Turks, had not this fury bin in good time ſtayed by *Ameſa*: for which ouerſight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, that he could not with

A skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

greater

greater moderation vse his good fortune; commending such forwardnesse in a priuat soldier, but not in so great a commander. When *Moses* and *Amesa* had thus put the Turks to flight, *Scanderbeg* brought on his whole army, and fiercely assailed the Turks, yet troubled with the discomfiture of their fellowes. *Debreas* on the other side, with cheerfull speech, and his owne valor, so encouraged his souldiers, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably resisted, and his fortune as it were at a stand: vntill that *Musachius*, with certaine troups of resolute men, drawne out of the left wing of *Scanderbegs* army, gaue such a fierce charge vpon the side of the Turks army, that he brake their ranks, & sore disordered that part of the army: which when *Debreas* perceiued, he withdrew himselfe out of the front of the battell wherein he had valiantly stood against *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Musachius* had disordered the battell, and with such courage cheered vp his troubled souldiers, that his onely presence and valor seemed to be the very life and heart of his whole army. Whilst *Debreas* was thus busied against *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the meane time with might and maine still charged the front of the enemies army: who now in the absence of their Generall began to lose their order & to giue ground, making no such resistance as before. At which time, *Moses* forcibly breaking into the midst of them, took one of their ensignes, which he threw back among his followers: wherewith they encouraged, so pressed vpon their enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therwith discouraged, and their battel disordred, were almost ready to turne their backs and to fly. *Debreas* seeing all in danger to be lost, hasted with all speed vnto the place where he saw most perill, and did what was possible to haue restored the battel, and encouraged his souldiers: where pressing in among the formost, he was by *Scanderbeg* himselfe encountred hand to hand, and so by him slaine: with whose fall the whole army discouraged, without further resistance fled. *Moses* pursuing them on the one side, and *Musachius* on the other, with furious hand slew more in that chase than were slaine in the battell. Of the Turks were slain in this battell 4120, and some prisoners taken, but of the Christians few or none: so that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a victory giuen. All the spoyle taken from the enemy, together with the prisoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally diuided among the soldiers. Vnto *Moses* he gaue *Debreas* his horse and armor: and vnto *Musachius* a prisoner, which by his port and behauiour seemed to be a man of some account. This Turke agreed with *Musachius* vpon a ransome of 200 duckats, and presently vpon agreement made, drew forth the money out of a little bag which he had kept secretly about him, and offered it to *Musachius* for his ransome, who receiuing the money, told the Turke, that he must prouide another ransome, forasmuch as that money was his owne before by law of armes, as taken with his person. The Turk on the other side alleadged for himselfe, the agreement already made, with the paiment of the full sum agreed vpon. This controuersie was brought before *Scanderbeg*: who with great pleasure heard them both what they could say: *Musachius* laying hard for another ransome, and the Turke for his liberty vrging the agreement. Who when they had both said what they could for themselues, *Scanderbeg* smiling, told them, that they both contented for that which was in right his, & neither of theirs: for the prisoner with the money were both mine (said he) at the first taking of him, since which time I haue giuen to you *Musachius* the prisoner, which I knew, but not the mony which I knew not of: neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (said he to the Turke) who had by law of arms lost your selfe, together with all that you had about you. After he had thus pleasantly discoursed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to *Musachius* the mony he agreed for, and to the Turke his desired liberty: who glad thereof, and hauing also receiued his horse and armor of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, speaking all the honor he could of so noble a conqueror. After this victory *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned againe to Croia.

The battell betwixt Scäderbeg & Debreas.

Debreas slain, by Scanderbeg, and his army ouerthrowne.

A pleasant contention betwixt Musachius and a Turke for his ransome.

When *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Debreas* was slaine, and his army ouerthrowne, he became exceeding melancholy; but after he saw so many of his souldiers returned as had been sufficient to haue restored a lost battell, he was so highly displeased with that cowardise, as that hee could not endure the sight of them. The death of *Debreas* grieued none more than the King himselfe: for the captains generally either enuied at his hardinesse, or else hated his insolency. *Amesa* among the rest took no small pleasure, that his proud successor had taken part of his euill fortune, and so in part eased his former infamy. The great Bassaes and men of war seeing their soueraigne so desirous of reuenge, offered to spend their liues in that seruice: whose forwardnesse

wardneſſe he ſeemed not to refuſe: howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner of reuenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to paſſe, by ſowing diſcord among the Princes of Græcia: which foule practiſe hee purpoſed now to put in practiſe himſelfe. There were at that time many famous chiefetaines of Epirus, of *Scanderbeg* both beloued and truſted; among whom, he was in hope to find ſome one who for deſire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue ſome deſperat attempt againſt the life or ſtate of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moſes Golemus* of Dibra (a man honourably deſcended) was moſt inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his prowes and experience in martial affaires, of all men accounted the beſt captain in all Epirus, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelfe: him, the crafty tyrant moſt deſired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as fitteſt to ſerue his purpoſe, & eaſieſt without ſuſpition to be dealt withall, becauſe he commonly lay with a ſtrong garriſon in Dibra, vpon the very frontiers of Epirus. Wherefore he directed his letters vnto the Gouernor of Sfetigrade, commanding him by all means he could poſſibly deuiſe to withdraw *Moſes* from *Scanderbeg*; and not to ſpare for any gold or golden promiſes wherby to allure him: promiſing alſo vnto the Gouernor himſelfe great preferments, if he could win him. Vpon receit of which letters, the Gouernour began forthwith carefully to deuiſe, how he might beſt attempt the matter he had in charge: where after many deuiſes, he at laſt thought vpon a ſhrewd headed fellow, one of the Chriſtians which dwelt in Sfetigrade; whom for that he was a Chriſtian, he might without ſuſpect vſe as an inſtrument in ſo dangerous and important an action. This Chriſtian the gouernor called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large promiſes won him to vndertake the matter, he ſent him away, fully before armed with plenteous inſtructions, full of treaſon and deceit. When this ſubtill meſſenger was come vnto *Moſes*, and vnder pretence of great and ſecret matters of importance, had obtained to ſpeak with him in priuat; he after ſome diſcourſe had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder the couert of faire glozing words to vtter his poyſon: ſhewing vnto him (as a meſſenger from the Gouernor) the great and good opinion the Turkiſh Emperor had of long time conceiued of his valour and proweſſe: for which cauſe his heroicall nature could not but honor him, although he were his enemy; and therewith alſo maruell, that hee being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commanded by *Scanderbeg*, whoſe ſtate was by him chiefly vpholden whereas if he would do wiſely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an Emperour of greateſt magnificence and power, he ſhould quickly in his Court find ſuch honourable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the ſtate of *Scanderbeg*: or if the ſoueraignty of Epirus his natiue countrey did better pleaſe him, he might eaſily be thereunto aduanced, by ioyning his owne endeuor vnto *Mahomets* great power. It pleaſed *Moſes* wel to heare his own praiſes (a thing incident to haughty minds) and he liked well that he was ſo fauoured of the Turkiſh Emperor: but the hope of the kingdome of Epirus, began to work in him new conceits, and moued him more than al the reſt: ſuch is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things ſaue themſelues: ſo glorious a thing it is to ſtand in the higheſt place: for all that, *Moſes* neither in word or countenance made any ſemblant of liking, or diſliking the meſſage. Which the wily meſſenger taking for a ſecret conſent, and heartily glad that he had bin ſo well heard; not deſiring as then any further anſwer, craued leaue to depart; promiſing in ſhort time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this meſſenger many troubled thoughts began to ariſe in the mind of *Moſes*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, and the cheerfulnes of his countenance was abated; his hauty thoughts were his ſolitary companions, and the imagined kingdom the Idol he in ſecret worſhipped; ſo that in ſhort time, he ſeemed to the wiſer ſort as a man altogether metamorphoſed. Some were ſo bold, as for to ask the cauſe of the meſſengers comming: vnto whom he anſwered, That he was one, from whom he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the ſtate: which his anſwer was holden for true; for who durſt once miſtruſt *Moſes*? Whileſt he thus was toſſed vp and downe with his owne thoughts, as a ſhip with the billows of a wrought ſea, the ſame ſlie meſſenger, according to his promiſe came againe; and for his more credit, in ſecret brought with him ſuch Preſents as well might ſeeme to haue been ſent from the great Turke; with his meſſage better framed than before. Of all which that was ſent, *Moſes* is reported to haue receiued nothing but the worſt, which was, the very treaſon it ſelfe. And ſo returned the meſſenger with anſwer, that he could not but in good part accept of the Turkiſh Emperors great fauors; and

The crafty proceeding of the Turks meſſenger.

Moſes corrupted.

for

A for the reſt of his requeſts, whatſoeuer he ſhould chance to doe therein, hee ſhould not from thenceforth find him any great enemy: commanding the meſſenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of ſuſpition.

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into Dibra, to ſee how all things ſtood there, and to conſult with *Moſes* for the beſieging of Sfetigrade; which city it grieued him to ſee in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. *Moſes* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterpriſe, wherein he muſt of force be driuen to ſhew himſelfe, told him, That he vnderſtood of late by a certaine meſſenger which came to him out of Sfetigrade, that the city was ſo well ſtored by the Turks, of all things neceſſary for the defence thereof, that it were but loſt labour to attempt any thing againſt the ſame: wherefore he aduiſed him rather to beſiege Belgrade (not that Belgrade
B which is ſcituated vpon the riuer of Danubius, but another of the ſame name in the confines of Epirus, then holden by the Turks, but diſtant from Sfetigrade about an hundred and forty miles; of the taking whereof, there ſeemed to be more hope. By this perſuaſion, *Scanderbeg* reſolued with himſelfe to make prouiſion for the beſieging of Belgrade. And foraſmuch as his ſouldiers of Epirus alwaies vſed to the field, were not ſo fit for the beſieging of townes, hee thought it good to pray ayd out of Italy, from his old friend *Alphonſus* King of Naples, with whom he had of long time bin acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he ſent two of his noblemen embaſſadors vnto him, with certain rich Preſents, and familiar letters of this purport.

Scanderbeg craueth ayd of Alphonſus king of Naples.

C *Our ſouldiers of Epirus, know only how to fight with men, and them to vanquiſh: with wals they know not how to deale. You Italians (as I vnderſtand) haue skill in that kind of ſeruice, and take pleaſure therein: wherefore now at this preſent, I haue need of your help and cunning. There be certaine townes of our enemies in Epirus, yea almoſt in the heart of our kingdome, which eye-ſore I haue of long deſired (if it pleaſed God) to take out of my ſight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leiſure till now, happily to attempt any thing againſt them. This time I haue choſen as moſt fit, to ſatisfy my deſire, both for the ſeaſonableneſſe of the time of the yeare, and for that* Mahomet *ſpareth me leiſure; whoſe fury I haue twice calmed. You vnderſtand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almoſt in readines, and we only look for your help. Lend me ſuch ſouldiers as know how to fight afar off, I meane harquebuſiers and canoniers, for of others we haue ſtore plenty. But happy is Apulia, my* Alphonſus, *vnder thy gouernment*
D *from whence men fit for all ſeruices may be drawn, as out of a moſt plentifull treaſury. Whenſoeuer we haue requeſted men fit for ſeruice, either in peace or war, you haue beautified both our court and camp. By you the kingdom of Epirus hath bin ſomtime ſupported with ciuill policy, and warlike ſtrength: all ſorts of people, of what condition ſoeuer, yea euery corner of Epirus ſoundeth forth thy praiſe, both at home and abroad. But for mine owne part, I do ſo louingly embrace your kindnes, and ſo firmly retain the remembrance of your deſerts toward me, that ſome time I wiſh you that fortune (although in ſo doing I may ſeem vnkind) which (as the common ſaying is) prooueth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by ſome more certaine proofe know, how much I am to you deuoted.*

When *Scanderbeg* had ſent away his Embaſſadors, he with all diligence began to prouide
E things neceſſary for the ſiege of Belgrade: wherein he had purpoſed alſo to haue vſed the ſeruice of *Moſes*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his prince and country, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuſes to ſtay at home in Dibra; alleadging firſt, that it was to be thought that ſo ſoon as the Turkiſh king ſhould heare of the ſiege of Belgrade, he would inuade ſome part of Epirus, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the ſiege: and then, that no part of all Epirus lay neerer to the Turks, or more in danger than Dibra; and that therefore he could not do any better ſeruice, than to ſee vnto the ſafety of that countrey, long before committed to his charge, and in which alſo moſt part of his liuing lay. Theſe his excuſes, proceeding indeed from deep treaſon, were yet neuertheleſſe thought reaſonable, and he for his prouident care highly commended: and authority giuen him with new ſupplies to augment the garriſon vn-
F der his command, as time and occaſion ſhould require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended ſiege, the embaſſadors before ſent to *Alphonſus*, were returned into Epirus, and with them ſuch ayd as *Scanderbeg* had before requeſted, and a great deale more: For *Alphonſus* fearing the greatnes of the Turkiſh

Alphonſus ſendeth ayd vnto Scanderbeg.

Turkiſh Emperor, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions, reckoning Epirus not aboue 60 miles diſtant from his dominions, to be the ſtrongeſt wals of his kingdome in Apulia (as not many yeres after, it by proſe appeared, when as the Turks hauing taken Otranto, put all Italy in no ſmall feare.) With this aid he alſo wrote louing letters to *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his preſents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his owne. But when he came to make mention of the ſoldiers he had ſent, *Alphonſus*, after the manner of his pleaſant nature, merily wrote vnto *Scanderbeg*, That he had ſent him Italian ſouldiers which could according to his deſire, fight well both with men and wals, but better with women: and that therefore the Epirots were beſt to take heed, that they whoſe help they required for fight afar off, proued not alſo good warriours at hand at home in their houſes. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had giuen of the King, was by him referred vnto the exceſſe of his loue, and by the King requited with like. G H

Scanderbeg beſiegeth and diſtreſſeth Belgrade.

Scanderbeg now furniſhed with all things needful, ſet forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before Belgrade, with an army of 14000 good ſouldiers: & in ſhort time had ſo diſtreſſed the city, that the Turks were glad to take truce with him for ſixteen dayes, which time expired, they promiſed to deliuer the towne, if they were not before relieued. Vpon concluſion of this truce, *Scanderbeg* encamped himſelfe vpon an high hill, neer vnto the city, with three thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot: and appointed *Muſachius* and *Tanuſius*, with the reſt of his army, to remoue farther off into a large plaine, where they might encamp themſelues in a more wholſom and freſh aire, in that hot ſeaſon of the yeare, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed alſo 25 ſcouts to keep continuall watch vpon the top of the higheſt mountaine, to diſcouer a far off the comming of the enemy, and to giue warning thereof to the camp, by making a fire vpon the mountain: by the negligence of which watch, *Scanderbeg* receiued a great ouerthrow, as hereafter followeth. I

The news of the ſiege of Belgrade was brought vnto *Mahomet*, at ſuch time as he was ready to haue paſſed into Aſia againſt the Emperour of Trapezond: which great enterpriſe hee was loth to giue ouer, for the reliefe of Belgrade; and yet to loſe that city vnto *Scanderbeg*, grieued him much: wherefore he reſolued with himſelfe ſo to doe the one, as that he would not altogether neglect the other. And ſo holding on his intended journy into Aſia himſelfe, with ſuch fortune as is aforeſaid, he ſent *Sebalias* one of his great Baſſaes, with forty thouſand horſmen to relieue Belgrade, promiſing him great rewards if hee could bring him *Scanderbeg* either aliue or dead. This Baſſa was of the Turks accounted for a wary captaine, but not ſo couragious, alwaies more politick than forward: he hauing receiued his charge, ſet forward with all ſpeed poſſible, no leſſe carefull of that he was commanded, than was *Mahomet* himſelfe, and by great journies came on ſo faſt, that he ſtill preuented the fame of his comming; and by his forerunners intercepted, or rather (as ſome write) corrupted the watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed vpon the mountains; ſo that no ſigne was giuen vnto the campe of the enemies, as was expected. By meanes whereof *Sebalias* with all his power were vpon that part of *Scanderbegs* army, which lay in the plaines, before they were well aware of his comming: ſo that moſt part of them had not ſo much leiſure as to bridle their horſes, or to put on their armor. In which ſo ſudden a feare, *Muſachius* armed himſelfe, and put his ſouldiers in ſuch order, as the ſhortneſſe of the time and the enemies approch would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flie: but ſeeing no leſſe danger in flight than in fight, he reſolutely receiued the enemies charge, as a man deſirous before hand to reuenge his own death: and at length (ſeeing his men ſlaine about him by heaps, and that courage muſt needs giue place vnto fortune) fiercely attempted to haue broken through the midſt of his enemies, and ſo to haue fled to the mountain where *Scanderbeg* lay: but he was ſo beſet, that no way was poſſible to be made; wherefore reſoluing there to die, he deſperatly fought to the great admiration of his enemies, vntill that he, with all there with him, were euery man ſlain. *Tanuſius* on the other ſide, after he had giuen diuers braue attempts to haue reſcued his coſin *Muſachius*, finding by proofe, that he could do him no more good therin but to become the woful compation of his death, exhorted all the reſt yet left, for ſafegard of their liues to flie: in which doing, moſt of them were ſlaine, for the Baſſa's great army ſo filled all places thereabout, and ſo eagerly purſued the victory, that it was almoſt impoſſible any way to eſcape. *Scanderbeg* lying vpon the K L M

Muſachius ſlain, and the Epirots put to flight.

moun-

A mountaine,and seeing the ouerthrow of most part of his army,was about many times to haue descended from the hill,to haue holpen them in what he might, or els to haue there died with them:but yet stayed,being thereto earnestly requested by his other most expert captains;and persuaded, not desperatly to thrust both himselfe and them all into the manifest perill or assured death. *Scanderbeg seeth his men slain,and is not able to relieue them.*

Sebalias hauing slaine *Musachius*, and put *Tanusius* to flight, followed the chase with the greatest part of his army,so that few were left in the great plain, except such as stayed to rifle the dead.*Scanderbeg* taking that opportunity,came down from the hill whereon he stood,with his foure thousand souldiers, and in a moment slew all such Turks as he found in his way:and after following in the taile of the Turks army, cut off a great number of them, and brought a
B generall feare vpon the whole army : insomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiuing that he gained not so much in chasing of *Tanusius*, but that he lost more in the rereward of his army, by the pursuit of *Scanderbeg*,left the chase,and turned vpon his fierce enemy:where after a sharp skirmish begun, the wary Bassa fearing in the maintaining of that disordred fight to haue the victorie wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, caused a retrait to be sounded, so to call together his dispersed soldiers, and in better order to encounter his daungerous enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the meane time hauing assembled the remainder of his army, valiantly againe encountred the Turks, who thought in this battell to haue made an end of the warres in Epirus:and with his owne hand slew *Achmat* and *Barach*, two valiant soldiers of the Turks;which like stout champions had before sworne vnto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they should chance to meet
C with him.In this last skirmish a great number of the Turks were slaine:but night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his army to a mountaine neere vnto the city, and *Scanderbeg* likewise to another almost two miles off:and in the dead time of the night rising with his army, returned in safety into Epirus, leauing strong garrisons vpon all the streit passages as he went, for feare least the Bassa proud of this victory,should forthwith breake into Epirus. This was the onely and greatest ouerthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto receiued of the Turks:wherin he lost two thousand horse and three thousand foot(most part wherof were of the Italians sent from king *Alphonsus*) together with his tents and great artillery, and about eighty of his men taken prisoners. And of the Turks were also slaine three thousand. *Scanderbeg flieth by night into Epirus.*

The next day *Sebalias* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was retired,commanded the bodies of the
D slain Turks to be sought out and buried : but of such Christians as they yet found breathing, the Turks cut off their hands and feet, and so left them among the dead. The head of *Musachius* and of many other the slain Christians, which by their armor or apparrell were thought to be of the better sort,were by the commandement of *Sebalias* cut off;which because hee could not for the distance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoiance carry with him to Constantinople, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is;he caused them to be slaine, and stuffed with chaffe, and so to be carried as the vaine trophies of his victory. Afterwards, when he had repaired the battered wals of Belgrade, and put a new supply of seuen hundred fresh soldiers into the city,beside the old garrison therein before,and set all things in good order,he retrrned with great triumph to Constantinople. And the more to set out the glory of
E his victory,at such time as he entred the city, he first caused the captiue Christians to be led in chains before him;after whom were borne the ensignes taken from the Christians,with the aforesaid heads thrust vpon lances, and after them all the spoyle:last of all came *Sebalias* himselfe with his soldiers,as great conquerors, and was of the people receiued with such applause and ioy, as if he had conquered some great kingdome. No man was now spoken of but *Sebalias*, his praises were in euery mans mouth,he was the onely man (as they said) that did shew that *Scanderbeg* was to be ouercome,no preferment was now thought too great for him, or reward sufficient to counteruaile his desert. The poore Christian captiues were afterwards for the most part sould:of the rest, some were aliue thrust vpon sharp stakes,some hanged on yron hooks, some otherwise cruelly at the victors pleasure tortured to death.

F *Moses* lately before corrupted by the practise of the Gouernour of Sfetigrade, hearing of the great losse *Scanderbeg* had receiued at Belgrade, thought it now a most fit time for his reuolt. But forasmuch as the fact,in the nature of it selfe foule,seemed euen to himself the doer thereof,a great deale fouler and more dishonorable,for that he had therein no complices : he thought good, if it were possible,to alure some others into the fellowship of his treason, so to

diminish

diminiſh the infamy of himſelf, in communicating the ſame with many, and to appeare with greater credit before the Turkiſh tyrant, than if he ſhould as a contemptible fugitiue come al alone. Wherefore vpon the bad news from Belgrade, he ſeemed at the firſt very penſiue, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common miſery of the country of Epirus, with many words amplifying the ſame: and then on the contrary part, ſetting forth to the vttermoſt the force and power of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, thereby to ſtrike a greater terror and diſtruſt into the minds of them with whom he was conuerſant: but to ſuch as were more ſecret and inward with him, he diſcouered the great affection and fauour the great Emperor *Mahomet* had of long born him, with the large offer of his gifts & preferments, aſſuring them of the like alſo, if they would conforme themſelues vnto his appetite; ſeeking hereby ſo much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his moſt execrable treaſon: yet when he had ſaid what he could, he found none but a few of the baſer ſort of the common ſoldiers, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moſes* ſaw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be diſcouered, he fled by night to Sfetigrade, accompanied with a few baſe fellows, and eaſily obtained the Gouernours paſſe, with ſafe conduct to Conſtantinople, where he arriued a little before the returne of *Sebalias* from Belgrade, and was of *Mahomet* both ioyfully receiued and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderſtood that *Moſes* was thus reuolted, at the firſt report therof he was ſo troubled with the ſtrangnes of the fact, that he ſtood ſpeechles as a man aſtonied: but after he had pauſed a while, & vpon further enquiry had found it out to be true, he according to his heroical diſpoſition, ſaid no more, but that he could eaſily haue *Moſes* excuſed, for that he was carried away with the violence of ſuch fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right conſtant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the maner of the world) with hard ſpeeches ſeemed to aggrauate his offence: he could not abide to heare the ſame, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to vſe ſuch ſpeeches: wiſhing that all treaſon and euill fortune were together with *Moſes* gon out of Epirus. Vpon this news *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Ameſa* his nephew, and a troup of horſmen, preſently entred into the countrey of Dibra, and there with all care cauſed moſt diligent enquiry to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conſpiracy with *Moſes*. But finding none, he much reioyced in the fidelity of his ſubiects, & hauing ſet al things in good order in that prouince, returned himſelf to Croia.

Moſes remaining in the Turks court, ceaſed not to ſolicit *Mahomet* to proceed in his wars againſt *Scanderbeg*, promiſing to do therin great matters, euen to the ſpending of his life in that ſeruice. But the crafty tyrant thinking it not good to truſt him too far before he had further triall of him, delaied him off to the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too farre ſpent to begin wars. In the mean time he cauſed all *Moſes* talke, his behauior and actions, to be diligently obſerued and noted; and oftentimes himſelfe diſcourſed with him concerning the managing of that war: all which he did eſpecially to ſound the depth of *Moſes* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the moſt aſſured and vndoubted ſignes of a mind deuoted to his ſeruice, and altogether eſtranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteene thouſand horſemen for the inuading of Epirus, ſuch men as *Moſes* himſelfe ſhould make choice of: for a great number he required not for the vanquiſhing of *Scanderbeg*. Theſe ſouldiers although they deteſted (ſo few in number) to enter that fatal countrey of Epirus, as men faire warned by other mens harms, yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his means to find friends in that countrey to ioyne with them, were the willinger to go. So *Moſes* furniſhed with a notable army, and all warlike prouiſion he could deſire for the deſtruction of his country; and blinded with the imagination of a kingdome, ſet forward, & marching through Thracia and Macedonia, forgetting the loyalty due vnto his Soueraigne, and the loue he ought to haue borne vnto his natiue countrey, came and entred into Dibra.

Mahomet ſendeth Moſes with fifteene thouſand ſelect men to inuade Epirus.

Scanderbeg by his eſpials vnderſtanding of the comming of *Moſes*, as alſo what ſtrength he was of, ſtood not now vpon any policy againſt him who had of long bin priuy to all his ſtratagems, but was ready euen at his firſt entrance with true valour to encounter him. As both the armies ſtood ranged in order of battell, a meſſenger came from the Turkes campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his army durſt to proue his fortune hand to hand againſt one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battel. By which meſſenger anſwer was returned,

That

A combat betwixt a Turke and a Christian.

A That the challenge ſhould be accepted. The name of the Turke which made this braue challenge was *Ahemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongſt the Turks. Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Groppa*, a gentleman of no leſſe reputation among the Chriſtians, haſtily ſtept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had beene afraid to haue beene preuented by ſome other) and requeſted, that he might be the man to abate the Turks pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wiſhing him good fortune, gaue him leaue to carry with him into the field the firſt honour of the Chriſtian army. As he was arming himſelfe, his companions and fellowes in armes ſtanding about him, wiſhed vnto him not more courage or ſtrength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Maneſſi*. Vpon his armor he put on many rich jewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the reward of the enemy, if hee
B could vanquiſh him. The Turkiſh champion was no ſooner come into the plain betwixt both armies, and made ſhew of himſelfe in great brauery, as if his match had yet bin ſcarcely found, but he ſaw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and ready to charge him: to whom *Ahemaze* calling aloud, ſaid there would be time enough for him to haſten to his death, and therefore requeſted to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded ſuch like conditions of the combat, as had bin long before derided by *Maneſſi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better ſort accepted. In few words it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them ſhould abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or aid of others; and that the victor ſhould haue full power ouer the body & ſpoile of the vanquiſhed. Thus agreed, they withdrew themſelues one a good diſtance from another, and with their
C Launces charged, ran together with ſuch force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their Launces one vpon the other, and were both horſe and man ouerthrowne. But vnhorſed, they nimbly recouered themſelues, and with their ſcimitars fiercely aſſailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it ſhould ſeem had determined to beautifie that combat with variety, ſtanding a great while indifferent to both. After many ſturdy ſtrokes giuen, without any hurt don, by reaſon they were ſo ſtrongly armed, it fortuned that both their ſwords were beaten out of their hands: then grapling together with their bare hands, as if they had bin two vnarmed wreſtlers, after long ſtrugling till they were both almoſt out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, aboue the gorget thruſt him into the throat, and ſlew him: and ſo riſing vp, with the ſword that firſt came to his hands, cut off the
D Turks head: at the ſight wherof the Chriſtian army gaue a great ſhout for joy, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks. To be ſhort, *Zacharias* deſpoiling the Turk of his armor, and what els he thought good, returned loded with the ſpoile of his enemy, and preſented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turks head: for which he was of him afterwards moſt honourably rewarded.

Into this place yet reeking with the bloud of the laſt ſlaine Turke, came *Moſes*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his perſon: but when he ſaw him ready to come forth, he ſhamefully forſooke the place, and returned with ſhame enough into his army.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Moſes.

Preſently after, both the armies vpon ſignall giuen ſet forward, and ſo began to joine battel: where at the firſt onſet *Scanderbeg* ſo valiantly charged the vauward of the Turks army, that
E they were glad to giue ground: which *Moſes* perceiuing, releeued them with new ſupplies, and riding now here, now there, with his preſence and courage reſtored the battell, in many places almoſt loſt. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, ſtill preuailed vpon their enemies, and after great ſlaughter made, came to the ſtrength of their battell: where *Moſes* had placed moſt of his beſt ſoldiers, as his moſt aſſured and laſt refuge: in this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moſes* warily obſeruing in what part of the battell *Scanderbeg* himſelfe was, directed his moſt forces againſt him, of purpoſe, if poſſibly he might to haue ſlaine him; whereof he miſſed but a little: for a couragious ſoldier of the Turks by chance encountring with *Scanderbeg*, with his horſemans ſtaffe bare him quite backeward vpon his horſe, in ſuch forcible manner, that the Turks for joy gaue a great ſhout,
F thinking verily that he had bin ſlain: but *Scanderbeg* recouering himſelfe again, & chafed with ſuch an vnwonted diſgrace, furiouſly aſſailed the ſame Turke with his ſword, and after a great fight ſlew him. A great part of the Turks army being already ouerthrown by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbegs* army, diuers of the common ſoldiers thruſt the heads of the ſlaine Turks vpon the points of their ſpeares, in token of victory, to the great aſtoniſh-

ment of the Turks: and now joyning themselues with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the G
maine battell of the Turks than before. Neuertheles, *Moses* encouraging his soldiers, did what was possible for a man to do, and euen with his owne valour a great while staid the course of the victory: vntill he seeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his best soldiers; and that there was no remedy but that he must either fly, or there die; turned his backe and fled. In which flight many of the hindermost of the Turks were slaine: as for *Moses* himselfe, he escaped by waies to him well knowne, onely with foure thousand men, the poore remainder of so great an army: the rest, to the number of about eleuen thousand, all choise men, were slaine: whereas of the Christians were not past an hundred lost, and about eighty wounded. Of all the Turks that were taken, only one was saued, who being a man of good account, had yeelded himselfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward ransomed; the rest were all by the com- H
mon souldiers, without pitty tortured to death, in reuenge of the cruelty by them shewed at Belgrade: *Scanderbeg* himselfe not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

Moses with the rest of his discomfited army, lay still a while vpon the borders of Epirus, and would faine haue persuaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him againe into Epirus, to haue surprised the garrison left in Dybra, in number not aboue 2000; promising to bring them vpon the same garrison, before they should be aware of their com-
Moses condemned of the Turks. ming. But the Turke hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall consent to forsake him, and to return home. And so *Moses* seeing no remedy, returned with them to Constantinople, with countenance as heauy as if he had bin a condemned man now carried to the place of execution: and the Turks which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting I
that he should haue ended the wars in Epirus, began now to disgrace him as fast, and to speake all the euill of him they could deuise. Yea the tyrant himselfe (although he could blame nothing in the man, but his fortune) was so highly offended with him for the losse of his army, that he had vndoubtedly put him to most cruell death, had not the great Bassaes, and others neere about him, persuaded him otherwise, saying, That in so doing, he should alienate the minds of all others from reuolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his seruice. So was he by their mediation pardoned his life; but withall, so disgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his necessary maintenance: all which despightfull contumelies he outwardly seemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly so tormented with melancholy and griefe, that he could neither eate nor drinke: the remembrance of the foule trea- K
son committed against his Prince and country, was day and night before his eies; and the disgraces of the Turks court inwardly tormented him with intollerable griefe: the sight of the tyrant (who measured all things by the euent) filled his heart with secret indignation; and to return again to his naturall Prince, of whom he had so euill deserued, he was ashamed; sometime the clemency and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, slow to reuenge, and easie to be intreated to forgiue, heartned him on to thinke of returne; and by and by, the consideration of his foule treason ouerwhelmed him with despaire. Thus with contrary thoughts plunged to and fro, tormented with the vnspeakeable griefs of a troubled conscience, not knowing what to do, purposing now one thing, and by and by another, at last he resolued to forsake the insolent tyrant, and to submit himselfe to the mercy of *Scanderbeg*; wishing L
rather to die in his country for his due desert, than to liue with infamy, derided in the Turkes
Moses flyeth from Constantinople. court. Resting himselfe vpon this resolution, one euening he got secretly out of the gates of Constantinople, and trauelling all that night and the day following before he rested, by long and weary journies, came at last vnto his natiue country of Dybra. The garison soldiers beholding their old Gouernor all alone, full of heauinesse, as a man eaten vp with cares; moued with compassion, and forgetting the euils he had bin the occasion of, receiued him with many tears and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not far off. *Moses* comming vnto him with his girdle about his necke, in token that he had deserued death (as the manner of that country was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauy cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, submitted himselfe vnto his mercy, and with M
great humility and signes of repentance, craued his most gracious pardon. Which his request *Scanderbeg* presently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kissed him, in token he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, caused all such things of his as were before confiscat, to be againe restored vnto him; with all such offices and promo-

tions

A tions as he had before injoyed: and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man ſhould either publikely or priuatly ſpeake of that *Moſes* had treſpaſſed. *Mahomet* vnderſtanding that *Moſes* was returned againe into Epirus, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much grieued thereat, and fumed exceedingly: firſt, for that he had at all truſted him; and then, that he had ſo let him ſlip out of his hands: being verily perſuaded, that all that *Moſes* had done, was but a fineneſſe of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

Shortly after that *Moſes* was returned into Epirus, *Mahomet* by like practiſe allured vnto him *Ameſa*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew; promiſing to make him king of Epirus in his vncles ſtead. For by that meanes, the crafty tyrant thought it a more eaſie way to draw the minds of the people of Epirus from *Scanderbeg* vnto him deſcended of the Princes bloud, than to *Moſes*, or
B to any other ſtranger he ſhould ſet vp. *Ameſa* vpon this hope of a kingdome, fled to Conſtantinople: and becauſe he would cleere the mind of the tyrant from all ſuſpition and diſtruſt, he carried with him his wife and children, as the moſt ſure pledges of his fidelity. This *Ameſa* was of ſtature low, and the feature of his body not ſo perfect as might ſufficiently expreſſe the hidden vertues of his mind: he was of courage haughty aboue meaſure, ſubtill, and of a pregnant wit; wonderfull painfull, and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe means whereby aſpiring minds ſteale away the hearts of men) whatſoeuer he got of himſelfe, or had by the gift of his vncle, he diuided it amongſt his ſouldiers or friends: he was very affable, and could notably both couer and diſſemble his affections: for which things, he was aboue all others both beloued and honored of all the people of Epirus, next to *Scanderbeg* himſelfe. At his firſt
C comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promiſes and vaine praiſes of himſelf, as had *Moſes*; but only excuſing his owne reuolt, laboured to perſuade him, That he had for juſt cauſes left his vncle, with a deſire now faithfully to ſerue him. And to that purpoſe ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Ameſa his firſt ſpeech vnto Mahomet.

If it ſhould pleaſe thee (moſt noble Mahomet*) to call to remembrance the old injuries, and antient*
diſpleaſures by vs committed againſt thine imperiall Majeſty: we might ſeeme now rather to haue come
hither to receiue the juſt guerdon of our euill deſerts, than vpon any hope of honour or preferment. For
what could haue bin done more in diſgrace of the Othoman *Empire, than that you haue ſeene long ſince*
done by vs, in the moſt dangerous time of the Hungarian war; rather of a malicious and ſet purpoſe, than
D *for that we were juſt enemies? Whereas in the ſame perfidious courſe, I my ſelfe being a helper and par-*
taker therein (for now no excuſe is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance) your fathers ar-
my was betraied at Moraua, and the kingdome of Epirus by great treachery wreſted out of your fathers
hands; the only cauſe of ſo many calamities, and of ſo much bloudſhed. But vaine is this feare, and our
ſuſpition needleſſe, with ſo wiſe and mercifull a Prince; eſpecially for that my yeres then greene, and youth
prone vnto the harme of it ſelfe, and a mind not reſting vpon his owne reſolutions, deceiued me. I belee-
ued mine vncle (for the ignorant beleeue many things) and allured with the deſire of ſouereignty (the pro-
per diſeaſe of that age) and too much credulous, I forſooke you and followed his promiſes, but diſcretion
growing with yeares, I haue by little and little perceiued both the ſly perfidious dealing of mine vncle, as
alſo that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my ſelfe than to any other. Scanderbeg *recouered,*
E *and alſo enlarged the kingdome of Epirus; but not without my great labour and helpe. I expected long*
time, that he ſhould haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole inheritance, yet at leaſt ſome part thereof, as
a ſmall reward of my ſo great trauell and danger. Not long after, he married a wife, and hath begot a
young heire, a new ſucceſſor in his kingdome: vnto me for ſhame of the world, becauſe I ſhould not alto-
ther leade a priuate life, he hath aſſigned a baſe corner of Epirus; where he enjoying the reſt, I might
lead a poore and contemptible life. In this caſe I had much adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer
diſgeſt that injury: yet the iniquity of the time, with the inſolent diſpoſition of the man, compelled me to
ſmother vp my thoughts, and to make faire weather, leaſt finding ſome ſuſpition, he ſhould craftily haue
intrapped me, as he did of late George Streſie *his ſiſters ſonne; whom wrongfully charged with fained*
ſurmiſes, he hath almoſt depriued of all his poſſeſſions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your
F *highneſſe, I would gladly haue forſaken my ingratefull vncle with the ſtaines of his infamous kingdome;*
but that the remembrance of the old rebellion, and many injuries ſithence done, did make me afraid: vntill
that now (God I thinke ſo appointing it) I came moſt gladly, following your moſt royall faith and promiſe.
You had ſcarcely beckned vnto me, you had ſcarcely inuited me, hauing of long intentiuely waited euery

occasion, but straightway I came with such speed, as if I would haue flowne : I lingred not, I expected not G
either Scanderbeg *or his euill hap, or your more prosperous successe, as of late did* Moses; *least I might thereby justly seeme either for feare or regard of some eminent danger, rather to haue prouided for mine owne safety than to haue embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I left any thing for you in me to suspect, nor any cause wherefore I should desire to returne againe into Epirus: here are present most sure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyalty. Behold (worthy* Mahomet) *you haue whatsoeuer is deare vnto me, yea whatsoeuer nature could giue, pleasing vnto men in the course of mans life. These haue I brought vnto thee, which should with violence haue beene taken from an enemy: such pawnes as might assure thee of the faith of a most doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in so great speed and secret departure, I could not haue regard of my substance. And if I might haue had time to haue trussed vp my trash at leisure; yet I know not how, I should haue thought it a kinde of businesse, to haue* H
brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: especially vnto thee, of all other the richest. Only my fidelity I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou desire of me any other bond for more assurance, I refuse not whatsoeuer your highnesse shall appoint: for I came not hither to set downe couenants and agreements of my selfe, but to receiue them from you. I dare not promise to vanquish mine vncle, and to subdue Epirus with an army of fifteen thousand men: the misfortune of Haly-Bassa *and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare victory of* Sebalias, *with great bloudshed gained, may serue for examples. In me you shall neither want diligence nor faithfull seruice: as for other things concerning the euent of this war, and for the reuenge of the injuries by you receiued; you being a Prince of power inuincible, and of a most deepe judgement, are not to be aduised by me your vnskilfull vassaile.* I

Amesa honorably entertained by Mahomet.

This speech of *Amesa* seemed vnto *Mahomet* free from all dissimulation, forasmuch as he knew most part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his presence, confirmed the rest. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertaintent, referring other matters vnto a further time.

Vpon the approch of the Spring, *Mahomet* desiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon *Scanderbeg*, entred into consultation with his great Bassaes, concerning the inuasion of Epirus: vnto which counsell *Amesa* was by *Mahomet* admitted, and his wicked deuise for the destruction of his country, of all others best liked. After the matter had been long to and fro debated, it was concluded, That *Isaac* the great Bassa of Constantinople, should with an army of fifteen K
thousand be sent against *Scanderbeg*, and *Amesa* with him, hauing the charge of fiue thousand horsemen: and the Bassa to proclaime *Amesa* King of Epirus; thereby to persuade the Epirots, that *Mahomet* inuaded Epirus rather for the displeasure he bare against *Scanderbeg*, and for the aduancement of *Amesa*, than for any ambitious desire he had to take vnto himselfe that kingdome.

Great was the preparation for this war, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying fame had in short time filled euery corner of Epirus with the report of these newes; adding thereunto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon *Scanderbeg* without delay sent for his great captaines and men of war into Dybra, where that tempest was first to be L
expected: and when they were all assembled, he declared vnto them the greatnesse of the danger, and what he thought thereof himselfe as followeth:

A notable speech of Scanderbeg vnto his captaines, how the Turks were to be withstood at their comming to Epirus.

Amongst all other things which God hath left to vex and grieue the minds of men in so great variety of worldly affaires, we see (right worthy souldiers) these two the greatest, Hope, and Feare. The first a more comfortable thing, and proper to couragious minds (I may not say) of light beleefe: the other a thing of more discretion and safety, which although it vse to defer the desires of men, yet hath it power at length exceedingly to cure and season the same. Hereupon it is easily to be gathered, That the great chiefetaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in shew more hardy, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthaginentian captaine vsed to call Q. Fabius *(whom the Romans euer thought too slow and too fearefull) his great enemy: but* Te- M
rentius Varro *he called a greater enemy vnto his owne country and the people of Rome, than to himselfe. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truely be called Discretion, or wholesome policy? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can deny, That thereof*

hath

A hath risen the antient discipline of war, and the old seuere gouernment of martiall affaires. This aduised carefulnesse cherisheth and nourisheth Hope it selfe, it doth nothing rashly, it hath eies before, behind, and on both sides; it weigheth in indifferent ballance things past, present, and to come. You may now perceiue to what end my speech tendeth. I would first confer with you, and know your opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this war; that either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or else you (as you haue alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare now with your eares, what preparation, what warlike prouision is dayly made against vs. Loe, the great Bassa of Constantinople, all the floure of Europe, and whole strength of the Othoman Kingdome knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to proue my fortune against him, not without your honour: But I thinke it better to vse policy and wary heed against so great an enemy, than our wonted force and courage. That notable ouerthrow of Haly-Bassa, so
B many great victories by vs atchieued, our minds by so many good haps confirmed, perswade me to thinke that we haue both courage and strength to encounter him in plaine battell: but the vncertaine euents of war, and fortune neuer sufficiently knowne, maketh wise men to forget what is past, and to feare that is to come. It was neuer proper to any man, it was neuer giuen by inheritance, alwaies to ouercome; new occurrents require new correspondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yesterday, presume to assure your selfe to diuide the spoile of your enemies to day. Victory is like a trauellour, and goeth hither and thither, not resting long in a place: and although it be for most part both gotten and kept by courage and discretion, yet oftentimes, when you haue most carefully and politikely disposed of all things, the fortune and chance of war haue therein a great sway. I was wont to require (I remember it well) onely valour and courage in my souldiers, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes haps; if you did promise vnto
C me couragious minds, I assured you of all good hap and prosperous successe: but that losse we receiued at Belgrade (the remembrance whereof my mind feareth and alwaies abhorreth to thinke vpon) hath much changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme far otherwise of worldly matters, and the vncertainty of fortune. What if that day had beene longer? or Sebalias of more courage? might not the state of Epirus haue that day bin vtterly ouerthrowne? We were then rather by God preserued, than by any thing that was in our selues: what remained more, but that we shouuld like cowards haue yeelded our selues to haue beene bound of the conquerors? The night defended vs, yea, euen God himselfe defended vs;
D who tooke from them both policy and force, and gaue vs time to breath and escape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the comming of the victor: Howbeit he tooke nothing from vs, he carried little or nothing away with him, being too much carefull to keepe the honour he had already gained, and peraduenture in feare of them of whom he was not without cause most feared. I speake not this of purpose to terrifie any of you, but rather to admonish you, and to consult with you, how so great preparations may be frustrated and ouerthrowne, and some notable victory by vs atchieued, without the price of our bloud, or the losse of such things as we haue. The number of our enemies is great, and so great, as vntill this day we neuer saw in Epirus greater, except at such times as they came to besiege our cities, and to deuoure vs all. Now if we shall meet them in the plaine fields in a set battell, the euent thereof will be doubtfull, many of vs must needs fall, many of vs must die (I would I might be a false Prophet) before so great an army will either fly or be ouercome, your victory shall be mingled with teares, and the heauinesse of the conqueror not much vnlike the sorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we lost at Belgrade? is that losse so to be recouered: What floure of Chiualry, hardly to be in many yeares restored: how many worthy men
E were there slaine? Epirus must needs in short time be vnpeopled, if we shall so desperatly onely seeke for such glorious victories. Wherefore if we will do well, we must so fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow also. Neither are our enemies and we in like case. The losse of forty or fifty thousand is lesse vnto the Turkish tyrant, than the losse of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but few; and therefore carefully to be kept: which if we regard not for our owne sakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and children; whose welfare and liberty dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances, and almost euery one of your names, which maketh me also more carefull of your health. And yet I would not refuse to try the whole fortune of this battell in plaine field, if wee might thereby end all the wars against the Turks for euer; if I were in hope so to finde an end of our labours and trauels hereafter, I would gladly aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our posterity: but a new
F enemy alwaies ariseth, and we must still looke for new wars. When this Isaac is gone, another Isaac will ere long come in his place: we shall be alwaies exercised with new warres, and inclosed with new dangers: It is the destiny of Epirus (as farre as I can see) and we our selues are borne thereto. Wherefore we must gather our wits together, we must well husband our forces, and so diuide our patrimony, as that we may

alwaies haue ſomething to content our creditors, when they ſhall chance to come vpon vs. Yet ſhall God G
(no doubt) giue an end alſo vnto theſe troubles: for extremity cannot be of long continuance, and you your ſelues ſhall at length take reſt: yea, the ſtrong and puiſſant enemy, wearied with ſo many vaine attempts, will at laſt haue enough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred againſt vs: then ſhall it be to you no ſmall pleaſure to remember ſo many labors and dangers paſt. Thus haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommodities enſuing the victory in plaine battell. But what if we be vanquiſhed? Where haue we any hope of reliefe left? From whence may we expect helpe? Will the bloudy enemy, inflate with victory, expect whileſt we againe recouer our ſtrength and encounter him againe with new forces? No, he will purſue vs and chaſe vs ſo long as any of vs are left: and hauing ouercome vs, will poure out the reſt of his fury vpon our townes and countrey, then ſubject to his injury. But ſome of you peradnenture will ſay, that they are by policy to be ouertaken, and not to be met in open field: of which opinion H
I alſo am my ſelfe; yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the ſame. Then I thinke it beſt to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be deceiued: when as they being as it were in poſſeſſion of a ſuppoſed victory, like men ouerjoyed, ſhall caſt no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of Conſtantinople, full of diſtruſt, prying into euery corner, as men before warned by others harmes, and ſo many dreadfull examples of their fellowes: Beſides that, they haue with them my graceleſſe nephew and domeſticall foe Ameſa, *who will teach them to foreſee and ſhun ſuch ſnares as in times paſt he with vs was wont to lay for them. Wherefore we muſt now tower vp vnto the height of ſome notable and ſtrange policy, whereby both our countrey may be from danger preſerued, and alſo ſome great victory, without our owne bloudſhed (which ſeldome chanceth) obtained: which to the maintenance of our antient glory and renowne, we haue to this day by many moſt notable victories gained: but time and ſpace, and the ſight* I
of the enemy, ſhall furniſh vs with this deuiſe. Now (that my diſcourſe may come to the purpoſed end) firſt of all, all things ſubject either to the fury or victory of the enemy, are to be remoued out of the way; all people, of what age, ſex, or condition ſoeuer, are to be brought out of the country into places of ſafety; and then, our townes are to be furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons and all other neceſſary prouiſion, againſt all the chances of fortune. Beſides, who knoweth the ſecret deſignes of the tyrant? or whether he himſelfe (of long time deſirous of reuenge, and thirſting after our bloud) will follow the Baſſa at the heeles, or no. Perhaps I may beleeue and feare more than is needfull; but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may indeed feare nothing. If all things ſhall thus be ſet in order, if there ſhall nothing be left in the fields or in the villages, that may enrich feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our enemies, vndoubtedly we ſhall be victors. And if you will be ruled by K
me, and follow my direction in theſe wars, I will aſſuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be ſlaine at your pleaſure; and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Epirots more terrible vnto the Turke, than euer it hath bin in the time of our anceſtors. I flatter not my ſelfe, I deceiue you not: if any thing may be promiſed in worldly actions, this I aſſure you of, and this will I take vpon me. But theſe things are better done than ſaid. In the meane while, to ſpend no more time in longer talke and diſcourſe (than which, no greater loſſe can be to ſoldiers) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the good diſpoſing of all things, and how to withſtand the enemy. I will not command any thing to others which I will not my ſelfe do: I will refuſe nothing, or reckon any thing baſe, which may tend to the common honour or profit of vs all.

L

This ſpeech of *Scanderbeg* was well liked and joyfully receiued of all the hearers, ſo that many beſought him to manifeſt to them how he purpoſed to proceed in thoſe wars: whereunto he with cheerfull countenance anſwered, That it was enough for him, if they did but beleeue him, promiſing himſelfe in perſon to be in the moſt dangerous actions as far as any of them: wherewith they reſted contented. And preſently diſpatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdome, as he thought moſt conuenient, prouided, that all things were in ſhort time conueiued out of the country into the ſtrong townes and other places of refuge. No corne, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the country, but all left deſolate, in like manner as was before at the comming of the great King *Amurath* to the ſiege of Croia.

The Epirots remoue all their things out of the country into the ſtrong townes before the comming of the Turks.

By this time *Iſaac* the great Baſſa was come into Epirus, accompanied with *Ameſa*: and as M
he marched, ſtill ſent before him his ſcouts and eſpials, carefully to view euery corner of the country, for feare to be entrapped as others before him had beene; directed in his journey for moſt part by *Ameſa*. *Scanderbeg* had in readines ſuch an army as he had purpoſed to vſe againſt his

A his mighty enemy, but lay with six thousand horsemen only in shew, as if he had determined with them to haue giuen them battell, but meaning indeed nothing lesse. For as soone as the Bassa was come in sight, he with those horsemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had bin discouraged with the very sight of the Turks, turned his backe and fled. And because he would not giue them any occasion to suspect it to be done for some policy or fineneſse, and so to make them more carefull, he fled not into the mountains or woods, as his wonted maner was, but directly toward Lyssa, a town of the Venetians standing vpon the sea coast, as if he had quite despaired of the keeping of Epirus, and fled thither for refuge. The Bassa seeing him fly, was glad thereof, and sent certain troups of horsemen to pursue him, and diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himselfe with his army in the plaines of Di-
B bra, neere vnto Oronychium, where *Scanderbeg* lay before: and there rested his army, weary of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horsemen, sent after *Scanderbeg*. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certainty reported by them, That *Scanderbeg* with an handfull of men was fled out of Epirus, and not an enemy to be seene, the Turks began to rejoyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any losse driuen the enemy out of the country; yet much grieued, that they could no where find any thing to satisfie their greedy desires: for why, all things were so clean gon, as if the country had bin swept against their comming, which might haue been a sufficient cause for them to haue distrusted some great matter, but they flattering themselues, supposed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreme desperation: such is the fraile condition of men, to lose strength of body, common sence, yea, their reason and vn-
C derstanding, when some great mischiefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or destruction. The Bassa seeing the enemy fled, and now no cause of feare, consulted with his chiefe captains, what were now best to be done? *Ameſa* still persuading him not to remoue, but there to stay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whose opinion preuailed, said it was better to go farther into the country, and to take the spoile thereof before the country people should conuey away all their substance into places of safety, as they had done there in Dibra, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and empty cottages. By this persuasion, the Bassa early next morning in good order set forward: commanding by generall proclamaton, that no man vpon paine of death should breake his array or straggle from the army. Yet befor he set forward, he called *Ameſa* vnto him; whom after he had highly commended,
D and with great vehemency inuayed against *Scanderbeg*, he with the great applause of the whole army in the name of *Mahomet* created him King of Epirus. That day he marched not far, by reason of the great heat: for it was then about the midst of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himselfe with that daies trauell, finding neither enemy nor any thing else worthy to be accounted in any part of a victory, he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and sending forth his scouts euery way, but especially towards Lyssa. The next day, which was the third day after the Bassaes comming into Epirus, he set forward againe, and came at length into Æmathia, and there encamped that night.

Ameſa is by the Bassa created king of Epirus.

When *Scanderbeg* (flying for feare, as the Turks suppoſed) was gone a great way out of their sight towards Lyssa, and come euen to the borders of his kingdome, he there staid all the rest
E of that day. And a little before the going downe of the Sun, he with a few select horsmen departed from the army, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountains, from whence a man might by day wel discouer all the plains of Æmathia. There he appointed one *Peieus Emanuel*, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horsemen to marke diligently which way the enemy held, and by certain secret and appointed waftings and signes, to giue knowledge thereof to the army. After such order taken, he returned himselfe, and came again to the campe after midnight. And presently rising with his army, and fetching a compasse about, came vndiscouered, and secretly encamped himselfe as neere as he could vnto the mountains where his scouts lay, with eagles eis waiting for the least mouing of the enemy. The Bas-
F sa desirous to get as far as he could into the country, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to set forward, and came to the plains of Pharsalia, through the world spoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, betweene the two most famous chiefetaines *Cæsar* and *Pompeius*: and now once more to be made famous, by the slaughter of the Turks. Here the enemy finding some stragling cattel, & other small things which the country people had in their hasty flight left behind them, fel to seeking after booty, & as men without

feare

feare, ſpent that day in roaming vp and downe the country, in hope to find ſomething: and at night encamped without any great watch, but towards Lyſſum, from whence they (in great ſecurity) looked for the comming of *Scanderbeg*; and as it were in diſgrace of him, carried *Ameſa* in triumph vp and downe the campe, as if he had beene already poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Epirus. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other ſide of the mountains, perceiued by his eſpials, which way the enemy lay: and with great ſilence vnder the couert of the mountaines and woods, ſecretly bent his courſe the ſame way, vntill he came to a mountain called Tumeniſt, at the foot wherof he encamped that night. The next morning the Baſſa holding on his way, came and incamped not far from the ſame mountain, and there ſtaid himſelf with halfe his army, and ſent *Ameſa* with the other halfe to burne and ſpoile the country: who about noone returned to the campe with ſuch prey as he had got, with his ſoldiers well wearied with trauel, and the heat of the day. *Scanderbeg* like a carefull houſholder, who being about to entertaine and feaſt ſome honorable perſonages, truſteth not to his wife and ſeruants, but looketh to the beſtowing of his prouiſion himſelf, carefully ordering and diſpoſing and ſetting forth all things, eſpecially if his prouiſion (for want of ability) be ſhort, to welcome ſo great gueſts; and ſetting al things forth to the greateſt ſhew, ſeeketh at leaſt to fil the eies of his gueſts, although he doubt to ſatisfie their appetites: ſo he carefully viewing of all the mountains and thicke woods thereabouts without reſting, ſet *Moſes* in one place, *Tanuſius* in another, and all the reſt in places moſt conuenient. He appointeth euery man what to do, and inſtructeth them, & conſidereth of euery particular circumſtance himſelf: and ſo diuideth his forces, as might beſt ſerue his purpoſe, and make the moſt terrible ſhow to the enemy: for which purpoſe he in euery company placed moe trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of war, than he had before at any time vſed. When he had ſo to his moſt aduantage beſtowed ſo many of his captaines and ſoldiers as he thought good, and as the nature of the places would giue leaue, he with 4000 horſmen and the like number of foot, ſpeedily marching vp the rough mountaine of Tumeniſt, from thence plainly beheld in what order the Turks campe lay in the plains below. The Turks, eſpecially they which were lately returned with *Ameſa* from the ſpoile of the country, lay ſcattered abroad in the fields, with their horſes vnbridled and vnſadled, reſting their weary bodies: ſome got vnder the ſhadows of trees were victualling themſelues; ſome hauing filled their bellies, lay faſt aſleep on the green graſſe; the reſt were paſſing the time, ſome with one kind of ſport, ſom with another, as ſoldiers do in field when they haue little or nothing to do: for it was then the hotteſt time both of the yere, and of the day, being about the midſt of Iuly, and the noone-time of the day. The like negligence was alſo in that part of the camp where the Baſſa himſelf lay; euery man taking his eaſe and pleaſure, with ſmall regard of horſe or armor: for being out of feare of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to haue bin a great way off at Lyſſum, they lay as men without care wrapt vp in ſecurity, the common deſtruction of great armies and commonwealths. *Ameſa* with the great captains, were at the ſame time all together in the Baſſa's pauilion, conſulting what courſe they were beſt to take, to do ſomthing to the contentment of *Mahomet*, and their own commendation: ſome ſaid it were beſt with fire and ſword to deſtroy all they could in Epirus; and ſo hauing laid the country waſt, to returne. Others thought it better to march directly to Croia, to proue if the citiſens could be perſuaded to yeeld themſelues & receiue *Ameſa* for their king; otherſome to threaten them with a continuall ſiege, and vtter ruine of the country, if vpon the vaine expectation of helpe from *Scanderbeg* they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit themſelues. As for *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, who then lay houering ouer their heads, he was in all that conſultation leaſt feared: who from the top of the mountaine, beholding the ſecurity & diſorder of the Turks camp, and delighted with the ſight therof; encouraged his ſoldiers, and martialled them in ſuch order as they were to follow him, for the charging & terrifying of the enemy. But firſt of all he determined to oppreſſe the Turks ſcouts, which lay at the foot of the mountain: for which purpoſe he himſelfe with a few horſmen firſt ſecretly deſcended the mountain, the reſt of his army following ſhortly after, & ſo ſuddenly came on the ſcouts, that he ſlew them all except one, who eſcaping by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, came running to the camp as one halfe afrighted, crying out that *Scanderbeg* was comming. The Turks ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than the comming of him that way, at the preſent inſtant hardly beleeued that he was ſo nigh: when as he following him at the heeles as faſt as he could, with his horſmen & his footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt, broken in

The Turks campe buried in ſecurity.

amongſt

A amongſt the vnarmed Turks, and there making great ſlaughter of them, filled all the campe with ſudden tumult and feare. *Ameſa*, who at the firſt noiſe had ſpeedily got him to his charge, with his ſouldiers ſome halfe armed, ſome on foot, hauing no leiſure, to bridle their horſes, was the firſt that made head againſt *Scanderbeg*. The Baſſa alſo did what he might in that ſudden feare and ſhortneſſe of time, to arme his men, and to put them in order: but whileſt thoſe things were in doing, the ſouldiers which lay in ambuſh in the woods, came down the mountaines with ſuch horrible ſhouts and noiſe of inſtruments of war, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently gone together; the hils and vallies with their hollow echoes, encreaſing the terror of the alarum. Inſomuch that the Turks diſmaied, and fearing that all the force of Epirus with the countries adjoyning had come vpon them, began to fly on euery ſide, before that
B *Moſes* and the reſt that lay in ambuſh were come into the plaines. *Ameſa* acquainted with his vnckles ſtratagems, as much as he could encouraged the Turks; crying aloud & telling them, That ſuch vaine tumults and terrors were not to be feared, being but the bare ſhifts and deuiſes of their enemies to couer their owne weakeneſſe: and by his owne valour ſtaied many which beſore were about to haue fled. In this while the Baſſa hauing put his men in beſt order he could, was comming to the aid of *Ameſa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*: but in his ſetting forward, he was ſo valiantly encountred on the one ſide by *Moſes* with his horſemen, and on the other by *Tanuſius* and *Emanuel* with their footmen, that he was inforced, not without great loſſe, againe to retire vnto his trenches.

Scanderbeg ſuddenly aſſaileth the Turks.

All the hope of the battell depended vpon *Ameſa*, who ſtill with great courage withſtood
C his vnckle; exhorting his ſouldiers valiantly as men to endure that firſt aſſault, which ſhould afterwards bring them moſt aſſured victory: heartening them on with hope of ſpeedy helpe from their fellowes, if they would but a while endure the fury of their enemies, whoſe hearts (as he ſaid) would preſently be diſcouraged, if they preuailed not in that their firſt and deſperat attempt, hauing nothing elſe to truſt vnto. By which perſuaſion the Turks were againe encouraged, accounting it a great diſhonour to fly and leaue their chiefetaine in the field. But when they ſaw *Scanderbeg* ſtill to preuaile vpon them, and that no helpe came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbegs* horſmen ſlaine as they were arming themſelues; many were by the way cut off as they were comming, and the reſt put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Ameſa*, turned their backs and fled alſo. *Scanderbegs* horſemen purſuing the chaſe,
D made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and in the ſame chaſe tooke *Ameſa* priſoner. *Scanderbeg* hauing ouerthrowne that part of the Turks battell, was comming with a thouſand footmen and ſome horſemen, to haue aided *Moſes* againſt the Baſſa: but before his comming, *Moſes* to blot out his former infamy, had with inuincible courage put the great Baſſa with all his army to flight: and *Scanderbeg* following the chaſe, gaue him not leaue to looke behind him, vntill he was got out of Epirus. Many were in this chaſe taken priſoners, and amongſt the reſt one *Meſites* a Sanzacke, a man of great account among the Turks. In this battell beſide the priſoners, were taken twenty of the Turks faireſt enſignes. As for horſes, armor, and other ſpoiles taken in the field, and in the campe, all which fell to the ſouldiers ſhare, it is almoſt increuible to be told. The number of the ſlaine Turks is of diuers diuerſly reported; they which write of the
E moſt, reckon vp thirty thouſand; and they which ſpeake of the leaſt, account twenty thouſand. Of the Chriſtians were loſt but ſixty. Now if any account it ſtrange, that ſo great a victory ſhould be gained with ſo little loſſe; not to ſpeake of that is written in holy Writ, let him but reade the antient hiſtories of the Romans, or the Chronicles of our own Country, and he ſhall in them find victories no leſſe ſtrange. There was to be ſeene the ſudden and ſtrange alteration of theſe worldly things, no more indeed (whatſoeuer we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we haue not. *Scanderbeg* poſſeſſeth the rich pauilion, erſt belonging to the great Baſſa; and other of his captaines enjoy tents, with much other rich furniture neuer prepared for their vſe. *Ameſa* which the ſame day as a victorious conqueror ouerran a great part of Æmathia with his horſemen, and was carried in triumph with the generall acclamati-
F on of many thouſands of valiant ſouldiers, and honoured as a King, and of them ſo called; is now led through the Chriſtian army to his vncle, with his hands bound behind him as a ſlaue, ſpeechleſſe and confounded, vnable to hold vp his head for ſhame: whoſe miſery moued moſt of the beholders to compaſſion, and forced teares out of the eies of many.

A notable victory of the Chriſtians.

The next day after this great victory, *Scanderbeg* cauſed the bodies of the ſlaine Turks to be

be buried, together with their horſes; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their G
loathſome carkaſes ſhould not infect the country: and after that, returned in great triumph to Croia. By the way as he went, the country people, which were before for feare of the Turks fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes, met him, as he did others alſo out of the cities, whoſe mouthes were all full of his worthy praiſes. Before him went the captiue Turks with their hands bound behind them, excepting ſuch as ware enforced to carry the Turks enſignes. Next vnto them followed the great Baſſaes rich pauilion, in ſuch manner ſupported by the ſoldiers, as if it had bin in the field. Then came *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the Turkiſh Sanzacke, and *Ameſa* following him; for *Ameſa* had with great and humble ſuit obtained of his vncle, that he might not as he well deſerued, be carried bound among the other captiues. Laſt of all came *Scanderbeg* his victorious ſouldiers in goodly order, euery man lea- H
ding a ſpare horſe taken from the enemy, and loaded with ſpoile. So when he was come to Croia, and there of his ſubjects joyfully receiued, he brake vp his army, and gaue euery man leaue at his pleaſure to depart. The Sanzacke, and *Ameſa* were committed to ſafe keeping, vntill further order was taken for them. *Ameſa* afterwards was for his treaſon worthily condemned to perpetuall priſon, and by an Embaſſadour from *Scanderbeg* ſent vnto King *Alphonſus* to Naples, there to be kept in durance; and with him was alſo ſent an honourable Preſent of part of the ſpoile taken from the Turks, in token of the victory. What became afterwards of this *Ameſa*, concerneth not much the courſe of our hiſtory; yet to ſatisfie the deſirous, I thinke it not amiſſe with him to ſtray a little out of the way.

When *Ameſa* had remained a yeare in priſon at Naples, *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of the I
death of *Alphonſus*, by his Embaſſadour requeſted of *Ferdinand* his ſon, to haue *Ameſa* reſtored to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into Epirus, and caſt in priſon at Croia; but not in ſuch ſtreight manner as before: for *Scanderbeg* according to his accuſtomed clemency, began now to forget the injury to him before done; and at laſt ouercome with the continuall ſupplication and tears of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and reſtoring him to his former liberty, receiued him alſo into his former fauour. But *Ameſa* remembring what pledges of his loyalty he had left with *Mahomet* at Conſtantinople, and fearing what would become of his wife and children, if he ſhould haſtily vſe that his liberty, giuing his vncle moſt humble thanks, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth:

K

The ſpeech of Ameſa to Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodneſſe onely, without any deſert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it behoueth me alſo to be carefull for the life of others: leſt whileſt I receiue your exceeding bounty with too much deſire of mine owne health and honour, I do at this preſent, by this ſame benefit of yours, caſt away them, whom I haue long ſithence by mine owne trechery vndone. Mine vnfortunate and guiltleſſe Wife is with Mahomet, *my little and innocent children are with him alſo: theſe yet liue, and ſhall liue, ſo long as the tyrant ſhall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he ſhall once perceiue by this your gratious dealing, that I am fallen from him, the cruell creditor will forthwith cut and rend in pieces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent bloud ſhall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherfore the* Othoman *tyrant is of me by ſome deuice to be deceiued, that I may in the meane time preſerue thoſe pledges, vntill I may by ſome fit occaſion afterwards redeeme the ſame. I will by your leaue this night* L
take my flight out of Croia, as if I had broken priſon, and eſcaped againſt your will, and ſo fly vnto Mahomet, *making the greateſt ſhew I can of my wonted loue and loyalty towards him: not omitting to heare, or ſpeake vnto that credulous King ſuch things concerning your eſtate, as I was wont in my better fortune: that hauing ſo cleared my ſelfe of all ſuſpition, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reaſon of my captiuity and long ſtay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, ſo eſcape from him: Wherein you may helpe me much, if you ſhall openly make ſhew as if you were grieued with my eſcape, and ſeeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the priſon for the ſame. In the meane time, whileſt I ſhall ſtay in the tyrants court expecting ſome fit time for my eſcape; I will ſtand you in ſtead of an intelligencer, ſo that your enemy ſhall not to my knowledge either attempt or goe about any thing againſt you, which ſhall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.* M

Scanderbeg refuſed to grant whatſoeuer he had requeſted, but ſaid vnto him:

Ameſa,

A Ameſa, *ſithence we haue granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not prohibit you to vſe that our gift to your moſt good, and to the preſeruation of them who for euer may moſt juſtly call vpon you, as debtor vnto them, for their welfare and liberty. Goe thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occaſion as it ſeemeth vnto thee beſt; and at length reforme thy ſelfe, whileſt thou yet haſt ſufficient time and ſpace. We now beleeue you in all things; and well like of this your deuice:* Ameſa, *you ſhall herein deceiue no man but your ſelfe, if you ſhall longer follow the faith and court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of body and ſoule both to thee and thine. Whenſoeuer thou ſhalt returne vnto vs, thou canſt not do vs a greater pleaſure: and in what regard thou haſt heretofore been with vs, in the ſame thou ſhalt be with vs againe.* *The anſwer of Scanderbeg to Ameſa.*

B The ſame night *Ameſa* by ſecret order from *Scanderbeg*, eſcaped both out of priſon and out of Croia: and in the morning it was all ouer the city, that he was gone, and the keepers ſharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to Conſtantinople, eaſily perſuaded *Mahomet*, that he was by chance eſcaped, with all things elſe that he told him: yet was he not for all that, ſo well graced of him as before; not for any diſtruſt he had in the man, but for the euill ſucceſſe he had in the formes wars. Now whether *Ameſa* neglected his promiſed returne, or could find no opportunity to performe the ſame, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that ſhortly after he died at Conſtantinople, poiſoned as was thought by the commandement of *Mahomet*, who could no longer indure the ſight of him, whom he reckoned the author of that notable ouerthrow receiued in Æmathia. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant man, well C worthy of remembrance, had not his haughty thoughts ſoared too high with the deſire of Soueraignty. *The death of Ameſa.*

When *Mahomet* vnderſtood in what manner *Iſaac Baſſa* was ouerthrowne, and his army diſcomfited, he was therewith much grieued, and juſtly blamed the Baſſaes ſecurity: yet ſuch was his credit with his Soueraigne, that the matter was in better ſort paſſed ouer than was ſuppoſed it would haue been. Neuertheleſſe, *Mahomet* in reuenge thereof would willingly haue imployed all his forces vpon *Scanderbeg*, if his more vrgent affaires would haue ſo permitted. For at the ſame time, beſides that great warres began to riſe betwixt him and the Venetians (which continued for many yeres after) he was certainly informed, That the Chriſtian Princes were making a ſtrong confederation againſt him. At which time *Mahomet* diſdaining o- D penly to ſue for a peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practiſed by ſuch as were ſent to redeem the priſoners, & alſo by the Sanzack himſelf, to perſuade *Scanderbeg* to require peace of him; aſſuring him, that if he did but aske it, it would for a long time be eaſily obtained. Which thing *Scanderbeg* (well acquainted with the Turkiſh policy, vtterly refuſed to do. Wherefore *Mahomet* for the defence of his countries bordering vpon Epirus, ſent two of his moſt expert captains, *Sinam* and *Hamur*, with each of them 14000 ſoldiers into Macedonia, expreſly charging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occaſion, into Epirus, or by any means to prouoke *Scanderbeg*: which his commandement they ſo well obſerued, that the Epirots by the ſpace of almoſt two yeres enjoyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old injuries wearing out with time, at length by the me- E diation of the ſame captains, a peace for a yere was agreed on betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*. In which time he paſſed ouer into Apulia, and there notably aided King *Ferdinand* againſt the French, the proceedings wherein, as not pertinent to our hiſtory, I of purpoſe paſſe ouer. *A peace for a yeare concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.*

After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with *Mahomet* as he deſired, he reſolued according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet eſtate of *Scanderbeg*: and ſo ſending a new ſupply of ſoldiers to *Synam-beg*, who then lay with a ſtrong garriſon vpon the frontiers of Epirus, commanded him with all his power to make wars vpon *Scanderbeg*. *Synam* accordingly, with an army of 20000 men entered into Epirus, where he was forthwith encountered by *Scanderbeg*, and his army vtterly ouerthrowne, ſo that but few eſcaped by flight with *Synam* himſelf. Preſently after he ſent *Aſam-beg*, another of his F captaines, into the ſame ſeruice, with an army of thirty thouſand, whom *Scanderbeg* alſo in plaine battell vanquiſhed at Ocrida; in which battell *Aſam* himſelfe was ſore wounded, and finding no way to eſcape, was glad to yeeld himſelfe priſoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom he was courteouſly vſed, and afterwards ſet at liberty. *Iuſſum-beg* following *Aſam* with eighteene thouſand into Epirus, was ſet vpon by *Scanderbeg* alſo, and hauing loſt part of his army, was

glad

glad by ſpeedy flight to ſaue himſelfe with the reſt. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old captaine and a man of great experience (who had bin a great commander, & a companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requeſted of *Mahomet*, that he might proue his fortune againſt his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, aſſuring him of better ſucceſſe than before. The long and approued experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in ſuch hope of good ſpeed, that he gaue preſent order for the leuying of ſuch an army as *Caraza* had requeſted, and for ten thouſand mo than he had at the firſt required. With this ſtrong army, in number almoſt forty thouſand, *Caraza* ſet forward, hauing before filled the minds of men with the expectation of ſome greater matter to haue bin by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding certainly that *Caraza* was comming, ſtood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therfore aſſembled greater forces than he had vſually done before: and to welcome him, ſent two thouſand of his beſt and moſt expert ſouldiers ſecretly into the enemies countrey; who lying in ambuſh amongſt the woods and mountaines, whereby *Caraza* muſt needs paſſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon foure thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of *Caraza* his army) who marching diſorderedly, and fearing no ſuch matter, were in a trice ouerthrown, and moſt part of them ſlaine: thoſe few that eſcaped fled backe againe to the army, as if they had come in poſt to bring tidings of ſome haſty newes to the Generall. With which ſo vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was ſo diſcomfited, that if he might for ſhame, he could haue bin content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet for his honours ſake holding on his way, he came into Epirus; where whileſt he was (after the manner of old men) long in reſoluing what courſe to take, he was vpon the ſudden aſſailed by *Scanderbeg*, before he could well put his men in order of battell. At which time there fell ſuch a vehement ſhower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three daies together it rained continually (for it was about the latter end of Autumne) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not in one place or other to trouble the Turks camp: ſo that the old Generall, partly diſtempered with the extremity of the weather, which for the violence thereof he tooke to be ominous; and more diſcouraged with the reſtleſſe attempts of *Scanderbeg*, roſe with his army, and retiring back by the ſame way he came, returned to Conſtantinople. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promiſed ſo much, had performed ſo little: yet afterwards was againe by him in ſome ſort commended, for that he had with leſſe loſſe looked vpon *Scanderbeg* than other Generals before ſent againſt him.

Mahomet perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be ſubdued but with ſuch forces as he was not then at leiſure to imploy on him, thought it not amiſſe to proue if he could by faire ſpeeches & glorious ſhews of fained friendſhip get within him, and ſo bring him to confuſion: for which purpoſe he ſent vnto him an Embaſſador with rich preſents, and letters of this purport:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Lord and Emperour of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and of all parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Albania and Epirus, ſendeth greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I Thinke, friend Scanderbeg, *that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendſhip more firme, than that which hath growne of long and mutuall conuerſing and liuing together, and eſpecially if the ſame haue taken beginning from childhood and tender yeares, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great loue and friendſhip, when as you firſt lay as hoſtage in my fathers court. Wherefore beloued* Scanderbeg, *when as I call to remembrance all thoſe things, with others, wherewith our youthfull yeares were then delighted, and being mindfull alſo of all thoſe things which you haue oftentimes done for the aduancement of our Empire and Kingdome, and for the glory of the* Othoman *family, I cannot chuſe but embrace thee with ſingular zeale and affection. For I take God to witneſſe, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleaſing vnto me in my life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enjoy thy company. Neither needeſt thou to feare any thing to come vnto me, for that my ſouldiers without my knowledge or commandement haue of late broken in and ſpoiled thy Kingdome: which thing, as reaſon required, was vnto me exceedingly diſpleaſing: neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquiſhed and ouercome, and ſo receiued the juſt reward of their euill deſerts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equity of thy cauſe, and as thy heart could haue deſired. But to let theſe things paſſe, the remembrance of our old loue and friendſhip perſuadeth me to come to agreement, and to joyne together with thee in a perpetuall league*

of

A *of amity: to the intent that our antient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reason of long absence is almost worn out, may again take life, increase and be confirmed. Of which peace let these be the capitulations, if they shall seem vnto you reasonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requireth not the peace, to appoint the conditions of the same. First, we require you freely and peaceably to suffer our Armies to passe thorow your kingdom, for the besieging of the cities and inuading of the countries subiect vnto the Venetians our enemies. Then, To deliuer vnto vs your son* Iohn *in hostage, whom we will alwaies vse as one of our own naturall children. And afterwards, That our Merchants and men of trade may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your Kingdome with their Merchandise, and there freely and safely vse their negotiation. Last of all, That your self in person may at your pleasure safely and without all fear repair vnto vs, and in like manner return again. In which things if you will yeeld vnto*
B *vs, I promise vpon the faith of a King to grant vnto your Kingdome a sincere peace, with perpetuall tranquilitie; and that there shall not be any more dear vnto me than your self; and wil neuer to the vtmost of my power permit your kingdom to be infested or molested by any of our subiects or others. Whatsoeuer you shall further receiue from vs by the mouth of our Embassador* Mustapha, *you may thereto giue full credence. Fare you well.*

From our Imperial Palace at Constantinople, the 10 *of May,* 1461.

Scanderbeg hauing receiued these letters, and wel considered of the same, returned him answer as followeth:

C

The Soldier of CHRIST IESVS, *George Castriot*, otherwise called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albanenses and Epirots, vnto *Mahomet* Prince of the Turks, greeting.

Scanderbeg his answer to Mahomets former Letters.

YOur Letters (most Magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs, wherin you write of your exceeding loue and singular affection toward vs, confirmed as you say by old acquaintance, which being grown vp betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmly rooted, and as it were into nature conuerted, shall alwaies retaine his force and strength. But forasmuch as it seemeth good vnto you to awake the same, hauing a long time
D *and many years lien as it were asleep, and to make a motion that we should enter into a certain new league and confederation, wherof amongst other conditions of the League by you propounded, this is one, That your Forces may freely passe through my Kingdom to inuade the Venetians. Vnto this your request, worthy* Mahomet, *it standeth neither with equitie nor with myne honor to consent, forsomuch as the Venetians are myne especiall good friends and confederats. And for that you desire to haue my son* Iohn *with you in hostage, for the better assurance of the peace betwixt vs; I should peraduenture do it (most Noble* Mahomet) *if fatherly affection would giue me leaue. But sithence I haue no more but him, and hee as yet a tender childe; it is not for the good of either of vs, to haue him now taken from vs, when as he ought of vs to be most tenderly cherished, and carefully instructed. As for that you requested concerning your*
E *Merchants, That they may freely and safely traffique into my Kingdom, I can be content to yeeld thereunto, and wish heartily that there might be a free intercourse of our Merchants indifferently with their commodities into both our Kingdoms. Further, Wheras you earnestly persuade mee, boldly and without fear to come vnto you, that by such interview and personall presence, our great desire, grown of long absence, might be the better satisfied: in this thing (most excellent Prince) I cannot but praise your most honorable disposition, and commend your good nature; and would therfore boldly follow your persuasion, if my other vrgent affairs, and the gouernment of my kingdom would so permit. But what shall I doe? my son* Iohn *(as I said before) but little, and as yet vnfit to gouern; and my people (as you know) loue alwaies to haue something to do; being by nature a fierce and restles nation, whom I my self haue much a do to rule and gouern. For all that, I will come vnto you according to your desire, expecting only a more*
F *commodious time. So fare you well.*

From our Camp the 30 *of May,* 1461.

When *Mahomet* had receiued these Letters, and wel perused the same, he writ to him again in manner following:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of all the parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, greeting.

Mahomets letters to Scanderbeg, for the concluding of a perpetual peace between them.

YOur Letters we haue receiued by our Embaſſadour Muſtapha, *wherin you giue vs to vnderſtand, That you like of none of the conditions of peace by vs propounded, but only that concerning our merchants and men of trade, that they might freely and at their pleaſure vſe their traffique and trades with their merchandiſe to and fro, and vpon this condition only you grant vs peace. This your offer wee accept of, and all the reſt of your excuſes we willingly admit: wherfore I promiſe vnto thee, my louing* Scanderbeg, *and will perform all that thou doſt require, and vpon that reſolution reſt; and wil ſo long as I liue obſerue and keep a ſincere and inuiolable peace with thee for euer, except thou firſt giue cauſe for the violating of the ſame. And for that purpoſe haue wee with our vſuall and Imperiall Seal ſigned theſe our Letters, which we by our Embaſſador* Muſtapha *haue ſent vnto thee, as therby confirming to thee this perpetuall peace. Wherfore you alſo (if you be ſo content) may ſubſcribe, and with your Seal confirm this of ours; that I in like maner may haue alſo your like conſent and agreement. And would further, That you would command knowledge therof to be made by open proclamation through all your king dome, as I will in like maner cauſe to be don through myne. And for the more manifeſtation of this my loue toward you, I would alſo that you ſhould vnderſtand, That of myne own meer motion and bounty, I do freely giue vnto you all thoſe things which you by force of arms haue taken from my father in Albania and Epirus, ſo that you may poſſeſſe and enioy the ſame as if they had alwaies bin yours and your Auncеſtors. Wherfore I giue, grant, and confirm vnto thee and thy heirs, all the right, title, or intereſt, which I hertofore had therin, and from henceforth will alwaies account and repute thee as a Prince of Albania and Epirus, and ſo call thee. And as I haue promiſed thee in the faith of a King, will neuer herafter with wars moleſt thee or thine, except thou thy ſelf giue cauſe therof. Wherfore after you haue with your ſeal confirmed theſe things, you may commend them to our faithfull Embaſſador* Muſtapha, *to be by him brought vnto vs: to whom I would you ſhould in all things giue full credit. So fare you well, and render vs loue for loue.*

From our Imperiall Palace at Conſtantinople, the 22 of Iune, 1462.

A peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

Vpon receit of theſe letters a peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg* & the ſame by publique proclamations ſolemnly publiſhed through both their kingdomes, to the great rejoicing of many. Which peace was for a ſeaſon faithfully kept on both ſides, vntill that the Turks lying in garriſon vpon the frontiers of Epirus, began after their wonted maner again to fetch preys and booties out of the country. Of which iniuries *Scanderbeg* by Letters complained to *Mahomet*: who anſwered, that he was altogether ignorant therof, and ſeemed to ſhew to be much offended with the inſolencie of the doers therof, and forthwith cauſed many things to be again reſtored. By which means the peace before concluded, was ſtill as before continued.

A little before the concluſion of the aforeſaid peace, great wars began to ariſe betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, who all this while being in league with the Turkes, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of merchandiſe, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbors harms and miſeries, vntil that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their own houſes, and as it were to waken them out of a dead ſleep. For *Mahomet* after he had ſubverted the empire of Conſtantinople, and driuen *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the Emperors brethren out of Peloponeſus (now called Morea) reſted not ſo contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captains diſturbed the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their poſſeſſion, Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, with diuers other ſtrong towns in Peloponeſus ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt. And now it chanced that about this time, *Ioſhue*, *Mahomets* lieutenant in Peloponeſus, had by the treaſon of a Greek prieſt, vpon a ſudden ſurpriſed the city of Argos: and *Omares* another of his great Captains, hauing firſt ſpoiled the Countrey about Naupactum (now Lepanto) entred farther into the territory of the Venetians about Methone & Corone, making hauock of all that came in his way. With which injuries, plainely tending to open war, the Venetian Senators being much troubled, ſat oft times in counſel, deliberating with much care, what courſe to take in a matter of ſo great importance. Some being of opinion, that

A that it were beſt to ſend Embaſſadors to *Mahomet*, ſo to make proof if the matter might by fair means be redreſſed. Others contrariwiſe deemed it to no purpoſe ſo to do; forſomuch as ſuch great and manifeſt outrages, nothing differing from plain hoſtility, could not poſſibly be don without the Tyrants knowledge and expreſſe command. After the Senators had often met together, and with many great reaſons debated the matter to and fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing (as in conſultations of great matters with a multitude, it moſt commonly falls out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time to bring the multitude vnto ſome certain reſolution, than it is afterward to performe the action) in this ſo great a diuerſitie of opinions concerning ſo weighty a cauſe, at length one *Victor Capella*, a noble Gentleman and graue Senator, ſtept vp in the midſt of the Senat, and there frankly deliuered this notable
B ſpeech vnto the reſt, concerning the matter propounded, as followeth:

The notable ſpeech of Victor Capella, to perſuade the Venetians to take vp arms againſt Mahomet.

I haue before this, at other times by long experience often noted (moſt noble Senators) that in all our greateſt conſultations of matters concerning our common ſtate, ſome are alwaies ſo addicted, or rather wedded to their own conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the reaſonable opinion of others contrary to their own, the chief cauſe of our ſlow reſolutions. Wherfore I haue thought good briefly at this time to call vpon you for reſolution, forſomuch as I ſee we muſt of neceſsity take vp arms, be we neuer ſo loth or vnwilling: for to my vnderſtanding, you do but betray the State, in delaying the time to make preſent war vpon the barbarous enemy. Yet many principal men among vs aduiſe vs to beware that
C *we do not raſhly or vnaduiſedly determin of matters of ſo great conſequence; and think it requiſit that we ſhould ſend embaſſadors vnto the Tyrant to expoſtulate with him his vniuſt dealing in breaking his faith and league; and withall to requeſt him to obſerue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if haply he may rather by perſuaſion than by arms be moued to change his purpoſe: and if by this means nothing may be obtained, then at length they think it neceſſary to reſolue to make war vpon him. They alledge further, that if we ſhall attempt war, our cities in the continent, bordering vpon the Ionian in Peloponeſſus, with diuers others of ours in the firm land, will not be able to hold out long, but for want of neceſſaries muſt needs periſh with the firſt of the trouble. Beſides that, if thoſe places ſhall be waſted and ſpoiled, great loſſe (as they ſay) ſhall enſue therby vnto moſt of vs in priuat: The greateſt motiue (perhaps) wherfore they think it moſt conuenient to defer the wars, and for that purpoſe to ſend our Embaſſadours vnto him. Of which Embaſſage firſt by your leaue a few words. At ſuch time as theſe our Embaſſadours, men of*
D *great wiſdom and reach, not long ſince came vnto him, he had of them no regard, but dallying off the time with fraudulent, deceitfull, and gloſing ſpeeches, did indeed ſuch things to the contrary as we leaſt hoped. Wherfore I cannot well deuiſe (if we ſhould ſend them or ſuch others againe) what eſpeciall thing of all that we then gaue them in charge, they ſhould now propound vnto him, hauing already ſaid what is to bee ſaid: except they ſhould ſay, That wheras we are not of ſufficient ſtrength and power to wage war againſt him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talk, and by that ſimple means to redreſſe our injuries; and vpon the matter, to ſhew our ſelues preſt and ready to fall to agreement with him, according as ſhall ſtand with his good pleaſure and liking. Truly this were good plain dealing, but it will not ſerue our turn. Argos is already taken from vs, and he maketh open war vpon vs: wherein hee doth but proone our courage, and try how long we will put vp theſe injuries: if we will quietly digeſt theſe, he will then confidently*
E *and without fear proceed further. But if we ſhall (as beſt beſeemeth vs) valiantly reſiſt him, he ſhall be glad of ſuch reſt as we will giue him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turn himſelf, ſhal be as glad as we to lay down arms, and to ſeek for peace: wheras if we ſhall do otherwiſe, I fear we ſhall repent our ſelues when it will be too late. It is reported, That as ſoon as he was come into Peloponeſus, he went himſelf in perſon vnto Eubœa, to view the city of Chalcis: and going a ſecond time out of Peloponeſus, he ſounded the depth of the paſſage, and came within ſight of the city, of purpoſe to haue aſſaulted it, if he had found opportunitie: at which time he himſelf rid ouer that ſtreit of the ſea betwixt Bœtia and Eubœa, and curiouſly viewed in what place he might moſt conueniently paſſe ouer with his Army to beſiege the city. Verily theſe are the moſt manifeſt ſignes of war, wherby any man may ſufficiently proue, that he hath long ſince reſolued, ſo ſoon as he is ready, to make war vpon vs. Whileſt wee are yet dreaming in the midſt*
F *of our long conſultations, he will proceed in the wars he hath begun, and cutting vs ſhort, augment his own dominions. Then will he blame his Lieutenants and Captains as authors therof; but ſtill be doing that beſt ſerueth his purpoſe. And whilſt no man oppoſeth himſelf againſt him, his power daily increaſing, he will do the beſt he can ſuddenly to ſwallow vs vp, being vnprouided. For he may eaſily raiſe great forces,*

that by ſufferance of others maketh himſelf of great ſtrength there where he had before no footing. Shall we then ſay that we haue no wars with this incroching Tyrant? Some I know feed themſelues and others alſo with vain hopes, ſaying, That he will neuer turn his forces vpon vs, nor ruinate our eſtate, although he might at eaſe do it: Wherfore (ſay they) let vs refrain from wars, and vſe our peace and quietnes; yet omitting nothing in the mean time that ſhall be needfull for our ſafety. But forſomuch as it plainly appeareth vnto all men, by that which is before ſaid, that he hath already indeed proclaimed war againſt vs, inuading our countries, ſurpriſing our cities, and killing our people: Whether think you it more expedient or profitable for vs to ſit ſtill and ſuffer our dominions to be taken from vs, or rather by open war to make the barbarous King know the greatnes of our power and ſtrength? For if we ſhall enter into open war, we being in arms ſufficiently prouided againſt all euents, and with carefull eye attending all his attempts, ſhall eaſily auoid both himſelf and all his deuiſes. Who if he be ſuffered to runne ſtill on forward with his proſperous ſucceſſe, people will daily more and more fall vnto him, in hope to liue the better as his friends. For which cauſe I think it better to prefer an honorable war before a doubtfull peace. As for delay, it hath hurt many great States, and our ſelues moſt of all; wherby we haue in ſome ſort betrayd the Empire of Greece, with the wofull Emperor himſelf, when as this Tyrant battered the walls of Conſtantinople: for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then left to themſelues. After that, we deſpiſed and rejected the pittiful complaints of the Princes of Peloponeſus, who with tears craued our aid: and now we ſee that famous country loſt, and fallen into his hands through our ſloath and negligence. Of late, when as the King of Boſna humbly requeſted our aid, and promiſed fully to requite our curteſie, and whatſoeuer els we ſhould do in his behalf, we ſuffered his kingdom to be loſt, and himſelf to be cruelly murthered by the Turks. For all theſe things of vs thus neglected, we cannot eſcape the infamous report of the reſt of the nations of Europ, but that we for the greedy deſire of trade and filthy gain, haue forſaken, and for our parts betrayed whole kingdoms and nations, agreeing with vs both in maners and religion; and to haue ſtood ſtill and looked on, vntill they were ſubdued and brought into thraldom by the Turks. Wherfore in few words to ſhut vp the matter, if we ſhould ioyn in league with the Hungarians, and enter into arms, we ſhould ſo be able to keep our own: wheras if we ſhall vſe delayes, and hunt after peace, we ſhall in ſhort time ſee that he will ſuddenly deuour vs, being vnprouided, and wreſt from vs all our prouinces and territories which border vpon him. And therfore it is in my opinion beſt to ſend our Embaſſadors into Hungary, with a great maſſe of mony, to ſtir vp that warlike nation into the fellowſhip of this war. And beſide the navy we now haue in readines, to put to ſea as many more ſhips and gallies as we are able. The great Biſhop alſo is not to be forgotten, but by all means to be drawn as a chief man into this War. Beſides all this, we muſt do what we can to raiſe vp rebellion againſt the Turk in Peloponeſus: which will be no hard matter to bring to paſſe. For if the Peloponeſians riſe vp in arms with one of their poor princes hich revolted from the Turkiſh King, and forſaking all that they had, aduentured themſelues into all mwnner of peril and danger; what think you they will do when they ſhall ſee ſo great forces comming both by ſea and land againſt the Turkiſh King? It were good alſo, that we ſhould ſend two thouſand Italian Horſmen into Peloponeſus, to animate the people. Who when they ſhall ſee vs thus to proceed, will vndoubtedly preſently revolt from the Turks, and yeeld themſelues and their countrey vnto vs, from whence we may moſt commodiouſly vex and moleſt this Tyrant. For there is no where better entrance into his Kingdome, than by the way of Peloponeſus. So that ioyning in league with the Hungarians, we ſhall beſet him on euery ſide: they all along the riuer of Danubius, and we out of Peloponeſus. Let vs not therfore ſit ſtil with our hands in our boſoms, ſuffering our countries to be taken from vs, and our ſubiects made bondſlaues to the Turks; but incouraging them by our example, animate them to take vp arms, and valiantly to reſiſt the cruell and barbarous Tyrant.

The Venetians take vp Armes againſt the Turks.

The greater part of the Senat mooued with this graue Senatours ſpeech, decreed without delay to make Wars, and to ſend their Embaſſadors to the Pope, the King of Hungary, and other the Chriſtian Princes their Neighbors, to craue aid of them in theſe Wars againſt the Turks. According to this Decree, the Venetians for defence of their territory ſent one *Bertholdus Eſte* a valiant Captain, with an Army into Peloponeſus: where at his firſt comming, he in ſhort time recouered the City of Argos before loſt. And departing thence, marched through the country with his army of fifteen thouſand men, vnto the ſtreight of Corinth, called Iſthmus. At which place *Aloviſius Lauretanus*, Admirall of the Venetians (by appointment before made) did meet him: and there ioyning their forces together, with great labour

in

A in the ſpace of fifteen daies fortified all that ſtreit from the Ionian to the ſea Ægeum, with a continual rampier and double ditch in length about fiue miles. In which work they vſed the help of thirty thouſand men, and in doing therof were much furthered by the ruins of the old wall before deſtroied by *Amurath*. The Venetian Commanders hauing fortified this ſtreit, incamped before Corinth, and laid ſtreit ſiege vnto it: where at the ſecond aſſault, *Bartholdus* the General deſirous by his own forwardnes to incourage his ſoldiers, was in that aſſault grieuouſly wounded with a ſtone caſt down vpon him from the wall: of which hurt he ſhortly after died. Neuertheles the ſiege was ſtil continued by *Betinus Calcinatius*, who ſucceeded *Bartholdus* in his place. But whilſt the Venetians lay thus at the ſiege of Corinth, ſuddenly news was brought vnto the camp, That *Mahomet* was comming with a great army himſelfe in perſon, to raiſe the ſiege, and to deſtroy the new fortifications at Iſthmus. Wherupon the Venetians left the ſiege, with purpoſe to haue defended the late fortified ſtreit: but after, that it was certainly known that *Mahomet* was euen now at hand with an Army of fourſcore thouſand Turks, *Betinus* diſtruſting with his ſmall number to be able to defend the ſtreit againſt ſo puiſſant an army, left the place ſo lately before fortified, and with all his Army retyred to Neapolis, there to keep the ſea coaſt.

B

Shortly after, *Mahomet* without any reſiſtance at all entred with a world of men by the ſtreit into Peloponeſus; and when he had with the great ſlaughter of the country people romed vp and down about Argos, he came to Neapolis, and in moſt terrible maner aſſaulted the city twice; both which times he was notably repulſed by the Venetians, and many of his men ſlain. Departing thence, he deſtroied and waſted the country about Methone (now Modon) and Corone, and aſſaulted the city of Iuncum, but with no better ſucces than he had before Neapolis. Wherfore Winter now drawing on, he returned again with his army to Conſtantinople.

C

After his departure, the Venetians ſpoiled all that part of Arcadia which was ſubiect to the Turk, requiting him with like injuries as he had don them before. Not long after, *Lauretanus* the Venetian Admiral had the Iſland of Lemnos deliuered vnto him by one *Cominius* a famous pyrat, who had ſurpriſed the ſame and taken it from the Turks; but diſtruſting how he ſhould be able to keep the ſame, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, *Vrſatus Iuſtinianus* a great Magnifico among the Venetians, was ſent to ſucceed *Lauretanus* their Admiral: but whilſt he was ſcouring the Ægeum with a fleet of 32 great gallies, *Andreas Dandalus* General of their forces at land, inconſideratly incountring with the Turkes horſemen between Mantynia and Pytheme, was by them ouerthrown and ſlain, and with him diuers other gentlemen of great account: in which skirmiſh fifteen hundred of the Venetians were ſlaine together with their General. And as fortune is neuer more conſtant than in miſchief, ſo at the ſame time *Vrſatus* General at ſea, landing his men in the Iſland of Lesbos, beſieged the city of Mytelene, and gaue therunto two great aſſaults, wherin he loſt fiue thouſand men: And vnderſtanding that the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the city, raiſed the ſiege and ſailed into Eubœa, and from thence paſſed ouer into Peloponeſus, where he ſhortly after died with ſorrow and grief of mind. In whoſe place the Venetians ſent another famous Captaine called *Iacobus Lauretanus*.

D

E

The Venetians wel conſidering the great power of the Turkiſh Emperor, labored by their Embaſſadors to draw as many of the Chriſtian Princes as they could into the fellowſhip of this war; but eſpecially the Great Biſhop, by whoſe meanes they were in good hope to bee greatly ſtrengthned. *Pius* the ſecond of that name was then the Great Biſhop; who at firſt anſwered the Venetian Embaſſadors, That he muſt take away the little Turke, before he had any thing to do with the great: meaning thereby *Sigiſmundus Maletaſta* Prince of Arimínum, whom he deadly hated, for that he took part with the French againſt the Aragonians. Howbeit the wars in Italy being wel appeaſed, and *Pius* ſtil ſolicited by the Venetians, made great preparation againſt the Turks; giuing it out, that he would in perſon himſelfe go vnto thoſe Wars: and by his authority (then much regarded) procured great aid out of Germany, France, Spain, and other Countries alſo farther off. At which time alſo voluntary men in great number reſorted out of all parts of Chriſtendome, into Italy, ready to aduenture their liues in thoſe Religious Warres. At the ſame time alſo the Venetians had with much adoo by the working of *Paulus Angelus* Archbiſhop of Dyrrachium, perſuaded *Scanderbeg* to renounce

The Venetians enter into Confederatiõ with other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk.

F

nounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into Arms again; G
which he presently did, and spoiled the borders of the Turkes Dominions next vnto him. Wherwith *Mahomet* was no lesse troubled, than with all the rest of the great preparation of the Christian army, which *Mahomet* feared might tend to the vtter ruin of his Kingdome. So dreadfull was the name of *Scanderbeg* among the Turks. Wherfore thinking it most conuenient for his affairs to reconcile him if it were possible, by his embassador sent for that purpose wrot vnto him as followeth.

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperor of the East and of the West; to *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenses and Epirots, Greeting. H

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I Haue alwaies had thy fidelity and vpright dealing in great admiration, most noble Prince Scanderbeg: *for which cause I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a Prince of such an heroical and princely perfection, shouldst so inconsideratly and without any occasion break the faith and league which thou not long since solemnly contractedst with me. For as I am aduertised, thou hast entred into the confines of our dominion with a great army, and with fire and sword destroying all that thou couldst, hast caried away with thee a great booty. Of which thing I know right well that the Venetians are the only cause, by whose counsell and persuasion thou hast bin set on to do this deed; and seduced by their allurements and subtill persuasions, hast made war vpon me, and art become the faithles breaker of thine own league, and of the sacred law of Nations. Yet do I little or nothing blame thee therfore, regarding more the cause of the ignominie, than the despight it self, and lay the blame vpon them who haue alwaies bin my foes and capitall enemies, rather than vpon thee. But alas what is this vnto me* (Scanderbeg) *that thou hast done, which possesse so many and so large dominions? Didst thou think to do so great hurt vnto our kingdome, by spoiling a little piece of our country, and by stealing our cattel, more like a theef and robber, than an open enemy? Which thing I yet account not worth the name of an injury. But if thou thinkst so good, proceed not in these thy doings; for I make more account of thy friendship and loue, than of whatsoeuer to mee is deerest: because (as thou knowest) I haue alwaits born vnto thee an especiall fauour, and loued thee most entirely. And therfore as often as I call to remembrance our tender years and old familiaritie, whilst we liued together in my fathers court at Hadrianople, I cannot but think my self bound vnto thee in all curtesie. And therfore (my good* Scanderbeg) *I most heartily request and intreat thee, that we renuing the former conclusions of peace, may of new confirm the same with solemne Oath: wherewith if the former peace had bin established, thou wouldst not haue suffered thy self to haue bin now of the Venetians so circumuented or seduced. It is therfore needfull that we now again for euer confirm a league and peace betwixt vs by solemn and sacred oath on both sides: which if thou shalt do, (as I hope thou wilt, and in this be aduised by me) thou and thy posterity shall vndoubtedly alwaies reign in peace, and in safety possesse whatsoeuer is yours. Wheras if thou shalt do otherwise, beleeue me it wil repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knowest already my force, which whether thou be able to withstand or not, thou wert best to bee well aduised. The poor Princes thy neighbors, the Venetians thy seducers, canot deliuer thee from my force and power. Dost thou not see the Grecians almost all rooted out before thy face? the emperors of Constantinople and Trapezond by vs depriued of their empires? the Princes of Servia and Rascia destroyed? the King of Bosna put to death? and all the Kings of Asia, with many other Kings and Princes moe vanquished and ouerthrown, and made subject to me? Wherfore* Scanderbeg *I aduise thee in this to follow my counsel, keep thy promise, and so beleeue me thou shalt not be deceiued. Concerning these matters we haue giuen further commandment to our Embassador and seruant* Mustapha, *who comes vnto thee. To whom doubt not to giue credit in any thing. Farewel. From our Imperial city of Constantinople, the 7 of May,* 1463. I K L

Scanderbeg hauing by the aforesaid messenger receiued these letters, and wel considered of the same, returned answer as followeth.

The Champion of Christ Iesus, *George Castriot*, otherwise called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albaneses and Epirots; to the most excellent *Mahomet* King of the Turks, Greeting. M

Scanderbeg his answer to Mahomets letters.

You maruell (most noble Mahomet) *that my soldiers* (as you say) *contrary to the League and the conditions*

A conditions of our peace, haue entred into your confines, and from thence carried a great booty. Of which thing you say the Venetians are the authors, whom you call your mortal Enemies: inferring afterwards, that you are little therwith offended, for that you are a most mighty Prince, and can easily digest such vnkindnes, for the great loue you bear vnto me: and the rather, for that I did it deceiued (as it pleaseth you to say) by others. All these things you can easily forgiue and forget, so that I will by solemn Oath confirm the same conditions of peace that were in our former League betwixt vs agreed vpon. And therunto you do greatly vrge me, you admonish and counsell me to follow your aduice, as tending to the great profit and securitie of me and my posterity, lest haply whilst I seek to please the Venetians, I incur your heauy displeasure. Besides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon vp as it were in a catalogue, the people, nations, Kings, and Princes, by you ouercome and subdued. But what is that which is so strange (I pray you) and

B which you so much maruel at (most noble Mahomet?) Is it not for that my soldiers did that in the confines of your dominions, wherof they were (of right) sorry, and had therof to me complained, that your soldiers had before don the like in their goods and possessions. Wherfore if they also vpon a military bravery (as is your manner of phrase) haue made themselues whole, and done one shrewd turn for another, reuenging injury receiued, and not inferring any of new; there is no cause that you should either think it strange, or blame me. I would my self haue restrained my souldiers, although they were grieuously injured (I wil plainly confesse vnto you a troth) I would haue appeased their angry minds, inflamed with desire of reuenge; if you (a Prince of all others most rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that ful restitution might haue bin made vnto them of all such things as they had lost, or els would with condigne punishment haue chastised the insolencie of your soldiers: which you would seem to couer with the term of

C military wantonnes or bravery; an excuse scarse currant amongst children. For although offences are in all places grieuous, yet ought they most of all so to be deemed in martial affairs. What I pray you, would you haue me take it for a lasciuiousnes in your men of war? especially when I had receiued so great losse; when as you might with a word first haue restrained them from doing it, and at your pleasure corrected them after the deed was done. Wherfore (most excellent Mahomet) take you also in good part these our tearms, which you haue accustomed hitherto most gloriously to giue and sell vnto vs, whilst you alwaies couer your reach with some excuse or shew of right. As for that in excusing me vnder colour of old acquaintance and friendship, you invey against the Venetians, verily you do them wrong; for why; those good, iust, and vertuous Princes are not to be slandered by you, as seducers of me or others. Besides, what need that inuincible State to enter into counsell with me, or (as it pleaseth you to say) to allure me to fall at

D ods with you, or to prosecute you as an enemy? who of themselues; yea (I say) of themselues alone, when occasion shall require, are able to dare you in plain battell, and to abate your pride. Furthermore, wher as you aduise me to reiect their friendship, your labor is therin but lost; for what man is so desperat, or hated of his subiects, that would not chuse rather to erre with that most honorable Senat, than to be in the right with you? especially I, who haue of long time bin confederat with them, and am of all others vnto them most dear: which you for all that had no regard of, but according vnto your vntrusty dealing, breaking in sunder the bonds of peace, spoiled and wasted their territory in Peloponesus. Neither can your great threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkish manner thunder and pour out against me, except I will be ouer-ruled by you. For it is the part of an Albanese, both to endure when need shall require, and also to do such things as beseem a man of courage. You canot make me afraid, being but a small Prince, with my honorable friends the Venetians. And what are you? so great an Emperor of the East and of the West, and

E of all parts of the world, as you vainly term your self? Truly you make mee smile, and other Christian Princes laugh you to scorn, in vsurping falsly to your self the stately title of the Emperour of the World. What possesse you in Asia the greater? Verily nothing. Is all yours in Asia the lesse? Not so. What haue you in Europ, except Thracia, Mysia, part of Grecia, and Peloponesus, with the Isle of Mytelene? As for Africk, you neuer set your foot therin. Is this to be Emperour of the world? But suppose, suppose (I say) worthy Mahomet, that all from the farthest part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therfore so to swell, as to contemn all others. Cease to boast, and learn now if you can, the special, but true examples of humane fragility. Where are now the Assyrians which somtime swayed the world? Where be the Medes? where the Persian? and to be short, where are the Romans the great Commanders of all? Verily, Tamer-

F lane the Scythian King (called the Terror of the world) was farre greater than you; who in triumph drew before his chariot thy great grandfather Bajazet in chains, who had before won so many victories; whom neuertheles he ouerthrew in the plains of Armenia, with three hundred thousand Turks; hauing in his army (as is reported) twelue hundred thousand men: greater than Xerxes or Darius, whose Armies

couered

couered the ſeas, and dried vp the riuers before them as they went; yet for all this (noble Mahomet) *they* G
are all caſt out by him that caſteth out all Nations, the finger of the Higheſt hath brought them all to nought. Wherfore learn to know your ſelf to be a man alſo; truſt not too much to the multitude of your ſoldiers, and ſtrength of your armies; for oftentimes great and puiſſant Armies haue bin ouerthrown with far leſſe, as all hiſtories bear witnes: wherof it is commonly ſaid, Thou ſhalt not praiſe the valor of the Generall, before he be brought to the triumph. And do you not think, Mahomet, *that God will fauor the better cauſe? You know, you well know, that all your kingdom is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and vniuſtly poſſeſſed: for which cauſe I am not afraid not only to withſtand you when you ſhall come, being ſo great a Prince; but alſo valiantly and couragiouſly to dare you into the field, and by the power of God both to hope for and haue a notable victory ouer you. We haue ſoldiers alſo who know how to vſe their weapons, to march before their enemies, and how to bear themſelues in the heat of the battell. Wherfore, to that you* H
ſay vnto me for the renuing of the former league, you labor now but in vaine to circumuent me with ſuch fair gloſſes; I haue your faith in ſuch diſtruſt, and your friendſhip in deteſtation: foraſmuch as you cunningly and ſubtilly, after the maner of your Anceſtors, whatſoeuer you do, or whatſoeuer you promiſe vnto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thruſt me out of my kingdom. Yet thus long I haue by Gods help well eſcaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in ſhort time be an end of all theſe matters, when all your ſleights and deuiſes ſhall not eaſe you, neither your working head or Turkiſh pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that ſo much ſtomack you; there commeth after me a great number of Chriſtian Princes: behold, the whole Chiualry and glory of the Chriſtian commonweal is in arms and comming againſt thee with all their force: all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom haue combined themſelues together, with the great Biſhop, againſt thy ſtate, and will in ſhort time be preſent to deſtroy I
thee and thy Kingdome. Wherefore (worthy Mahomet) *I haue thought it good in regard of our old friendſhip (although the ſame hath by you beene greatly impaired and violated) to forewarne you of all theſe things, that you might gather your wits together, and in time prouide for the ſafety of your ſelf and kingdom. You ſee the force and power of many great Princes, from which whether you can eſcape or no I know not: yet you may, if you will follow my aduice, you may, I ſay, make both your name and empire, of great greater, of famous moſt renowned, of fortunat moſt happy and bleſſed: if caſting from you the groſſe errors of the Mahometan ſuperſtition, you will embrace the faith and truth of Chriſt Ieſus, and at length haue regard of your ſouls health. And you which excell all your predeceſſors in highnes of ſpirit and pregnancie of wit, ſuffer not your ſelf and your ſubiects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errors: but do that (as a wiſe Prince) of your own accord, which otherwiſe you wil ſhortly of neceſsity be conſtrained to do. To ſay, Had I wiſt, hath euer bin accounted a great diſgrace from the* K
mouth of an Emperor. At length amend and meaſure your ſelf. Behold, Almighty God doth offer you meanes, wherby you may quiet the whole ſtate of your kingdom, and all our Kings and Princes loue, honour, and reuerence you. Neither let the ambitious deſire of ſouereignty, or immoderat care of thoſe things you poſſeſſe, trouble you from ſo doing: for whatſoeuer you haue vniuſtly and vnlawfully vſurped, the Chriſtian Princes will grant, confirm, and eſtabliſh vnto thee, as if they had bin your own by antient inheritance. So ſhall you be a true Monarch indeed, and rule and reign lawfully, if you ſhall embrace this faith, and worſhip God aright: which ſo ſoon as you ſhall feel the ſweetnes of, you wil be ſorry you knew it no ſooner, you will grieue at the time you haue loſt, and vtterly deteſt and abhor all that filthy ſuperſtition which the moſt filthy falſe Prophet Mahomet *hath left amongſt you.* L

From our Camp, the 26 of May, 1463.

With theſe letters *Scanderbeg* diſmiſſed the Turks Embaſſador. About which time he receiued letters from the great Biſhop, that he, accompanied with the Chriſtian princes, would without delay come ouer into Epitus with a ſtrong army of valiant Chriſtians, to join their forces with his againſt the common enemy of the Chriſtian Religion: exhorting him in all their names to denounce war againſt the Turkiſh king. Which thing *Scanderbeg* moſt joifully vndertook, and without delay with all his power brake into the Turks dominion, burning and deſtroying the country before him as he went: from whence he returned laden with the ſpoil there gotten.

When *Mahomet* had peruſed *Scanderbegs* letters, and certainly vnderſtood of the great preparation made againſt him in Italy, as alſo of the great ſpoyle of late made by *Scanderbeg*, he became exceeding melancholy, as a man much troubled in minde, which dayly more and M

more

A more increaſed: for that he ſaw not the wonted cheerfulneſſe in his men of war, but all full of heauines and deſpaire, as if they had bin men already vanquiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, he ſpeedily took order for the leuying of a great army; fortifying his cities and ſtrong holds, leauing nothing vndone that was poſſible, for the aſſurance of his ſtate. And to repreſſe the fury of *Scanderbeg*, ſent *Seremet Baſſa* with fourteene thouſand ſouldiers to lie vpon the borders of Epirus, with charge only to attend vpon him. Who mindfull of his charge, came into Macedonia, to the city Ocrida, now called Alchria, in the very confines of Macedonia towards Epirus, and there lay with his army; ſome part thereof lodged in the city, and the reſt in places more conuenient neere about the ſame.

The comming of the Baſſa, as alſo the manner of his lying was not vnknown to *Scanderbeg*;
B who deſired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he ſecretly in the night marched towards Ocrida with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, and being come within three miles of the towne, lay cloſe in ambuſh, & vpon the breaking of the day ſent out 500 horſemen towards the enemy, vnder the conduct of *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Petrus Angelus*, two valiant and expert captains, to draw him if they could into the field. But *Scanderbeg* had before commanded them, that if the enemy did come forth to fight, they ſhould make but ſmall reſiſtance, but retire back as if they had fled, and ſo to traine him on to the place where the army lay. Which was ſo well performed by the two skilfull captaines, that the Baſſa with all his power was according as they could haue wiſhed, drawn into the field, and brought to the very place where *Scanderbeg* lay; who ſuddenly riſing vp with all his army, aſſailed the Turks on euery ſide, and
C ſlew them as Deere incloſed in a toyle. In this battell ten thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, the Treaſurer of the army with twelue other of great mark were taken priſoners, and brought bound to *Scanderbeg*, who were preſently ranſomed for forty thouſand Duckats. *Ten thouſand Turks ſlaine.*

Scanderbeg hauing obtained the victory, returned with triumph into Epirus, dayly expecting the comming of the great army out of Italy: *But fatal Deſtiny, the mighty controller of mens higheſt deſignes, had not ſo appointed.* For when *Pius* the great Biſhop had out of al parts of Chriſtendome aſſembled a great army (whereof the greateſt part were voluntary ſoldiers) and all things were now in ſuch readines, that he had put himſelf vpon the way, and was come to Ancona, a city vpon the ſea ſide (where *Chriſtophorus Maurus* duke of Venice came vnto him, with ten gallies well appointed, to haue accompanied him in thoſe wars: and all men were now in
D expectation of ſome great matter to haue bin done) ſuddenly he fell ſicke of a feuer, and died in the yere 1464. Whereupon the army was forthwith diſperſed, and all that great preparation fruſtrated, to the exceeding grief of many Chriſtian Princes; and no leſſe ioy of the Turks, who now reioyced to ſee themſelues deliuered of ſo great a feare.

About this ſame time, *Victor Capella* chiefe perſuader of this warre betwixt the Venetians and the Turks, was by the Senat ſent generall of their forces at ſea, in ſtead of *Lauretanus*, whoſe yeare was then expired. He hauing receiued the charge from *Lauretanus*, and ſayling out of Eubœa, in ſhort time tooke from the enemy the city of Aulis in Peloponeſus ouer againſt Chalcis, and alſo the city of Larſum in the gulfe of Theſſalonica, with the Iſle of Himber: afterwards landing his men by night at Pyræus, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the city of Athens (now
E called Sethina) ſometime the mother of learning, and moſt noble city of Grecia; and from thence carried away with him into Eubœa all the people he there found, as his priſoners, together with the rich ſpoyle of that city. Whilſt he lay in Eubœa, he was perſuaded that the city of Patras in Peloponeſus would be deliuered to him by the Chriſtians that dwelt therein, if he did but ſhew himſelfe before it. Wherupon he departed from Eubœa, and comming into the gulfe of Patras, landed foure thouſand footmen vnder the leading of *Barbaricus*, and two hundred horſemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was Captaine. *Barbaricus* marchiug toward Patras, was come within a mile of the city; when many of the horſemen, and of the vnruly mariners, diſorderly ſcattering abroad, neglected the inrended ſeruice, and fought after pillage all about the countrey. The Turks garriſons taking this opportunity, ſet vpon them
F with their horſemen, and ſo eaſily ouerthrew them, being ſcattered and out of order. At the firſt encounter, *Barbaricus* himſelfe was ſlaine; *Ragius* Captaine of the horſemen was taken, and aliue empailed vpon a ſharp ſtake. Of all them that were landed, ſcarce a thouſand were left, who ſaued their liues by flying vnto the gallies. With this ouerthrow *Victor* the Venetian admirall was greatly diſcomforted, yet hauing conceiued ſome hope of better ſucceſſe, in few *The Venetians attempting to win Patras, receiue great loſſe.*

dayes

daies after attempted again to haue taken Patras, but with like hap as before: for hauing loſt G
a thouſand of his men about the city, and the reſt glad to take their flight to the fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonor to depart thence. And ſo full of ſorrow and heauines returning into Eubœa, oppreſſed with melancholy he there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians deceiued of the great hope they had conceiued of the general preparation made againſt the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their wars againſt ſo mighty an enemy; by their Embaſſadors ſolicited *Matthias*, not long before choſen King of Hungary, to join in league with them, and to take vp arms againſt the Common Enemie; offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſum of money, beſides a large yearly penſion for the better maintenance of thoſe wars. For which he ſhould to his power by land defend all their Territory betwixt the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatique, againſt the inuaſion of the H
Turk.

This *Matthias* (ſyrnamed *Corvinus*) was the yonger ſon of the moſt famous Captaine *Io. Huniades*, whoſe elder brother *Vladiſlaus*, a gentleman of ſuch courage as might well ſhew whoſe ſon he was, being not able to diſgeſt the injuries and diſgraces don vnto him and his brother, by *Vlricus* County of Cilie, and vncle to *Ladiſlaus* the yong king of Hungary and Bohemia, for the deſpight hee alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*; ſlew the ſame *Vlricus* at Alba-Regalis, euen in the Kings court. Which injury the yong King was glad for the preſent to wink at, and alſo to grant him pardon; as hauing taken away the man whoſe immoderat power wel ſtood not with the Kings ſafety: but indeed fearing the citiſens of Alba, & the men of war, who exceedingly fauored the ſons of *Huniades* for their fathers ſake. For all that, I
Ladiſlaus returning into Bohemia, cauſed both the ſons of *Huniades* vpon the ſudden to be apprehended, and moſt cruelly executed; *Vladiſlaus*, being then about twenty ſix years old. *Matthias* the yonger brother was kept in priſon, expecting nothing els but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune; as vndoubtedly he had, had not *Ladiſlaus* the yong King vpon the ſudden, as he was vpon the top of his mariage with *Magdalen* the French Kings daughter, by vntimely death bin taken away. After whoſe death, the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a military election choſe this *Matthias* his yongeſt ſon, then priſoner at Prague, to be their King. Wherof *Pogebrache* (who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, of an old gouernor, had made himſelf the yong King of Bohemia) hauing ſpeedy intelligence, as he was ſitting at ſupper, ſent for *Matthias* his priſoner, and when he was come, commanded K
him to ſit down at the vpper end of the table: wherat the yong gentleman, being then but about 18 years of age, and ſore abaſhed, began to craue pardon. But when the King would needs haue it ſo, and that he was ſet, to quiet his troubled thoughts, hee willed him to bee of good cheer, for that he had good news to tel him. Good news (ſaid he) if it would pleaſe your Majeſty to grant me liberty. Yea that (ſaid the King) and more too; and then ſaluting him by the name of the King of Hungary, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the general conſent of the Hungarians choſen their King. And ſo in few dayes after, married to him his daughter: which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his eſtate, and royally accompanied him into Hungary, where hee was with great ioy and triumph receiued of the Hungarians; ouer whom he afterwards glorioufly reigned for the ſpace of 38 years. In which L
time he notably inlarged the kingdom of Hungary, and became a far greater terror vnto the Turks, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therwithall (which is not to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great fauorer and furtherer of good letters and ingenious deuiſes.

Matthias of a priſoner choſen K. of Hungary.

But to return again to our purpoſe. *Matthias* hauing wel conſidered of that the Venetians had requeſted; anſwered them, That they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to giue aid to the Hungarian kings his predeceſſors: yea and that more was, thought it a thing not reaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands, foraſmuch as they then receiued no harm from the Turk, but were in league and amity with him: ſo that the Hungarian Kings wanting their help, had many times receiued greater loſſe from the Turk than otherwiſe they ſhould haue don, if they had bin by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch vnkindnes, and to grant them what they had requeſted; promiſing the next Spring to inuade the Turks Dominion, and according to their requeſt to take into his protection all their Territory betwixt the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatique. Which thing hee M
moſt

A moſt honorably performed; for with the firſt of Spring he paſſed ouer Danubius at Belgrade with a puiſſant army, and raſed the forts which the Turks had built therabout; and ſo entring into Servia, layd all the Country waſt before him: and afterwards laden with ſpoil returned home, carrying away with him twenty thouſand Captiues. Neither ſo reſted hee, but with great good fortune maintained great wars with *Mahomet* during all the time of his reigne, and afterward with his ſon *Bajazet* alſo; wherein he moſt commonly returned with victorie. So that it is of him as truely as briefly written, That no Chriſtian King or Chiefetaine did more often or with greater fortune fight againſt the Turkiſh Nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet deliuered of the great fear he had before conceiued, of the general preparation of
B the Chriſtian princes againſt him, determined now to work his will vpon ſuch as were neereſt vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of *Seremet* with his army in Epirus, ſtuck in his ſtomacke: in reuenge wherof, he now ſent *Balabanus Badera* a moſt valiant Captaine, with fifteen thouſand horſmen and three thouſand foot to inuade Epirus. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a Churles ſon of that country; who being of a boy taken captiue by the Turks, as he was keeping his fathers cattel, and of long time brought vp in ſeruitude amongſt them, framing himſelf vnto their religion and manners, after long ſeruice got the credit of a good common ſoldier. But when as at the taking of Conſtantinople it was his fortune to be the firſt man of the Turks army that gained the top of the walls, and entred into the City; he was for that piece
C of ſeruice euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly eſteemed: and beſides his other great preferments, now ſent Generall of his Army into Epirus. Who as ſoon as he was come to Alchria, (a City vpon the frontiers of that Countrey) ſent many rich preſents vnto *Scanderbeg*, making ſhew as if he had bin deſirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without further purpoſe to trouble his Country: yet indeed waiting for nothing more than ſome notable opportunitie, ſuddenly to do him the greateſt miſchief he could. But *Scanderbeg* well ſeeing into the malice of the man, rejected his feigned friendſhip and gifts, and in deriſion ſent him a ſpade, a mattock, a flail, with other ſuch inſtruments belonging vnto Huſbandry; willing him to take in hand thoſe tools, and to follow his fathers courſe of life, and to leaue the conducting of Armies vnto men of greater skill and better place. Which diſ-
D grace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part; purpoſing with himſelfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be therof ſharply reuenged. Wherfore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a ſmal power lay not far off vpon the borders of his Kingdom, hee determined ſuddenly in the night to ſet vpon him before he was aware of his comming, and ſo if it were poſſible to ouerthrow him. But *Scanderbeg* hauing knowlege therof by his Scouts, ſet forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that he was diſcouered, ſtaid vpon the way, and incamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*; who had then in his army but four thouſand horſemen, and and one thouſand and fiue hundred foot, but all choiſe men, and moſt expert ſouldiers, and then lay in a large pleaſant Vally called Valchal: at the farther end wherof *Balabanus* lay alſo incamped, neer vnto a rough and wooddy hill which incloſed that part of the vally. Whilſt
E both Armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well conſidering the ground the Enemy had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battel, with cheerfull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers: ſtreightly charging them vpon pain of his diſpleaſure, That if the Enemy vpon the fortune of the battell ſhould chance to fly or to retyre, they ſhould not in any caſe purſue them farther than the ſtreights of the hil wherby the enemy lay. Gheſſing too truly, that he would in ſo conuenient a place leaue part of his Army in ambuſh, as a ſure refuge to truſt vnto, whatſoeuer ſhould befall. When he had thus encouraged and inſtructed his ſouldiers, he roſe with his Army, and in good order retyred vnto the riſing of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay; of purpoſe to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the Enemy ſhould follow to giue him battell. *Balabanus* ſeeing him
F retyre, and the ſmall number of his army, thought verily that he had fled for fear: and therefore to ſtay him who meant nothing leſſe than to flie, ſet forward in great haſt. The Turkes thinking vpon ſo great aduantage to haue found no great reſiſtance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chaſe; and by that time they were come vnto the place where hee ſtayd, were by their haſt greatly diſordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old truſty ſouldiers

Mahomet ſends Balabanus to inuade Epirus.

Balabanus goes againſt Scanderbeg.

The battell betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

ers nothing dismayed with the hasty comming and hideous clamour of the Turks, receiued them with great courage; so that there began a fierce battell, with much slaughter on both sides, which for a good while stood doubtfull. Yet such was the inuincible courage of *Scanderbegs* resolute soldiers, that the Turks (who as then fought in great disorder) were at last put to flight, and with much slaughter chased vnto the streights of the mountain, where *Scanderbeg* had before commanded his men to stay. But certain of his best and principall Captains forgetting what he had said to them, and led on (whether with the heat and fury of the battel, or rather with inevitable destiny, is hard to say) vnaduisedly pursued the enemy into those Streights, wherof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they should not enter: where they were on euery side beset by their enemies, arising out of an ambush; and after they had a long time desperatly fought as wild beasts inclosed with Hunters, at the last oppressed with multitude, were together taken and brought to *Balabanus*, by whom they were forthwith sent to *Mahomet* to Constantinople. Who as soon as he heard of their taking, is reported with great rejoicing to haue said, Now am I sure that the strength of *Scanderbeg* is broken. The names of the principal men which were there taken, was *Moses Golemus* of Dibra, the greatest Captain of Epirus next vnto *Scanderbeg* himself; *Giuriza Vladerius*, *Scanderbeg* his Kinsman; *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* his Nephew by his sister *Angelinà*; *Ginius Musachius*, *Ioannes Perlatus*, who valiantly defended Sfetigrade against *Amurath*; *Nicolaus Berisius*, *Georgius Chucca*, and *Ginius Manesius*: wherof euery one of them was able to haue conducted a great Army, and might worthily haue bin accounted amongst the greatest Captaines of that Age. The taking of these worthy men brought such a generall sorrow and heauinesse vpon Epirus, that the victory was nothing accounted of, euery man lamenting the losse of such notable Leaders. *Scanderbeg* carefull of their deliuerance, presently sent an Embassadour vnto *Mahomet*, requesting that he might redeem his prisoners, either by exchanging of others for them, or els for such ransom as it should please him to set down. But hee knowing them to be *Scanderbeg* his best Captains, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they should be ransomed for any gold. But after he had vsed them with all the despight that hee could imagin, caused them all by little and little to be slain quicke: in which miserable torment they liued fifteen dayes, and so died. *Scanderbeg* hearing therof, was therwith rather incouraged than any way discouraged; and in reuenge thereof, with fire and sword entred into the Turks Dominions, sparing nothing that hee could either burn, or possibly by any other means destroy.

Moses & other worthy captaines cruelly executed by Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of these notable men (although they were bought with the liues of many of his people) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the only man who knew how to fight against *Scanderbeg*: and in reward of his good seruice sent him diuers rich gifts, with commandment to repair again his Army, & to proceed in his wars so happily begun. Which thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet trusting more to his policie than to his strength, lying at Alchria, sent again diuers rich presents to *Scanderbeg*, as desirous to liue in peace by him; but seeking indeed to bring him into securitie, & so suddenly (if it were possible) to intrap him. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well perceiuing, rejected his feigned friendship together with his presents, as sent from a base pesant. Whereupon *Balabanus* entred into a new deuice, and by secret means with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbegs* scouts, whereof some were *Balabanus* his kinsmen, though it were to *Scanderbeg* vnknown. By which practise he had in the night vpon the sudden oppressed *Scanderbeg*, lying incamped at Oronychium, if *Scanderbeg* himselfe (who commonly spent most part of the night in carefull watch) going about the Camp, had not in the silence of the night a far off perceiued the comming of the enemy by the noise of his horses: and therupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his army in such order as he best could, was ready to receiue him, and at last after a great fight put him to flight; and hauing him in chase, slew most part of his army, *Balabanus* himself with a smal remnant hardly escaping.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Balabanus* was ouerthrowne, and his Army lost, he was in doubt whether to send another Generall, or els to proue again the fortune of the old. But after he had wel considered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant Captain, and one that well knew the Countrey of Epirus, and withall a mortall enemy vnto *Scanderbeg*, he resolued wholly to stay vpon him, and not to send any other. So committing to his charge fourteene

thousand

A thouſand horſmen and three thouſand foot, ſent him again to inuade Epirus: and the more to encourage him, promiſed to make him King of that country, if he could ſubdue *Scanderbeg*. *Balabanus* with his army comming to Alchria, and ſtill in vaine plotting how he might circumuent his wary enemy; after his wonted manner ſent diuers preſents to *Scanderbeg*; which he ſtill ſcornefully refuſed. Three months he lay ſtill at Alchria, with nothing more troubled than with his own thoughts: but finding nothing that pleaſed himſelfe, he determined to aduenture by plaine force to ſubdue him. And vpon that reſolution marched with all his army into the great plains neere vnto Sfetigrade, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his army alſo, which then conſiſted of eight thouſand horſmen and fifteen hundred foot: with which ſmall power he refuſed not to joyne battell with *Balabanus*, being in number two to one. But after they B were come to handy blows, to haue ſeene *Scanderbeg* his men fight, a man would haue thought them rather to haue beene raging Lyons than men, they ſo furiouſly aſſailed their enemies, without regard of perill or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill gouerned that battell, carefully prouiding for euery danger: himſelfe valiantly fighting in the head of this battell, but not without care of the reſt, ſtill ſending in ſpeedy reliefe where moſt need was, and bringing in freſh ſupplies in ſtead of them that were wounded or ſlaine, performed all the parts of a moſt worthy chiefetaine and valiant ſoldier: where moſt perill was, there was he ſtreight, and at his preſence danger fled, as if victory had attended vpon him. But whileſt he thus fought in the midſt of his enemies, his horſe fortuned to be ſlaine vnder him, and falling downe with him, ſore bruiſed one of his armes, whereof he complained long time C after. The Turks ſeeing him downe, preſſed on fiercely to haue ſlaine him: but he was quickly reſcued by his own ſouldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*, a great commander in the Turks army, ſlew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon ſuch a terrour fell vpon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake themſelues to plaine flight. *Scanderbeg* purſuing them with ſuch execution, that of that great army few eſcaped with *Balabanus* to carry newes home.

The battell of Sfetigrade betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

Balabanus now thrice vanquiſhed by *Scanderbeg*, and in the laſt battell hauing loſt what he could looſe, except he ſhould haue loſt himſelfe, returned to *Mahomet* at Conſtantinople, of whom he was ſharply rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had ſo often receiued. At which time *Balabanus* at firſt gaue place to the Kings fury: but afterward when the heat was ouer, he D with a large diſcourſe cunningly excuſed himſelfe, imputing all theſe miſhaps vnto the appointment of God, and the fortune of war: and in the end told *Mahomet* plainly, That it was but in vaine to ſend ſuch ſmall armies into Epirus. But if it would pleaſe him at once to ſend two valiant captaines with a puiſſant and ſtrong army, who diuiding the ſame betwixt them, & entering at one time into diuers parts of Epirus, might ſpoile the country before them, and encloſe *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he ſhould aduenture to giue either of them battell; being before reſolued neither of them to offer him battell, or yet to accept of the ſame being by him offered, except the other were alſo at hand: and ſo by mutuall conſent to vndertake him, but neuer ſingle. By which courſe he promiſed vnto him an eaſie and aſſured victory: for as much as it were impoſſible for any man ſo beſet, and as it were on euery ſide coupt vp with his ene-E mies, either to eſcape or yet to make any great reſiſtance. This perſuaſion of *Balabanus* ſo well fitted the Tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himſelfe to be the man to put his own deuiſe in execution: giuing him commiſſion to leauy ſuch an army as he ſhould think ſufficient for the performance of that ſeruice: and withall to aſſociat vnto himſelfe for his companion which ſoeuer of his captaines he pleaſed. *Balabanus* according to his commiſſion, tooke muſters of the men of war, and made choice of forty thouſand good ſouldiers, and choſe one *Iacup Arnauth* (otherwiſe called *Iames* the Epirot, becauſe he was alſo borne in Epirus, a valiant captaine) to be his companion: whom he ſent with ſixteene thouſand ſoldiers by the way of Theſſalia and Grecia into Epirus, commanding him in no caſe to joine battel with *Scanderbeg*, vntill he himſelfe were alſo come into the country with the other part of the army. And F ſo ſetting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the neerer way through Thracia and Macedonia, came firſt into Epirus with twenty thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, and encamped in the vally of Valchall. *Scanderbeg* both by his eſpials and letters from his ſecret friends in the Turks court, hauing certaine intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpoſe, had in readineſſe againſt his comming a ſtrong army of eight thouſand horſemen and foure thou-

Scanderbeg his scouts traiterously fly to Balabanus.

sand foot,all choise soldiers. And now hearing that he was come into Epirus,and incamped in G
Valchaal,sent out three espials to discouer in what order he lay: one of which spies was *Balabanus* his kinsman (but not so knowne to *Scanderbeg*) by whose persuasion the other two when they had taken ful view of *Balabanus* his army,and should haue returned to *Scanderbeg* to haue giuen intelligence of that they had seene, like false traitors went ouer to *Balabanus*, and discouered vnto him all that they knew concerning *Scanderbeg*: hoping thereby to receiue some great reward,as their fellow had before borne them in hand. *Scanderbeg* maruelling that his espials returned not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had bin by the enemy intercepted, and vsing many times in matters of such importance to trust himselfe best; presently went out with fiue lusty soldiers, and rid forth to discouer the maner of the enemies lying. *Balabanus* like a crafty fox, mistrusting that *Scanderbeg* deceiued of his first spies would H
for like purpose send forth others, laied certain horsmen in secret ambush in diuers places, to intercept them if it were possible. These horsmen lay not so couert,but that they were in good time descried by *Scanderbeg* and his followers (who with *Argus* eies, pried into euery bush and thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger: and yet but so that he came to handy stroks,where *Scanderbeg* and his followers oppressed with multitude,were glad to fly as fast as they could into the next wood,the Turks horsmen following them at the heels. It fortuned that as they were flying,a great old tree was fallen crosse the way,which *Scanderbeg* putting spurs to his horse,leapt ouer with one of his men after him; the other foure not able to get ouer, turned backe vpon the Turks, and there fighting were slaine. One of the Turks which so hardly pursued *Scanderbeg* being wel mounted,forced his horse to leape the tree,and I
still followed after *Scanderbeg*: who looking backe and seeing bnt one, turned vpon him and slew him: the other Turks hauing slaine foure of *Scanderbegs* men which could not get ouer the tree,returned. And *Scanderbeg* accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe againe to his campe;and there with all speed put his army in readinesse to go against *Balabanus* before the comming of his companion, with the other part of his army. Vpon which resolution,after he had with cheerfull persuasions encouraged his souldiers, and filled their minds with hope of victory, he set forward, and came with great speed vnto the valley of Valchaal where *Balabanus* lay. *Scanderbeg* had diuided his army into foure squadrons; whereof *Tanusius* had the leading of one, *Zacharias Groppa* of another, the third was committed to *Peieus Emanuel*,and *Scanderbeg* himselfe conducted the fourth. So setting forward, he sent before certaine K
companies of harquebusiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemy and to draw him forth vnto battel. *Balabanus* also shewed himself with his army in seemly order before his tents,but there stood fast and would not stir,expecting continually the comming of his fellow. Which *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, and that he sought but to dally out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight had againe retired his army into the safety of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him, continually skirmishing with such as he sent out,daring him to the field,& brauing him vnto his trenches,in such sort,as if he would haue forced the same,and by strong hand haue fet him out thence: wherat the Turks fretted and chafed exceedingly,insomuch that they were ready to rise against their Generall,because he would not lead them forth to battell,but suffer them to be so disgraced. *Balabanus* mindfull of that he had promised to *Mahomet* his great lord and L
master, did what he might to haue deferred time; but when he saw that his fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter;being so continually assailed & brased by *Scanderbegs* souldiers, that his Turks therewith prouoked, were ready oftentimes to haue issued out without his direction,and now no remedy but that he must needs fight, placed his men in good order, and so went out of his trenches to giue battell, himselfe leading the left wing thereof: where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce fight, many falling on both sides. But *Scanderbeg* strengthned with the old garison of Croia,and the most expert soldiers of Dibra,preuailed vpon the Turks & forced them to giue ground,yet still keeping their order. The fight was so great in this part of the battell,that in other places they stood almost still as lookers on,expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals: which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, M
drew certaine troups out of the right wing, whereas he saw was least danger, which speedily fetching a compasse about, charged the side of the enemies army; and againe withdrawing themselues, and with wonderfull celerity wheeling about, set vpon the backe of them that fought in the left wing: so that the Turks there fiercely charged both before and behind, by them

A them of *Scanderbeg* his army, fell in other places with a great slaughter. *Balabanus* with exceeding courage gainstood his enemies, so long as there was any hope left: but when he saw the fortune of *Scanderbeg* to preuaile, and all about him to become desperat, he made shift for himselfe, and fled out of the battell as fast as he could. The rest of the army being in other places before troubled and disordred, fled also, some one way, some another, euery man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed *Balabanus* escaped: the rest were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners.

Scanderbeg had scarcely well breathed himselfe after this victory, and diuided the spoyle amongst his souldiers, but that newes was brought to him in Post from the lady *Mamiza* his sister, then lying at Petrella, That *Iacuppe Arnauth* was by the way of Belgrade come into Epi-
B rus with an army of sixteene thousand horsemen, burning and destroying the country before him, and then lay incamped in the plaines of Tyranna the lesse. When *Scanderbeg* to proue the minds of his souldiers, had cheerefully imparted vnto them such newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing dismaied, but ready to follow him with such cheerefulnesse of countenance and mind, as if they should haue gone to some great feast or banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a discomfited army. This cheerefulnesse of his souldiers, *Scanderbeg* tooke as an assured token of his good successe; and hauing all things in readinesse, presently set forward, and in short time came to the place where the enemy lay. *Iacuppe* hearing of his comming, remoued his campe into a corner of the plaine Tyranna, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more safety for his army to lie in.
C *Scanderbeg* hauing taken the Plaine, incamped his army in the same place from whence *Iacuppe* was but a little before departed, where he rested one whole day. The next morning, to terrifie his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of *Balabanus*) he caused diuers of the Turks heads which were slaine in the late battell (which he had brought for that purpose) to be cast before the trenches of the enemy; and withall, diuers of them which were taken prisoners, to be showne: which *Iacuppe* beholding, in great despaire said, *I see the euill hap of Mahomet.* Immediatly after, *Scanderbeg* sent forth 500 horsemen to skirmish with the Turks, commanding them, so soone as they were charged by the enemies to retire, if haply they might so be drawne into battell. Which fell out accordingly: for *Iacuppe* now seeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing also without further delay to try his fortune, came
D readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long; for *Scanderbeg* perceiuing in what part of the army *Iacuppe* was, bent his greatest force that way, and singling him out, with his owne hand slew him. Wherewith the Turks being discouraged, forthwith betooke themselues to flight, and in flying, were for most part slaine or taken. Those which escaped the present fury of the sword, straggling thorow the country by thicke woods and blind waies, were by the country people either slaine or taken prisoners. In these two battels were slaine of the Turks 24000, and 6000 taken. And of *Scanderbeg* his men were lost about a thousand. *Scanderbeg* and his soldiers were so weary of the slaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, That *Balabanus* was fled but with one cornet of horsemen, and might easily be surprised if he were well pursued; he said, *O let some of our enemies liue to report*
E *their owne slaughter, and our victory.* After that *Scanderbeg* had in this sort vanquished these great captaines, he presently entred into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure without resistance, made hauocke of all that came in his way: and after returning to Croia with victory, brake vp his army, and gaue his soldiers leaue to depart euery man to his owne dwelling.

Iacuppe slaine by Scanderbeg, and his army discomfited.

While these things were in doing, *Mahomet* had with great rewards procured two Turks 1465
to vndertake to kill *Scanderbeg*. These traitors came vnto *Scanderbeg* as fugitiues, making such shew of the detestation both of *Mahomet* his tyrannicall gouernment, and vaine superstition, that they were both of *Scanderbeg* and others, reputed to be indeed the men, they desired to be accounted: and so after they had learned the principles of the Christian religion, were by
F their owne desire baptised. But treason against Princes whom God hath in his most mighty protection, cannot be long couered; much lesse, without his great sufferance performed. So fortuned it, that these two false dissembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunity to performe their diuelish deuice, vpon some occasion fell at variance betwixt themselues, and in their heat let some such words fall, as being taken vp by some there present, drew them both

into ſuſpition: and thereupon being ſtreitly examined, it was at laſt by them confeſſed, That G
they were ſent by *Mahomet*, of purpoſe to haue ſlaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treaſon they were both preſently executed; as they had right well deſerued. When *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Balabanus* was ouercome, *Iacup* ſlaine, and both their armies almoſt quite deſtroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almoſt franticke: and afterwards calling together his great Baſſa's, reſolued by their aduice, not to ſend any more Generals againſt *Scanderbeg*, but to go himſelfe in perſon, with ſuch an army as ſhould at once make an end of his wars in Epirus for euer. Hereupon commiſſions were directed thorow all his kingdome, and an army raiſed of two hundred thouſand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertiſements, fortified all his cities and ſtrong holds, eſpecially the city of Croia; vpon the fortune whereof depended the whole ſtate of his kingdome. Into this city he put a H
ſtrong garriſon of his moſt valiant and faithfull ſoldiers, and thorowly furniſht the ſame with all things neceſſary for the enduring of a long ſiege: and left one *Balthazar Perduci* (a graue and worthy captaine) Gouernour thereof. With like care he prouided for the ſafety of his other cities, and tooke order that the country people were either receiued into the ſtrong towns, or elſe conueied into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the country for the Turks to prey vpon; as he had in like caſe done long before, at the comming of old *Amurath* to the ſiege of Croia, as is before in his life declared.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had ſet all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with foure-
ſcore thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of *Mahomet* his army) was entred into Epirus, and ranging ouer the country two daies, came and ſate downe before Croia: vpon whom the I
Mahomet commeth to the ſiege of Croia. Gouernor at his firſt comming made many braue ſallies. In few daies after came *Mahomet* with his huge army, and there incamped alſo: who at his firſt comming ſummoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as it pleaſed himſelfe, (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthy Gouernor returned him no other anſwer, than by continuall thundring ſhot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* cauſed ſuch ordnance as he had to be planted for battery; and commanded other new to be caſt, of ſuch mettall as he had for that purpoſe brought in maſſe: all which, he did rather to ſtrike a terrour into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the city by force; knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almoſt impregnable. Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus buſied, and little or nothing preuailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods and K
mountains, with a ſmall army of moſt valiant and couragious ſoldiers, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomets* army, and ſuch as brought in victuall or neceſſaries for his campe: and many times in the night ſuddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great campe, with great ſlaughter, and with continuall alarmes neuer ſuffered them to reſt in quiet. *Mahomet* ſeeing his army to decreaſe dayly, and no hope of winning the city but by famine, which would require a long ſiege: and fearing alſo to make that ſame place againe famous by ſome notable miſchance which might happen vnto himſelfe vnder the wals of Croia, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*; determined to returne himſelfe to Conſtantinople, and to leaue *Balabanus* with a great part of his army to continue the ſiege. Vpon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the ſiege, to *Balaba-* L
nus, joyning vnto him eight of his moſt expert captaines; yet ſo, as that they ſhould be all at *Balabanus* his command. And ſo leauing with him three and twenty thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and with euery one of the other eight Captaines ſeuen thouſand mo, departed himſelfe with the reſt of his army from Croia, towards Conſtantinople. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine ſmall forts, and with faire promiſes corrupting the Gouernor of a place called Chidna, wherein eight thouſand of *Scanderbeg* his ſoldiers lay, had the ſame deliuered into his power, vpon his faith before giuen, That all the ſoldiers with the reſt of the people ſhould in ſafety depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promiſe, he cauſed them all moſt cruelly to be cut in pieces, ſparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great griefe and weakning of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any M
time before receiued ſo great a loſſe. And after he had ſo raged, he in great melancholy returned vnto Conſtantinople.

Scanderbeg diſdaining to haue his chiefe city beſieged by *Balabanus*, (ſometime one of the baſeſt of his fathers ſubjects) and yet finding himſelfe vnable to relieue the ſame, for as much

as

A as the ſouldiers were with continuall wars ſore waſted, and his wary enemies lay ſo encamped, as that they were not but by a ſtrong army to be remoued, ſent vnto the Venetians and other the confederat princes of Albania, Illyria, and Dalmatia, praying of them aid now at his need againſt that enemy, which preuailing againſt him, would forthwith ſet vpon them. All which princes promiſed forthwith to ſend their ſuccours. At the ſame time alſo he paſſed ouer into Italy ſecretly, and diſguiſed in ſimple attire, came to Rome, to craue aid of *Paulus* the ſecond of that name, then great Biſhop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; ſo cold was his deuotion: onely at his departure he gaue vnto *Iunetrio, Scanderbeg* his treaſurer, a poore almes of three thouſand duckats.

Scanderbeg returning into Epirus, found all ſuch aid ready as was promiſed from the confe-
B derat Princes, but eſpecially from the Venetians, which was for moſt part drawne out of their garriſons of Scutari, Driuaſto, Alyſſa, and Dirrachium: ſo that he had in few daies in his army thirteene thouſand foure hundred choice ſouldiers. With this ſtrength he marched towards Croia: but vnderſtanding by the way, that *Ionima* was within a daies iourny, comming with a new ſupply to his brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certaine troups of his beſt horſemen; and coaſting ouer the country in the night, ſuddenly came vpon the Turks, and put them to flight: where amongſt others, *Ionima* himſelfe, with his ſonne *Hedar*, were taken priſoners; whom he ſhewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit ſo happily performed, he with all ſpeed returned to his army: and ſo marching to Croia, by plaine force draue the Turks from the mountaine Cruina, their greateſt ſtrength, and neereſt to the city of Croia.

Scanderbeg ſurpriſeth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his ſonne.

C Which thing when *Balabanus* ſaw, he with certaine troups of horſemen rid euen to the gates of the city, perſuading the defendants to yeeld the city, making them in the name of his maſter ſuch offers and promiſes as he thought might moſt moue them. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather inſenced with his preſumption, ſallied out vpon him, and inforced him to retire: but he therewith enraged, and halfe mad for anger, came vpon them with a freſh charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the city. In which skirmiſh he was by one *Georgius Alexius*, with a bullet, ſhot quite thorow the throat; and feeling himſelfe mortally wounded, ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, ran as faſt as he could to his campe, where he preſently fell downe from his horſe and died. The Turks diſcouraged with the death of their General, & the comming of *Scanderbeg*, roſe the ſame night, & with great ſilence retired
D themſelues vnto the plain of Tiranna, about eight miles from Croia. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entring the forſaken tents of the Turks, found therin great ſtore of corne and other victuals: which he cauſed to be forthwith conueied into the city, & in triumph followed after himſelfe, to the great ioy and comfort of his late beſieged ſubjects: whom he highly commended for their fidelity, and bountifully rewarded according to their deſerts. The ſame day he ſent certaine companies of ſouldiers to take the ſtreit paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs paſſe in their returne out of Epirus: which when the Turks vnderſtood, they ſent two meſſengers to *Scanderbeg* (who ſeemed to be men of good account in the army) offering in the name of the reſt of the captaines and commanders, to deliuer vnto him their horſes and armes, ſo that they might in ſafety depart with their liues. Which their requeſt *Scanderbeg* propoun-
E ding to his counſellors & captains, was by them diuerſly diſgeſted. In concluſion they receiued this anſwer from *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, That as they came into his country, without his commandment, ſo ſhould they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turks receiuing this ſhort anſwer by their meſſengers, & conſidering that they muſt needs in that bare country in ſhort time periſh, either with famin or with the ſword; the ſame night departed from Tiranna, and in the dead time of the night entring the aforeſaid ſtreits, by plain force deſperatly brake thorow and eſcaped, but not without their great loſſe: for whoſe eſcape the common ſouldiers murmured grieuouſly againſt *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much ado appeaſed. In ſhort time after, *Scanderbeg* recouered all ſuch places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to ſword the ſoldiers he had left for the keeping of the ſame: which done, he brake vp his ar-
F my, retaining only two thouſand horſmen & a thouſand foot for the defence of his frontiers.

The Turkiſh tyrant hearing of the euil ſucceſſe of his affaires in Epirus, as that his Generall 1466
was ſlaine, Croia relieued, his army diſcomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought; fretted thereat exceedingly, and was therewith ſo much grieued, that he could not for a ſeaſon eat or drink, or take reſt, his diſcontented thoughts ſo much troubled him. In the end, to reme-

dy the matter, he resolued the next Spring to go again in person himselfe with a most puissant G
army into Epirus; and so if it were possible, to make a full conquest thereof: of which his purpose *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding, prouided for his comming, as he had in former time. The Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former resolution, with a mighty army entred into Epirus, and there with exceeding labour and charge, first repaired or rather re-edified the old ruines of the city of Valmes, wherein he left a strong garrison, of purpose to trouble that part of the country. From thence he marched to Dirrachium (now called Durazzo, but of old time Epidamnum) a city vpon the sea coast, then in the possession of the Venetians, famous for many things in the time of the Roman Empire, but especially for the flight of the Roman Senat thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the ciuil wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompeius*. This city *Mahomet* thought to haue taken vnprouided, & so vpon the sudden to haue car- H
ried it; but was therein much deceiued, finding it strongly fortified and manned both by the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there spent some time, and to his great losse in vain attempted the city, he rise vpon the sudden: and retiring into Epirus, came and sat down againe before Croia, of purpose by his sudden comming to haue terrified the citizens: and vainly persuaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in Dirrachium, for that in the assailing therof he had discouered many of *Scanderbegs* men, and thereby supposed him to haue been there also; the greatest cause why he so suddenly rise and came to Croia. At his first comming he offered great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the citizens, if they would forthwith yeeld vp their city; otherwise he threatned vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart thence before he had it: whereunto he receiued no other answer out of the city than was sent I
him by the mouth of the cannon, or brought him by many most braue sallies. *Scanderbeg* in the mean while continually molesting his campe, and euery night falling into one quarter or another thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what small purpose it would be for him to lie there long, rise with his army, and marched againe to the sea side, to a place now called the head of Redon vpon the gulfe of Venice, not far from Dirrachium, where *Scanderbeg* had begun to build a new city called Chiurill, not yet finished: which *Mahomet* in despight of the man, rased downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirots were retired into the mountaines, he went to seeke them out, and was with great losse by those mountaine people repulsed: *Scanderbeg* still following them at the heeles, and awaiting all opportunities, dayly cut off part of his army. So that at last the tyrant despairing of any good to be done in that K
expedition, was glad to depart out of Epirus, hauing atchieued nothing worth his comming, and so, full of discontentment and melancholy returned vnto Constantinople.

After all these great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid ouer most part of Epirus, to view the state of his kingdome, and so at last came to Lyssa (a city of the Venetians, which he had alwaies specially liked) there to confer with the Venetian legat and other the confederat princes, of matters concerning their state in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly, how they might take the city of Valmes, which *Mahomet* had the last yere built in the seignory of *Aryannites Comynat*, and much troubled that part of Epirus. But whilest he lay there, he fel sicke of a feauer, which daily so increased vpon him, that he became sicke euen vnto death: and now perceiuing his end to draw nigh, sent for his wife and son, with the princes and lords his confe- L
derats, & the embassadors of the Venetians, into his bed chamber. Where after he had at large with greater pain notably discoursed of his troublesome life led among them, than he had before passed the same, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to ensue, he earnestly exhorted them to continue in vnity & concord, and valiantly to stand in defence of their religion, country, and liberty. And afterwards turning his speech to his wife and his son, commended them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the confederation betwixt him and them, were in honor bound to protect his son and kingdome, during the time of his minority, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the same. In fine, he willed his wife after his death to passe ouer with her sonne into Apulia, where they might in safety and quiet liue vpon such possessions as he there held by the gift of King *Ferdinand*. And M
so after he had with most feruent praier commended his soule into the hands of Almighty God, departed in peace the 17 day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1466, when he had liued about 63 yeares, and thereof reigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all Christian Princes, but especially of the Venetians and Princes of Albania, who had now lost their

Scanderbeg falleth sicke.

The death of Scanderbeg.

A their moſt carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the ſorrow of his ſubjects is not to be expreſſed, euery man bewailing him, as the only ſtay of the common-weale, and as if with him they had loſt all their hope. His dead body was with the generall lamentation of all men roially buried in the cathedrall church of S. *Nicholas* at Lyſſa: where it reſted in peace, vntill that about nine yeares after, the Turks comming to the ſiege of Scodra, by the way tooke the city of Lyſſa, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in ſome part of their happineſſe, if they might but ſee or touch the ſame: and ſuch as could get any part thereof, were it neuer ſo little, cauſed the ſame to be ſet, ſome in ſiluer, ſome in gold, to hang about their necks, or weare vpon their bodies; perſuading themſelues by the wearing thereof to be partakers of ſuch good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himſelfe whileſt he liued:
B which is not vnaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of Cremona, thus in verſe expreſſed.

Scanderbeg buried at Lyſſa.

The body of Scanderbeg digged vp by the Turkes, and of them greatly honoured.

SCANDERBEG.

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 3.

Turcarum clades, Othomanni nominis horror,
Epiri tutela, illo jacuere ſepulchro:
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt oſſa Georgi.
Nunt & membra viri, & diſſectum in fruſtra ſepulchrum
Interijt, ſparſi manes, conſciſa vaguntur
Oſſa, nec in gelida nunc ſaltem morte quieſcunt.

Namque

Namque vt is assertum toties cum laude paternum
Imperium, exacta moriens ætate reliquit:
Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcæ.
Tum clari Heroïs venerati nobile bustum,
Ossaque, marmoraque, inuictum condentia corpus,
Abstulerant, sibi quisque in partes secta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor inesset:
Et genium præstare bonum, sortemque valerunt.
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat, abfuit illi:
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hosti.

In English thus:

The bloudy bane of faithlesse Turks, and terrour of that name,
Epirus strong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame:
Within that tombe wherein long since, Great *Castriotus* lay;
But now those limbes and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away.
The remnants of that worthy wight out of his graue were torne;
And being dead, could find no rest, but were for Iewels worne.
For after he, farre spent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,
And left his fathers kingdome, got and kept with great renowne;
Forthwith the cruell Turks preuail'd, and all things there possest:
Who worshipping his stately tombe, and place of quiet rest,
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine:
And glad was he that could thereof some little part obtaine.
As if in them some martiall force, or vertue great had beene:
Or fortune rare, such as before in him was liuing seene.
So vertue, which to others giues a sepulture and graue,
Bereft it him, yet for'st his foe in honour it to haue.

Mathias King of Hungary, taketh the kingdome of Bosna from the Turks.

Most part of the times of those wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by sea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turks strongly busied. *Mathias Coruinus* King of Hungary (according to his promise made vnto the Venetians) entered in the kindome of Bosna, K where by force he ouerthrew the strong forts which the Turks had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to Iaziga (of some called Iaitze) the chiefe city of Bosna, which he at length tooke: and following the course of his victory, scarcely suffered the Turks to breath, vntill he had by force wrested all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieued, in great fury came with a strong army into Bosna, and laid hard siege to Iaziga, which was by the Christians right valiantly defended, vntill *Mathias* with a puissant army came to the reliefe thereof: who so troubled the Turks campe with continuall skirmishes on the one side, and they of the towne with desperat sallies on the other; that at length the proud Turke was driuen to such extremity, that he was glad secretly to steale away by night with all his army into Seruia, and L for hast to leaue behind him both his tents and great ordnance, which (the Turks Histories report) he caused to be cast into the riuer, because it should not come into the hands of the Christians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies, & relieued the city, followed the Turks into Seruia, and tooke part of that country also, which together with Bosna he vnited to the kingdome of Hungary. In these warres, *Mahomet* had such proofe of the force and power of *Mathias* and the Hungarians, that for a good while after he had no great stomacke to prouoke them farther: for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become vnto the Turks no lesse dreadfull, than was sometime the name of his father the valiant *Huniades*.

The Venetians at the same time also with their gallies scoured the seas, & landing their men sometime in one place, sometime in another, did great harme in many places of the Turks do- M minion neere vnto the sea coast. Amongst other their Generals at diuers times sent from that state, one *Nicholas Canalis* succeeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before spoken of) as soone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of Salonichi, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongst the sea side: And afterwards returning into Peloponesus,

A poneſus, he fortified the towne of Legoſticium in the gulfe of Patras; which worke the Turks with their often skirmiſhes laboured to haue hindred, but in deſpight of all they could do, it was brought to perfection, and a ſtrong garriſon therein left for the defence thereof; which done, he returned againe to Eubœa. Shortly after, he with the ſame fleet put to ſea againe; and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Macedonia and Thracia, ſurpriſed the city of Ænus which ſtandeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in antient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the famous city Hadrianople, and Philippopolis are alſo ſcituate. *Canalis* after he had taken the ſpoyle of the City, returned to his Gallies, carrying away with him two thouſand captiues into Eubœa. At the ſame time alſo, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholas Duchaine* againſt his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principality of Zadrima, neere vnto the
B riuer of Drino in Epirus, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrell of *Alexius*.

Mahomet not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiuing that the Iſland of Eubœa (now called Nigroponte) was for the commodious ſcituation and ſtrength thereof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all theſe wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a moſt ſure place of refuge; determined with himſelfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by ſea and land for the gaining of that place. This Iſland of Eubœa is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer againſt that part of Græcia which was of old called Bæotia, from whence it is ſeparated with a narrow ſtreit of the ſea: it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, and wood
C fit for ſhipping. The chiefe city therof, was in antient time called Chalcide, and of latter time Nigroponte, by which name alſo the whole Iſland was knowne: albeit the Turks now call it, Egribos; a populous, rich, and ſtrong city; ſo fortified with wals and Bulwarkes, that (in moſt mens jugements) it ſeemed a place impregnable. Vnto this ſtrong city, *Mahomet* reſolued to lay ſiege; knowing well, that vpon the fortune thereof depended the ſtate of the whole Iſland. Wherfore he aſſembled a mighty army, and made great preparation both by ſea and land: and when all things were in readineſſe, ſent *Mahomet* (the great Baſſa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other ſmall veſſels well furniſhed with ſouldiers, mariners, and all things neceſſary by ſea into Eubœa: and with a great army marched himſelfe by land through Achaia, vntill he came ouer againſt the city of Chalcis. The Venetian Admirall hea-
D ring of the comming of the Turks fleet, ſet forward to haue met them neere vnto the ſtreits of Helleſpontus: but after he had by his eſpials deſcried the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himſelfe too weak, ſhaped his courſe to the Iſland of Sciros. The Baſſa comming out of the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, couered the ſea with his fleet, & holding on his intended courſe, without let came to Eubœa: where at the firſt landing, he tooke Stora and Baſilicon, two ſmal townes, which he raſed to the ground, and from thence went directly to Chalcis. As ſoone as this great fleet was there ariued, *Mahomet* cauſed a great bridge to be made of his ſmaller veſſels ouer the ſtreit betwixt Achaia and Eubœa: whereby he paſſed all his army, and ſo belaied the city round both by ſea and land. And after he had planted his battery, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals: wherein he had in ſhort time made faire breaches, and the ſooner, for
E that one *Thomas* of Liburnia (chiefe canonier of the city) before corrupted by the Turks, by ſignes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakeſt: whereby they ſo aptly planted their battery, as if they had taken view on the inſide of the wals. Which foule treaſon was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthily executed. Yet little preuailed the tyrant thereby; for ſuch was the induſtry of the defendants, that whatſoeuer he had by the fury of his great ordnance beat downe by day, that, they with reſtleſſe labor repaired again by night. Thus was the ſiege continued thirty daies, in which ſpace many a ſharpe aſſault was giuen by the Turks, to their great loſſe; and the city ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtians. At length the Venetian Admiral (to the great comfort of the beſieged) came with his fleet within view of the city, making ſemblant as if he would haue giuen
F the Turks battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raiſed his ſiege, and haue got himſelfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians ſhould with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and ſo haue ſhut him vp into that Iſland: which thing it was thought the Admiral might haue done to his great praiſe, if he would as a couragious chiefetaine haue aduentured the matter, as he was earneſtly requeſted by the captaines of euery priuate gally;

1470

Chalcis the chiefe city of Eubœa beſieged by the Turke.

Treaſon in the city.

who

who generally grieued to see him so great a commander, to let slip so faire an opportunity. G
But he fearing to come any neerer, came to an anchor and moued not, neither gaue any signe of comfort or reliefe to the besieged. Which thing the Turkish King quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them faultable, brought on his men to the breaches, promising them the spoile of the city, with many other great rewards and high preferments according to their particular deserts, wherof he said, he would himselfe be an eie-witnes. Hereupon the Turks gaue a most fierce and furious assault; which the defendants with inuincible courage receiued, and made such slaughter of them, that the ditches were filled, & the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turks. But such was the number of that populous army (the greatest strength of the Turks) that the liuing little felt the losse of the dead: *Mahomet* continually sending in new supplies of fresh H
men, in stead of them that were slaine or wounded: so that one could no sooner fall, but two or three stept vp in his roome, and so successiuely, as if new men had sprung out of the bodies of the dead. Twise they had euen won the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull slaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadfull assault was maintained a whole day and a night without intermission. At length the defendants being for the most part slaine or wounded, and the rest wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the towne now assaulted almost round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like resolute men, sold their
Chalcis taken by the Turks. liues at a deere price vnto the Turks. Amongst the slaine Christians, were found the dead bodies of many notable women, who seeing the ruine of the city, chose rather to die with their friends in defence thereof, than aliue to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies. I

Mahomet being now become Lord of the city, and hauing lost forty thousand of his Turks in that siege, in reuenge thereof caused all the men that were found in the city aliue, to be put to most cruell death, especially the Italians, vpon whom he shewed his tyranny with most exquisit and horrible torments. *Paulus Ericus* Gouernor of the city, with a few others, who with him were fled into the castle, without resistance deliuered the same vnto him, vpon his faithfull promise, that they might in safety depart: but after that he had got them into his power, the perfidious tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murthered. The Gouernors daughter a maiden of incomparable beauty, was amongst the rest taken prisoner, and for her rare perfection, by them that tooke her presented to *Mahomet* as the mirror of beauty: The barbarous tyrant greedy of so faire a prey, sought first by flattering words and faire per- K
suasion, to induce her to consent to his desire: but when he could not so preuaile, he fell into another vaine, and began to shew himselfe in his owne nature, threatning her with death, torture, and force, worse than death it selfe, if she would not otherwise yeeld vnto his appetite. Whereunto the constant virgin (worthy eternall fame) answered so resolutely, and so contrary to the tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be presently slaine. The horrible and monstrous cruelty, with the filthy outrages by that beastly and
The fruitfull Island of Eubœa taken by the Turks. barbarous people committed at the taking of that city, passeth all credit. Chalcis thus won, the rest of that fruitfull Island without further resistance yeelded vnto the Turkish slauery, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamity happened vnto the Venetian state, or rather (to say truly) to the generall hurt of the Christian common-weale, in the yeare of our redemp- L
tion, 1470.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the siege, had in the sight of the City lien at anchor as a looker on, fearing now that the city was lost, to be set vpon by the Turks fleet, hoised saile, and laded with dishonour returned in haste vnto Venice, where he was by the commandement of the Senat committed to prison, and afterward with all his family exiled to Vtinum.

Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his army out of Eubœa, and his fleet re-
1471 turned to Constantinople: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the sudden surprised the city, a little before lost. But *Mahomet* had therein left so strong a garrison, that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their M
gallies, and to forsake their Island.

Chalcis thus lost, with all the Island of Eubœa, the Venetians chose *Petrus Mocenicus*, a valiant and discreet gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in stead of *Canalis*: and by their embassadours solicited *Sixtus* the fourth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, and *Ferdinand* King

of

A of Naples, with *Lewis* king of Cyprus, and the grand maſter of the Rhodes, to joyne their forces together with theirs againſt the great and common enemy: which thing all the aforeſaid Chriſtian princes promiſed them to do. And the more to intangle the Turke, they at the ſame time ſent *Caterinus Zenus* their Embaſſadour with rich preſents vnto *Alymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes*, the great king of Perſia, to incite him on that ſide againſt the Turke: in which negotiation *Zenus* ſo well behaued himſelfe, that the next yeare following, that great king tooke vp armes againſt *Mahomet*, and had with him mortall wars, as ſhall be in conuenient place hereafter declared. *Mahomet* not ignorant of the proceedings of the Venetians, and that they did what they might to ſtir vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were poſſible) into hatred with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the
B Chriſtian princes with the cruelty he had of late vſed againſt them of Chalcis, thought it not beſt as then further to prouoke them, and ſo happily to bring all at once about his eares; but for a ſeaſon to lie ſtill at Conſtantinople, as if he had been deſirous now to liue in peace, not meaning further harme: hoping thereby, that although he concluded no peace with any of them (which indeed he was not deſirous of) yet that tract of time might mittigat the hanouſnes of the fact, and coole the heat of their diſpleaſure; whereby it came to paſſe as he wiſhed; that nothing worth the ſpeaking of was that yere attempted againſt him: and becauſe the Perſian king was the man of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, he ſought by his Embaſſadors to pacifie him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Chriſtians: requeſting him, if it were for nothing els but for the community of the Mahometan religion, wherein they well agreed,
C and were thereby the profeſſed enemies of the Chriſtians, to withdraw his hand, and in their cauſe to ceaſe to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it ſo ſtood with his purpoſe) the zeale of religion, whereas otherwiſe he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But *Zenus* the Venetian Embaſſadour lying continually in the Perſian court, ſo wrought the matter with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, that he told the Turks Embaſſador plainly, That he could not nor would not longer, endure the manifeſt injury and wrong done vnto him by the Turkiſh King: and farther, that he had made a faithfull league with the Chriſtian Princes, and therefore would to the vttermoſt of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectually performe what thing ſoeuer he had promiſed: and ſo diſmiſſed them, now no leſſe diſcontented than were before the Perſian Embaſſadorus at ſuch time as they returned from the Turks court, hauing
D obtained nothing they then requeſted concerning the Emperour of Trapezond.

The yeare following, *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arriued in the Iſle of Lesbos, where he did great harme. From thence he paſſed the bay of Adramittium into the leſſer Aſia, and ſore ſpoiled the country about Pergamus. After that he landed again at Cnidus vpon the coaſt of Caria, where he tooke a great booty: and ſo hauing done the Turks exceeding much htrme in Aſia all alongſt the ſea coaſt oppoſite to Græcia, he returned laden with ſpoile towards Peloponeſus. In his returne about the promontory of Malea, vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſns, he met with *Richaienſis* comming vnto him with 17 gallies from King *Ferdinand*: by whom he was certified, that the great Biſhops fleet was ready to come forth alſo. After mutual gratulation, as the maner at ſea is, the Admirals joyning their fleets in one,
E landed at Methone, now called Modon, then a city of the Venetians in Peloponeſus: where after they had well refreſhed their ſoldiers, and taken in freſh victuals, they put to ſea againe; and ſailing through the Iſlands, landed in Aſia, where they were at their firſt landing encountered by the country Turks, whom at laſt they put to flight, and by the ſpace of foure daies tooke what pillage they could in the country: where the ſouldiers found great ſtore of rich booty, eſpecially of Turky carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence they ſailed to Halicarnaſus, which is part of Caria (where ſometime ſtood the ſtately tombe which Queene *Artemeſia* built for her husband *Mauſolus*, accounted amongſt the wonders of the world) where they tooke a wonderfull ſpoile. There came vnto them *Nicholas* Biſhop of Modruſſa, with twenty gallies ſent from the great Biſhop: whom the other two Generals
F welcomed with great joy. At the ſame time alſo came thither two gallies from the great maſter of the Rhodes. With this fleet of eighty fiue gallies, they ſailed to the Iſle of Samos ouer againſt Epheſus (ſometime a place of great fame, but then altogether deſolate and vnpeopled) there to conſult for their further proceedings in thoſe warres. Looſing from Samos, they tooke their courſe alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and landed at Attalia, the chiefe city of

1472

The Venetians aided by King Ferdinand, the Biſhop of Rome, and the great maſter of the Rhodes, doe the Turks great harme all alongſt the coaſt of the leſſer Aſia.

of Pamphilia, a place of great traffique: where they found in the ſubburbs of the city great G
ſtore of many rich commodities, brought thither out of Ægypt and Syria; whereof they took what pleaſed them, and burnt the reſt together with the ſubburbs. Vnto the city it ſelfe they began to lay ſiege, but perceiuing that it was not without great loſſe of their men to be taken, they departed thence: and running all alongſt the coaſt of Pamphilia, burnt and deſtroied what came in their way, and ſo returned backe againe to Rhodes: where they met an Embaſſadour from *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian King, to the Biſhop and the Venetians, for great ordnance; whereof that ſo mighty a Prince was altogether vnfurniſhed. Of this Embaſſadour they vnderſtood that *Vſun-Coſſanes* was entered into league with the Chriſtian Princes, and now buſie in making preparation againſt the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* requited the Venetians with no leſſe harme in Epirus and Dalmatia, than they had done to him in Aſia: for now that H
Scanderbeg was dead, the Turks mightily preuailed vpon the weake Princes of Epirus and Albania, with the countries adjoyning. The Chriſtian fleet departing from the Rhodes, landed in the countty of Myndians, a part of Caria, and with great ſpoile returned to the Iſland of Naxos, one of the Cyclades: from whence King *Ferdinand* his gallies returned home, laded with much rich ſpoile: for now the yeare was far ſpent. Yet after the departure of the Kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legat returned backe again into Aſia, and there landing their men tooke the famous city of Smyrna in Ionia, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire. At which time alſo they did great harme about Claxomene, not farre from Smyrna. So Winter drawing now faſt on, they returned, laded with the rich ſpoiles of Aſia; the Legat into Italy, and *Mocenicus* into Methone. I

1473 *Mahomet no leſſe troubleſom vnto the Mahometane Princes than to the Chriſtians.*

The inſatiable deſire of Soueraignty, whereunto the Turkiſh King was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not onely againſt the Chriſtian Princes, but againſt others alſo euen of their owne ſuperſtition: making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if ſo he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftily circumuented the King of Myſia, a country in Aſia, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force ſubdued his kingdome, left not one of the kings bloud aliue. After that, he inuaded Cilicia, which the Turks call Caramania, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caſſambet* reigned, and draue them both out of Cilicia: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vſun-Caſſanes*; *Caſſambet* the younger aſſiſted by his old friends, ſought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turks K
poſſeſſed, and was beſieging certaine townes vpon the ſea coaſt, which being taken from the Turks would eaſily draw all the reſt of the kingdome after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the firſt of the Spring come vpon the coaſt of Cilicia, at the requeſt of *Caſſambet*, landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Victor Superantius*, and certaine pieces of great artillery, wherewith he ſo battered the wals of Sichinum, that he enforced the Turks therein to yeeld vp the city: which he deliuered to *Caſſambet*. In like maner he tooke the city of Corycus, which he alſo reſtored to *Caſſambet*. At laſt he laied ſiege to Seleucia, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer Orontes, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, diſtant from the ſea about fiue miles: the Gouernor of this city diſcouraged with the ſight of the great artillery, deliuered the city to the Venetian captaine, L
who by the appointment of the Admirall reſtored the ſame to *Caſſambet*. Who by this means brought againe into his kingdome, gaue great thanks vnto the Admirall, promiſing both for himſelfe and for his brother to be alwaies friends vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from Cilicia, landed his men in Lycia, and harried that country alongſt the ſea coaſt. And this *Mocenicus* ſailed into Cyprus, to appeaſe a great inſurrection there raiſed againſt the Queene, who was by her husband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Grittus*, was by the decree of the Senat appointed Admirall, and already come into Peloponeſus, he with as much ſpeed as he could haſted thither, to giue vp his charge, and ſo to returne home againe to Venice.

About this time the great Perſian King *Vſun Caſſanes* began to make war vpon the Turkiſh M
emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderſtanding wherof, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe briefly to ſhew by what means this *Vſun-Caſſanes* of a ſmall Prince aſpired to the kingdome of Perſia, and ſo in ſhort time grew to that greatneſſe, that he was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by theſe warres betwixt him and the great

Turkiſh

A Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*. This *Vſun-Caſſanes* of whom we now ſpeake, was the ſonne of that *Tachretin*, who with other poore Princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Bajazet* the firſt, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the Great, Emperour of the Turks, and was againe reſtored by great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Bajazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his ſon *Vſun-Caſſanes* (of ſome called alſo *Aſymbeius*) obtained that ſmall territory, which his father had in Armenia: nothing anſwering vnto the greatneſſe of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with ſuch poſſeſſions as was from his father deſcended vnto him, hee began to ſhoulder for more roome, with ſuch weake Princes his neighbors as he thought he might beſt deale withall; wringing one prouince from this Prince, another from that, and thruſting ſome others quite out of all that they had: and in ſhort time ſo inlarged his dominion, that he had
B got into his hands a great part of Armenia, and was reputed both for a mighty and fortunate Prince. Inſomuch that *Calo Ioannes*, then Emperor of Trapezond (whoſe power altogether anſwered not to the greatnes of his ſtile, being for moſt part ſhut vp within the bounds of Pontus, and fearing the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, whoſe name began then to grow dreadfull vnto his neighbor Princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Deſpina* in marriage, by ſuch allyance to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Turkiſh tyrant, if need ſhould require. At which marriage it was agreed, That *Vſun-Caſſanes* ſhould in the right of his wife enioy all the kingdome of Pontus, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *Dauid* his brother: and that *Deſpina* ſhould ſo long as ſhe liued haue the free exerciſe of her Chriſtian Religion. By this woman, *Vſun Caſſanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for
C that ſhe was the mother of *Hyſmael*, afterwards the great king of Perſia, commonly called *Hyſmael the Sophy*; of whom more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the life of *Selymus*. *Vſun-Caſſanes* honoured with this marriage, and ſtrengthened with this new allyance, ceaſed not, after his wonted manner, dayly to incroch vpon his neighbor Princes: and proceeded ſo far, that at length he began to lay hand vpon a part of Armenia, which was then part of the Dominion of the Perſian King. *Zenza* (whom ſome call *Ztokies*, which was indeed the name of his father) reigning then in Perſia, by his Embaſſadors admoniſhed, and in ſort commanded *Vſun-Caſſanes* to hold him ſelfe content with his owne, or at leaſt, with that he had alreadie wrongfully taken from others, & not to preſume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatning otherwiſe to take him as an enemy ao his ſta'e, and to turne his forces vpon him. With which em-
D baſſage *Vſun-Caſſanes* being much offended, gaue the embaſſadors no entertainment, but commanded them with ſpeed to get them out of his Kingdome, and to tell their Maſter, That he would ſhortly himſelfe in perſon come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud anſwer from ſo meane a Prince the Perſian King moued, leuied ſuch an army for the inuading of him, as was thought to haue been ſufficient to haue ſubdued a farre greater Prince: and ſo appointed, ſet forward toward Armenia. *Vſun-Caſſanes* much inferiour to this great King in wealth, and number of men, but not in haughtines of minde, and valiantnes of courage, ſtayd not to expect the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemy, but full of hope ſet forward to meet him, and by great journies ſought to come vpon him before he could haue any knowledge of his comming: yet had he then in his army ſcarcely one man to ten, but al armed
E with couragious hearts, & conducted by a moſt fortunat chieftaine which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with the great army of the Perſians, with whom he preſently ioined battell: and after a long and cruell fight ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with ſuch a ſlaughter as might well haue weakned the forces of a right great kingdome. The great king more inraged then diſcouraged with his ouerthrow, raiſed a far greater army than before the very ſtrength of his kingdome: reſoluing now, not to ſend any more his lieutenants, but to go in perſon himſelfe againſt ſo deſperat an enemy. All things being in readineſſe, he ſet forward, and at length met with the Armenian Prince, whom he found as ready to giue battell as he was at the firſt. So being both deſirous to try their fortune, they ioyned battel; wherein the Perſians were againe diſcomfited and put to flight, and moe of them ſlain in that battell, than
F were brought into the field in the firſt army. *Zenzes* the Perſian king was there ſlain with *Vſun Caſſanes* his owne hand, & *Cariaſuphus* his ſon taken priſoner: whom the Armenian prince vſed with the greateſt honor could be deuiſed, giuing vnto him the honor and title due to the Perſian king, taking to himſelfe the bare name of the protector of the Perſian ſtate: which he did onely to pleaſe the Perſians, and to keep them quiet vntill he had got ſome more aſſured poſ-

Vſun Caſſanes in a great battell ouerthrows the King of Perſia.

seſſion of that kingdome. But after he had in the two former battels broken their greateſt G
ſtrength,and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernor got into his power the regall city of Tauris,with the reſt of the cities & ſtrong places of that great kingdome,and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues ; he ſecretly diſpatched out of the way the poore titular King his priſoner,(the laſt of the poſterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himſelfe the higheſt place,which admitteth no partner. Whileſt this reſtles Prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well ſetled in his new gotten kingdom,*Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor,no leſſe ambitious than himſelfe,had ſcornfully reiected the Embaſſadors and Preſents which *Vſun-Caſſanes* had ſent ; and hauing ſhamefully put to death *Dauid* the Emperor of Trapezond,his allyance, had conuerted all the kingdom of Pontus(which *Vſun-Caſſanes* of right claimed as his wifes dowry) into the form of a prouince,and H
ſo vnited it vnto the Turkiſh empire. Which ſo manifeſt a wrong,*Vſun-Caſſanes* in the newnes of his ſo late atchieued greatneſſe,durſt not aduenture to addreſſe:but after that he was ſurely ſeated,and had with the courſe of time ouercome all dangers at home,being dayly prickt forward with the remembrance of the former iniuries (ſtill ſuggeſted by the importunity of his wife *Deſpina*,and the ſolicitation of the Venetians,to whom he had by ſolemn promiſe bound himſelfe)he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his forces vpon his proud enemy the Turkiſh Emperour. Hereupon he raiſed a great army,and being well appointed of all things neceſſary,paſſing through Armenia toward Pontus,neere vnto the riuer Euphrates was encountred by *Muſtapha*(*Mahomets* eldeſt ſon,a yong Prince of great hope)and *Amurath* the great Baſſa of Romania, whom *Mahomet* (fearing ſuch a matter) had ſent before with a I
ſtrong army out of Europe,to ioine with ſuch forces as *Muſtapha* had already raiſed in Aſia,ſo to withſtand the inuaſion of the Perſian. Theſe two great Commanders *Muſtapha* & *Amurath* ioyning battell with *Vſun-Caſſanes*,were by him in the plain field ouerthrown;where *Amurath* the great Baſſa himſelfe,with thirty thouſand Turks were ſlain;*Muſtapha* with the reſt of the army by ſhamefull flight ſauing themſelues.

1474 *Two huge Armies of the Turks and Perſians in field together.*

Now when *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Amurath* was ſlaine,and his army diſcomfited,he was therewith exceedingly troubled: but purpoſing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of his new forces ; ſo that at the time by him appointed,was aſſembled a great and mighty army of 320000 men. *Vſun-Caſſanes* in like maner was in the field with an army,nothing in number inferior vnto his enemy. Theſe two Mahometan K
Kings,drawing after them their huge armies, met together neer the mountaines of Armenia, where at the firſt encounter,one of the Turks great Baſſa's was ſlaine,with 40000 Turks:with which hard beginning the proud tyrant was ſo daunted, that he could hardly be perſuaded to proue his fortune any further,but contenting himſelfe with that loſſe,was about to haue retired;and had vndoubtedly ſo don,if ſome of his moſt expert and valiant captains which might be bold with him,had not ſharply reproued him,that hauing ſo populous an army as ſcarcely felt that ſmall loſſe, he ſhould once thinke of returning without victory. With which their comfortable perſuaſions he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more ſafetie he withdrew his army into a ſtreit betwixt two mountaines, and with his carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which carriages he placed his great ordnance, and L
on the either ſide his archers. The Perſians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories,came on as men fearing no perill,to haue charged the Turks euen in their ſtrength ; preſenting their whole army before they were aware,into the mouth of the Turks Artillery;which ſuddenly diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of them,brake their ranks, and tooke away a number of them. Beſides that, the Perſian horſes terrified with the vnacquainting and thundring report of the great ordnance,were not to be ruled by their riders,but ſtarting back,ran ſome one way,ſome another,as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confuſion *Mahomet* perceiuing,preſently tooke hold of the occaſion offred,and with his horſmen fiercely charged them,being now by themſelues intangled and out of order. Neuertheleſſe the Perſians made great reſiſtance, and ſlew many of the Turks : but ſtill fighting M
confuſedly and out of order,they were at the laſt inforced to fly:in which flight a great number of them were ſlaine, and their tents alſo taken. *Zeinal*, *Vſun-Caſſanes* his eldeſt ſonne, labouring to ſtay the flight of the Perſians, was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turks : yet had they no great cauſe to brag of their winnings, hauing

loſt

A loſt in that battell forty thouſand ſouldiers: whereas of the Perſians fell not aboue ten thouſand. *Mahomet* containing himſelfe with this deare bought victory, returned homewards: and *Vſun-Caſſanes* leauing another of his ſons with his army for the defence of Armenia, returned likewiſe to Tauris. But whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were in their greateſt expectation, what might be the euent of theſe wars betwixt theſe two mighty Mahometan kings; they vpon the ſudden concluded a peace, and confirmed the ſame with new affinity, excluding the Chriſtians quite out of the ſame. This laſt battell betwixt *Mahomet* and *Vſun Caſſanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474, about foure yeres before the death of *Vſun-Caſſanes*, who died the fifth of Ianuary, in the yeare 1478.

The death of the noble Muſtapha, Mahomet his eldeſt ſonne.

In the time of theſe wars died the noble *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, at Iconium, ha-
B uing ſpent himſelf with reuelling among his paragons; or as ſome write, commanded to die, by his father, vpon this occaſion. This youthfull Prince vpon a time comming to the court to ſee his father (or as they terme it, to kiſſe his hand) became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes* Baſſa, a Lady of incomparable beauty, and daughter to *Iſaac* Baſſa, the chiefe man in the Turkiſh empire, next vnto *Mahomet* himſelfe: but finding no means to compaſſe her in whom his ſoule liued, he awaited a time when as ſhe (after the manner of the Turks) went to bathe her ſelfe, and there as he found her all diſroabed, ſhamefully forced her, without regard either of his own honor, or of hers. Of this ſo foule an outrage, *Achmets* her husband, with his cloathes and hat all rent for madnes, came and grieuouſly complained to *Mahomet*, crauing vengeance for the ſame. Vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replyed, *Art not thou thy ſelfe my ſlaue? and if my ſon*
C Muſtapha *haue knowne thy wife, is ſhe not my bondſlaue he hath to doe withall? Ceaſe therefore thus to complaine, and hold thy ſelfe therewith content*. Neuertheleſſe he in ſecret ſharply reproued his ſon for ſo hainous and diſhonorable a fact by him committed, and commanded him to goe out of his ſight: and as he was of a ſeuere nature, cauſed him within a few dayes after to be ſecretly ſtrangled. Neuertheleſſe, the wrong done to the Baſſa, ſunke ſo deep into his haughty mind, as that he would neuer admit excuſe therfore, but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Baſſa *Iſaac* his father in law; and in fine, the very cauſe of his vtter deſtruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Bajazet*.

Mahomet deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the peace he had lately concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian king, was now at good leiſure to imploy all his forces againſt the Chriſti- 1475
D ans. And bearing a deadly hatred againſt the Princes of Epirus and Albania, with a wonderfull deſire to extend his empire vpon the Ionian & Adriatick, that he might from thence but look toward Italy, which he began now to long after; he determined with himſelfe firſt to ſubdue thoſe countries, as ſtanding in his way, both for the inuaſion of Italy, and of the territories of the Venetians. And foraſmuch as the ſtrong city of Scodra (otherwiſe called Scutary) then in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, for the commodious ſcituation therof ſeemed to giue him the beſt entrance into the countries of Albania, Epirus, Dalmatia, and to ſuch cities as the Venetians held alongſt the ſea coaſt, he reſolued there to begin his wars.

This city was of great ſtrength, as well for the naturall ſcituation thereof, as for the ſtrong fortifications therin made by the hand of man: which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of, but
E preſuming of his owne ſtrength and power, vainly perſuaded himſelfe, that no place was now able long to hold out againſt him. Wherefore hauing prepared all things fit for the beſieging thereof, he ſent *Solyman* Baſſa an Eunuch (whom he made his lieutenant generall in Europe, in the place of *Amurath* Baſſa, before ſlain by *Vſun-Caſſanes*) with 80000 ſoldiers to beſiege Scodra. This great Baſſa according to his charge came, and with great pomp incamped round a- *Solyman Baſſa beſiegeth Scodra with an army of eighty thouſand men.*
bout the city, the fiue and twentieth of May. Shortly after hauing planted his battery, he began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals, and ceaſed not by all meanes he could deuiſe, to trouble the defendants: and when he had by force of the cannon don what he could, gaue diuers ſharp aſſaults vnto the City, but was ſtill with great loſſe valiantly repulſed by them of the City. Long it were to declare, how often, and in what terrible manner that warlike Baſſa *Mahomet*,
F his chiefe captaine, attempted to haue woon the city: as alſo to ſhew how they of Scodra, directed by their worthy Gouernor *Antonius Lauretanus*, valiantly defended themſelues and their City: nothing was omitted that the enemy could do or deuiſe for the gaining thereof; but all his deuices and attempts were ſo met withal by the defendants, that they ſerued him to no other purpoſe but to the deſtruction of his people. Whileſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of

Scodra, *Mocenicus* hauing receiued ſuch commandment from the Senat, came and ioined himſelfe to *Grittus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of Boliana, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the city of Scodra ſtandeth. Theſe two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull conſent did what they might for the furtherance of the common good, a thing not common: firſt they put ſtrong garriſons, with all things neceſſary, into Colchinum, Lyſſa, Dirrhachium, and other cities of their ſeigniory vpon the ſea coaſt. After that, they went vp the riuer Boliana with certain gallies, and came within ſight of Scodra, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants, as with an aſſured promiſe of reliefe: which thing it grieued the Turks to behold, who therfore went about to haue ſhut in thoſe ſame gallies with a great chaine drawn croſſe the riuer, where it was narroweſt betwixt them and the ſea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies ſlew 500 of the Turks, and wounded diuers others, and ſo returned again to ſea. It was afterward attempted by the aforeſaid Admirals, if a new ſupply might haue been put into the city: but the enemy had ſo beſet the ſame, that it was not poſſible to be done. In the meane time, *Matthias* King of Hungary (receiuing a great yerely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries againſt the Turke) hearing that Scodra was beſieged, began to make ſuch ſpoyle in the Turks dominions, bordring vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Baſſa from the ſiege of Scodra, to defend his own frontiers. So the Baſſa after he had lien three months with his great army at the ſiege, and loſt 14000 of his men, wherof the greateſt part died of ſicknes taken by long lying in the rotten mooriſh ground neere vnto the riuer; by commandment from his Maſter, roſe with his army and departed. The Venetians alſo, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the ſame contagion: *Triadanus Grittus* died thereof, and *Mocenicus* the other Admirall fell thereof dangerouſly ſicke, but being ſomewhat recouered, returned home, and was ſhortly after for his good ſeruice choſen Duke of Venice, *Marcellus* the old Duke being then dead. With this diſhonor taken at Scodra *Mahomet* was ſo diſcontented, that he appointed a yearely fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the ſiege of Scodra.

Matthias King of Hungary inforceth the Turkes to forſake the ſiege of Scodra.

The ſame yeare that this great Baſſa *Solyman* had in vain beſieged Scodra, he was afterward ſent with a great army into Valachia, where he was ſo intangled in the woods and fens, by *Stephanus* the Vayuod, that he loſt all his army, and with much ado eſcaped himſelf, by the wonderfull ſwiftneſſe of a mare whereon he rid.

1476 The yeare following, which was the yeare 1476, *Mahomet* ſent out a great fleet to ſea, vnder the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his chiefe counſellor and man of war, (whoſe very name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to haue by treaſon ſurpriſed the Iſland of Crete: but that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpoſe diſappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpoſe for Crete, and ſent the ſame *Achmetes* with his fleet into the Euxine (or as the Turks call it, the black ſea) to beſiege the rich city of Caffa. This city was in antient time called Theodoſia, ſcituate in the country of Taurica Cherſoneſus, faſt by the ſea ſide, and had of long time bin in poſſeſſion of the Genowaies, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great Emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken Conſtantinople, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his ſtrong caſtles built vpon the ſtreits of Helleſpontus and Boſphorus, taken away both the traffique of Merchants into thoſe ſeas, and all poſſible meanes for the Genowaies to ſend ſuccor to that city: yet it is credibly reported, That one valiant Captaine vndertooke to carry his companie (in number not aboue one hundred and fifty men) by land from Genoa to Caffa, not much leſſe than two thouſand miles, and worthily performed what he had vndertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, incloſed the city both by ſea and land: which diuided in it ſelfe by reaſon of the diuers diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, being of diuers Nations, ſome Genowaies, ſome Greeks, ſome Armenians, but moſt Tartars, could not long hold out, but was in ſhort time giuen vp to the Baſſa, vpon condition, That the Genoway Merchants, who were there both in number many, and exceeding rich, might in ſafetie depart rhence with their wealth. Which promiſe the Baſſa performed not; but when he was poſſeſſed of the city, ſent ſuch as he thought good, to Conſtantinople, and commanded the reſt vpon paine of death, not to depart thence, or to conuey away from thence any part of their ſubſtance. In ſhort time after, the whole countrey of Taurica Cherſoneſus yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance. At which

time

A time also the Tartar Princes, namely the Precopenses and Destenses, terrified with the greatnes of the Turke, cowardly yeelded themselues as tributaries vnto him; euer since which time they haue liued a most seruile and troublesom life, subiect to euery command of the *Othoman* Emperor; for whom they haue done great seruice many times in their wars, against the Persians, the Polonians, the Hungarians, Transyluanians, and Germanes, as in the proces of this History well appeareth; and as the aforesaid nations their neighbors, with others also further off, haue euen of late to their great losse felt.

Although the Venetians had in these late wars lost the great and fertile Iland of Eubœa, with the strong city of Chalcis, the surest harbor for their gallies; yet held they still diuers 1477
B strong towns and commodious hauens by the sea coast, both within Peloponesus & without; as Methone, Corone, Tenarus, Naupactum, & others: which standing as it were in the bosom of his empire, *Mahomet* sore longed after. And therefore to satisfie his ambitious desire, sent *Solyman* (the great Bassa of Europe) with a strong fleet into Peloponesus. Who entring the gulfe of Corinth, at his first comming layd siege to Naupactum, now called Lepanto, a city standing in the gulfe of Corinth, in the countrey of Ozolæ neer vnto Locris, ouer against Peloponesus. *Antonius Lauretanus* (for his late good seruice done in defending of Scodra, made Admiral for the Venetians) came with speed to Naupactum, and in despight of the enemy so furnished the city both with men and whatsoeuer else was needfull, that the Bassa now out of hope to win the city, rose vpon the sudden with his army, and in a great fury departed, after he had lien there foure months. In this fret returning towards Constantinople, he put certain
C companies of his men to shore in the Iland of Lemnos, in hope to haue vpon the sudden surprised the City of Coccinum: but as they were about to haue entred, they were contrary to their expectation, manfully resisted by such Christians as by chance were next the gate: where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that city) was much commended; who seeing her father slain in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, desperatly fighting in defence of her countrey, with those few which were there at the first; and so kept the Turks out, vntill the rest of the citisens (moued with the alarme) came to the gate, and forced them, not without some losse, to retyre again to their gallies. Not long after, *Lauretanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Bassa was departed thence for Constantinople, hauing in this expedition don nothing that was ex-
D pected at his hands.

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceased not from time to time by one of his great captains or other to inuade Epirus, and the other parts of Albania; aed so gaining somtime one part, and somtime another, had subdued most part thereof. And about this time his army lay at the siege of Croia: for reliefe wherof, the Venetians (in whose protection it was) sent *Franciscus Contarenus*, a noble gentleman, their lieutenant, with such forces as were sufficient for the raising of the siege. He finding the Turks in the plaine of Tyranna, gaue them battell; which a great while stood doubtful: at length victory inclining to the Venetians, the Turks began to flie; after whom the Venetians made no great pursuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, took their tents, with such forts as they had raised against the City. Thus whilest the
E Venetians thinke themselues in sure possession of the victory, & out of feare of their enemies, they were through their own too much security, by and by themselues ouerthrown: For whilst the common souldiers hauing their minds more set vpon the spoyle, than vpon the pursuit of the enemy (the battell as yet scarce ended) scatter themselues, and the captaines were consulting, whether they should lodge that night (which began then to approch) in the enemies tents, or not; in the midst of their consultation, the Turks hauing perceiued their disorder, suddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great resistance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thousand of them fell, amongst whom *Contarenus* the Generall, and diuers others of good place and calling, were slain also. This ouerthrow the Venetians tooke
F a great deale better than that which shortly after followed in the confines of Italy, at the riuer of Sontium.

Croia beseiged by the Turkes

Contarenus the Venetian Generall slaine.

Mahomet hauing conquered a great part of Albania, and dayly incroaching vpon the Christians, made diuers incursions into the countries of Dalmatia, Histria, and Carniola; yea, and somtimes went so far, that he and his Turks entred into the prouince of Friuli, called in antient time, Forum Iulij, a part of the Venetian seigniory, and so carried away with them many

prisoners,with much spoyle.For remedy whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and G
wonderful labour fortified alongst the riuer of Sontium,from Goritia,to the fens of Aquilea,
the space of twelue miles,and there built two Forts,wherin they continually kept strong gar-
risons for the defence of the country.Wherby the countrey people thinking themselues now
in safety,began to fall into security(the dangerous sicknes of all common weales)neglecting
by their carefull watch to foresee a far off the enemies comming, as they had before vsed. It
The Turks shew themselues at the riuer of Sontium. fortuned at this time, that *Asa-Beg* (whom some call *Marbecke*)one of the Turks great Cap-
taines, vpon the sudden when no such thing was feared, came and shewed himselfe in an eue-
ning vpon the further side of the riuer Sontium,with 1000 horsmen:vpon the sight of whom,
an alarm was raised in both forts,and euery man put himselfe in readines,as if he should euen
presently haue ioyned battel:but it was so nigh night,as that nothing could then be done;yet H
the Venetian garrisons ioyning themselues together,watcht all that night in arms.There was
at that time in both those forts,3000 horsmen,and some few companies of footmen,all vnder
the command of *Hieronimus Nowel* County of Verona:a famous Captaine of that time: who
with the rest of the captains resolued if they could, to keep the Turks from passing the riuer;
if not,then to giue them battell.*Marbecke*, Generall of the Turks army, taking good view of
the place, in the night time secretly conueyed a thousand of his best souldiers ouer the riuer,
foure miles off,in such a place as the Venetians feared lest,deeming it impossible for any man,
there to haue passed ouer. These men he appointed to lie in ambush behind a great hill, in
sight,not far from the other side of the riuer,& vpon a signe giuen,presently to discouer them-
selues,and charge the enemy. The next morning very early,he sent certaine troups of his rea- I
diest horsemen ouer the riuer, which by offring to skirmish with the Venetians, might draw
them into the field;and then as men in doubt whither to fight or to fly,to tole them on to the
place where the ambush lay. The Venetians had diuided themselues into three battalions;
whereof the Generall himselfe had the leading of the first, who seeing these disordred troups
comming to skirmish with him,encountred them fiercely, & easily put them to flight(being
so determined before)and in that flight earnestly pursued them;especially the Counties son,a
valiant yong gentleman,who with others like himselfe, thought by that days good seruice to
gain vnto themselues great honour.When the Turks General saw that the Venetians follow-
ing the chase, were gone a great way from the riuer, he forthwith passed ouer with the rest of
his army,and followed the Venetians at the heels:which the Turks which before fled,now be- K
holding,turned again vpon their fierce enemies,and valiantly withstood them.At which very
instant the other Turks vpon signe giuen arising out of ambush, came down from the hill Li-
cinis,with such violence and clamour,that the Venetians therewith discouraged,would haue
fled if they could haue told which way:but they were on euery side so beset,that there was no
way left for them to escape; but were there all slaine, except some few which yeelded them-
selues, and so were saued. The other two battalions of the Venetians, discouraged with the
slaughter of the first,fled incontinently,and in flying were many of them slain.In this battell
the County himselfe,with his son,and many other notable gentlemen,and halfe the horsmen
The countrey of Friuli spoyled by the Turks. were lost. The Turks incouraged with this victory, the next day spoyled all the countrey of
Friuli,betwixt the riuers of Sontium, (otherwise called Lisonzo) and Tiliauentum, and cru- L
elly burnt all the country before them;so that at once 100 country villages were to be seen on
a light fire together, which stood so thick,that it seemed as if one continuall fire had wholly
couered all the face of the countrey. The barbarous Turks laden with the spoyle of that rich
countrey, and driuing before them great numbers of miserable captiues, as if they had been
flocks of sheep, returned to Sontium. But when they had passed the riuer, and had trauelled
homeward one days journey,and all men thought they had now bin quite gon, they suddenly
returned back again, and posting through the countrey they had before spoyled, came to the
riuer of Tiliauentum,which they desperatly passed, and did no lesse harme on that side the ri-
uer,than they had before on the other: and so carrying away with them what they pleased, re-
turned by the same way they came, hauing filled all that part of Italy with terror and feare. M
This ouerthrow of Sontium the Venetians account among the greatest losses which they re-
ceiued from the Turks in all these their long wars.

1478 The next yeare about harueſt the Turks came againe with a far greater power: and passing
the riuer of Sontium,came before the forts of Gradisca,where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay with a
strong

A strong garrison of the Venetians, offring him skirmish, so to haue drawne him into the field. But the wary captain considering the great strength of the enemy, and the losse receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his strength, but stood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemy at some more aduantage: which thing the Turks fearing, durst not disperse themselues abroad for the spoyle of the countrey, leauing so strong a garrison of the enemies behind them. And therfore when they had gone about forty miles into the countrey, they turned their course vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alps) towards Germany, and there grieuously spoyled the mountainy people; strangely passing through those abrupt and high mountains with their horses, where men could hardly either go or stand on foot without something to stay vpon. And so when they had done what harme they could, taking a great
B compasse about, returned home another way.

Mahomet remembring the shamefull repulse he had about foure yeres before receiued at Scodra, and hauing the name of that city dayly sounding in his eares, determined now once again to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and so to giue peace to his ambitious desires. And because he would not again be dishonored with that he purposed to take in hand he gaue out order into all parts of his dominions, both in Europe & Asia, for the assembling of his best soldiers and men of war. Now when all things were in readines, and such an army assembled as he seldome or neuer had a stronger; first he sent forth *Aly-Beg* (Warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongst the riuer Danubius) with eighty thousand of the souldiers called Achanzij, towards Scodra. These Achanzij are horsmen, which for their good seruice, according to their deserts, haue certain lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their
C liues; for which they are of duty bound to serue vpon their owne charge, as the forerunners of the Turke his army, whensoeuer he goeth to besiege any place: these be they which first enter into the enemies countrey, burning and spoyling what they can, vntill they come to the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That so soon as all the army is come vnto the place to be besieged, they may then at their pleasure either depart or stay. 1479

Vid. Marinum Barletium de expug. Scodrensi.

The Gouernor of Scodra vnderstanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks designes, with al care & diligence fortified the town, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemy had bin already present; and plentifully prouided all things necessary for the induring of a long siege. The aged and vnnecessary people he
D sent out of the city into other places of more safety farther off: in whose stead he took in great numbers of strong and able men which dwelt in the country round about: among whom were many mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like quality, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of Scodra, lusty bodies enured to hardnesse, who in the long siege following did great seruice.

Whilst this preparation was making in Scodra, behold, the mountaines a far off Northward from the city, began to shine with many great fires, and all the country was couered with thicke smoake, which euery houre seemed to draw neerer and neerer; when within short time after, the poore country people (which as yet were not all fled) with such trash as they could wel carry, came running for life all ouer the country to the strong cities vpon the sea side, cry-
E ing out that the Turks were come.

The poore countrey people fly for feare of the Turks.

The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eighty thousand Achanzij, came into the suburbs of the city, and there incamped; so that none could goe in or out of the gates: which was not the lest part of his charge. To him, by the commandment of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* gouernor of Bosna, and *Malcotius* with seuen thousand horsemen ioined themselues vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Augustus*) that the maiesty of his countenance, with the resplendant beames issuing out of his eyes (as if it had bin the rayes of the Sun) were of such piercing brightnes, that no man was able with immooued and fixed eye long to behold the same. These horsmen (the forerunners, as I said, of *Mahomets* great army) the Christians much troubled, with often sallies and shot, out of the town, and slew many of them
F with little or no losse vnto themselues.

When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the city ten daies, came *Taut Gaibla* the great Bassa of Constantinople with fiue and twenty thousand souldiers, and about twelue thousand camels, for most part laden with mettall in masse, for to make great Ordnance of, and other necessaries for the camp. The Bassaes great and stately Tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon

the

the top of an high hill called the Baſſaes hill, becauſe in that place *Solyman Baſſa* had lien in the former ſiege about foure yeres before: the Baſſa's army lay incamped betwixt the ſame hil and the towne. This *Taut Gaiola* was borne in Epirus of baſe parentage, and was from thence by the Turks carried away young to Conſtantinople; where for his ſharpneſſe of wit and rare actiuity, he grew into ſuch fauor, firſt with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Bajazet* his ſonne, that he was by them promoted to the greateſt places of honour, next vnto themſelues: wherein he became ſo popular, & had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of the people, that it was ſuſpected of ſome he would haue aſpired to the Turkiſh Empire himſelfe. Preſently after the comming of this great Baſſa, workmen were ſet a work about the caſting of the great ordnance, and making readie of other things for the ſiege. The Chriſtians alſo were no leſſe buſie about their fortifications, the Gouernor appointing to euery man his charge, and which part of the wall to defend: yet keeping continually in the market place certain companies (with the enſignes of S. *Marke* and S. *Stephen*) to ſerue as freſh ſupplies, as need or occaſion ſhould require. Whilſt the great ordnance was in caſting, the Baſſa cauſed a great bridge of timber to be made ouer the riuer, that ſo he might at his pleaſure paſſe ouer his men, and command both ſides of the riuer. The Chriſtians in the mean time with vigilant eie ſo attending the Turks, that none of them could ſtir within ſhot, but he was forthwith fet off and ſlaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of Aſia (commonly called the great Baſſa of Natolia) came alſo in great pompe to the ſiege with thirty thouſand ſouldiers brought out of Aſia: perſonable men, but not counted ſo good ſoldiers as they of Europe: for it is a common ſaying among the Turks, That the men of Europe, and the horſes of Aſia do beſt ſeruice. This great Baſſa was honorably met and welcommed by the other great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, and was quartered vpon another ſide of the city, where his rich pauilion (all of Green) was pitcht in a vineyard about a mile from the town. *Muſtapha* to proue the courage of his ſouldiers, propounded a reward to which ſoeuer of them, as durſt aduenture but to goe and touch the wals of the city: vpon which occaſion, two of his ſoldiers paſſing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterpriſe. But making what haſt they could poſſibly, they were both ſlain from the wall, and one of their bodies recouered by certaine valiant ſouldiers which ſallyed out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a launce ſet vpon the wals for the Turks to behold.

Two of the Turks attempting to touch the wals of Scodra, are both ſlain, and one of their heads ſet vp vpon the wall.

The fifteenth of Iune, 5600 Ianizaries came into the camp, with foure white enſignes: at whoſe comming all the ſouldiers of both the Baſſa's camps gaue a wonderfull ſhout, and welcomed them with great ioy. Theſe are the great Turks guard and beſt ſouldiers, in whom the greateſt ſtrength of his kingdom conſiſteth, and are called the ſons of the great Sultan. After whoſe comming, *Mahomet* himſelfe was daily expected. Three dayes after, came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reuerence done vnto them by the reſt of the Turks, ſeemed to be men of great place and authority: theſe men deſired, that they might with ſafety ſpeake with the Gouernour of the City, and the reſt of the Captaines, to deliuer vnto them ſuch a meſſage, as they had for their good (as they ſaid) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their requeſt being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words ſet forth the power of his Maſter, and what he had done to other great Cities, with their Princes; and further ſhewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they ſhould long ſtand vpon their defence: he began to perſuade them to yeeld vp the City, aſſuring them of all kind vſage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperor; whereas otherwiſe, they were to expect nothing but extreme miſery and moſt ſhameful death. Wherunto anſwer was in the name of them all giuen by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a graue and worthy citiſen, That they were not afraid of the greatneſſe of *Mahomet*, or of any thing he had done, or could doe: and that he ſhould find it hard to inforce them, but impoſſible to perſuade them to deliuer their city: and therefore that he might at his pleaſure vſe his forces againſt men fully reſolued rather to yeeld vnto nature her laſt due, than to harken to any compoſition: and in concluſion told them, that if they ſhould at any time after make any ſuch motion, they ſhould not expect any other anſwer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which ſhort anſwer theſe great men departed, not a little diſcontented.

At this ſame time the ſtrong city of Croia (which the worthy *Sanderbeg* had liuing ſo honorably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdome, in the protection and poſſeſſion of the

A the Venetians) hauing holden out a yeres siege, after that all the kingdome of Epirus & most part of Albania was lost, for lack of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerstarued defendants (who then seemed rather ghosts than men) might at their pleasure in safety depart: which agreement the faithlesse Turke brake, and without mercy put them all to the sword. This heauy news was deliuered to them of Scodra, by certain Christians in the Turks camp: wherewith they were much grieued, but nothing at all discouraged.

Whiles the Turks thus lay at the siege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of Scodra (being in circuit about an hundred miles) came many times downe the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turks camp: for remedy whereof, they were inforced to build certain small gallies to keep them in, who for all that, many times stole secretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

B The two and twentieth of Iune, the Turks mounted two great peeces of ordnance vpon the top of the hill wheron the Bassa lay; whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round stone, of three hundred pound weight, & the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherwith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of Artillery at the foot of the same hil; which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the rest, about the middle of the same hil, which caried a shot of six hundred and fifty pound weight. In this while, eight thousand of the Turks souldiers, called Asapi (which are known from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the camp. And shortly after came *Mahomet* himselfe with all

C his army to the riuer of Drimon, whither the two great Bassaes of Asia and Constantinople went with great pomp and triumph to meet him.

The second of Iuly, *Mahomet* with all his army before the rising of the Sunne came to the campe before Scodra: where after he had well viewed the scituation thereof, he is reported to haue said, *O what a faire and stately place hath the Eagle chosen out for her selfe to build her neast, and to batch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pauilions were set vp for *Mahomet* himselfe, but one far greater than the rest, distant from them about a flight shot, which was the place wherein he held his councell; the other were for his owne priuat vse. Round about these his tents, lay the Ianizaries incamped, a good distance off; yet so close one to another, as if it had bin a perpetuall rampire or strong trench, whereinto was but one entrance, continually garded with a most

D strong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the rest of the army encamped: so that al the countrey as farre as a man could see was couered, and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe snow: and still more people resorted to the campe dayly; so that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his army of all sorts of people, about 350000 men, all gaping to deuoure that poor city: a sight of it selfe sufficient to haue danted the courage of right valiant men: but what can be terrible to them that feare not to die? Against this terror of the enemy, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable persuasions and exhortations of one *Bartholomeus*, a Preacher, (sometimes one of the worthy *Scanderbegs* souldiers) who afterwards giuing himselfe to the study of diuinity, became a zealous Preacher, and in this siege did notably comfort the Chri-

E stian defendants against the terror of so great an army of miscreants. Al this while the battery was still maintained; and the fifth of Iuly the Turks mounted two other great peeces, whereof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Bassa's mount, was of an incredible greatnes, discharging a shot of twelue hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whose name it was with much cunning and industry made: with which huge peece, the Turks euen from the beginning of the siege had threatned the besieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes peece. The next day they planted vpon the same mount a seuenth peece, which carried a shot of fiue hundred and fifty pound weight: from which time they battered the city with the aforesaid seuen great peeces, and ceased not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to cast great bals

F of wild fire into the city, so to haue set it on fire: wherby diuers of the citizens were inforced to vncouer their houses couered with shingle, and by men appointed for that purpose, to watch the fall of such fire-workes, and so to quench the same: which they so carefully looked to, as that the deuise of the enemy took no effect at all. At the same time also the Turks out of their short mortar peeces, cast huge great stones of incredible weight, which falling from hie, did

most

Mahomet in person himselfe commeth vnto the siege of Scodra.

The order of Mahomets campe.

moſt terribly cruſh in peeces whatſoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few dayes after, the enemy mounted three other great peeces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a bullet of thirteen hundred weight: from which time they dayly battered the city with ten ſuch peeces, as the like hath ſeldome times bin heard of: and the arrows fell ſo thick into the city, as if it had bin continuall ſhowres of haile, ſo that no man could well goe or ſtir in the ſtreets without hurt. Yet in the middeſt of all theſe dangers the Chriſtians valiantly defended the city, and with their deadly ſhot from the wals and mounts exceedingly anoyed the enemy. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Baſſa's mount, and the ſame day battered the wals with a hundred ſeuenty eight ſhot of this huge artillery. G

Mahomet hauing by the fury of his great ordnance, beaten down a great part of the wall, and that now nothing ſtood in his way but ſuch ſimple repaires as the defendants had made of timber & planks, with earth caſt in betwixt, was in good hope in ſhort time to becom maſter of the towne: and therefore ſent certain companies of his Ianizaries and other ſoldiers (which he with continual ſupplies of freſh men ſtil relieued) to aſſault the breaches, ſo if it were poſſible to enter the towne, or at leaſtwiſe to burn ſuch fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which ſeemed vnto him at firſt ſo eaſie, he found in execution full of difficulty and danger: for the Turks approaching the breach, found there reſolute men, a ſurer defence than any walls whoſe valiant courage ſerued in ſtead of a ſtrong bulwarke. So whilſt the Turks deſperatly ſtriue in the face of the breach either to enter or to ſet fire vpon the new fortifications made for moſt part of timber, and the defendants with no leſſe reſolution do what they may to the vtmoſt to repulſe them, many were on both ſides ſlaine, but eſpecially of the aſſailants. Which *Mahomet* well perceiuing, and that by that manner of aſſault he gained nothing but notable loſſe and ſpoyle of his beſt men, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his battery to be againe forthwith renewed; euery day ſhaking the wall with 160 or 180 moſt terrible great ſhot, and one day with 194, the greateſt battery that he made in one day during that ſiege. H I

After this great battell, the tyrant cauſed a freſh aſſault to be giuen, but with little or rather worſe ſucceſſe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, and among them, ſome of good place, as *Franciſcus Patauinus*, *Franciſcus Scorbaro*, two Italian captains, and ſome other of the better ſort of the citizens were there ſlain with the great ſhot, wherof the enemy that day diſcharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater loſſe inforced againe to retire, and with ſhame to giue ouer the aſſault. K

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, *Mahomet* continuing his batterie with no leſſe fury than before, ſtill ſought by force of his artillery to open a way into the city: and the third day after the former aſſault, gaue a more furious and deſperat attempt vnto the city than before, inſomuch that the Turkes were in the breaches come to handy ſtrokes with the Chriſtians, and there made a moſt cruell and deadly fight; wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks moſt; yet were there many of the Chriſtians alſo ſlaine, eſpecially with the Turks great ordnance. It was a right ruthfull ſight to haue ſeen the rampiers at the great gate of the city beaten down flat to the ground, and to lie ful of the rent bodies of the Chriſtians: at which place the enemy ſo preuailed, that he was euen now ready to haue entred; for the Turks ſo furiouſly aſſailed the defendants, and the murthering ſhot from the Baſſa's mount fell ſo thicke and ſo terribly into the breach, beſide the infinit number of arrows, that there was ſcarce any of the Chriſtians which defended that place, but they were either ſlain or grieuouſly wounded. But when all ſeemed now moſt deſperat and forlorn, and the greedy enemy euen ready to deuoure his prey, a new ſupply of luſty ſouldiers well armed, came couragiouſly to the breach, and as Lyons encountring the enemy, draue him down again, and ſo inforced him with great loſſe to retire. *Mahomet* grieued with this repulſe, in his fury cauſed 173 great ſhot to be diſcharged into the city, and afterwards ſending for his great Baſſa's, and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind, as followeth: L M

Mahomet purpoſing to giue a generall aſſault, incouregeth his captaines and ſouldiers thereto.

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthy ſoldiers) that now it is the third month ſince this city hath by vs bin moſt ſtreitly beſieged, and with all manner of Artillery and engines of war impugned, aſſaulted, and on euery ſide aſſailed, the wals thereof vtterly ſubuerted, and the bulwarkes layd flat with the

A *the ground, and (as you see) as good as rased: besides that, so oft as we haue set fire vpon their fortresses, so often we haue prouoked them of Scodra to fight, and haue also much vexed them with assaults. Last of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnproued, nothing vnattempted, which could be deuised, the easilier to ouercome them, being wearied, worne out, and their strength spent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enemy can recouer his strength or repaire his breaches, let vs inclose the city round, and giue them a general and terrible assault: and therfore euery one of you make your selues ready, and exhort your souldiers in the camp, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the city. Now will I proue and know them that are worthy of my pay. Thou the Bassa of Constantinople, with thy squadrons and certain companies of the Ianizaries our faithfull guard giue charge vnto the breach:*

B *in the mean time, let the Bassa of Asia with his power assault the other parts of the city: let euery man make ready and bring with him what so is needfull for this generall assault; my mind giueth mee, that to morrow before this time we shall win the city: for who is there can resist vs? The town (as you see) is bared both of wall and all other defence: the bulwarkes and ditches are laid euen, and an easie way for vs to come vnto it: the citizens themselues weary with so many fights and assaults, faint and want strength: whereas we are still fresh and lusty: they in number few, we almost innumerable: besides that, we farre passe them in the force of our artillery, wherewith many of them shall perish in the defending of the breaches. Who then can gainsay, but that they of Scodra are already our prisoners? Where, vpon such as remaine aliue, I will at my pleasure vse the law of armes and captiuity. On therefore couragious hearts without further delay.*

C *Is not the very name of Scodra hatefull vnto vs? For which of you doth not with great disdaine call to remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly slaine vnder these wals? Can you digest your hatred against them of Scodra? And so many slaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harms receiued from them long since, let vs but look vpon our late slaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeres since that we made war with these men of Scodra, wherein so many thousands of our people fell, that their slaughterr is yet almost obiects to our eyes, and their bloud craiuing reuenge. This very hill whereon we stand, and the stones yet seeme besprinckled and polluted with their bloud. Wherefore haste you as men of courage: Take vp armes, valiantly mount the hill, assault the town, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your selues to the full in the effusion of the Christian bloud, whereunto our lawes do so much exhort vs, and doe what you may with*

D *force and sword, that not one of them of Scodra be left aliue; which you may easily bring to passe, hauing all things therunto needfull: for there is nothing to withstand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victory. All things are prepared, all things are ready: an easie matter it is for a strong man to ouercome the weake and feeble, that wanteth strength, as do they.*

This speech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applause and good liking of the hearers: and now was Scodra to be with all might and main assaulted, and not a man there left aliue. Herupon proclamation was made throughout the camp, That euery man vpon pain of death should be ready against the appointed time: and the great captains and commanders of the army, departing from *Mahomet*, went vp to the top of the hill whereon the Bassa lay, and from thence taking view of the city, & laying their heads together, consulted how they might

E best giue the assault. The defendants on the other side alwaies expecting their enemies houering ouer their heads, left nothing vndone that they could possibly deuise, for the defence of themselues and the city. Now vpon the top of the Bassaes mount, was a royall pauilion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the proud tyrant might plainly behold all the assault, who with the dawning of the day (being the 22 of Iuly) entring the same, the Turks who in the couert of the night had conueied themselues as neere vnto the wals as they could, vpon the signall of battell giuen by a tire of ordnance discharged from the Bassaes mount, suddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as Bees, in hope by their sudden approch to haue taken the Christians at some aduantage, wherin they were much deceiued. For they alwaies doub-

The city of Scodra assaulted by the Turkes the fourth time

F ting such a matter, and carefully obseruing the least motion of the enemy, were alwaies in readines to meet with their attempts: so that the Turks desperatly striuing to gain the breaches, and the Christians valiantly defending the same, there was in diuers places begun a most cruell and mortall fight: but especially neere vnto the great gate, where the fury of the cannon had made the wals most faultable. There the enemy was come to fight hand to hand, and preuailing

uailing vpon the defendants, had set vp one of the Turks enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers; which *Mahomet* beholding, reioyced exceedingly, thinking the city now as good as taken. But the Chriſtians ſeeing the danger, ſpeedily repaired thither with new ſupplies, & by plain force draue the enemy out againe, and beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them alſo that were comming vp, they caſt downe peeces of timber, great ſtones, wildfire, pots of lime, and ſuch other things as might moſt annoy them: as for ſhot, none fell in vaine by reaſon of the wonderfull multitude of the Turks, who ſtood ſo thicke, that a man could hardly haue caſt downe a grain of muſtard ſeed from the wal but it muſt needs haue light vpon ſome of them: by which means the Turks were notably repulſed, their enſigne pluckt down, and they inforced to retire from the wals. Which ſudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commanded his great ordnance, with greater fury than euer, to be diſcharged into the breach: and with great words commanded the two chiefe Baſſaes which ſtood by him vpon the mount, to go preſently downe and inforce the ſouldiers which were already retired, to returne again to the aſſault. Theſe great commanders ſeeing the tyrant in ſuch a fret, forthwith deſcended from the hil, and where perſuaſion would not ſerue, with their drawn ſwords inforced the ſoldiers to returne back again to the aſſault. The Turks knowing that they were now in the eye of their King, and in the preſence of their greateſt commanders, ſtriue with might and main to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the city were beaten downe to the ground, ſhaken before this aſſault with 2539 ſhot of the cannon or other peeces of no leſſe force. The Chriſtians likewiſe in defence of themſelues and their city, with inuincible courage oppoſed themſelues againſt the Turks: ſo that a more deſperat fight than there was hardly euer to be ſeen, deſperat men with deſperat hand aſſailing one another: and the more to increaſe the terrour of the day, the thundring ſhot, with the clamour of men, and noiſe of the inſtrumens of war, was ſo great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently fallen together; and arrowes falling into the city as if it had bin ſhowres of raine, oftentimes darkned the light of the day. In this dreadfull fight many of the defendants were ſlain; but of the Turks, twenty to one. Neer vnto that gate, where this terrible aſſault was giuen, were certain loupes hewne out of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongſt that ſide of the city, out of which the Chriſtians with their murdering ſhot made lanes amongſt their enemies, and ſlew them without number. For all that, the mighty Baſſaes and great captains, one while by perſuaſion, another while by threatning, ſtill forced them forward, & if any turned back, preſently ſlew him: ſo that the Turks ſeeing no leſſe danger in retiring than in fighting againſt the enemy, like deſperat men thruſt forward by heaps, and were ſlain without number. Yet ſtill preſſing on ſo long as life laſted, and others ſtepping forward in ſtead of them that were ſlaine, they began againe to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for moſt part either ſlaine or hurt) and againe recouered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turks enſignes. Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making ſure account that the city was now his own. But as the common ſaying is, he that reckoneth without his hoſt, muſt reckon twiſe, ſo chanced it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, from the beginning of the ſiege left in the market place ready for all euents, and oftentimes wiſhing for ſome occaſion wherein to ſhew themſelues; being now in good time aduertiſed of the imminent danger, came with ſpeed to the place of the aſſault before the Turks had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountring them, ſlew a great number of them, and forced the reſt from the rampiers; and plucking downe their enſignes before ſet vp, in ſtead of them placed their own. With which repulſe the Turks were ſo diſmaied, that they quite forſooke the aſſault, and in deſpight of their imperious commanders, not expecting any ſigne of retrait, in haſt retired to the campe. *Mahomet* fallen from ſo great an hope, and grieued aboue meaſure with this ſhameſull repulſe, returned into his pauillion fretting and fuming as a man halfe mad, where two dayes he tormented himſelfe with his own paſſions, not admitting any man to his preſence. The Chriſtians afterwards took the ſpoyle of the dead Turks, and cutting off diuers of their heads, ſet them vp vpon poles round about the city, to the terror of their fellows. In this aſſault were 12000 of the Turks ſlain, and many mo wounded. Of the Chriſtians were loſt 400: and of them that came to the breach, eſcaped none, but he was wounded more or leſſe.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

Twelue thouſand Turkes ſlaine in the laſt aſſault.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies diſgeſted the laſt repulſe, the ſhame wherof grieued him more than the loſſe it ſelfe; he ſent for both the great Baſſaes of Conſtantinople and Aſia, and

A and other two of his chiefe Counſellors, with whom he reſolued to giue another aſſault, and thereon to gage his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, That the defendants were ſo weakned & waſted with the former aſſault, that they could not poſſibly hold out another. Whereupon ſtraight commandment was giuen through the camp, that euery man without exception ſhould be ready to go to the aſſault whenſoeuer they were called vpon: and the more to incourage the ſoldiers, great rewards and preferments were promiſed to them which in time of the aſſault ſhould performe any ſpeciall peece of ſeruice. The firſt appearance of the new Moone (which the Turks worſhip with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this generall aſſault: in the mean time he ſpared not to poure out his fury a- *The Turks ſuperſtitiouſly reuerence the new Moone.*
gainſt the wals and rampiers of the towne, by the mouth of the cannon. The Chriſtian defen-
B dants on the other ſide, firſt by hearty prayer commended themſelues and their City to the protection of the Almighty, and afterwards with reſtleſſe labour and no ſmall perill, ſpeedily repaired and new fortified whatſoeuer the fury of the Artillery had ouerthrowne or ſhaken; omitting nothing that could be done or deuiſed for the defence of themſelues and their city. Now as ſoon as the new Moone began to ſhew her ſelfe, the Mahometan Prieſts going about the army, gaue the ſoldiers knowledge thereof (as their maner is) by ſinging of a ſong in manner of a proceſſion; whereunto the whole army anſwered with a ſhort reſponde, but with ſuch a terrible noiſe as was wonderfull to heare; and at the ſame time bowing themſelues to the ground, ſaluted the Moon with great ſuperſtition. All their fond ceremonies performed, they began to draw nigh the city ſo thicke, and in number ſo many, that all the ground for the ſpace
C of a mile round about Scodra, was thick couered with men. The Chriſtians expecting euery houre to be aſſailed; were ready vpon the wals and rampiers of the City, to repulſe the enemie: but eſpecially at the great gate where moſt danger was feared, for that the Turks with their great ordnance had made that place of all others moſt faultable. Here *Iacobus Moneta* a noble captain, with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman, tooke vpon them to receiue the firſt aſſault, which is commonly of all others moſt terrible: for the Turks vſe in their aſſaults to giue three attempts, whereof the firſt is moſt furious and dangerous, as performed by their beſt ſouldiers: the other two are of leſſe force; but if they faile in all three, they forſake the enterpriſe as men diſcouraged. Whileſt both the aſſailants and defendants ſtood thus in readines, the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went
D vp to the top of the Baſſa's mount, from whence hē had before beholden the former aſſault: at whoſe comming there were preſently 11 canons diſcharged, and 12 ſmaller pieces (the ſignall appointed for the aſſault.) The Turks vpon this ſigne giuen, with exceeding tumult and moſt hideous outcry (as their manner is) began to aſſaile the City round, and with ſuch wonderfull agility of body and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it were in a trice ſet vp one of their enſignes, which wrs forthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, and the Turks with great ſlaughter driuen down, where many of them were ſlain with ſtones, timber, fire, and ſuch other things caſt down vpon them; beſide a great number ſlain or wounded with ſhot, arrows, and darts, whereof none fell to the ground in vain, by reaſon that the Turks ſtood ſo thicke, that they violently preſſed one another forward, in ſuch ſort, that the formoſt could
E by no meanes ſhun any danger, were it neuer ſo great or terrible. In this ſort the aſſault was with great ſlaughter of the Turks continued vntill it was day, they ſtriuing to win the breach, and the Chriſtians moſt valiantly defending the ſame. *Moneta* himſelfe in this fight receiued diuers wounds, and was twice beaten down to the ground; yet ſtill recouering himſelfe, incouraged his ſoldiers, and worthily repulſed the enemy. *Mahomet* ſeeing his ſoldiers beaten from the breach, cauſed a tyre of his great Ordnance to be diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians which ſtood therein thick for the defence therof, by force whereof many of them were rent in pieces, and the reſt ſore diſmayed: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith incouraged came on againe with a freſh charge, forcing themſelues to the vtmoſt to haue entred. But the valiant captain nothing diſcouraged either with the loſſe of them that were ſlain, or the dan-
F ger of himſelfe, valiantly withſtood the furious enemy, and maintained the place till new ſupplies came to relieue him, & departed not thence, nor ſuffred any man to depart, til the aſſault was ended. Many were ſlain on both ſides; yet nothing troubled the defendants ſo much as the great ordnance, which being diſcharged from the Baſſa's mount, into the breach, when as the Turks were driuen back, ſlew many of the Chriſtians, leauing the breach almoſt cleere: ſo gi- *Scodra againe moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks.*

uing occaſion for the Turks to haue entred, had not other couragious ſoldiers ſtept vp in ſtead G
of them that were ſlain, who manfully repulſed the enemy. The tyrant from the mount ſeeing
the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but fully re-
ſolued now or neuer to haue it, commanded all his forces to be drawne from all other parts of
the city, to the great gate, there to renew the aſſault; ſtreitly charging his captains, neuer to re-
turn thence vntill they had taken the city. Hereupon the greateſt part of that huge army was
forthwith in the ſight of himſelfe brought to the appointed place, and there gaue a ſharp and
cruel aſſault at the breach, with ſuch deſperat fury, that in ſhort time they had ſlain moſt of the
defendants there preſent, and aduanced diuers of their enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers.
Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount, rejoiced exceedingly, making ſure account, that
the city was now his own: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope, new ſupplies of H
freſh and couragious men (of purpoſe reſerued for all euents) came to the place of danger, and
with great reſolution encountring the wearied Turks, draue them backe, cleared the breach,
and ouerthrew the enſignes. Which ſo ſudden an alteration in the breach, wrought no leſſe
alteration in the proud tyrants mind, his hope was turned into deſpaire, and his joy into cho-
The aſſault renewed againe fiercely by the Turks. ler: inſomuch that in his fury he commanded all the great artillery to be at once diſcharged
into the breach, whereby many of his forward and couragious ſouldiers were ſlaine together
with the defendants. At the ſame time the great commanders & captains knowing themſelues
to be in the eie of their imperious lord and maſter, with their drawne ſwords forced the poore
ſoldiers again forward to the breach; and the more to encourage them, aduentured themſelues
alſo among them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of I
the Turks were there ſlaine; yet ſuch was the force and multitude of them which ſtill ſtept
vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew ſo thicke, that the defendants oppreſſed with
multitude, and ouerwhelmed with ſhot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being
for moſt part either ſlain or wounded. Wherupon a great cry ran vpon the ſudden thorow the
city, that euery man without exception ſhould forthwith repaire to the breach. Which was
with ſuch cheerfulnes done, that in leſſe time than was to haue bin thought, a wonderfull mul-
titude of all ſorts of people was there met together, encouraging one another againſt the pre-
ſent danger; who all as men reſolued to lay downe their liues in defence of their country, va-
liantly encountred the Turks vpon the top of the rampiers, and ſo hardly laid vnto them, that
notwithſtanding their great number, they began now again to wauer and ſhrinke back. Which K
thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount, in great rage commanded his canoniers, as faſt as
they could to diſcharge the great ordnance into the breach, without regard of his owne men,
ſo that together with them he might alſo kil ſome of the Chriſtians: and withall imperiouſly
commanded his captaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the aſſault, threatning
them with moſt horrible death, if they returned without victory. Hereupon the aſſault was
againe renewed, euery man (in ſhew at leaſt) ſet downe there to doe his laſt deuoire. But the
great ordnance ſtill playing vpon the breach, ſlew many of the Turks as well as of the Chriſti-
ans. Thrice the great ſhot fell amongſt the Turks themſelues, and rent in ſunder a great num-
ber of them which was formoſt, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt: whereof the tyrant
had ſmall regard, ſo that together with them he might alſo diminiſh the number of the defen- L
dants. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the deſperat fury of the enemy, that the city was in no ſmall
danger to haue been preſently taken, had not freſh ſupplies come from other parts of the city
which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage reſiſted the enemy. Yet the Turks
far exceeding in number (and freſh men continually ſtepping vp in ſtead of them which lay by
heaps vnder their feet, and ſerued them in ſtead of ſteps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained
a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordnance alſo ſore annoyed the defendants,
ſo that with one ſhot (whereby the greatneſſe of the harmes done at other times may be ga-
thered) eighteene of the Chriſtian defendants were ſlaine. As for arrowes, they flew as thicke
as haile into the city, ſo that they obſcured the light of the day, and lay in moſt places of the
ſtreet a ſpan thicke: ſo that for the ſpace of a moneth after, the inhabitants vſed no other fu- M
A wofull ſight. ell to burne, but Turkiſh arrowes. It was a ruthfull ſight, to haue ſeene the bodies of the
valiant Chriſtians rent in ſunder with the great ſhot, and pieces of them cleauing vpon eue-
ry wall thereabout, euery ſtreet was ſtained with their bloud, the great ordnance continu-
ally thundred, Churches and houſes came ratling downe, yea, the heauy countenance of the

ayre

A air it ſelf ſeemed to bewail the miſery of the poor Chriſtians: beſides, the noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of War, with the horrible cry of the helliſh Turks was ſo great and hideous, that it ſeemed as if heauen and earth ſhould haue gon together: nothing was to be heard but the very terrour of the ear, nothing to be ſeen but death, and the inſtruments of death. And in this extremity a great cry ran through the City, That without preſent help all would be loſt at the great gate: wherupon not only they which were whole (which were the feweſt in number) but they alſo which lay wounded or ſick in their beds, chering themſelues vp, with weapons in their hands ran with ſpeed to the place where the danger was, chuſing rather there to die, than to be ſlain in their beds. Thus whilſt the Chriſtians of all ſorts, and from all parts of the city ran deſperatly to the gate, the Turks were on euery ſide hardly preſ-
B ſed, and in great number ſlain: yet freſh men ſtil comming vp, as if they had ſprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them ſtil maintained; for the Turks on the one ſide for fear of the tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the City: and the Chriſtians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they ſhould be ouercome, with no leſſe reſolution defended the ſame. In this obſtinacy of minds many fel on both ſides; ſomtime the Turks ſeemed to haue the better, and were ſtraitway by the Chriſtians put to the worſe. Which maner of mor-
A doubtful fight.
tal fight with doubtful euent was continued moſt part of that day; vntil that at length many being on both parts ſlain, and the reſt for the moſt part ſore wounded and hurt, the fury of the aſſault began to aſſwage: for the Turks now weary of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great ſtomack to mount vp the rampiers, where they ſaw no hope
C to preuail, but all things threatning preſent death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderful ſlaughter of his men, and that hauing don what was poſſible, they now fought as men diſcouraged; and in diſpair of victory himſelf, cauſed a retreit to be ſounded: which the Turks no ſooner heard, but that they left the aſſault, and without order ran to their Tents as men half feared out of their wits.

Of this victory the Chriſtians (as they had good reaſon) rejoiced greatly; yet was this joy mingled with much ſorow and heauines, for the loſſe of ſuch worthy men as were ſlain in that aſſault, many of whoſe bodies they were glad to gather vp by piece-meale, ſome here, ſome there, ſome cleauing on this wal, and ſome on that; which they, as the time would giue leaue, honorably buried with the reſt of the ſlain. At which time alſo they with all diligence & ex-
D pedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in ſuch readineſſe as if they ſhould haue preſently receiued a freſh aſſault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieued with the ſhameful diſhonor and great loſſe he had receiued at the laſt aſſault, repented himſelf that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wiſhing that he had neuer heard of the name of Scodra: and in his choler and frantick rage moſt horribly blaſ-phemed againſt God; moſt wickedly ſaying, That it were enough for him to haue care of heauenly things, and not to croſſe him in his earthly actions: in which fury hee deſcended from the mount, and got him into his Tent, where he again tormented himſelf with his me-lancholy paſſions by the ſpace of two daies, wherin he would neither be ſpoke withall, or ad-mit any man to his preſence. Vpon the third day he called a general Councel of his comman-
E ders and beſt ſouldiers, and therupon openly before them all ſaid, That hee was determined to giue the enemy a freſh aſſault, for that being weakned with ſo many aſſaults, hee could not poſſibly be able to hold out another; and therefore he hoped for an eaſie victory. But he had no ſooner ſo ſayd, but all they that heard him, cried out with one voice to the contrary, ſaying that it was not by any means to bee attempted; foraſmuch as his beſt ſouldiers were already ſlain, and the greater part of them that were left, either ſore wounded, or brought vnto that weaknes, that they were not able to do any more ſeruice: and that therefore it were better for them to kil one another, or els himſelf to kill them one by one, than to expoſe them to bee ſhamefully butchered by the Chriſtians. In this diuerſitie of opinions, *Achmetts Baſſa* the great Champion of the Turks (a man reuerend and of great authority, for his birth, yeares,
F and rare experience in martiall affaires, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) ſtanding vp, with pleaſing ſpeech calmed his furious mind, and with ſubſtantial reaſons per-ſuaded him to deſiſt from that his intended purpoſe, and take another ſurer courſe, in manner following.

G

A notable ſpeech of the great Baſſa *Achmetes.*

Your great valor and worthy praiſes, inuincible Emperor (ſaid he) *who is able to expreſſe? the greatnes wherof the mind of man cannot conceiue, and my dul ſpirit but wonder at: my tongue faltreth to ſpeak of them, neither would this time ſerue ſo much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honor (moſt dread Soueraign) when a Prince hath receiued a kingdom from his Aunceſtors, to be able in ſafety to keep and defend the ſame: greater than this is it, honourably to increaſe and augment it ſo left: but of a ſmall thing, by worthy proweſſe to bring it to the higheſt type of worldly honour, is of all other earthly things the greateſt. Which moſt rare excellencie all men worthily aſcribe to your perfection and felicitie: and I, of all others, can therof bring the moſt aſſured teſtimony, who haue often heard it of myne* H *Anceſtors (which followed the* Othoman *Princes out of Aſia into Europ) that your worthy predeceſſors at their firſt comming into Europ (without offence be it ſaid) poſſeſſed but a corner therof. To whom you afterward by diuine appointment ſucceeding, haue added ſo many prouinces, kingdoms, and empires, as were tedious to rehearſe them. For who can worthily expreſſe, how you haue in Europe ſubdued Conſtantinople, the Imperial city of the Eaſt empire, with all Thracia, Achaia, Grecia, Peloponeſus, Bœotia, Thebes, and the noble city of Athens, the mother and nurſe of all good learning. The empire of Trapezond, with the Emperor therof, is by you ouerthrown: The kingdoms of Servia and Boſna, with the princes of Peloponeſus are by you gloriouſly vanquiſhed. You haue at your command twelue Kingdoms in Aſia the leſſer;* I *Pontus, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Paphlagenia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Nicomedia, and Nicea, with the famous city of Praſa. Beſide theſe, Ionia, Doris, Smyrna, Colophon, Epheſus, Miletum, Halicarnaſſus, Pergamus, with the country of Taurica, are vnder your ſubiection. The great countrey of Armenia hath felt your force: the Iſlands of Lesbos, Chios, and Eubœa are parts of your empire. What ſhould I ſpeak of infinit people and nations by you moſt victoriouſly vanquiſhed? This may ſuffice for all, That you haue gained from the Chriſtians twenty prouinces, and two hundred great cities. For it were too long to rehearſe the* Mahometan *Kings and princes by you alſo vanquiſhed: In all your expeditions all things haue yet giuen place to your fortune. The antient monuments may now ceaſe to extoll the praiſes of* Cæſar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, *and other Chieftains of Rome and forrein nations: for why, they are all inferior to you both for victories and countries ſubdued. The* Othoman *Family is vndoubtedly fatall for ſoueraignty; all the world ſhall in ſhort time come vnder your gouernment, and all Nations ſhal ſerue you. As for this town of Scodra, let it not ſo much grieue you: worldly things (you know) do oftentimes deceiue our expectation; in them fortune beareth great ſway. Yet for this matter quiet your ſelf; for I dare* K *gage my faith vnto your Imperial Maieſty, that I will in ſhort time find meanes that this City ſhall ſtand at your deuotion. Did not I of late bring into your ſubiection the impregnable city of Croia, which you ſo much deſired? But whereas you would now again forthwith attempt to win it by aſſault, I therin craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of your opinion, but muſt needs think far otherwiſe: for, to attempt War, and to be ouerthrown, is an eaſie matter for euery one to do; but to vanquiſh the enemy, and to carry away the victory, that right few men know. He that conſulteth of ſuch great and weighty matters ought to be free both from fury and deſire, both euill Counſellors. The Chriſtians of Scodra are not in my opinion to be again aſſaulted, for in ſo doing you ſhall but loſe your labor. For if you could not ſubdue them, your Army being then freſh and ſtrong; how ſhall you now ouercome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weake,* L *and feeble? I haue viewed the whole camp, and ſearched euery tent; and found no place, no tent, yea ſcarſly any cabin without groaning, ſighing, weeping, or wailing: in all places was heauines, ſorow, mourning, and death it ſelf: for in the laſt aſſault you loſt aboue 30000 of your beſt ſouldiers: many mo are grieuouſly wounded and maimed; none, but he carieth about him ſome ſigne that he was there: few or none there bee that dare again mount the hill to giue a freſh aſſault, they are all ſo afraid and diſcouraged. Whom when I demanded, how ſo great a fear was come vpon them, and what was the cauſe they had ſo loſt their wonted courage? They anſwered me, That it was the look, euen the very look of them of Scodra, whoſe eies ſeemed vnto them to burn and ſparkle with fire: their ſtern and terrible countenances (ſaid they) haue ſtrook this terror into vs. Wherfore I think it not good to giue a freſh aſſault with men ſo diſmaied; but rather to vſe policie and delay againſt ſuch reſolute enemies. This city of Scodra is the eie and head of all this prouince,* M *which the Venetians haue notably fortified, and planted with ſtore of ordnance and all things els neceſſary for defence therof; but eſpecially with moſt valiant ſoldiers, of purpoſe choſen out of many of their garriſons, for the defence of this City. You haue not now to do with the weak and effeminat people of Aſia, but with the hard and rough people of Epirus. And you know (moſt mighty emperor) the ſtrength & courage*

of

A *of this Nation: it is now thirty years that you haue made war against this people, and haue not yet altogether subdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this war hath bin vnto you, who knoweth not. It is now six moneths since we came first before this city; we haue intrenched our selues round about it, wee haue day and night layd hard siege to it, we haue batteredit of long with* 11 *canons; I speak not of other small pieces or engins of war, with other kinds of shot and fire-workes, and whatsoeuer els wee could deuise. We haue many times to our cost assaulted it; what could be don by force, strength, or multitude of valiant men, is already don in the former assaults. Nothing hath bin left vnattempted, no policy, no direction hath wanted in your leaders, neither courage in your soldiers. What should I count the innumerable great shot, or speak of our arrows and darts, deliuered into the city as shoures of hail? Did all this, or any thing else we could do, any thing terrifie these defendants? Were they not, nay are they not still ready with great as-*
B *surance and courage at all assays to incounter vs? You take a wrong course, by force to constrain them: they haue taken vpon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be remoued; there shall you bee sure still to find them either aliue or dead; and what account they make of their liues, you see, they wil sel them vnto vs dear for their country, and prefer an honorable death before a seruile life. Wherfore against men so set down, policie is to be vsed; and them whom we cannot by force subdue, let vs by delay and time ouercome. If you will win Scodra, block it vp, build strong forts in places conuenient round about it, & furnish them with good soldiers; make a bridge ouer Boliana, with a strong castle on either side, to stop the passage: which don, besiege the other weaker cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the limbes of Scodra, and subdue the country round about; which will be no hard matter for you to do, being master of the field. So must Scodra at length of necessity yeeld vnto you, as of late did Croia, inforced therunto by famin. Thus*
C *may you in safety without slaughter of your people, come to the full of your desires.*

The wholsom counsel of the Bassa so well pleased *Mahomet* himself and the rest there present, that the assault was layd aside, and presently order taken for the speedy execution of that which was so wel by him plotted. Whereupon the Bassa of Constantinople with his forces was sent to Zabiache, a city in the borders of Dalmatia, standing vpon the lake of Scutari, not far from Asciuium, which in few days was yeelded vnto him. The Bassa possessed of the city, thrust out all the inhabitants, and leauing therin a garrison of the Turks, returned againe to the camp at Scodra. At the same time the great Bassa of Asia was also sent by *Mahomet* against Driuasto, a city also of the Venetians; which hauing besieged and sore battered by the
D space of sixteen daies, the great tyrant came thither in person himself, and the next day after his comming took the city without any great resistance. Such as he found vpon the walls he put to the sword; of the rest hee tooke three hundred away with him to the camp at Scodra, and there in the face of the city caused them all to be cruelly slain, of purpose so to terrify the defendants. The next day after, he sent the great Bassa of Constantinople to Lyssa, called also Alessa, a city of the Venetians, scituated vpon the riuer Drinus, about thirty miles from Scodra. The Bassa comming thither found the city desolate (for the citisens hearing of his comming, were for fear before fled, for which cause he set the city on fire. Here the Turks digged vp the bones of the worthy prince *Scanderbeg*, for the superstitious opinion they had of the vertue of them; and happy was hee that could get any little part therof to set in gold or other
E jewell, as a thing of great price, as is before declared. All these things thus done, *Mahomet* committed the direction of all things concerning the siege vnto the discretion of *Achmetes*; by whose persuasion he left a great power for continuing of the siege, departing thence himself, with forty thousand soldiers, for Constantinople; cursing and banning by the way all the country of Epirus, with all the inhabitants therin, and euery part therof, their Corn, their cattel, and whatsoeuer els was fruitfull: but aboue all other things, the City of Scodra, with all that therin was, for that he had neuer receiued greater dishonour and losse than he had don there.

Lyssa taken by the Turks, and Scanderbeg his bones dig'd vp by them, & had in great reuerence.

After his departure, which was about the seuenth of September, the two great Bassa's of Constantinople and Asia, according to order before taken, built a great bridge ouer the riuer
F Boliana, and on either side a strong Castle, to the intent that no relief should that way bee brought into the city. Which work when they had brought to perfection, and furnished both castles with garrisons, ordnance, and all things necessary, they left *Achmetes Bassa* with forty thousand soldiers to continue the siege, and returned themselues, the one to Constantinople,

the other into Asia. The wary and politique Bassa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon him, took such order, that no relief could possibly be brought vnto the city either by land or water: and so lying still before it a long time, hee brought it into such a distres and want of all things, that the poor Christians were fain to eat all maner of vnclean and lothsom things; horses were dainty meat: yea, they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the skins of beasts sod. It excelleth all credit, to tell at what exceeding price a little mouse was sould, or puddings made of dogs guts. All these bare shifts and extremities the poor Christians were content to endure euen to the last gasp, rather than to yeeld themselues into the hands of their merciles enemies. G

Whilst Scodra thus lay in the suds, the Venetians weary of the long and chargeable War they had to their great losse now maintained against so mighty an enemy by the space of sixteen years, and hauing no means to relieue their distressed subjects in Scodra, thought it best to proue if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpose they sent *Benedictus Triuisanus*, a graue Senator, and a man of great experience, to Constantinople; who so wel vsed the matter, that after long debating to and fro, at length a peace was concluded: whereof the chief capitulations were, That the Venetians should deliuer to *Mahomet* the city of Scodra, the Island of Lemnos, and the strong castle of Tenarus in Peloponesus, and pay him yearly eight thousand ducats; that they might freely after their wonted maner traffique into the Euxine by the streits of Hellespontus and Bosphorus Thracius, and other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citisens of Scodra, it was compriséd in the same peace, That it should be at their own choise, either to liue there stil vnder the gouernment of the Turkish emperor, or els at their pleasure to depart in safety with their goods whither they would. *Triuisanus* hauing in this maner concluded a peace, in his return homeward, the fourth of April found the Venetian Admiral riding at anchor in the mouth of Boliana. From whence they both by letters certified the gouernor and citisens of Scodra, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turk, and what prouision was therin made for them. Vpon receit of which Letters, the Gouernor calling the Citisens together, declared vnto them how the case stood, & there with them entred into consultation vpon this hard question, Whether they would remaine there stil in their natiue country, vnder the Turkish tyrany; or forsaking the same, liue among other Christians in perpetual exile? But after that the matter had bin throughly debated, and many reasons on both parts alledged; at length it was by general consent concluded, that they should all forsake the city & the house of bondage, as dangerous both to soul and bodie, and liue as it should please God, amongst other Christians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the safe departure of them of Scodra, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the city, and were by the Venetians carefully transported into other parts of their territory in Italy, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now besieged the City the space of a whole year) after the departure of the Christians entered the City with great joy and triumph; which place with many others therabout, hath euer since, to the great ruth of all Christendom, remained in the possession of the faithles infidels. Thus was the strong city of Scodra lost, and the long wars ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians; which hapned in the year 1478. H I *A hard choice.* K *Scodra yeelded to the Turks.* L

1480. *Mahomet* now at peace with the Venetians, sent the same *Achmetes Bassa* (by whom hee had but a little before taken in Scodra) with his fleet of Gallies against one *Leonard*, who was Prince of Neritus, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Islands neer vnto Peloponesus. Where the Bassa arriuing, easily took the same Islands; the poor Prince for safegard of his life beeing glad to fly into Italy with his Wife and treasure, to King *Ferdinand*, whose nigh kinswoman he had maried.

About the same time, *Alis Beg* syrnamed *Michael Ogli*, *Isa Beg* the son of *Cassanes*, and *Balis Beg* syrnamed *Malcozogli* (men of great account amongst the Turks, and most honorably descended) entred into Transyluania with a great army of an hundred thousand men, & brought such a generall fear vpon the Countrey, that *Stephanus Batore* the Vayuod was glad with all speed to fly vnto *Matthias* King of Hungary, to declare vnto him the danger of his Country, and to craue his aid. *Matthias* at the same time lay sick of the gout: neuertheless hee tooke such order by his Captaines, *Stephanus Cherepetrus* and *Paulus Kinisius* County of Temesware, M

that

A that the Turks were incountred not far from Alba Iulia,and there in a great and bloudy battel defeated: wherin *Iſa* one of their chief captains were ſlain, with 30000 Turks mo. Neither was this victory gained by the Chriſtians without loſſe,*Bator* the Vayuod himſelfe beeing ſore wounded,and eight thouſand men ſlain.

Mahomet in his ambitious humor had long time deſired to haue in his ſubjection the Iſland of the Rhodes. For why,it grieued him that ſo ſmall an Iſland ſhould lie ſo neer his great dominions in Aſia;holden by a few Chriſtians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the Mediterranian,beſide many other harms daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatnes. But foraſmuch as the winning of that place was thought to be a matter of great difficulty, and in former times vnfortunatly attempted by ſome of the Mahometan princes;he purpoſed now with good aduice to take this matter in hand. Wherfore calling togither his graue counſellors and moſt expert men of war,after hee had declared vnto them the manifold injuries receiued from them of the Rhodes,he required their opinion, whether it were beſt to attempt the winning of that Iſland or no? Some forward men perſuaded him to reuenge thoſe injuries don by thoſe Chriſtians, and to ſubdue that Iſland, which for the neernes to Caria, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion; and not to forbear that enterpriſe for fear of repulſe,foraſmuch as he was able to bring more men to aſſail it,than were ſtones in the wal about it. Others better aduiſed declared the ſtrength of the Iſland,with the valor of the defendants;men alwaies brought vp in arms,and as it were choſen out of all parts of Chriſtendom; ſo that it was (as they ſaid) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by ſome ſuppoſed; whereof ſome of the Mahometan princes had to their no ſmall diſhonor already made ſufficient trial:alledging further,That that ſmal Iſland which ſcarſly appeared in the ſea,was not of that worth,as that he ſhould theron gage his honour, with the liues of ſo many good men and moſt valiant ſoldiers as might ſerue to conquer a kingdome. For all that,*Mahomet* prickt forward with the ſpurs of ambition, and continuall ſolicitation of *Anthonius Meligalus* a fugitiue Knight of the Rhodes, reſolued to follow the counſell of them who perſuaded the war. This *Meligalus* was a Knight of the Order,who when he had prodigally conſumed his ſubſtance (which was great) with two others,*Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his own qualitie and diſpoſition,fled vnto the Turkiſh Emperor,preſenting vnto him a perfect plot of the City,with all the ſtrength both of it and the Iſle wherein it ſtood, and which way he might with moſt eaſe win it. In which ſeruice they frankly offer to ſpend their liues; but hoping indeed by ſuch foul treachery to repair their broken eſtate. All things being now in readineſſe,*Mahomet* appointed *Meſithes Palæologus* one of his chief Baſſa's (the neer kinſman of *Conſtantinus Palæologus* the laſt Emperor of Conſtantinople) General in that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that ſo great an action. *Meſithes* imbarking his army,in number eighty thouſand,and throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the ſiege, ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and with a pleaſant gale of wind ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Aſia the leſſe, towards the Rhodes: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue Knights) to learne of him the beſt meanes for the ſafe landing of his army. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*,and chief author of this War,he was fallen ſick vpon the way;and in the extremity of his ſicknes growing both troubleſom and lothſom vnto the Turkes that were with him in the ſame Galley, was by the mariners throwne ouerboord aliue, crying out in vain for help, no man vouchſafing to haue any compaſſion vpon him: and thus ſwallowed vp of the ſea, hee receiued in the midſt of the waues the guerdon of his trechery.

Mahomet longeth after the Rhodes.

A death right worthy ſuch a Traitor.

At this time *Peter Damboys* a Frenchman,an Avergnois,a man of ſingular gouernment,was Great Maſter of the Rhodes; whoſe vigilancie was ſuch,that commonly once in eight daies he had certain intelligence what great matters paſſed in the Turks Court: and therewith of ſuch deep judgment,that he was ſeldom or neuer ouertaken or deceiued with falſe aduertiſements. This carefull Grand Maſter was not ignorant of all theſe great preparations, nor of the comming of the Baſſa:and therfore had before ſtrongly fortified the City, and ſo ſtored the ſame with all things needful,as might wel haue ſerued for many years ſiege;but eſpecially with ſuch ſhot and pouder,that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an eſpecial means whereby the city was afterwards preſerued. At the ſame time, many valiant and noble Gentlemen hearing

hearing of the Turks designes, repaired thither out of Italy, France, Spain, Germany & other G
places of Christendom, cheerfully to aduenture their liues both in defence of the place & of the Christian religion, against the common enemy of Christianity. The great Master taking a generall view of all the forces he had, to oppose against so puissant an enemy, found that he had in the city sixteen thousand able men; in which number were reckoned many Iewes and other men of seruile condition; who in the siege following did right good seruice. The great Bassa conducted by the false traitor *Demetrius*, safely landed both his Army and Artellery in the Island the 22 day of Iune, not far from the city. At which time the Great Master considering that the safety of the City consisted more in the liuely valour of the defendants, than in the strength of the dead walls or other warlike prouision; thought it requisit as a part of his duty, by cheerefull persuasions to incourage them, valiantly to withstand the force of their H
enemies. And therfore calling them all together, spake vnto them as followeth:

The Great Masters oration to the rest of the Knights & soldiers, to incourage them valiantly to withstand the Turks

At length (valiant soldiers and Fellowes in Arms) we see the Turks our mortall enemies (as wee were before aduertised, as well by Letters from our friends, as by common Fame) breathing after our destruction: in readinesse to destroy our Churches, our Oratories, our Altars, our Religion, and whatsoeuer els we account sacred or religious; seeking the ruin of this noble City, and the cruell death of vs all; gaping at once, to deuour our liues, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot deny, but that the chance of War is doubtfull, and the euent therof vncertain: So when I consider your valiant courage and cheerfulnesse of mind, I presently conceiue a most assured hope of victory. They haue entred into Arms against vs, not so much for any desert of ours, or vpon any other quarrell; as for the vnsatiable desire of rule, and the great despight they bear against vs and the Christian Religion. But to withstand their fury, and to frustrat their designes, we want neither weapons nor artillery, nor prouision for many years. We haue a most strong garrison of French-men, Spaniards, Germaines, Englishe, and others, the very chiualry of all Christendom: and that which more is, Christ Iesus our Captain and Generall, by whose power we shall (no doubt) easily repulse the vain force of our most graceless and wicked Enemie. The care we haue for the defence of the Christian faith, wherunto we are by speciall profession bound, will animate and incourage vs against them, which seek for nothing more, than to extend their wicked and grosse superstition, to the great dishonor of God, and of his son Christ Iesus. Besides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and other worthy Christians: they are of Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, and the other delicat countries of Asia, effeminat persons brought vp to pleasure. I say it not to K
draw you into any manifest or inevitable danger, neither to feed you with vain hope, or to fill your eares with windy words: but this I promise and assure you of, that if this siege shall continue long, hither will come such strong aid out of France, Italy, and Spain, as will serue not only to raise the siege, but to recouer again the Empires of Constantinople and Trapezond. Then shall our Enemies see no good end of their counsells, but all their deuises so confounded, as that they shall hardly be able by speedy flight to saue themselues. But suppose the hardest should happen, which I fear not; would not any man account his life most happily and honourably spent in defence of a good conscience, and the quarrell of Christ Iesus? Truly my great years and course of life, now almost spent in defence of the Christian Religion (as I euer desired) doth call me forth, as one so assured of that good layd vp for me in heauen by Christ Iesus, (whose battell we are to fight) that I no whit fear my enemies force or future chance; which for all that, I haue as far as L
I could, and to the vttermost of my power so prouided for, as that we shall not (I hope) bee therwith ouerwhelmed. Be you therfore of good cheer and comfort (as I know you are) and shew your selues valiant and couragious, which resteth wholly in your selues: and as for all the rest, time and our discretion shall well prouide, I doubt not.

The valiant men and worthy soldiers, resting vpon the assurance of their aged gouernor, departed euery man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Bassa landed his great army, and sent *Demetrius* the traiterous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certain troupes of horsmen, and some foot, to view the ground, where he might best incampe with his Army. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the City, was knowne by *Anthony Damboyse* the Great M
Masters brother; by whose leaue he sallied out with a troup of gallant horsmen, and skirmished with them. But the Turks being far moe in number, cast about to haue incloſed them: which *Anthony* perceiuing, turned vpon them that were comming behind him, and that with such

A such force, that he slew or wounded most part of them. In this hot skirmish, *Demetrius* hauing his horse slain vnder him, and himself ouerthrown, was there trodden to death vnder the horses feet; an end too good for so false a traitor. *Muratius* a French Knight, vnaduisedly despoyling his dead body, was by the Turks slain, and his head presented vnto the Bassa in stead of *Demetrius*.

The Bassa approching the city, at his first comming took a great orchard, which the Great Master had strongly intrenched, and therin placed certain companies of souldiers, with some small pieces of ordnance: which place if it could haue bin kept, might fitly haue serued the defendants to haue at their pleasure sallied out vpon the enemy. But they which were appointed to the keeping therof, either terrified with the sight of so great an Army, or els doubting
B to be able to hold it against so great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the city, leauing the great ordnance behind them for hast. In this place the Bassa, by the counsell of *George Frapain* (a Christian fugitiue of the Rhodes, and now Master of his Ordnance) began to plant his battery, and from thence to batter the tower called Nicolea, or S. *Nicolas* Tower, distant from the city 300 paces: but against this place *Damboyse* had so aptly mounted two great Basilisks, that he made him glad quickly to forsake the same: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpose, shortly after neer to the same place he planted his batterie again, of far greater force than before; wherin, beside the ordnance of greatest charge, hee had three hundred smaller pieces for battery: wherwith at the first he did smal harm, for that this *George Frapain* repenting him self (as was thought) of his foul treason, bestowed the shot to
C small purpose; for which cause the Bassa began to haue him in distrust: which *Frapain* perceiuing, fled by night again vnto the Rhodes, and discouered vnto the great Master al the secrets of the Turks camp. The Turks continuing the battery, had sore shaken the aforesaid Tower called S. *Nicolas*, and beaten down some part therof; which the Christians with great industry speedily repaired in best sort they could, for all that the Turks gaue therunto a fierce assault by the space of six hours, forcing themselues to the vtmost to haue taken it: but perceiuing that it preuailed them nothing, they retyred, hauing lost eight hundred of their men, with many others drowned in the sea, of whom the number was not knowne, and a thousand others sore wounded. *Eight hundred Turks slain.*

Mesithes disappointed of his former purpose, bent his artillery against the walls of the city,
D and with continual battery had made a fair breach: but *Damboyse* foreseeing the danger, had with great labor cast vp such rampiers, with a countermure before the breach, that the Bassa durst not in any case aduenture to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this so necessary a work, the captains themselues refused not to put to their helping hands: by whose example all the rest of the people who were able to do any thing, being moued, willingly imploied their labor vntil the work was fully finished.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Caly Bassa* the yonger (a great Courtier) was sent from *Mahomet*, to see with what succes the siege went forward. Vpon whose ariuall it was giuen out through all the Turks camp, That *Mahomet* was in person himself comming to the siege with 100000 men, and 150 pieces of great ordnance. These news (of purpose deuised to the terror
E of the defendants) being blown out of the camp into the city, struck an exceeding great fear into the minds of some of the defendants, and so discouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh neighbors that came from Navar, that they began openly to reason in their conventicles, that it was not possible for the city to be defended against such a power; and therfore after an insolent maner desired leaue to be gon, to the great discouragement of the rest. The Great Master vnderstanding of their doings, sent for these mutinous Spaniards, and after he had sharply reproued them both of disorder and cowardise; promised to ship them away forthwith out of the Isle; saying, That hee doubted not, right wel to defend the City against the greatest power of the Turks, without the help of such base minded cowards. In the mean time he commanded them to surcease from their mutinous talk, threatening otherwise to make them ex-
F amples, what it was so much to forget themselues. But these Spaniards shortly after, better considering of the matter, and what a dishonor it would be both to themselues and their Nation, if they should so dishonourably be sent away; repenting themselues of that they had don, came and craued pardon of the Great Master: and to redeem their fault, in all sallies and seruices during that siege, shewed themselues most valiant and forward men. Neuertheles,

the

the Great Maſter would neuer afterwards truſt them in any ſeruice alone. The Baſſa attempting much, and preuailing little, thought it would much further his deſignes, if hee could by any means take the Great Maſter out of the way, by whoſe carefull policie he ſaw all his deuiſes were ſtil countermanded. Wherfore to bring this his purpoſe to paſſe, he practiſed by the means of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian to poiſon him. This *Ianus* hauing conceiued this treaſon from the Baſſa, was receiued into the city of the Rhodes, as a Chriſtian fugitiue fled from the Turks; where he acquainted himſelfe with one *Pythius* an Epirot, of great familiarity with *Marius Philelphus*, of late Secretary vnto *Damboys*, but as then out of fauour and in diſgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutiny. *Ianus* by the meanes of this *Pythius*, whom he had now throughly corrupted, ſought after *Philelphus*, who then as he right wel knew, liued diſcontented, as a fit inſtrument whereby to worke this wicked treaſon; for that he was well acquainted with the cooks and butlers, and other ſeruitors in the great Maſters houſe, and himſelf yet there very conuerſant alſo. *Pythius* preſuming vpon his old acquaintance and familiarity with *Philelphus*, and waiting vpon his melancholy humour, began to perſuade him to reuenge the diſgrace he liued in, and withall to ſhew him the means how to do it, by poyſoning of the Great Maſter; which might (as he ſaid) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philelphus* making ſemblant as if he had not diſliked the motion, was deſirous to know of him what further benefit might thereby ariſe to him more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith ſhewed the Baſſa's letters to *Ianus*, wherby hee aſſured him, That whatſoeuer he ſhould promiſe vnto any man for the furtherance of the practiſe, he would to the full perform the ſame. *Philelphus* hauing got full vnderſtanding of the treaſon, preſently diſcouered the ſame vnto *Damboys*: by whoſe commandment *Ianus* and *Pythius* were ſtraightwayes apprehended, and being examined, confeſſed the whole treaſon. For the which *Ianus* loſt his head; and *Pythius* (as he had well deſerued) was ſhamefully hanged. *Philelphus* for his fidelitie was pardoned his former error, and again receiued into the Great Maſters fauor.

Treaſon againſt the Great Maſter diſcouered and the Traitors executed.

The Baſſa vnderſtanding that the treaſon was diſcouered, and the traitors executed, was much grieued therat. Neuertheles he ceaſed not with his continual battery to ſhake the city, but eſpecially the caſtle of S. *Nicolas*, for the aſſailing whereof hee made wonderfull preparation. Among other things he had framed a great bridge, ſtaied with ſtrong ropes and cables, ouer a fret of the ſea, betwixt the place of his battery & the ſame tower, wheron 6 men might march abreſt; in which deuice he repoſed great hope. But as the Turks were making faſt this bridge, and had, as they thought, brought the worke to a good perfection; *Gervais Rogers* an Engliſhman, of great courage, and very skilfull in ſea matters, found meanes by night to cut and break in ſunder all the ropes and cables wherwith the bridge was ſtaid: which now looſe, was by the violence of the ſea quickly caried away, and the Turkes diſappointed of their purpoſe. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great Maſter honorably rewarded, and of him in publique audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious battery of the Baſſa ſtill maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon ſmall boats and lighters, faſt moored with cables and anchors, and diuers pieces of great ordnance placed in fuſts and gallies. So that the tower was at one time battered both by ſea and land, the defendants aſſailed with ſmall ſhot and arrows innumerable, and the Tower at the ſame inſtant deſperatly aſſailed. But *Damboyſe* had ſo placed his great Ordnance, that with the force therof the bridge was broken in ſunder, four great fuſts ſunke, with great ſtore both of men and ordnance: the defendants alſo in the Tower, with ſhot, timber, ſtones, and other ſuch like things prouided for that purpoſe, grieuouſly ouerwhelmed the Turks that were ſcaling the wals, & beat them down with great ſlaughter. This hot aſſault was deſperatly maintained by the Turks, from three a clock in the morning till ten: when the Baſſa ſeeing no hope to preuail, gaue ouer the aſſault, hauing loſt therin aboue 2500 men, whoſe dead bodies ſhortly after driuen on ſhore, were ſpoiled by the Chriſtians. The ſame night two mercinary ſoldiers of Crete, going about to haue fled vnto the enemy, were apprehended and put to death; and *George Frapain*, who in the beginning of the ſiege fled from the Turks, now againe vehemently ſuſpected of treaſon, was executed alſo.

2500 Turkes ſlain in the aſſault.

Thus neither force nor treaſon preuailing, the Baſſa becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued that might better his cauſe, ſent certain meſſengers to the Great Maſter, offering to him

in

A in the name of the Turkiſh Emperour, great rewards, with many honorable preferments, if he would yeeld vp the city, which he could not (as they would haue perſuaded him) long hold againſt ſo mighty an enemy: wiſhing him now in his declining eſtate not to refuſe ſuch honorable and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards conſtrained to accept of far worſe, or els through his deſperat wilfulneſſe plunge himſelfe and his people into ſuch extreme perill, as ſhould be impoſſible for him or them to find any way out of. Wherunto the Great Maſter in briefe anſwered, *That he would not willingly in his ſure eſtate vſe the counſell of his enemy: neither in his greateſt diſtreſſe refuſe cheerefully to yeeld his life vnto Almighty God, to whom he did owe it; and that with far better will than to yeeld vp the city vpon any conditions, beare they neuer ſo faire a ſhew of honor or profit.* The meſſengers perceiuing his conſtant reſolution, rather to die than to yeeld

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter.

B his city, began (according to inſtructions before giuen them by the Baſſa) to temper with him another way, and to perſuade him to yeeld vnto the mighty Emperour ſome ſmall yearely tribute or other homage, as an acknowledgement of his greatneſſe, and ſo to liue as his friend in peace. But the Great Maſter knowing by the wofull examples of others, that in that ſmall requeſt lay included the beginning of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauery; vtterly refuſed to pay him the leaſt tribute, or to do him the leaſt homage that could be deuiſed. With which anſwer the meſſengers returned, hauing obtained nothing of that they were ſent for.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter, reported by the aforeſaid meſſengers vnto the Baſſa, troubled him exceedingly; for though he had ſmall hope by force to win the city, yet he was alwaies in hope vntill now, at his pleaſure, to forſake the ſiege with ſome ſuch reaſona-

C ble compoſitions as might ſtand with his honor. But ſith nothing remained now, but by plain force to conſtraine his enemies, he reſolued for the ſafegard of his honor, in that extremity to vſe that extreme remedy: wherefore beſide the great pieces of battery he had already planted againſt the wals, he mounted diuers ſmaller pieces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the defendants, by beating downe their churches and high built houſes. His ordnance thus placed, he battered the city day and night for the ſpace of foure daies together without intermiſſion: during which time, the Chriſtians out of the city ſpared not, liberally to beſtow their ſhot among the enemies alſo: ſo that the aire ſeemed to grow thicke, and the light of the day to be darkned with ſmoake of the great ordnance; and the great ſhot came ſo thicke into the city, that the fearefull women and children were glad to ſhroud themſelues from the

D danger thereof, in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great battery, that at length the ſtrength of the wall gaue place to the fury of the cannon, & a faire breach was laid open for the enemy to enter: which was no ſooner made, but that with the firſt ſhew thereof the Turks gaue thereunto a deſperat aſſault; and preuailing by reaſon of their multitude, had vpon the ſudden recouered the top of the wals, and there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes: but the Chriſtians ſpeedily comming in on euery ſide to the defence of the breach, they were againe quickly repulſed & beaten down into the ditches, out of which moſt of them neuer riſe more. At which time the Turks in another place with their ſcaling ladders had gained the top of the wals, and there aduanced their enſignes alſo, and were now fiue hundred of them entred the city and come into the ſtreet called the Iew-ſtreet: where they were encountered by the

A faire breach made by force of the Turks battery.

E Great Maſter and his followers, and all ſlain that were already entered, and their enſignes that ſtood vpon the wals thrown down. The reſt yet ſcaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune of their fellowes, were likewiſe beaten from the wals, and with wonderfull ſlaughter rejected. So that the Baſſa not able longer to endure the ſlaughter of his men, being in both places repulſed, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and left the aſſault; wherein he had loſt of his moſt forward men about fiue thouſand, with ſmal loſſe of the Chriſtians. In this aſſault, the Great Maſter himſelfe receiued fiue wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue been deadly: which yet afterward was very well cured with the reſt.

After that the Baſſa had by the ſpace of three months to ſmal purpoſe ſpent all his forces and deuices vpon the city, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raiſe his ſiege, and

F depart, or to tarry & expect ſome better fortune, which in al his former actions had ſeemed almoſt to haue waited vpon him; to forſake the ſiege, was diſhonorable; and to continue it without hope, preſented no leſſe danger. Beſides that, in the former aſſaults he had already loſt nine thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and all the reſt of his army were filled with heauineſſe and deſpaire, to heare the wofull ſighing and groaning of their fellows, of whom fifteen thouſand lay

diſperſed

disperſed in the campe, ſore wounded, and ready many of them to giue vp the ghoſt: and alſo G
but euen a little before, two great ſhips ſent from *Ferdinand* king of Naples with men and munition, were in deſpight of all the Turks gallies ſafely arriued at the Rhodes, to the great ioy and incouragement of the beſieged, & no leſſe diſcontentment of the Turks. Whilſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumor was raiſed in the camp, That the Chriſtian Princes were comming with great power to relieue the towne: with which news the whole army was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raiſed his ſiege. Some others ſay, that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his army in the Iſland of the Rhodes, with the difficulty of the ſiege, and now ready to go in perſon himſelfe againſt the Sultan of Ægypt, ſent for the Baſſa, and that ſo the ſiege was raiſed. Howſoeuer it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the vines and trees growing in that part of the Iſland, to be cut down and ſpoyled: and ſo after H
The Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege. he had poured forth his fury vpon the ſenceles creatures, which he could not according to his deſire exerciſe vpon the people, again imbarked his army, and with ſhame departed, the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt.

At the ſame time that the Rhodes was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert captain *Achmetes Baſſa*, with a great fleet and a ſtrong army to make an entrance into Italy (for no kingdome was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and hauing long before conquered Conſtantinople, otherwiſe called new Rome, was ſtill dreaming (I wot not what) of the conqueſt of old Rome alſo. The miſchieuous Baſſa according to his Great maſters deſignes, imbarked his army at Vallona (otherwiſe called Aulona) a ſea town in the borders of Macedonia; and from thence paſſing di- I
Achmetes landeth his army in Apulia neer to Otranto, and ſpoyleth the countrey. rectly ouer that narrow ſea, which is in bredth about 60 miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of Italy, called in antent time Apulia (now Puglia) neer to the old and famous city of Hydruntum, at this called Otranto: where as ſoon as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich country along the ſea coaſt, and took ſuch infinit ſpoyle as might well haue ſatisfied the greedy deſire both of himſelfe and of his hungry ſouldiers: all which rich booty he cauſed to be conueyed into his gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure ranged vp and down the country by the ſpace of fourteen daies: and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he layd ſiege to Otranto, the chiefe city of that country, and as it were the key of that part of Italy: and hauing with ſuch ordnance as he took out of his gallies, made a breach, eaſily en-
Otranto taken by the Turks. tred the ſame, and ſo without any great loſſe took the city. A thing not greatly to be maruelled at, foraſmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether liuing in ſecurity in the midſt of their wealth and pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernour, and the chiefe men of the city, for ſafeguard of their liues fled into the great Cathedrall Church, as into a Sanctuary, where they were all together moſt miſerably ſlain. The reſt of the citiſens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the ſword (as people reſerued to moe miſery) were afterward ſhipt ouer into Græcia, and there ſold for ſlaues. The landing of the Turks in Apulia, with the taking of Otranto, brought a general feare vpon all Italy, inſomuch that *Sextus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of Rome, forgetting all things ſaue himſelfe, was about to haue forſaken the city for feare. Now after the Turks had at their pleaſure ranſackt Otranto, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turks in L
Italy) and victualled for eighteen months, and there leauing eight thouſand of his beſt ſoldidiers in garriſon, returned himſelfe with the reſt to Vallona, and ſo by land to Conſtantinople to know his great Maſters further pleaſure: but purpoſing with himſelfe, with the firſt of the next ſpring to haue returned with greater forces again to Italy, for the proſecuting of his former victory. Which if he had don, it was greatly to haue bin feared, that all that goodly country, ſomtime miſtreſſe of the World, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian Princes, had in ſhort time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turk for euer.

But whilſt the great Baſſa (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and deſtruction of faire Italy: God, in whoſe hands the hearts of Kings M
are, put an hook in the great tyrants noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time the Caramanian King, aided by the Perſian and the Sultan of Ægypt, had in a great battell ouerthrowne *Bajazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſonne then liuing) and ſlain moſt part of his army: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant army, and taking

Achmetes

A *Achmetes* with him as his chiefe man of war, rejecting the wars of Italy vnto a more conuenient time, passed ouer into Asia: where vpon the way, about a daies journy short of Nicomedia a city of Bithynia, at a place called Geiuisin he fell sicke, and there for the space of three daies grieuously tormented with an extreme paine in his belly (which some supposed to be the colicke) died; but being indeed as most men thought poysoned; when he had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof reigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His body was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he himselfe first built at Constantinople.

Mahomet dieth at Geiuisin in Bythinia, not without suspition of poyson.

1481

He is buried at Constantinople.

The death of this mighty man (who liuing troubled a great part of the World) was not much more lamented by those that were neereſt vnto him, (who euer liuing in feare of his B cruelty, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatnesse, were glad to heare of his end. He was of stature but low, and nothing answerable to the height of his mind, square set, and strong limmed, not inferior in strength (when he was young) vnto any in his fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* only: his complexion was Tartar-like, sallow and melancholy, as were most of his ancestors the *Othoman* Kings; his looke and countenance sterne, with his eies piercing, hollow, and a little sunke as it were into his head, and his nose so high and crooked, that it almost touched his vpper lip. To be briefe, his countenance was altogether such, as if Nature had with most cunning hand therein depainted and most curiously set forth to view the inward disposition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable. He was of a very sharpe and apprehensiue wit, learned, as amongst that nation, especi- C ally in Astronomy, and could speake the Greeke, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldee, and Persian Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Histories, and the liues of worthy men, especially the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Iulius Cæsar*, whom he proposed to himselfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto very fortunate; a seuere punisher of injustice, in them especially to whom he had committed the administration of justice. Men that excelled in any quality, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentill Bellin* a Painter of Venice, whom he purposely caused to come from thence, to Constantinople, to draw the liuely counterfeit of himselfe, for which he most honourably rewarded him. He so seuerely punished theft, as that in his time all the waies were safe, and a theefe scarcely to be heard of. But these good parts were in him obscured with most horri- D ble and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others most perfidious, ambitious aboue measure, and in nothing more delighted, than in bloud: in so much that it is probably gathred, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thousand men; craft, couetousnesse, and dissimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in comparison of his greater vices. In his loue was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death: so that he liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had issue three sonnes, *Mustapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of some called *Zizimus*, competitor of the Empire with his eldest brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his reigne, so that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which opportunity (by God himselfe no doubt offered for the safegard of Italy) *Alphonsus* E Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand* his eldest sonne) taking hold vpon, with all the power he could make in Italy, besieged the Turks in Otranto; with whom he had many sharpe skirmishes, wherein he lost diuers of his great Captaines and Commanders, as the County *Iulio de Aquaiua*, *Loys de Capua*, and the County *Iulio de Pisa*, with others, and was still by the strong garrison of the Turks put to the worse; vntill such time as being strengthened with aid out of Spaine and Portugall, (but especially with certaine companies of most valiant souldiers sent from *Matthias Coruinus* out of Hungary, whose forces the Turks most feared) he began to cut them short, and streitly besieged the city both by sea and land: vntill at length the besieged Turks hearing of the death of the great Emperour, and now hardly pressed with the dangers of a streit siege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall, (then ready to haue come to their rescue with fiue and twenty thousand souldiers) yeelded vp the city F vnto the Duke, vpon composition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in safety depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terrour of all Italy holden that strong city by the space of a yeare. And so was that rich Countrey rather by the mercy of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preserued, than by the strength or policy of the

The sonnes of Mahomet; Mustapha, Bajazet, and Zemes.

Otranto yeelded vp to the Turks vpō compositiō.

Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea, and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his ſon, had he not by domeſticall troubles beene inforced to turne himſelfe another way, and as it were to neglect in time to relieue his diſtreſſed garriſon in Otranto, as ſhall hereafter be declared. G

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet *the Great.*

- *Emperors*
  - *Of the East* — *Constantinus Palæologus, last Christian Emperor of Constantinople,* 1444. 8
  - *Of the West* — *Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria,* 1440 54
- *Kings*
  - *Of England*
    - *Henry the sixth,* 1422. 39
    - *Edward the fourth,* 1460. 22
  - *Of France*
    - *Charles the seuenth,* 1423. 38
    - *Lewis the eleuenth,* 1461. 22
  - *Of Scotland*
    - *Iames the second,* 1437. 24
    - *Iames the third,* 1460. 29
- *Bishops of Rome*
  - *Nicolas the V,* 1437. 8
  - *Calixtus the III,* 1455. 3
  - *Pius the II,* 1458. 6
  - *Paulus the II,* 1464. 7
  - *Xyſtus the IV,* 1471. 13

Phil. Lonicer. Tur. Hiſt. li. 1.

Arma manu quatiunt fratres hoſtilia regnum,
Hinc Bajazethes, Zizimus *inde petit.*
Bajazethes *rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum,*
Zizimus *extrema mœnia ſorte petit.*
Suſtinet & bello, varias & pace, procellas,
Bajazethes *fœlix & miſer, inter opes.*
Iam ſenio tremulus, fert bella domeſtica regno,
Agnato ejectus, dira venena bibit.

Like earth borne brethren, *Bajazet* and *Zizimus* in armes,
Seeke for the Turkiſh Empire great, the one by th'others harmes.
Vntill that *Bajazet* preuail'd, and *Zizimus* was faine
To fly to Rhodes, from thence to Rome, whereas he caught his baine.
Great ſtormes endured *Bajazet* in peace and bloudy broyles:
A man both happy and accurſt, amongſt his richeſt ſpoyles.
But now forworne with trembling age, and ciuill diſcords new,
Thruſt from his Empire by his ſonne, died poyſoned by a Iew.

THE LIFE OF *BAIAZET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SECOND EMPEROR OF THE TVRKES.

VPon the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, great troubles began to arise about the succession in the Turkish empire; some of the Bassa's and great captaines seeking to place *Bajazet*, the eldest son of *Mahomet*, in the Empire; and others with no lesse deuotion labouring to preferre *Zemes*, or *Gemes*, otherwise called *Zizimus*, *Bajazet* his younger brother. By occasion whereof there arose two great and mighty factions, which in few daies grew to such heat, that many great tumults and hot skirmishes were made in the imperiall city, betwixt the fauourits of both factions, and great slaughter committed. In these broiles the proud Ianizaries for an old grudge slew *Mahomethes* one of the foure great Bassa's, a man by whose graue counsell most of the weighty affaires of the Turkish empire had been managed during the reigne of the late Emperour: and proceeding further in their accustomed insolency, spoiled all the Christians and Iewes which dwelt amongst them, of all their wealth and substance; at which time the rich merchants and citizens of Constantinople which were naturall Turks themselues, escaped not their rauenous hands, but became vnto them a prey and spoyle also. The other three Bassa's of the court, *Isaac*, *Mesithes*, and *Achmetes*, (lately returned from the winning of Hydruntum in Italy) although they secretly maligned and enuied one at the greatnesse of another, yet to appease these so dangerous troubles, and to assure their owne estates, joyned hands together, and by their great authority, and multitude of followers and fauourits, found meanes that *Corcutus* (one of the younger sonnes of *Bajazet*, a young Prince of eighteene yeres old) was as it were by the generall consent of the Nobility and souldiers saluted Emperour, and with great triumph and solemnity placed in the Imperiall seat. In whose name, the aforesaid Bassa's at their pleasure disposed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Bajazet* or *Zemes*, then both absent, the one at Amasia, and the other at Iconium in Lycaonia. For the jealous Turkish Kings neuer suffer their sonnes to liue in court neere vnto them, after they be growne to yeres of discretion; but send them to gouerne their prouinces far off: where they are also vnder the command of the Emperors lieutenants generall in Asia or Europe, and may not depart from their charge without great danger, not so much as to visit their father, without expresse leaue and commandement. So jealous are those Tyrants, yea, euen of their owne sonnes.

Dissention among the Turkes about the succession.

Bajazet and *Zemes* hearing of the death of their father, and of the troubles in the imperial city, hasted thitherward with all speed, where *Bajazet* being the neerer, first arriued: but finding the Empire already possessed by *Corcutus* his younger son, and himselfe excluded, he in griefe of his heart poured forth most grieuous complaints before God and man, calling heauen and earth to witnesse of the great wrong and injury done vnto him by the proud Bassa's. And what by tears and humble obtestations, what by great gifts and greater promises, but most of all by the earnest labor and solicitation of *Cherseogles* Viceroy of Grecia, and the Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, both his sons in law, preuailed so much with the great Bassa's & soldiers of the court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and courteous disposition, ouercome by their intrea-

Bajazet commeth to Constantinople.

ty and the reuerence of his father, resigned vnto him the imperiall gouernment, which he presently tooke vpon him with the generall good liking of the people, and made *Corutus* Gouernor of Lycia, Caria, and Ionia, with the pleasant and rich countries thereabouts; allowing him a great yerely pension for the better maintenance of his estate, with promise also of the empire after his decease: and so sent him away to his charge, where he most pleasantly liued during the reigne of his father *Bajazet*, giuing himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy, which made that he was afterwards lesse fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of war. G

Zemes riseth against his brother Bajazet.

Zemes thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderstanding by his friends how all things stood at Constantinople, and that *Bajazet* was already possessed of the empire; returning with great speed, raised a puissant army in the countries which were vnder his command, and marching through the heart of Asia the lesse, by the way as he went, tooke into his possession such cities and strong places as he thought best; and so entring into Bithynia, tooke the great city of Prusa, the antient seat of the *Othoman* Kings. Purposing in himselfe, that as *Bajazet* had shut him out of Europe, so he would also in requi[illegible]ll thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkish empire which is beyond Hellespontus in Asia, & to make himself lord therof. Wherin fortune at the first seemed vnto him most fauourable, all the people whersoeuer he came yeelded vnto him obedience as vnto their Prince and Soueraigne: so that in short time he seemed both vnto himselfe and to others, in strong possession of that part of the Empire. H

Bajazet goeth against Zemes.

Of these his proceedings *Bajazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiuing the greater part of his empire now in danger to be lost, and doubting further, that *Zemes* his ambitious mind would hardly rest therewith long contented; for remedy of so great a mischiefe leuied a strong and puissant army, wherewith he passed ouer into Asia, and come to Neapolis a City of Anatolia, neere whereunto *Zemes* lay with his army strongly incamped. As *Bajazet* was vpon the way against his brother, *Achmetes* the great Bassa (in the confession of all men the best man of war and most expert Captaine amongst the Turks, and of all others most entirely beloued of the Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed, presented himselfe vpon his knees before *Bajazet*, his sword hanging at his saddle bow: to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to see so worthy a Chiefetaine of so great place in time of seruice, without any apparant cause, in such humble manner to appeare before his Soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to do with armes. It chanced many yeares before, in the mortall warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great Emperour of the Turks, and *Assymbeius Vsun-Cassanes* the King of Persia, that *Bajazet* hauing the leading of the right wing of his fathers Army, had not martialled it in so good order as was to *Mahomet* his good liking: for which cause he commanded this *Achmetes* to goe and set that part of the battell in better order. Which his Soueraignes command whiles he most skilfully performed, *Bajazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne disgrace, in great choler threatened the Bassa, to finde a time when he would be reuenged vpon him. But hee being a man of great spirit, and one that durst both do and say much, perceiuing his meaning, bid him doe what pleased him; and laying his hand vpon his sword, solemnly vowed, That whensoeuer he came to command as Emperour, he would neuer weare sword in field: the remembrance whereof was the cause that he then came in manner aforesaid, ready to serue if he were thereto commanded, or otherwise to endure what so his Princes pleasure was. *Bajazet* perceiuing that the vnkindenesse so long before conceiued, was not yet disgested, in token of grace stretched out to him his scepter, and taking him vp, commanded him to girt his sword vnto his side, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgiuen and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a most valiant and expert captaine, made him Generall of his army, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the rest of the army; who so soone as they saw him, gaue out diuers great shouts for joy, as if victory had most assuredly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and incamped so neere as he could to *Zemes*, and so lay by the space of ten daies: during which time, many sharpe skirmishes were made with diuers fortune; sometime the one side preuailing, and sometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell; wherein after a long and cruell fight, and great slaughter on both sides, the fortune of *Bajazet*, conducted by the policy of *Achmetes*, preuailed against *Zemes*. Who seeing his Army ouerthrowne, betooke himselfe to flight, and came to Iconium: in which flight many of *Zemes* his followers were taken prisoners; whom *Bajazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the persua- I K L M

Achmetes made Generall of Bajazet his army.

sion

A sion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others suffered them all to be put to the sword.

Zemes doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had staied three daies at Iconium, caused his treasure, plate, jewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be trussed vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a sonne and a daughter, accompanied with a small retinue, fled into Syria; then part of the dominion of *Caytbeius*, commonly called the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from Iconium, but that *Bajazet* came thither with his army, to haue surprised him: but vnderstanding of his flight, hee tooke order for the peaceable gouernment of that part of his Empire. And so hauing suppres-
B sed that dangerous rebellion, and againe reduced that troubled part of his Empire to his obeisance, returned with victory to Constantinople.

Z mes flieth into Syria.

The distressed Prince *Zemes* trauelling through Syria, came at length to Ierusalem: where he stayed a good space, deuoutly visiting the monuments of that most antient and famous city. From thence he trauelled into Ægypt; where at his first entrance into the country, he was met by diuers of the greatest nobility of that kingdome, sent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to Caire, and there presented to *Caytbeius*, of whom he was graciously welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, he declared the cause of his comming, as followeth: 1482

C *If it were not to me certainely knowne (most victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence descended, or with what injury enforced, after long and painefull trauell I am here arriued; it would much concerne me to vse another manner of beginning of my speech, and with greater protestation of words to seeke your gracious fauour. But forasmuch as all these things are vnto your most royall Majesty sufficiently knowne, as I do well perceiue in this, that your infinite clemency hath entertained me with farre greater kindenesse, than I in such my aduerse fortune durst wish for, much lesse request: Now nothing remaineth for me to say, more than justly to complaine vnto your inuincible Majesty, of the wrong and iniury done vnto me by* Bajazet, *whom I may more justly tearme my cruell enemy than kinde brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himselfe my fathers Empire by great tumult and slaughter, hath with all hostility and force of armes persecuted me his brother, excluded out of the Imperiall City, and then liuing in Bythinia, troublesome neither to him, nor any of his people, and neuer rested vntill he had chased me out of the bounds of my fathers Empire. Neither hath the jealous desire of Soueraignty (whereof my father whilest he liued, had him alwaies in distrust) so much moued him vnto this so cruell fact, as a certaine vnnaturall cruelty towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred*
D *against me his brother in particular: for he which is already possessed of the Empire, and doth with all hostility persecute a priuate person, subject and exposed to his injury, that man thirsteth not after Soueraignty, but after bloud; neither desireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles arose in Constantinople, and many bloudy skirmishes were fought betwixt the fauourites of both of vs, it cannot with any truth be laied to my charge, as done by mine aduise or counsell, I being at the same time so farre from thence. Neither am I justly to be blamed, if that after my fathers de-*
E *parture I put my selfe vpon the way towards Constantinople, especially being sent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and quality: but his fortune preuailing, I gaue place, and lest my comming to the Imperiall City might haue beene the occasion of new troubles, I returned aside into Bythinia, and so to Prusa, with purpose there to haue rested in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But so farre was he from that, to suffer me there to rest, as that I was by him most cruelly assailed as an open enemy: and had I not by speedy flight withdrawne my selfe from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my fathers kingdome, I must haue yeelded my selfe, my bloud, and life, as a sacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me so mortall an enemy, or thirsteth after my life so much for feare, as for very*
F *hatred and malice: for what is there in me to feare? Verily nothing: Constantinople is his, the fauour of the great Chiefetaines and men of warre is his, the treasure and regall riches are all his; wherefore he hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will sway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the* Othoman *family alone, and he, yea, none but he, must liue alone.* Xerxes *was a mighty King, and yet in that great and large Kingdome he not onely preserued his brethren in safety, but had them also in great honour and estimation. What did* Alexander *the Great? Who not onely tooke pleasure in*

Zemes his speech to Caytbeius, Sultan of Ægypt.

his

his brother, but had him also as a companion of his most glorious expedition: and many other famous G
Kings of forreine Nations, and of our owne family, haue ruled both more safely, and better strengthened, with the counsell and aid of their most louing brethren, rather than with others. But Bajazet *is of a farre other minde, reputing violence and hautinesse of heart to be his greatest and surest defence: herein his fierce nature delighteth, more than in the lawfull course of nature, justice, and equity; he had rather haue his brother his enemy than his friend, and to driue him into exile, than to make him partaker of his counsels. But I beseech thee most puissant Monarch, the faithfull keeper and maintainer of our Law and Religion, by the sacred reliques of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *which thou hast at Ierusalem and Mecha, suffer me not, a Kings sonne, to liue in banishment and exile, poore and miserable, a scorne of his brothers cruelty, farre from home, farre from his country and Kingdome; but regarding the Law of the great Prophet, lift vp the afflicted and oppressed, and by the great authority which you* H
haue, bridle domesticall wrong; or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy sword, and suffer not our Empire, with so great trauell founded, by the cruelty or folly of one wilfull man to be ouerthrowne: which should be no more grieuous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your most high estate, and all other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your selfe vnderstand right well, what deadly enemies the Christian Princes are vnto the Turks: and do you thinke that if any great warre (which I wish not) should arise of this our discord, that they would long rest in quiet, and as idle beholders stand looking on vntill it were of it selfe appeased? Or rather hauing such an opportunity presented, would not with might and maine suddenly inuade our Kingdome, before shaken with ciuile warres, and seeke the vtter ruine and destruction of the same? Which their desire if that hatefull people could bring to passe
(which thing Mahomet *turne vpon themselues) my minde abhorreth to thinke how farre that mis-* I
chiefe would runne: For the Othoman *family once rooted out, there is none of our Religion, (your Majesty onely excepted) which is able to withstand their power: wherefore you must then stand for your selfe and all the rest, you alone must withstand the force of the Christians, you must maintaine that warre with much losse, and greater charge, and most vncertaine successe. Wherefore, inuincible Monarch, I most humbly beseech thee, that pitying our estate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedy is yet to be had, to deale with* Bajazet *by your Embassadours, That though he will not receiue me his brother as partner of the Empire, yet at least to admit me into some small part of my fathers Kingdome: Let him raigne and rule, let all things be at his command; let it be lawfull for me poore man but to liue in rest and quiet somewhere, possessing but so much as may suffice me honestly to leade a priuate life. Which thing if he shall refuse to grant, although he neither feare the Lawes of God or man, yet as I haue at Ieru-* K
salem, so will I also shortly at Mecha (if by your leaue I may) complaine vnto the great Prophet, of the injuries done vnto me by my cruell and vnnaturall brother; and afterwards make proofe of your compassion towards me, all which I hope shall much auaile. But if (which I would not) I shall proue all these things in vaine, sith desperation enforceth men to all extremities, I will goe with fire, sword, and slaughter, by secret and open force, by right and wrong; and hated, will vex my hatefull brother by all manner of mischiefe, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, vntill I be either receiued into part of the Empire, or else together with my life leaue those desperate and lost things for him alone to enjoy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with disgrace and infamy to protract a lingring loathed life.

L

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the distressed prince, willing him to be of good cheere, and patiently to beare his present hap: forasmuch as it became a man borne in so high fortune, not to be discouraged with any mischance, or dismaid if things fell out otherwise than he looked for: commending him withall, for that he saw in him no lesse courage than might well haue becommed his better estate; and willing him to liue still in hope, promised to do what in him lay, to reconcile him to his brother, and to persuade him that he might be receiued into some part of the kingdome: and to that purpose shortly after dispatched away an honorable embassage to *Bajazet*. *Zemes* in the meane while, by the same Sultans leaue, vpon a superstitious deuotion trauelled into Arabia, to visit the temple of *Mahomet* at Mecha, and his sepulchre at Medina. Vpon his return to Caire, the Embassadors before sent, returned al- M
so, but not hauing obtained any thing they desired: for *Bajazet* would not giue eare to any agreement, but seemed altogether to contemne and despise his brother. Wherfore *Zemes* more vpon stomacke & desire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the Empire, determined with himselfe

Caytbeius the Ægyptian Sultan sendeth embassadours to Bajazet.

himselfe to make open war vpon him; reposing some good hope in his secret friends, and in the reuolt of some of the great captaines, who discontented with the gouernment of *Bajazet*, secretly wished for his returne.

Whilest he was thus plotting these weighty matters, a messenger with letters came fitly from the King of Caramania, offering with all the power he could make, to joyne with him, if he would take vp armes against his brother. This poore titular King then liued in Armenia, and being able by his friends to make some good force, was in hope by joyning with *Zemes*, to recouer some part of the Caramanian Kingdome, from whence his father was not many yeres before driuen by the force of the late Turkish Emperour *Mahomet* the Great, *Bajazet* his father. It is hard to say, whither of these distressed and exiled Princes gaue the greater encouragement to the other, to take this desperate war in hand, being both together far vnable by all the friends they could make, to encounter with the great power of *Bajazet*. But what is so dangerous or desperat, which aspiring minds will not attempt in hope of a Kingdome? whose brightnesse so dazeleth their eies, that they can see nothing but it. 1483 *The king of Caramania solicited Zemes to take vp armes against Bajazet*

Hereupon *Zemes* hauing receiued great gifts of the Ægyptian Sultan, with promise of aid, departed from Caire (the Sultan earnestly persuading him to the contrary) and as it was before appointed, met with the Caramanian King vpon the borders of Asia the lesser: where they concluded to joyne together such forces as they had, and to inuade *Bajazet*. Which they accordingly did: for raising all the power they could, they entred into Cilicia, (now called Caramania) and joyning their armies together, incamped betweene Iconium and Larenda. Neither did *Bajazet* in time of so great a danger sit still; not so much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his captaines and souldiers, whom he knew either to loue, or at least not to hate the young Prince his brother. Wherefore he raised a great army, and sent *Achmetes* (the great wan of war) before with the one part thereof, himselfe following after with a far greater strength: for at that time he had vnder his ensignes two hundred thousand men.

As he was marching with this great army, a rumor was raised in the campe, That some of his chiefe captains had conspired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the souldiers secretly fauouring *Zemes*, would vpon the joyning of the battell forsake him, and take part with his brother. Which report so troubled *Bajazet*, that he stood in doubt what to doe, or whom to trust: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common soldier more, than the Generals bounty, he forthwith caused a wonderfull masse of mony to be diuided amongst the captaines and soldiers, loding their minds with ample promises of far greater rewards, for their fidelity and valour to be shewed in that present seruice. Hauing thus assured himselfe of the wauering minds of his souldiers, he began to draw neere to Iconium, where his enemies lay incamped: and by glosing letters and flattering messengers made shew openly, as if he had beene very desirous to come to some good agreement with them, but secretly went about to stop all the streits and passages, in such manner as that it should not be possible for them againe to retyre backe into Syria: for he doubted nothing more, but least they being few in number, and in strength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon so great disaduantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retyre themselues into Syria, and so to his exceeding trouble and infinite charge protract that war.

Zemes perceiuing his brothers subtill drift, and seeing no such reuolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by letters to him bin promised; and weighing with reason his owne weake forces, retyred in good time vnto the streits of the mountain Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria. Here, despairing of all good successe in the enterprise he had taken in hand, he persuaded the Caramanian King his confederate to giue place vnto the time, and to reserue himselfe vnto his better fortune: and so breaking vp his army, with a few of his followers came down to the sea coast of Cilicia; where he hired a tall ship to attend in readinesse, that if any sudden danger should arise, he might go aboord, and so saue himselfe by sea. In the mean time he sent a messenger vnto *Damboys* Great Master of the Rhodes, certifying him, That for as much as he had no place of safety left amongst his owne people, wherein he might shroud himself from the fury of his brother, still seeking after his life, he would vpon his safe conduct come to him into the Island of the Rhodes. Which his request the Great Master easily granted, deeming the flight of so great a Prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable to the Christian Commonweale: and thereupon he presently sent forth certaine gallies to fetch him *Zemes flyeth to sea.*

him from the troublesom coast of Cilicia. But before these gallies were come, *Zemes* was inforced by the sudden acces of his enemies, for the auoiding of present danger, to go aboord on that ship which hee had prouidently before prepared to be in readinesse for such purpose. And hauing put a little from the shore, shot back again an arrow with letters made fast vnto it, directed vnto his brother *Baiazet*, containing as followeth: G

Zemes his Letters to his brother Bajazets

Thou knowest (most vnkind and cruell brother) that I fly not vnto the Christians, the mortal Enemies of the Othoman *family, for hatred of my religion and nation; but inforced therunto by thy iniurious dealing, and dangerous practises which thou incessantly attemptest against me, yea euen in my extreame miserie. But this assured hope I carry with me, that the time will come when as thou the authour of so great wrong, or thy children, shall receiue the iust guerdon of this thy present tyrannie against mee thy brother.* H

It is reported, That when *Baiazet* had read these letters, he was so troubled in mind, that for certaine daies he gaue himselfe wholly to mourning and heauines, and would in no wise be comforted: insomuch that he was brought into the campe by the Bassaes, as a man halfe distraught of his wits, shunning for a season all mens speech and company.

Zemes flieth to the Rhodes.

Zemes sailing to the Rhodes, was there honorably receiued of the Great Master, and all the rest of the knights of the Order: to whom in their publick assembly three days after, he openly declared the causes of the discord betwixt his brother and him: alledging for colour of his rebellion, That although *Bajazet* were his elder brother, yet that he was born whilst his father yet liued in priuat estate, vnder subiection and command, long before he possessed the Kingdome, and so no Kings son: whereas he himselfe was the first born of his father, being an Emperour, and so not heire of his fathers priuat fortune (as was *Bajazet*) but of his greatest honor and empire; and yet not of such an haughty mind, but that he could haue bin content to haue given place to his brother, so that he could haue bin contented likewise to haue granted him some small portion of the empire, wherin he might safely haue liued as a poor prince, and his brother: but that such was his pride, as that hee would not vouchsafe to suffer him to liue so much as a poor priuat life in any corner of so large an empire, and was therefore by his vnnaturall and tyrannous dealing inforced to craue aid of the Christian princes: of whom forsomuch as he had alwaies heard much honor, he was in good hope to find succor and reliefe in that his distressed estate; protesting vnto God and the world, That if euer it should bee his good fortune by their means and help to obtain the empire, he would neuer be vnmindfull of so great a benefit, but to make with them a perpetual and inuiolable peace, and so to rest their fast friend for euer. The great Master on the other side comforting him with cheerfull speeches, promised to keep him in safety from the fury of his brother, and further to commend his cause to the other Kings and Princes of Christendom. I K

The description of Zemes:

This exiled prince *Zemes* was about the age of 28 years when he came to the Rhodes; of stature tal, somwhat corpulent and wel limb'd, gray eyed, but looking somwhat asquint; hook nosed, and in the middle rising, in such maner as the Persians commend in their Kings; of colour brown, spare of speech, and by nature cholerick; a great feeder, so that he seemed rather to deuour his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in swimming, & to lie abroad in the night; pensiue and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer merry but in the company of the grand Master: a religious obseruer of the superstition from which he could neuer be withdrawn during the long time he liued in exile: learned as among the Turks, so that hee wrot the history of his fathers life. But leauing him in safe keeping with the grand Master of the Rhodes, let vs again return to the course of our history. L

Baiazet hauing now the second time chased away his brother, after he had wel quieted that part of his troubled kingdom in Asia, returned againe to Constantinople, carefully attending when some new motion should be made by his brother to his further disquiet. But when hee vnderstood that he was with the Great Master of the Rhodes, he sent certain of his Bassa's (amongst whom *Achmetes* the great souldier is reported to haue bin one) vnto the Great Master, requesting him to deliuer vp *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderful sum of money. Which dishonourable request when it could by no means be obtained, the said Embassadours in the name of their master concluded a peace very commodious for the Rhodians; wherin among other things it was agreed, That the Great Master should keep *Zemes* in safe custody, so that hee should no more trouble the Turkish Empire: in consideration whereof, and for his honourable M

A notable vſage, *Bajazet* ſhould yearely pay vnto the Great Maſter thirty thouſand duckats the firſt of Auguſt, which was afterward accordingly paied.

It fortuned that whileſt *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (emploied in matters abroad) was abſent from the court, *Bajazet* diſcourſing with the other Baſſaes his graue counſellors, vpon his late expedition into Aſia againſt his brother, ſeemed to be highly offended with the vntruſtineſſe and doubtfull faith of ſome of his greateſt captains and ſoldiers; yet vpon whom he might juſtly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it ſeemed by his talke, he ſhould ſomewhat diſtruſt the great captaine *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Iſaac* the moſt antient Baſſa of the court, and of greateſt authority next vnto *Bajazet* himſelfe (whoſe daughter, a lady of exceeding beauty, *Achmetes* had long before married, but doubting that ſhe had yeelded her honour to the wan- 1484
B ton luſt of *Muſtapha* the eldeſt ſon of *Mahomet* the late Emperour, had put her from him, and would by no means be reconciled; for which cauſe there was a ſecret hatred euer after betwixt thoſe two great Baſſaes) perceiuing the Emperors diſcontented and ſuſpitious humour, and deſiring nothing more than the deſtruction of *Achmetes*, took hold vpon this opportunity, and by all meanes he could deuiſe, encreaſed the ſuſpition of the treaſon, which had already too much poſſeſſed the jealous Emperor: ſometimes craftily imagining intelligence to haue paſſed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his power and authority, which (as he ſaid) was ſo great with the Ianizaries and ſoldiers of the court, that they by reaſon of his often imployments, were wholly at his deuotion; ſo that he might at his pleaſure do more in *Zemes* his quarrell, than ſhould ſtand for the ſafety of *Bajazet*; a matter well to be conſidered
C of, and alſo carefully preuented. For remedy of which dangers, it was thought neceſſary, that *Achmetes* at his returne to court, ſhould be taken away and ſlaine. *Achmetes his death contriued.*

Achmetes fearing nothing leſſe than that which was contriued againſt him, came after his wonted manner to the court; and was with the other great Baſſaes inuited to a ſolemne ſupper which *Bajazet* had commanded to be prepared, to ſolace himſelfe after his trauels (as it was giuen out) with his chiefe Baſſaes. To this royall ſupper came *Achmetes* with the reſt of the bidden gueſts, miſtruſting nothing, and was there ſumptuouſly feaſted by *Bajazet*: who to make his gueſts the merrier, dranke wine plentifully himſelfe, cauſing them alſo to drinke in like manner; ſo that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet dayly more and more vſed, eſpecially by their great men in their feaſts. Supper now ended, and the
D night far ſpent, *Bajazet* in token that they were welcome, and ſtood in his good grace, cauſed certaine rich robes of pleaſing colours to be brought forth, and to be caſt vpon euery of his gueſts one, giuing beſides vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon *Achmetes* was caſt a gowne of blacke veluet, which among the Turks may well be called the mantle of death, being ſo ſure a token of the Emperors heauy indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the Emperours commandement ſo caſt. *Achmetes* ſeeing himſelfe now vnder the ſhadow of death, and knowing it but vaine to intreat for mercy, as he was a man of great ſpirit, brake forth and ſaid, *Oh cachpozly* (which is as much as to ſay, thou ſonne of a whore) ſith thou intendeſt ſo much cru-
E elty againſt me, why didſt thou not put it in execution before thou hadſt inforced me to drink this impure and forbidden wine? and ſo caſting his eies vpon the ground ſat ſtill. The other Baſſa's hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the Emperor, and crauing pardon for their exceſſe, kiſſed the ground at his feet and ſo departed: with whom *Achmetes* offered to haue gone out alſo, but was forthwith commanded to ſit ſtill, for that the Emperour had to talke with him in ſecret. The Baſſa's were no ſooner departed, but the terrible executioners of *Bajazet* his wrath ſtept in, and laid hands vpon *Achmetes* to haue ſlaine him; when one of the Eunuchs in greateſt fauor with the tyrant, ſtanding by, aduiſed him not to be too haſty in executing of ſo great a man, ſo entirely beloued of his beſt ſouldiers and men of war, but rather to ſtay his execution for a while to ſee how the matter would be diſgeſted; and in the meane time by torture to wreſt it out from him what might be got; to make it in ſome ſort appeare, that he died
F for his due deſert. Hereupon *Bajazet* deferred his execution to a further time, and cauſed him there preſently to be ſtript, and carried away to be tortured.

Amongſt other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Baſſaes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his ſons, a gentleman of great hope; who miſſing his father among the reſt, began preſently to miſtruſt that all went not wel; & ſpeedily running *Achmetes his ſon ſtirreth vp the Ianizaries to help his father.*

from

from one of the Baſſaes to another, with much ado learned the hard eſtate of his father: where- G
of he was alſo at the ſame inſtant aduertiſed by a ſecret friend neere about *Bajazet*. Hereupon this yong gentleman began forthwith piteouſly to lament his fathers miſhap, and to exclaim againſt the cruelty of *Bajazet*; called on the Ianizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his fathers great and manifold deſerts towards them, together with his imminent danger: and ſo running vp and downe the city in the dead time of the night, had in ſhort time raiſed vp all the Ianizaries in armes: who vnderſtanding of the danger of their antient commander, who they generally loued and honored as their father, came running by heaps from all parts of the city vnto the court gate, there with terrible exclamations doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre*, (which barbarous word they commonly vſe in expreſſing their greateſt diſcontentment and fury) & did indeed ſo furiouſly beat at the court gate, that *Bajazet* fearing leaſt they ſhould H
breake in by violence, cauſed the outer gate to be ſet open, and ſhewing himſelfe from aboue out of a yron window, demanded of them the cauſe of that tumult and vprore. To whom they inſolently anſwered, That they would by and by teach him as a drunkard, a beaſt, and a raſcall, to vſe his great place and calling with more ſobriety and diſcretion: and among many other opprobrious words wherewith they ſhamefully loded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi*, *Bengi* (that is to ſay, Batchelor or Scholler) which amongſt thoſe martiall men, contemners of all learning, is accounted a word of no ſmall reproch and diſgrace. And after they had in moſt deſpightfull manner thus reuiled him, they proudly commanded him forth-
Bajazet for feare deliuereth Achmetes to the Ianizaries. with to deliuer *Achmetes* vnto them, or elſe to take that ſhould enſue thereof. *Bajazet* terrified I
with this inſolency of the Ianizaries, and fearing ſome ſudden violence to be offred, commanded *Achmetes* to be without delay deliuered vnto them: which was done in ſuch haſt, that he was brought forth before them almoſt naked, bare legged, and bare headed, bearing in his body the manifeſt markes of his hard vſage. The Ianizaries receiuing him with great rejoycing, ſupplied his want of apparell with ſuch habiliments, as they for that purpoſe vpon the ſudden tooke from *Bajazets* minions: and ſo taking him vpon their ſhoulders, with great joy carried him out of the court, ſtill crying vnto him, How he did, and how he felt himſelfe? And ſo guarded him home, ready no doubt to haue ſlaine *Bajazet* and rifled the court, if he would haue but ſaid the word. But he yet loyall, laboured with good words to appeaſe that tumult, and to pacifie the fury: excuſing that which *Bajazet* had done againſt him, to haue been done only to
correct him, for that happily he had forgotten ſome part of obedience and duty. Neuerthe- K
leſſe, hereupon remained no ſmall heart burning betwixt *Bajazet* and the Ianizaries for a long time after: yet *Bajazet* for feare of them reconciled himſelfe to *Achmetes*, and in open ſhew had him in greater honour than before, promoting him euen vnto the higheſt degrees of honor, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the continuall inſtigation of the old Baſſa *Iſaac*: by whoſe perſuaſion, when it was thought that all had been forgotten, he was by *Bajazets* commandement as he ſat at ſupper in the court, thruſt through the body and
Achmetes ſlaine. ſlaine. This was the miſerable end of *Achmetes*, the great champion of the Turks, and one of the greateſt enemies of Chriſtendome that euer liued in the Turkiſh court: for by him, *Mahomet* ſubuerted the Empire of Trapezond, tooke the great city of Caffa (called in antient time Theodoſia) with all the countrey of Taurica Cherſoneſus, the impregnable city of Croia, L
with all the kingdome of Epirus, the ſtrong city of Scodra, and a great part of Dalmatia, and laſt of all Otranto, to the terror of all Italy: by him alſo, *Bajazet* vanquiſhed and put to flight his brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good ſeruices, he was by the tyrant (vpon a meere ſuſpition) thus cruelly and ſhamefully murthered. About this time alſo, *Caigubus* (*Zemes* his ſonne) then but a childe, was by the commandement of *Bajazet* his vncle, ſtrangled, in the new tower of Conſtantinople.

Bajazet now grieuouſly offended with the pride and late inſolency of the Ianizaries, cauſed ſecret inquiry to be made, of them which were the authors of thoſe late ſtirs; & finding them to be the officers of their companies, and ſpecially thoſe which had before ſlain *Mahomet Baſſa* the great polititian, immediatly after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, at which time M
they had alſo raiſed great tumults, and done much harme in the city; he vnder color of preferment, ſent away thoſe authors of ſedition into diuers parts of his Empire, appointing vnto them (as vnto old ſoldiers and men of good deſert) certaine lands and reuenues for their maintenance and preferment. But as ſoone as they were departed, he by ſecret letters commanded the

A the gouernors and magistrats in those places wherunto they were sent, suddenly to apprehend them, and as traitors put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Ianizaries of the court and about Constantinople, hearing what had happened to their fellowes, became wonderfull discontented, and began to mutine in diuers places of the city, vttering speeches against the Emperour full of despight and reuenge. Which thing when *Bajazet* vnderstood, and had well considered the late danger he was in, together with the intollerable pride and insolencie of those his masterfull slaues; he secretly purposed in himselfe for curing of so dangerous a disease, to vse a most desperat remedy: which was, suddenly to kill and destroy all the Ianizaries, especially those which were belonging to the court, or about Constantinople. This his purpose he imparted to diuers of his greatest Bassaes, charging them vpon paine of his heauy
B displeasure not to disclose it: and for the execution therof, had sent for great numbers of those soldiers, which are called Acanzij, who are among the Turks reputed for the best sort of common souldiers. Most of all the Bassa's to whom he had imparted this his cruell deuise, much disliked thereof, as too full of perill and danger: yet seeing him fully resolued for the performance therof, would not, or durst not say any thing to the contrary. Only *Alis* & *Ishender Bassa* (both discended of the honorable family of *Michael Ogli*) dissuaded him from attempting any such thing: alledging first, that the Ianizaries were in number many, soldiers of great courage and experience, resolute men, and such as would sell their liues deare: Then, admitting that he should kill all them about the court and in Constantinople; yet forasmuch as all his strong towns and castles, especially in the frontiers and chiefe places of his dominions, were possessed and holden by strong garrisons of other Ianizaries, fellows & friends of these (who would
C vndoubtedly take vp arms in defence of themselues, and reuenge of their dead friends) it were a thing very like to endanger himselfe, together with the whole state of his empire, beside the great dishonour which would grow vnto himselfe thereby for euer.

This so dangerous an exploit, wherin the hands of so many were to be vsed, was not kept so secret, but that the vigilant and wily Ianizaries had got an inckling therof; and therupon began dayly more & more to suspect the matter, both by the often and secret repaire of the great men to the court, more then they had before seen, & also by the vnwonted multitude of those Acanzij, which were dayly brought vnto the imperial city by great troups. Wherfore fearing to be suddenly surprised, they banded themselues together, and openly stood vpon their gard:
D and by chance lighting vpon *Alis Beg* as he came from the court, (who was indeed their best friend) after their barbarous manner, with many opprobrious & contumelious words, demanded of him, if he were not one of them who had conspired their destruction: and without more ado had presently slain him, had he not (as a wel spoken man) with great protestations & oths perswaded them, that he neuer consented to any such thing, or that they needed to feare any such thing from him: and so with much ado rid himselfe out of their hands.

Bajazet seeing his purpose discouered, and that he could not without great bloudshed, and danger both to his estate and person, worke his will vpon the Ianizaries; by the counsell and aduice of them that saw further into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open proclamation, That the Ianizaries and other his men of war (of whom he had a great
E power now assembled at Constantinople) to be in readinesse against a certain prefixed day, to go with him into Moldauia, as if he had raised that power for that purpose only. But when the time was come that he should set forward, the Ianizaries put themselues in order of battel by themselues, and would in nowise ioyne themselues with the rest of the army, or receiue the Emperor into the midst of their ranks, as they had alwaies before accustomed; but furiously shaking their weapons at him, told him plainly, that he had sought their destruction, and bid him therefore if he thought it so good, to set his executioners to worke vpon them, whom he should find both ready and able to defend themselues. To pacify their fury, *Bajazet* was glad to giue them good words, and to vse al the means he could (by his great Bassa's and other captains which were able to do any thing with them) to perswade them to be quiet; swearing vnto
F them by the holy soule of his father (a solemne oath amongst the Turks) that he would not harme or wrong the meanest of them. So with much ado they were at length appeased, and receiued *Bajazet* into the midst of them, as their wonted manner was.

1487 *Bajazet purposeth to destroy the Ianizaries.*

This dangerous tumult so quieted, *Bajazet* set forward, and passing ouer Danubius, entred into Moldauia, where he first layd siege to a strong town standing vpon the Euxine sea, called *Bajazet inuadeth Moldauia.*

of the Turks Kele, but in antient time Achilleia, which was at length deliuered vnto him by composition. From thence he went to Ac-Girmen, otherwise called Asprocastron, which after a months siege was also deliuered by composition: which two strong places so woon, he returned again to Constantinople. G

Many great Princes sue to the Master of the Rhodes for Zemes.

Many great Princes desirous of *Zemes*, labored by their embassadors to haue obtained him of the Great Master of the Rhodes: first *Bajazet* his brother, fearing lest he should at one time or other again break forth vpon him, or els set vp by the Christian Princes, trouble his estate, offred great sums of money to haue had him deliuered into his hands: and *Charles* the French king purposing the conquest of Naples, (which he in few yeres after performed) and after that to haue inuaded Grecia, thought *Zemes* a most fit instrument for the furtherance of those his high designs, and was therfore wonderfull desirous to haue had him. *Matthias* also K. of Hungary (a fortunat Warriour against the Turke) persuaded that the hauing of him might be vnto him a great furtherance in the course of his victories, fought by all the meanes he could to haue obtained him. At which time also *Innocentius* the eight of that name, B. of Rome, no lesse desirous than the rest, to haue in his keeping so great a pledge of peace and war (the bridle of the Turks fury, together with the large pension he was sure to receiue yearely from *Bajazet* for the safe custody of him) so wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Bishop of Concordia, his cunning Legat, that the Great Master, fearing on the one side to be constrained by the great power of *Bajazet*, to grant that he had so often refused, and now so earnestly solicited on the other side by the Bishop, caused *Zemes* to be deliuered to him at Rome in the yeare 1488: for which doing he was by the Bishop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinall. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Bishop (who receiued from *Bajazet* a yerely pension of forty thousand duckats) remained in safe custody at Rome all the time of *Innocentius*, and also of *Alexander* the sixth his successor: vntill that the French King *Charles* the eight, passing through the heart of Italy with a strong army against *Alphonsus* king of Naples, in the yere 1495, and making his way through the city of Rome, so terrified the great Bishop (who altogether fauoured & furthered the title of *Alphonsus*) that he was glad to yeeld to such articles and conditions as pleased the king: and among the rest, to giue in hostage vnto the king his graceless son *Cæsar Borgia Valentinus*, and also to deliuer to him *Zemes* his honourable prisoner, as shall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared. H I

In the beginning of *Bajazet* his reigne, whilest he was busied against his brother *Zemes* in Asia, *Iohn Castriot* the son of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunatly ouerthrowne the Turke in a battell neere vnto Croia, recouered a great part of Epirus out of their possession. At which time also *Iohn Chernouich* a Christian Prince of Albania, casting off the Turkish yoke imposed vpon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, suddenly took vp armes, and by the help of the Venetians valiantly repulsed the enemies out of that part of Albania; and so troubled *Bajazet*, that he was glad to suffer him peaceably to inioy all that he had by force recouered, and further to content himselfe with a small tribute for the rest. K

1486

Bajazet inuadeth Caramania.

Bajazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom some call *Pyramet*) the King of Caramania, for aiding his brother *Zemes* against him; in reuenge thereof raised a great army both in Europe and Asia, and marching along st Asia the lesse, through the countries of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphilia, entered at length into Caramania. But the king of Caramania, hearing before of his comming, and knowing himself too weak too meet him in field, fortified the strong Cities and places of his Kingdome, and retyred with his army into the streits of the mountain Taurus, where it parteth Cilicia from Syria; wherein he was in more safety than in any of his strongest holds. *Bajazet* finding no way to come to him, spent most part of the Summer in spoyling of the open country: but perceiuing his enemies could not so be drawn into the field, he layd siege vnto the famous city of Tarsus, being the chiefe City of the champaine part of Cilicia (the natiue place of S. *Paul* the Apostle) and in short time so battered the wals of his City with his great ordance, that he had made them saultable. L

Tarsus in Cilicia yeelded to Bajazet.

The Citizens considering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their City, their liberty, liues, and goods reserued. Of which their offer *Bajazet* accepted, and most honourably performed his promise for their safety; not permitting any of his souldiers to enter the City, more than such as must needs for the guard of his person, and safe keeping of the City. And forasmuch as Winter began now to grow fast on, he dispersed his souldiers into the Countrey M

A trey villages round about, not ſuffering the countrey people to til or ſow their land, or to do any thing els which might turne to their profit or good; whereby they were inforced to yeeld themſelues wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian King ſeeing his people dayly fall from him, & fearing to be at length forſaken of his ſoldiers alſo; in this his diſtres obtained aid both of men and mony from *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of Ægypt, and ſo with al the power he could make, tooke the field, with the firſt of the next Spring, fully reſolued to try the fortune of a battel, although in ſtrength and power he knew himſelf much inferior to his puiſſant enemy.

Bajazet glad to ſee his enemy ſo forward, ſpeedily aſſembled his army, and without delay offered him battell: which the Caramanian King refuſed not. So between them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage B of the ſouldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtfull victory and great ſlaughter on both ſides, new ſupplies ſtill comming on in ſtead of them which were ſlaine. The day declining, the Caramanian King (whoſe fatall deſtiny had now appointed him vnto his laſt work) ſeeing his wearied ſoldiers rather ouerlaid with multitude, than vanquiſhed by force, to begin to giue ground to their enemies; couragiouſly thruſt forward with his guard and other valiant ſoldiers about him, with ſuch fury, that he brake into the midſt of his enemies battaile; where being known, he was forthwith enuironed by the Turks, and ſo hardly charged on euery ſide, that hauing his horſe ſlain vnder him, he was inforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his owne hand ſlain diuers of his enemies, he fell down dead in the midſt of them. His ſoldiers diſcouraged with his death, turned their backs & fled, and in flying were for the moſt part either ſlain or taken priſoners. After this victory, *Bajazet* ſpeedily ouerran all that large C countrey, and without reſiſtance in ſhort time brought vnder his obeyſance all the countrey of Cilicia.

A long and terrible battell betwixt Bajazet and the King of Caramania.

There was at that time in that part of Cilicia which is called Trachea, and lieth toward the ſea ſide, an antient Mahometan Prince who had vnder his command moſt part of that countrey, with the famous and populous city of Scandeloro, the chiefe place of his reſiance. This prince had of long time liued betwixt the Chriſtian kings & the kings of Caramania, as neuter, ſtill fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had till then chiefly maintained his ſtate by the allyance he and his anceſtors continually held with the Kings of Cyprus and the grand maſters of the Rhodes. Againſt this poore prince, the only one now left in Aſia D the leſſe, not ſubiect to the Turkiſh kings, began *Bajazet* now to turn his forces; purpoſing before he proceeded any further, to make a full conqueſt of the leſſer Aſia, and ſo to make all ſure behind him. Of which his purpoſe the Prince hauing knowledge, and wiſely weighing hrs own ſmall power to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy; offred by his Embaſſadors to deliuer to *Bajazet* his chief city of Scandeloro, with all the reſt of his territory in Cilcia, vpon condition, that *Bajazet* ſhould giue vnto him other poſſeſſions for it, in ſome other part of Aſia the leſſer, to the like value. Which his offer *Bajazet* accepted, and ſo became lord of all the ſea coaſt, from the ſtreits of Boſphorus, to the confines of Syria.

After he had thus conquered Cilicia, with a great part of the mountain Taurus, he deſcended into Armenia the leſſe, and in ſhort time brought vnder his ſubiection ſo much of that E countrey, as alſo of Cappadocia, as was ſomtime belonging to the Caramanian Kings. When *Bajazet* had thus ſlain the Caramanian King, and ſubdued that moſt antient kingdome of the Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glory and power of the *Othoman* Kings, he left *Muſtapha*, one of his great Baſſaes, at Iconium, with his Aſian army, to keep in obedience thoſe new woon countries: and as a triumphant conquerour returned himſelfe to Conſtantinople, where he was of his ſubiects ioyfully receiued.

After that *Bajazet* had thus inlarged his Empire with the kingdom of Caramania, and was now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria; he began to ſwell in diſdain againſt that mighty Prince, for that he had giuen aid againſt him, firſt vnto his brother *Zemes*, and after that to the Caramanian King in theſe late wars: of which wrong F purpoſing to be reuenged, he ſhortly after appointed one *Caragoſa Baſſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, with *Iſhender* another of his great Captaines, with a ſtrong army to inuade Syria, then part of the great Sultans Kingdome. Theſe two great commanders well appointed for the purpoſe, when they were come to the vttermoſt parts of Cilicia, the new bounds of *Bajazets* Empire, were then to paſſe by the confines of *Aladeules* his Kingdome, before they could paſſe the 1487

great mountaine Taurus to come into Syria. This *Aladules* commanded as king ouer the rude and fierce people which dwelt alongst that great and rough mountaine, and was then in league with the Sultan. He hearing of the approach of the Turks army, with a great number of his mountain people lay in ambush in the streits whereby the Turks must needs passe, of purpose to intercept them. *Ishender* marching in the vantguard with a great number of the voluntary souldiers called Acanzij, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing lesse, than to be set vpon by the mountain King, before he was aware was come into the midst of his enemies, and was by them so fiercely charged on euery side for their places of aduantage, that he there lost most part of his men, and forsaken of the rest, which sought by flight to saue themselues, he with his two sons and others were taken prisoners. *Michael-Beg* the eldest of the two, being fast bound, was slain by one of *Aladules* his followers, whose brother he had slain in that skirmish: his head being cut off, was by the commandment of *Aladules* carried to his father *Ishender*, the more to grieue him: who disdainfully willed the messenger not to shew it vnto him, but to bid his master eat it if he would. With which answer *Aladules* was exceedingly mooued; neuertheless pittying the old mans misery, he shortly after set *Iaxis-Beg* the yonger brother at liberty: but *Ishender* himselfe he sent prisoner to *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at Caire, where he remained in prison fiue yeres after. *Caragoses* the Bassa discouraged with the losse of so great a man, retyred with his army backe againe into Cilicia, and from thence aduertised *Bajazet* what had hapned, by whom he was commanded to return to Constantinople, as a man vnfit for so great an enterprise. G H

1488 *Achmetes being discomfited is taken prisoner, and sent to Caire.*

The next Spring following, *Bajazet* constant in his former resolution for the inuasion of Siria, sent *Achmetes* another of his Bassa's, with a far greater army than had *Caragoses*, against the Sultan: who was no sooner come to the further part of Cilicia, but he was there at a place, called of the Turks, Tzucur Oua, encountred by the Ægyptians & Arabians, and there in a great battell ouerthrowne; wherein he himselfe fighting most valiantly, lost two of his fingers, and being taken prisoner was sent to Caire. I

1489 *Bajazet* with this ouerthrow rather insenced than discouraged, made great preparation the next yere against the Sultan both by sea and land, such as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readines, sent *Alis Bassa* (of some called *Calibeus*) and *Cherseogles* his sonne in law, two notable captains, with a great and puissant army by land, against the Ægyptian Sultan: at which time he requested of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, That he might by their good leaue, as occasion required, refresh his fleet (then ready to put to sea for the inuasion of Syria, as he said) in their Island of Cyprus. Which his request was by the generall consent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the great danger of their State: yet wisely doubting lest *Bajazet* taking that deniall in euill part, should seeke to haue that by force, which he could not obtain by request, they presently sent *Francisco Priuolo* their Admirall, to sea with thirty gallies for the defence of that Island. He hearing that one fleet of the Turks gallies, lately come out of Hellespontus, lay houering at the Island of Sciros, expecting a far greater from the coast of Ionia; and carefully considering how secret and sudden the Turkish designements were, although it was giuen out that al this great preparation was made against the Sultan: yet to prouide that they should not suddenly surprise the Isle he speedily sent sundry companies of soldiers, especially archers, out of Creta into Cyprus, for the better defence thereof; but stayed himselfe with his fleet at the Island of Naxos, that so at hand he might be the readier to withstand whatsoeuer the Turks intended. But when he vnderstood that all their fleet was met, and now set forward, he hoysed sayle, & held his course directly for Cyprus. In the meane time the Turkish fleet sayling alongst the coast of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, kept on their course vntil they came vpon the coast of Syria: by which time *Calibeus* and *Cherseogles* were come with a mighty army into Cilicia, neer to the mountaine Taurus. K L

Caitbeius the Ægyptian Sultan hauing before had certain intelligence of the great preparation that *Bajazet* had made against him, had before sent *Vsbeg* a most valiant and politick captaine, with a strong army of his Mamalukes and other his most expert souldiers into Syria, to be ready at all times to withstand the Turks. This worthy Chieftaine vnderstanding of the comming of the Turks army, thought it greater policy, to carry the calamities which alwayes wait vpon great armies, into the enemies country, than to receiue it into his own bosom. And M

there-

A therfore although he knew himselfe for number to be far inferior to his enemies, yet supplying that want with the valor, courage, and assured confidence he had reposed in the approued and inuincible force of his Mamalukes, he expected not the comming of the enemy into Syria, but passing ouer the mountain Amanus, and so descending into Cilicia, met him not far from Tarsus, in the same place (as it was thought) where *Alexander* the great had long before in a great battel vanquished *Darius*.

A long and terrible battell betwixt the Turks and the Mamalukes.

These two puissant armies come from far out of diuers parts of the world, the one to meet the other, were no sooner come together, but that with like cheerfulnes they joined battell; and that with such violence and fury, that the earth seemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a most present destruction threatned vnto them all: which terrible and cruel fight was maintai-
B ned all that day, with doubtful victory, and exceeding slaughter on both sides; the politique Generals with new supplies of fresh soldiers continually relieuing the most distressed parts of their battels; and they likewise as men prodigall of their liues, resolutely offering themselues to all dangers. When this most dreadful fight had in this sort endured the whole day, and many thousands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the ground, the approaching night brake off the battel, and both the armies sore wearied and weakned (but especially the Turks) retyred to their camps, where they rested that night.

But the Egyptians comming to their camp, found all their Cariages with their prouision of victuals and other necessaries quite taken away and gon. Which thing (as some write) the bordering people of the country (for most part liuing vpon robery) had don in time of the bat-
C tel, to please the Turks: or as some others report, they which had the charge therof, terrified with the greatnes of the Turks army, and doubtfulnes of the battel, fled away, & taking their way alongst the sea side, fled into the hands of the Turkes which were put on shore out of the gallies, and so were of them spoiled. Howsoeuer it was (for in so great vncertainty I dare not affirm) certain it is, that the Egyptians were sore troubled with the losse of their prouision, fearing that if they should now stay longer in the Country, they should forthwith be driuen to great extremities for want of necessaries. Wherfore when they had euil rested that night, the next day early in the morning they presented themselues in order of battel before their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them battel. The Turks disdaining to see any prouder in field than themselues, after they had in good order ranged their battels, set forward
D with ensignes displaid against their proud enemies. There began a most terrible bloudy battel, fought with such desperat resolution, as if they had solemnly vowed, either to ouercome, or die in the place where they stood. A man would haue said that the former daies fury had bin but a play in comparison of this: many valiant souldiers with their dead bodies couered the same ground wheron they liuing stood, when they receiued the first incounter of their Enemies. Of both those great armies none were seen to giue ground, or once look backe; the Turks Ianizaries & the Egiptians Mamalukes (the vndoubted strength of the greatest Mahometan Monarchs, soldiers for their valor much feared, & through the world renowned) there buckled together, and standing foot to foot, spent the vttermost of their forces one vpon another; as if they would in that battel haue made it known vnto the world, which of them were
E to be accounted the best soldiers. Whilst victory stood thus doubtfull, and the day was now far spent, *Vsbeg* the Egyptian General, with fifteen thousand valiant horsmen (whom hee had reserued for that purpose) gaue a fresh assault vpon the Turks squadrons, with such force, that they had much ado to keep their order, and began now to giue ground: which was by and by made good again by other fresh men speedily brought on by the Bassa's. Then became the battel more fierce than before, euery man striuing to the vtmost of his power to sel his life to his enemies as dear as he could. In which maner of fight all the rest of the day was spent, vntill that after the going down of the Sun, the darknes of the night comming fast on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battell, and to retyre themselues into their camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

F The Turks Bassa's taking view of the army, and finding that of an hundred thousand fighting men, which they brought into the field, there was scarce a third part left, and most of them also maimed or hurt; & doubting to be set vpon again the next morning by their resolute enemies, fled away secretly the same night, leauing behind them for hast their tents well stored with victuals and all other things needfull. The Ægyptians also hauing lost one half of their

The Turks flie away by night.

army (which was at the first seuenty thousand) and wanting their necessary prouisions, were retyred also the same night into the mountaine Taurus, not knowing any thing of the flight of the Turks. And some of the souldiers passing quite ouer the mountaine without stay, into Syria, raised a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans army was ouerthrown, and that the Turks had got the victory: so vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battel, euen to them that were present therein. The Ægyptians lying that night vpon the side of the mountaine, had speedy intelligence from *Aladules*, of the flight of the Turks: which being also confirmed by his espials to be true, he presently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turks campe, where he found plenty of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreshing of his army. G

Aladules the mountain king, with the people called Varsacide, by whose confines the Turks must needs in their returne passe, robbed and slew many of them in their disordred flight; and had so stopped the passages, that they were in flying ouertaken by the Mamalukes, and slaine with so great a slaughter, that of all that great army of the Turks few remained aliue to carry news home. *Calibeius* and *Cherseogles* the Bassaes, were in that flight both taken prisoners, and afterwards presented to *Caytbeius* the Sultan, at Caire, with eighteen ensignes of the Turks Sanzacks, which are great men amongst them, hauing euery one of them the regiment and command of some one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the Bassaes. H

Neither was the fortune of *Bajazet* his nauie at sea, better than that of his army at land: for as it lay at rode vpon the coast of Syria at the mouth of the riuer Orontes, which runneth by the famous city of Antioch, his gallies were by tempest and rage of the sea put from their anchors, and in the sight of their enemies swallowed vp of the sea, or else driuen vpon the maine, and there with the surges of the sea beaten in pieces. *Bajazet* not a little troubled with these losses both by sea and land, at length with much ado, by his Embassadors concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he restored all such places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him *Calibeius*, *Cherseogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Ishender*, with all the rest of the Turks prisoners, which he had in great number in his keeping. I

1492 *A peace concluded betwixt Bajazet and Caytbeius.*

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt these two great and mighty Princes, *Caytbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circassian slaue, by many degrees of honour, and by the fauor of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich Kingdome of Ægypt, which he right worthily gouerned to his immortall praise by the space of two and twenty yeares; commanding at one time the great and rich countrey of Ægypt, with all Affricke, as farre as Cyrene, Westward; and Iudea, with a great part of Arabia, and all Syria, vnto the great and famous riuer Euphrates, Eastward. In the latter end of his reigne he (ouercome with the importunitie of his wife *Dultibe*, an Arabian borne, a woman of a haughty spirit) ioyned his sonne *Mahomethes*, a yong man of about foure and twenty yeares old, with him in the fellowship of his kingdome; that so possessed of it his father yet liuing, he might the better inioy it after his death. Contrary to the custome of the Mamulukes, who of long time had not vsed to haue their king by succession, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choice, immediatly after the death of *Caytbeius* slew *Mahomethes* his son; and in a few months after, foure moe, who one after another without their good liking had aspired vnto the Kingdome; neither could they be contented, vntill such time as that they had according to their wonted custome set vp a Sultan of their owne choice. K L

About the same time that the aforesaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane Princes, *Bajazet* and *Caytbeius*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation against *Alphonsus* king of Naples; giuing it out, That after he had recouered that kingdom, he would forthwith from thence inuade the Turks dominions in Grecia. Which great attempt the haughty King was induced to take in hand, by the persuasion of diuers of his Nobilitie, but especially by the solicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* Duke of Millan: wherby the whole state of Italy was in short time after sore shaken, and *Sfortia* himselfe, Author of these troubles, at last carried away by the French, miserably ended his dayes as a prisoner in France. *Alphonsus* the Neapolitan King doubting the greatnesse of the French King his enemy, entered into a confederation with certaine of the States of Italy, against the French, but especially with *Alexander* the sixt then Bishop of Rome: for the better assurance whereof, hee gaue M

his

A his baſe daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Biſhops ſon, and made him Prince of Carinula: his other ſon *Francis* he entertained alſo in great pay to ſerue him in his wars. And by his Embaſſadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of France, gaue *Bajazet* to vnderſtand, what the French King had purpoſed againſt them both, requeſting him to aid him with ſix thouſand horſemen and as many foot againſt their common enemy, promiſing to giue them honourable entertainment during thoſe wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great Biſhop ſent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, skilfull in the Turkiſh language, Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by ſea and land, the young French King (deſirous of honour and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade Naples; and then, with what great power (after he had diſpatched his warres in Italy) he purpoſed to
B paſſe ouer into Græcia; and that he had to that end earneſtly trauelled with him to haue *Zemes* his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he deſired to vſe as a moſt fit inſtrument for the troubling of his ſtate and Empire, by reaſon of his many friends: yet that his Holineſſe hauing the French in diſtruſt as a proud and ambitious people, as alſo carefull for the danger of the city of Rome, and of the ſtate of Italy in generall) had entered into a confederation with *Alphonſus* King of Naples, with their vnited forces to withſtand that proud nation, both by ſea and land, wanting nothing more for the accompliſhment therof, than mony: by which means only, *Bajazet* might (as he ſaid) prouide for the ſafety of his kingdome in Græcia, if he would put to his helping hand, to furniſh them with mony for the entertainment of ſouldiers: foraſmuch as the city of Rome, and the kingdome of Naples, were the ſureſt wals of that ſide of
C the *Othoman* Empire; if he not altogether refuſing the charge, would not ſpare for a little coſt to maintaine the war rather in that forreine country, than to receiue it, brought home to his owne doore: concluding, That it were much more commodious and eaſie with his treaſures to repreſſe his enemy in a ſtrange country a far off, than by dint of ſword and plaine battell in his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, That they which haue neglected and ſet at nought remote dangers, for ſparing of charge, haue afterwards bin inforced with greater danger to receiue the ſame into their own boſomes, when as they were become deſperat and paſt remedy. *Bajazet*, who both by his eſpials and often letters and Embaſſadors from *Alphonſus*, knew all this to be true, gaue great thanks to the Biſhop by his Embaſſador, for that he ſitting in ſo high place, did ſo friendly and in ſo good time admoniſh him, both a ſtranger and of a
D contrary religion, of things of ſo great conſequence: yet for anſwer, he willed him to returne again vnto his maſter with one *Dautius* his Embaſſador, who ſhould carry with him both mony and other his ſecret reſolutions concerning thoſe matters. Among other things giuen him in charge, was an Epiſtle written in Greek, wherin the barbarous king with great cunning perſuaded the Biſhop to poiſon *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrary to his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Bajazet* ſtood in feare and doubt, leaſt hee ſhould by ſome chance eſcape out of priſon to the troubling of his ſtate. For the performance of this his requeſt, he promiſed faithfully to pay vnto the Biſhop, two hundred thouſand ducats, and neuer after ſo long as he liued to take vp armes againſt the Chriſtians. Otherwiſe than had his father *Mahomet*, and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies
E vnto the name of Chriſtians, neuer ceaſed by continuall wars to worke their woe.

Alphonſus king of Naples, and Alexander Biſhop of Rome craue aid of Bajazet againſt Charles the French King.

Baiazet ſendeth Dautius his embaſſador to Alexander Biſhop of Rome.

But *George* the Biſhops embaſſador, and *Dautius*, trauelling towards Italy, and hauing now happily paſſed the Adriatike, as they were about to haue landed at Ancona were borded by *Io. Rouereus*, brother to *Iulianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in thoſe quarters) and cleane quit of their treaſure and whatſoeuer elſe they had aboord. *Rouereus* pretending for the defence of the fact, That the Biſhop did owe him a great ſum of mony, due vnto him for his good ſeruice done in the time of *Innocentius* his predeceſſor, for which he now paied himſelfe. Neither could the Biſhop, much troubled with that injury, euer after recouer one part thereof, although he threatned vengeance with fire and ſword, and alſo ſought for recompence of the Venetians, whom it concerned to ſaue the Turks harmeleſſe in thoſe ſeas: for why, *Rouereus* bearing himſelfe vpon the French, which were now vpon comming, whoſe faction he fol-
F lowed, kept the mony, and ſet at nought the Biſhops thundering curſes and vain threats. *Dautius* himſelfe, *Bajazets* Embaſſadour being ſet on ſhore, was glad to goe on foot to Ancona; and ſo from thence paſſing vp the riuer Padus, came to *Franciſcus Gonzaga*, duke of Mantua, of whom (for the antient friendſhip betwixt him and *Bajazet*) he was courteouſly entertained and

Io. Rouereus robbeth the Turks Embaſſador.

and furniſhed both with money and apparell, and ſo ſpoiled returned into Grecia, to carry newes vnto his maſter how he ſped. G

When *Bajazet* vnderſtood by *Dautius*, the euill ſucceſſe he had in his late journy, he forthwith ſent *Muſtapha* one of the Baſſaes of the court, vnto the great Biſhop *Alexander*, with like inſtructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in ſafety; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Maſter. But amongſt many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he moſt ſought for at the Biſhops haads.

1435 At the ſame time, which was in the yeare 1435, the French King *Charles* the eight of that name, paſſing through the heart of Italy with a ſtrong army againſt *Alphonſus* King of Naples: and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, ſo terrified *Alexander* the Biſhop H who (as we haue before ſaid) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cauſe of *Alphonſus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all ſuch articles and conditions as it pleaſed him then to demand: not purpoſing in himſelfe at all the performance of any of thoſe things, which for feare he had with great ſolemnity promiſed, as the ſequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongſt other things, he was enforced to giue vnto the king his graceleſſe ſon *Cæſar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hoſtage, for the performance of the other of his promiſes. Which diſgrace the crafty old Biſhop ſought to couer, by gracing his ſon with the title of the Legat: and with him he was alſo inforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Bajazets* brother, his honourable priſoner; who to the great profit of the Biſhop and his predeceſſor, had remained in ſafe cuſtody at Rome about the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. But *Zemes* within I three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poiſoned (as it was thought) with a pouder of wonderfull whiteneſſe and pleaſant taſt; whoſe power was not preſently to kill, but by little and little diſpercing the force therof, did in ſhort time bring moſt aſſured death: which pleaſant poyſon, *Alexander* the Biſhop, skilfull in that practiſe (corrupted by *Bajazets* gold, and enuying ſo great a good vnto the French) had cauſed to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vſed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead body was not long after ſent to *Bajazet*, by *Muſtapha* his Embaſſador, who to the great contentment of his maſter, had thus contriued his death with the Biſhop. Not long after, this dead body ſo far brought, was by the appointment of *Bajazet*, honorably interred among his anceſtors at Pruſa. *Cæſar Borgia* alſo the Biſhops ſon, a little before K giuen in hoſtage vnto the French King, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to Rome before the French King was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euill ſtrain, not worth the remembrance but by way of deteſtation (the very monſter of nature, if a man ſhould well conſider the courſe of his whole life) ſhortly after his eſcape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Biſhop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merily ſupped with his ſaid brother, with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterouſly cauſed him to be vnawares murdred in the ſtreets as he was going home, and his dead body to be caſt into the riuer of Tiber. Then caſting off his prieſtly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers army in his brothers ſtead, and gaue himſelfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation beſt fitting his fierce & bloudy L diſpoſition: and with exceeding prodigality, wherewith he exhauſted his fathers coffers and the treaſures of the church, bound faſt vnto him deſperat ruffians and ſoldiers (eſpecially Spaniards, his fathers country men) ſuch as he knew fitteſt to ſerue for the execution of his moſt horrible deuiſes. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were ſuch as all good men deteſted, yet did the old hipocrit his father wink therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himſelfe, when it ſhould ſerue for his purpoſe. Now when he had thus ſtrengthned himſelf, and that he was become a terror to all the nobility of Rome and the ſeigniories thereabout, he by the deuice and help of his father (who deſired nothing more than to make him great) firſt draue the moſt honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the city, and afterwards out of Latium: and by moſt execrable trechery, poyſoned or killed the honorable M perſonages of the great houſes of the *Vrſini* & *Cajetani*, taking to himſelf their lands & poſſeſſions. With like cruelty he ſtrangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camartes*: & draue *Guido Feltrius* out of Vrbin. He took the city of Piſarum from *Io. Sfortia*, who with much difficulty eſcaped his bloudy hands: and draue the *Malateſtaes* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Catherine*

Zemes dieth, poiſoned by Alexander Biſhop of Rome.

The euill life of Cæſar Borgia.

A *rine Sforția* he thruſt out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, and ſhamefully led her in triumph through Rome. And neuer ſatisfied with bloud, which he without meaſure ſhed, he took the city of Fauentia from *Aſtor Manfredus*, a young gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beaſtly tyrant had moſt horribly abuſed againſt nature, he cauſed to be cruelly ſtrangled, and his dead body to be caſt into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the meaſure of his iniquity, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile moſt part of the Roman nobility, and purpoſing by the ſupportation of his father, to make himſelfe Lord and Soueraign both of the City, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of the moſt Higheſt attached and caſt down, and that by ſuch means as he leaſt feared: for being with his father at a ſolemne ſupper in the Vaticane, of purpoſe prepared for the deſtruction of
B certain rich Cardinals and ſome other honorable citiſens, they were both poyſoned by the fatall error of one of the waiters, who miſtaking of a flaggon, gaue the poiſoned wine to the accurſed Biſhop and his ſon, which was prepared for the gueſts; whereof the old Biſhop in few dayes after died. But his ſonne who had drunk the ſame more delaid with water, although he died not of long time after, yet preſently fell into ſuch an extreme ſickneſſe, that he was not able to help himſelfe, or to command his deſperat followers, wherof he had great ſtore: but lying ſicke, in ſhort time ſaw himſelfe of them forſaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the ſecond, one after another ſitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed that pontificall dignity but ſixteen dayes: and *Iulius* ſucceeding him, cauſed this *Cæſar Borgia* (who of right had deſerued a thouſand deaths) to be ſhut vp in the caſtle called Moles Adri-
C ani, from whence he ſet him at liberty vpon the deliuery of certaine ſtrong holds which were yet holden by his garriſons. After he had thus rid himſelfe out of *Iulius* the Biſhops hands, he fled to Oſtia, and ſo by ſea to Naples: where he was by the commandment of *Ferdinand* king of Spain, apprehended by *Gonſaluus* the Great, and tranſported into Spaine, for feare leaſt he, being of a moſt troubleſome nature, and much reſorted vnto by his old fauorits, ſhould raiſe ſome new ſtirs in Italy. He was no ſooner arriued in Spain, but he was caſt into priſon in the caſtle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceiued his keepers, and with a rope which he had gotten, let himſelfe down from an high tower of the caſtle: and ſo eſcaping, fled to the king of Nauarre, whom he afterwards ſerued in his wars, and was in an hot skirmiſh a- *The death of Cæſar Borgia.*
D gainſt the kings enemies (wherin he had obtained the victory) ſlain with a ſmall ſhot. Vnworthy after ſo many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days ſo honorably. His dead body was found ſtript, and ſo brought to the king vpon a bad beaſt, as if it had bin a dead calf all naked; which was by his commandment honourably buried at Pamphilona.

But to return again from whence we haue ſomthing too long with this troubleſome body gone aſtray. The French King hauing thus loſt both his great hoſtages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, and the Cardinall *Borgia* by eſcape, held on his iourney towards Naples; and with wonderfull ſucceſſe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding to him without any great reſiſtance. *Alphonſus* ſeeing himſelfe deſtitute of ſuch aid as he had in vaine requeſted both of the Turkiſh Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almoſt beſet with his mighty enemy, to whom ſo many ſtrong places had in ſhorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined; *The French King inuadeth Naples.*
E and withall conſidering with himſelfe, how that he had loſt the hearts of his ſubiects (the ſtrongeſt defence of Princes) for that moſt of the Nobility, and eſpecially the Neapolitanes, hated him for his too much ſeuerity in puniſhing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the Princes of Sarne and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no leſſe offended with the grieuous and heauy exactions, required of them for the maintenance of theſe wars, inſomuch that their murmuring ſpeeches came oftentimes to his own hearing; as oftentimes it fals out, That the hatred of the ſubiects againſt their Princes, which hath for feare of long time bin diſſembled during their proſperity, more franckly and fiercely breaketh out in their declining eſtate: for theſe cauſes, *Alphonſus* fearing to be forſaken of his people, as a man in deſpaire, with abundance of tears openly in the ſight of all the Neapolitans, reſigned his king-
F dome of Naples to his ſon *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet ſcarcely reigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies paſſed ouer to Mazerea, a city of Cilicia. His ſon *Ferdinand* a Prince of rare perfection and ſingularly graced with all the vertues of true nobility, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great ioy & acclamations ſaluted King; and ſo hauing performed

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned presently to his army. By G
this time the French King with all his forces was entred farre into the kingdome of Naples; and hauing taken by assault certaine cities which trusted too much to their owne strength, strucke such a generall terror into the minds of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place now strong ynough to abide his batteries, or power sufficient to encounter his forces. *Ferdinand* the yong king with his army had taken the streits of the forrest of S. *Germane*, thereby to impeach the further passage of the French King. But whilst he was there busied, he was suddenly aduertised, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines broken into Campania, and so was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to be shut vp betwixt two strong armies of the enemies, he retired speedily to Capua, a strong city scituat vpon the riuer Vulturnus; purposing thereby meanes of that deepe riuer, to stay the H
French from passing farther. But whilst he lay there, news was brought to him, that all the city of Naples was in an vprore, and that the citizens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which way to turn themselues. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with these bad news, commended the charge of his army and the defence of the City of Capua to his chiefe Captains, and rid himselfe in post back againe to Naples.

Ferdinand departeth from Capua to pacify an vprore at Naples.

It is a strange thing to tell, what a sudden alteration ensued vpon his arriuall there: for suddenly all the tumult was appeased, euery man laid down his arms, and welcommed him with a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and inuincible courage, and of so comely a personage, as might easily win the hearts of his subiects; insomuch, that when he earnestly requested them, that they would not traiterously betray him to his barbarous & cruell enemies, I
being their naturall King, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongst them: they all with one consent answered, That they would spend their liues and goods in his quarrell, so long as he should keep his army whole, & defend the city of Capua: but if it should so chance that the Aragonians should be ouerthrown, or els for feare abandon that city, and the French King, as victor, to approch the city of Naples, he should do both against reason and equity, if by exacting fidelity and allegiance of his subiects, apprehended with so iust a feare, he should so expose that noble city with the fruitfull countrey thereabout, to be spoyled and destroyed by a mercilesse and cruell enemy. Whilst *Ferdinand* was thus busied in appeasing and confirming his wauering subiects at Naples, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come before Capua. The citizens of Capua, although they were alwaies well affected to the Aragonian kings, yet seeing the French King as a most violent tempest to beare downe all before K
him, began now to consult amongst themselues of yeelding vp the city; whereunto they were the more prickt forward, by the sudden reuolt of the great captaine *Triualtius* with his followers; as also by the departure of *Virginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous commanders, who seeing themselues forsaken of *Triualtius*, fled with their companies vnto the city of Nola. In this discomfiture of King *Ferdinands* army, the Frenchmen had entred into the suburbs of the city: which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaspar* (two valiant Germane captaines) beholding, sallied with their companies out of the city, of purpose to abate the pride of the French, and to confirme the doubtfull citizens. These worthy Captains, when they had with exceeding valour repulsed the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the city, could not be suf- L
fered to enter, but were by the citizens shut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats cut by the enemy. In which perplexity they were glad vpon their knees to intreat the cowardly citizens standing vpon the wals, not in such traiterous manner to betray their friends ready in their defence to bestow their liues: and with much intreating, at length obtained of those heartlesse men, that they might by ten and ten in a company be receiued in at one gate of the city, and so put out at another, farthest from the danger of the enemy: in which sort when they had passed through the City, they took the way towards Naples: and vpon the way met with the King at Auersa, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his absence at Capua: who although he saw his army dispersed, and all things now desperat, yet went he on forward, and came to the very gates of Capua, and there called vpon diuers of the chiefe men of the M
City, requiring to be let in. But when he saw there was none to giue him answer, and an ensigne of the French King displayed vpon the wall, in token that the city was become French, he returned to Naples: where he found the gates now shut against him, and all the citizens vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the souldiers which came from Capua,

more

A more than the King himselfe; for flying fame preuenting his return, had filled euery corner of the city with report, That all the chiefe captains of his army were either gone ouer to the enemy, or els for safegard of their liues fled: That the whole army was broken vp, and Capua yeelded to the French. Wherefore the Neapolitans framing their fancies according to the condition of the time, began now also to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French, and to haue King *Ferdinand* in contempt: which he well perceiuing, and fetching a compasse farther off from the city, came to the castle, wherinto he was receiued with his followers by his faithfull captains therein before left. But prouidently foreseeing that he could not there long stay, but that he should be besieged by his enemies both by sea and land, he commended the keeping of that peece to *Alphonsus D'aualus*, a most valiant captaine, and departed himselfe with twenty
B gallies wel appointed vnto Ænaria, an Iland not far from Naples, hauing in it a commodious harbor and a strong castle: where fortune, neuer firme but in misery, seemed again to deride the poore remainder of his honor: for comming thither, the Captain of the castle, vnworthily named *Iustus*, forgetting his duty towards his soueraigne, of whom he had before receiued many extraordinary fauors, most traiterously now in his so hard distresse shut the gates of the castle against him at his landing, and vnkindly refused to receiue him. With which vnexpected ingratitude, the poore King was wonderfully perplexed and almost abashed: yet with earnest intreaty and ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his father and himselfe had in times past bestowed vpon him, he preuailed so much with this vnthankfull man, that he was content to receiue him into the castle, so that he would come but himselfe alone: of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king seemed to accept. So the captain
C hauing opned a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance thereof suddenly stabd to the heart with a dagger by king *Ferdinand* and slain in the midst of his armed soldiers: which was don with such a countenance & maiesty, that the warders with the weapons in their hands, dismaid with his look, forthwith at his commandment opned the gate, and receiued him in with all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of Princes resteth a certain « diuine Majesty, in al fortunes aboue the common course of nature: which is of power to daunt « the hearts of most disloyall traytors in the performance of their vnnaturall treasons. The next day after the departure of king *Ferdinand* from the castle of Naples, *Charles* the French King was receiued into the city, with such pomp, triumph, and acclamation of the Neapolitans, as
D if they had euen then by the benefit of that forraine King bin restored to perfect liberty, and deliuered out of some long and hard bondage. Shortly after, the castle of Naples, with all the strong places thereabout were yeelded to the French, and Embassadors sent from all the princes and people of that Kingdome, yeelding themselues into the power of the French King. Then *Ferdinand* seeing all lost and gone, departed from Ænaria, where he lay expecting the euent of his hard fortune, and sailed into Sicilia. Thus the house of Arragon in lesse than fiue moneths, lost the Kingdome of Naples, about 63 yeares after that it was first taken from the French by *Alphonsus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great grandfather.

A most resolued act of King Ferdinand.

Charles the French King receiued into Naples.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this war, had long before filled the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in Europe; but when they
E saw the French ensignes displayed vpon the wals of the Castles and strong townes along the coast of Calabria and Salerne, such a sudden feare fell vpon the Turks garrisons alongst the coast of Epirus and Macedonia on the other side of the Adriatick, ouer against that part of Italy, that many of them forsook their charge: the Christians in those places, as also in Grecia and Peloponesus, beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, & to make the best preparation they could to ioyne with the French against the Turks: but especially the rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called Acrocheraunij in the borders of Epirus, who presently took vp armes, refusing to be any longer tributary vnto the Turkish Emperour.

This prosperous and speedy successe of the French King in the conquest of Naples, filled
F the minds of most of the Christian Princes, as also of the Turkish Emperor, with a doubtfull expectation, whither his greatnes would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affected the empire of Rome, and to make himselfe the sole monarch of Italy. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Bishop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then Emperour. *Bajazet* also feared much, least hee should vpon the sudden turne his forces into Epirus or Grecia, to

his

his no ſmall diſquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduiſed King of Spaine, was no leſſe careſull for the G
ſafety of Sicilia. *Lodouicus Sfortia* alſo (ſhortly after created Duke of Millan, the chiefe occaſion of the French Kings comming into Italy, and a great aider of him in thoſe warres) began now to conſider better of the matter, and to ſtand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceiued to make ſmall reckoning of his word or promiſe, ſo that he might thereby inlarge his dominions. And the Venetians, who in all theſe wars had ſtood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the Aragonians and French had with long wars, which they vainly imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleaſure ſhare out ſomething for themſelues) were now in doubt with the reſt of the ſtates of Italy tō loſe ſome part of their owne territory: for now there was no Prince or ſtate in Italy able to oppoſe themſelues againſt the French, but ſtood all as it were at his deuotion. H

A great league made by diuers Chriſtian Princes againſt the French King.

Wherefore the aforeſaid Princes, namely *Maximilan* the Emperour, *Ferdinand* K. of Spain, *Alexander* Biſhop of Rome, the ſtate of Venice, and *Lodouicus Sfortia*, Duke of Millan, for the more aſſurance of their eſtates, by their Embaſſadors ſpeedily ſent from one to another, concluded a ſtrong league among themſelues; whereof the chiefe capitulation was, That if any of theſe confederats ſhould vpon their own accord make war vpon any other prince, they ſhould do it vpon their owne charges: but if any of them ſhould chance to be inuaded, by any other, that then euery one of theſe confederates ſhould of their owne charge ſend foure thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot in aid of their confederat ſo inuaded, vntill the wars were ended: which league was to endure for twenty yeares. The fame of this league was welcome to many other Princes, but eſpecially to *Bajazet*, who now feared nothing more, than the forces of the I
French, and had therefore offred to the Venetians, to aid them both by ſea & land againſt the French, if their affaires ſhould ſo require. This league ſo much pleaſed not other Princes, but it troubled the French king more, as of purpoſe made againſt him; although it was by the confederates pretended to be made only for their own ſafety. Wherefore he with all expedition placed his beſt Captaines with ſtrong garriſons in all the cities and ſtrong holds of the Kingdome of Naples, and left *Mompenſer* his viceroy in the city of Naples, and with the reſt of his army returned into France; purpoſing by the way as he went to terrify the diſſembling biſhop, ſo if it were poſſible to draw him from the league: and afterwards to deale with *Sfortia* & the reſt as he might. But when he was come neer vnto Rome, the Biſhop for feare fled out of the city to Peruſium, intending from thence to haue fled to Venice, if the French King ſhould K
haue further purſued him. *Charles* deceiued of his purpoſe, in peaceable maner entred the city, and there ſtayd three dayes, and ſo departed; vſing violence againſt none, but againſt ſuch as were well known to be of the Aragonian faction. From Rome he marched to Piſa; and ſo with much paine paſſing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tarrus, not far from Parma, ſet vpon by *Franciſcus Gonzago* Duke of Mantua, Generall of a great army which the Venetians and *Sfortia* had raiſed vpon the ſudden to haue ſtopped his paſſage: in which battel he was in great danger to haue bin taken or ſlaine, and there loſt his Tents, with all the rich ſpoyle gotten in the rich kingdom of Naples: yet hauing at length with great ſlaughter valiantly repulſed his enemies, he afterwards returned in ſafety home.

Ferdinand recouereth his kingdome of Naples from the French, and dieth.

About the ſame time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the yong king *Ferdinand*, lately L
driuen out of his Kingdome by the French King, returned againe out of Sicilia to Naples: where he was ioyfully receiued of the Neapolitans, and by the help of his friends (but eſpecially of the great *Gonſaluus*, ſent in his aid by *Ferdinand* King of Spaine) in leſſe than a yeres ſpace recouered the Kingdome of Naples againe from the French: and then dying without iſſue, left the ſame vnto his vncle *Fredericus*. Wherein the vncertainty of worldly honours, the chiefe felicity of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one kingdom the chief gouernment was ſix times changed in leſſe than the ſpace of three yeares: for firſt, *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that kingdome vnto his ſonne *Alphonſus*, at ſuch time as the French King was making preparation for thoſe wars: *Alphonſus* deſpairing of his owne forces, reſigned the Kingdome to his ſon *Ferdinand*, when he had ſcarcely reigned fully a yeare: *Ferdinand* in leſſe M
than three moneths was driuen quite out of Italy by *Charles* the French King: *Charles* poſſeſſed of the kingdome, in ſhort time after was againe diſpoſſeſſed by the ſame *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* hauing with much trouble thruſt out the French, died within leſſe than a yere: After whom ſucceeded *Fredericus* his vncle, no leſſe vnfortunat than the reſt: and *Charles* the French

King

A king himself liued not long after, but died suddenly as he came from playing at Tenis, being then but 27 years old; leauing the flourishing kingdom of France, with the troublesome title pretended to the kingdom of Naples, vnto *Lewis* his successor, who liued with great trouble to conquer the same, and with greater grief to lose it again.

The death of Charles King of France.

1496.

1497.

But to return again to the course of our history, from whence the great occurrents of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpose) haue a little too far led vs. *Bajazet* deliuered of two great fears, first by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and afterward by the casting out of the French out of Naples; began now to turn his forces vpon the Christians, and by his Lieutenant *Bali-Beg* Sanzack of Silistra, inuaded the countries of Podolia and Rassia, being part of the Polonian kingdom, where the Turks did great harm, and carried away many pri-

The Turkes inuading Podolia and Rassia, are in their return for most part lost.

B soners. But comming again the second time, and making such like spoil as before, they stayd so long, that the cold of Winter (which in those Countries is very extream) was now come on: and in their return, as they were about to haue passed through Moldavia, they were by *Stephanus* Prince of that Countrey, denied both passage and victuals, and forced to take the way alongst the sea coast: where many of them straggling from their Army, were by the way cut off and slain by the Moldavians; and the rest, what by the extremitie of the cold, what for want of food, and foulnesse of the way, perished: so that of that great Army, very few returned home. The Turks Histories report, That in this Expedition were lost forty thousand Turks.

He sent also *Cadumes* one of his Bassa's into Illyria; who spoiling that country, with a part

C of Croatia, was incountred by 9000 Croatians and Hungarians, neer vnto the Riuer Morava, vnder the leading of County *Bernard Francopain*; where after a cruel & bloudy fight the Christians were put to the worse, & aboue 7000 of them slain; the rest saued themselues by flight through the woods and mountains. Of the Christians that were lost, many were drowned in Morava, chusing rather so to end their daies, than to fall into the hands of their bloudy Enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the General, who would needs giue the Turks battel in plain field, although he was earnestly intreated by County *Io. Torquatus*, to haue kept the streits of that country, wherby he might haue had great aduantage of the enemy. *Torquatus* himself hauing lost all his horsmen in that battel, and his horse killed vnder him, fought valiantly on foot, vntil he was by the multitude of his enemies oppressed and slain. The Bassa to

D giue *Bajazet* a sure testimony of the victory, caused all the noses of the slain Christians to be cut off and put vpon strings, and so by Waggon sent them as a barbarous Present to Constantinople.

After the death of *Charles* the French King, *Lewis* the twelfth hauing obtained that Kingdom, wrot himselfe also Duke of Millan, as descended of one of the daughters of *Io. Galeatus* first Duke of Millan: in which his supposed right he was fully resolued to make warre vpon *Sfortia* then Duke of Millan. And for his better succes in those wars, sought by all means he could to draw some other of the Princes and States of Italy into the fellowship of that intended war; but aboue all others the Venetians, as most commodious for his purpose; with whom he made a firm league, and for the aid they were to giue him, couenanted, That they should

E haue for their share the city of Cremona, with all the pleasant country about Abdua, then a part of *Sfortia's* dominions. Which was afterwards accordingly performed.

Sfortia vnderstanding of this compact made against him, & knowing himself far too weak of himself to stand against so puissant enemies; attempted first to set *Maximilian* the Emperor, with the States of Germany, vpon the French King. But that not sorting to his desire, he sought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his Dukedome of him, by paying him a yearly tribute. After he had thus in vain proued all the meanes he could deuise, to haue appeased the French King, and prouided for his own safety; he by his Embassadors sent of purpose, certified *Bajazet* of the confederation betwixt the French King and the Venetians, and that their purpose was after they had oppressed him and some other of the States of Italy,

F then with their vnited forces to inuade his dominions: and that therfore it were good for him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue aid against those who would in short time become his most dangerous enemies. By this meanes the Duke was in good hope, so to busie the Venetians, by bringing in the Turk vpon them, as that they should stand the French in small stead. At which time also the Embassadors of Florence did what they could to pricke forward the

Turk to make wars vpon the Venetians, for the malice they bare against them for protecting them of Pisa against the oppression of the Florentines. G

Bajazet perswaded by the Embassadours, and calling to remembrance the injuries before don him by the Venetians; first by aiding *Iohn Castriot* the son of *Scanderbeg*, and *Iohn Chernovich* another prince of Epirus, (wherby he lost a great part of that countrey, and was also further inforced to yeeld to such conditions as altogether stood not with his honor) and again, by denying to giue his fleet leaue to put into their habors of Cyprus, in the time of his wars against the Sultan of Egypt: all which he was glad then to endure, for fear lest that his brother *Zemes* (then liuing) should by their means bee set vp against him; promised now to doe what the Embassadors had requested: glad in his mind, that the discord of the Christian princes had presented vnto him so fit an opportunitie of reuenge. H

1499. *Friuli part of the Venetian territory spoiled by the Turks.*

Herupon he made great preparation both by sea and land against the Venetians, and vpon the sudden caused *Scander Bassa* his Lieutenant in Illyria, with twelue thousand horsmen to break into the country of Friuli, part of the Venetian territory vpon the borders of Italy. The Bassa as he had in charge, passing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the countrey, burning and destroying all before him as far as Liquentia, carying away with him all the poore country people prisoners. But when he was come to the banks of Tiliaventum, & vnderstood that he came too late to pleasure the duke of Millan (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without resistance driuen him quite out of Italy & Germany) he there with more than barbarous cruelty put 4000 poor prisoners to the sword: and so hauing filled the country with mourning and with blou'd, returned from whence hee came, loded with the spoyle of I that rich country.

At the same time also, *Bajazet* put to sea such a fleet, as none of his predecessors had before set forth; and with a great army in person himself marched alongst the sea coast of Morea, in such sort, as that his army by land, and his fleet at sea, as neer as they could kept euen pace the one within sight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themselues, but set forth a strong fleet vnder the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admiral; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for equipage, strength, skilful mariners, and al other maner of warlike prouision much superior. For which cause the Turkes, although defied and braued by the Venetians, yet durst not at the first join with them in battel, but stil kept alongst the coast of Morea, not daring to put farther off into the sea. In this their course the Venetians troubled them K exceedingly, sometimes making shew as if they would haue constrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giuing them chase, neuer departing far from them, wisely accounting it right good seruice, if they could but keepe that huge fleet from landing in Italy or other place of the Venetian territory. Most men were in good hope, that if those great fleets should haue joined in battel, the Venetians should haue had a notable victory, for that the enemy as afraid kept so dangerous a course, and so neer the main. The longer they thus sailed, the more was the State of Venice offended with their Admiral, that he contrary to all expectation delayed to fight, stil suffering the dangerous enemy to approch neerer and neerer their territories: and there were none which had not rather bee should haue set all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtful war. Whilst all men were thus in expectation L of some great exploit to be don vpon the enemy, newes came to the city, That the Turks fleet had put into the hauen Sapientia in the Island Sphraga, to water, and was there embayed by the Venetians. This report was of all men joyfully receiued, as if the victory had bin already assured: and so much the more, for that it was vainly supposed that it would be gained without any great losse. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwise, saying, That the place wherin the enemy lay was such, as that he might safely at his pleasure depart thence. Yet forsomuch as the Turkes fleet was more subiect vnto danger in putting out of the Harbor, than in the wide sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admiral would set vpon them as they should come forth again. Whilst men were thus diuining to and fro, and the Venetians attending the comming forth of the Enemies fleet, it M fortuned that *Andreas Lauredanus* and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant gentlemen) but a little before come from Corcyra of purpose to be present at the battell, were the first that began the fight; and with their two nimble ships (after they had exchanged a few bullets) boorded a tall Ship of the Turks, being of such beauty and burthen, that she seemed rather a Ca-

Fight at sea betwixt the Turks & the Venetians.

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A ſtle than a ſhip;wherof one *Baruch* of Smyrna(a notable pirat)was Captain: who after a long and cruel fight,perceiuing that he muſt either yeeld,or by force be taken,deſperatly fired his own ſhip,by the rage wherof both ſhe and the Venetian ſhips faſt grapled vnto her, were all three together burnt downe to the water. Many of the men, to ſhun the violence of the fire, leapt ouer boord into the ſea,where ſome of them were taken vp by other ſhips, and ſome periſhed. Some few other of the Venetian fleet couragiouſly aſſailed the Turkes at their comming out,and doing great harm,put the Turks whole fleet in no ſmall fear. But moſt part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a far off; vnto whom the other, before in fight with the Turks,after they had don what they could,retyred alſo. But by that they had don it appeared plainly,that the Venetian Admiral that day let ſlip out of his hands a moſt notable victorie,
B if he as a reſolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemy.

After this fight the Turks held on their courſe,ſtil keeping Morea on the right hand,whom the Venetians ſtil followed:at length the Turks fleet was come to the entrance of the gulf of Patras, where the Venetians again faintly ſetting vpon them, ſuffered them to recouer the gulf,with no leſſe diſhonor than they had before let them eſcape at the port Sapientia:for the Venetians hauing the aduantage of the place,and better appointed for fight at ſea,might eaſily(as it was ſuppoſed)haue gained the victory,if the commanders(but eſpecially the admiral)had bin ſo forward in that ſeruice as became men of their ſpirit. But many of them afraid to fight,lay aloof; ſo that *Dauthes* the Turks Admiral, who perceiuing himſelfe too weake, had purpoſed to run his gallies on ſhore,and ſo to haue fled to the army at land, if he had felt
C himſelf ouercharged by the Venetian fleet; had now contrary to his expectation, recouered the gulf he deſired,though not without loſſe of ſome of his gallies. Within this gulf ſtands the antient city of Naupactum(now called Lepanto) then ſubiect to the Venetians, whither *Bajazet* was now come by land with his Army: and now by the comming of his fleet into the gulf,laid hard ſiege to the city both by ſea and land. They in the city ſeeing themſelues on euery ſide beſet with their enemies,without any great reſiſtance fel to compoſition with *Ba-*
Lepanto yeelded to the Turks. *jazet*,and ſo yeelded vnto him the city,which the Turks hold at this day.

Grimanus the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice,was for all his euil ſeruice(or rather for that he,according to his mild nature,had not vſed ſeueritie againſt thoſe Captaines that refuſed to fight) caſt in priſon:and although he was a man mightily befriended, yet was hee
D by a publique decree baniſhed into one of the Abſytides, Iſlands vpon the coaſt of Liburnia. From the firſt foundation of the city of Venice, was neuer man impugned with more ſpight, or defended by greater friends; but Common hatred preuailing,hee was neuertheles exiled. Thus *Bajazet* hauing made a rode into the Venetian territory by *Scander-Baſſa*,and taken from them the City of Naupactum,with the Countrey thereabout,returned with victory to Conſtantinople.

The next year following,being the year 1500,*Bajazet* put to ſea a greater and ſtronger fleet 1500
than he had the year before,and himſelf in perſon with a puiſſant army of 150000 men entered by the ſtreit of Corinth into Peloponeſus,and marching thorow the Country,came and incamped before the ſtrong City of Methone (now called Modon) then vnder the gouern-
Methone beſieged both by ſea and land by Bajazet.
E ment of the Venetians; at which time his great fleet met him there alſo by ſea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beſet the city both by ſea and land, and with long and continual battery made three great and fair breaches in the walls, he gaue vnto the ſame two terrible aſſaults,and that with ſuch deſperat fury,that many of them which went firſt vnto the breach,ouerthrown by the preſſe of them that followed,were troden to death. Yet neuertheles the city was both times valiantly defended by the citiſens and garriſon ſoldiers. So that when he had don what he could,he was glad to retyre from the walls, hauing filled the Town ditches with the bodies of his ſlain Turks. The Venetian Admirall *Triviſanus* lying then at the Iſle of Zacynthus, (but far too weak to fight with the Enemie) in the beginning of the ſiege ſent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptiſta Polanus*,with two Gallies full of men and munition in
F relief of the beſieged; and now doubting their further wants, ſent *Io. Maripetrus*, *Alex. Cothius* of Corcyra,and *Cachuris* of Hydruntum, with three other great Gallies,with men, munition, and ſuch other things as he thought needfull for defence of the City. Theſe three reſolute Captains comming with a full winde, and packing on all their ſailes brake thorow the Turks great fleet lying in their way, and ran themſelues aground vnder the Walls of the

Town: for they of the Towne had ſo barred the hauen for fear of the enemy, that they could G
not poſſibly get in that way. The Citiſens and Soldiers ioyfull of the comming of this freſh ſupply, and withall fearing leſt the Gallies ſhould be ſet off again from them by the Enemy, came running by heaps from all parts of the City, towards the ſea, to receiue this new-come aid. Which was don with ſuch a confuſed diſorder, that diuers places of the city toward the land were leſt without defendants, as if there had been no Enemie neer. Which the Ianizaries quickly perceiuing, preſently entred by thoſe forſaken places, with very little or no reſiſtance. Then the Citiſens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries already entred, made way for the reſt of the Army; which ſwarming into the City, ſlew without pitty euery one that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians, with all the ſouldiers but then newly landed out of the three Gallies. In this ſlaughter, *Anthonius Fabrius* and *Bardella* (both H
Gouernours of the Town) with *Andreas Falco* Biſhop of Methone, in his Pontificalibus, and his Mytre on his head, were ſlaine. None eſcaped their fury, but ſuch as were for their ſtrength reſerued for ſeruile labor, or for beauty, to the Victors luſt. And of theſe, a thouſand bound faſt together in long ropes, were brought to *Bajazets* Pauilion, and there in his ſight, by his commandement cruelly murthered. The Cities of Corone and Pylus (now called Navarrinum) ſometimes the dwelling place of old *Neſtor*, terrified with the taking of Methone, yeelded themſelues by Compoſition to *Bajazet*. The City of Chriſſeum, now known by the name of Caput S. Galli, was taken alſo by *Cherſeogles*, *Bajazet* his ſon in law. Al theſe were Cities belonging to the Venetians. Nauplium alſo was beſieged by *Haly Baſſa*, but yet ſtil defended by the Venetians. *Bajazet* hauing new fortified the city of Methone, and ſtored I
it with new inhabitants, left in it a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo with victory returned to Conſtantinople.

Methone taken by the Turks.

Corone, Pilus, and Criſſeum yeelded to the Turks.

1501 About this time *Triviſanus* the Venetian Admirall died, of griefe of mind, as ſome ſuppoſed. In whoſe place the Senat ſent one *Benedictus Piſaurius* a noble & valiant Gentleman, who with the Venetian fleet followed the enemy, then departing from the ſiege of Nauplium, purſuing them euen vnto the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, ſtil cutting off ſuch as ſtragled or taried behind the reſt of the fleet. By which means he took aboue twenty of their Gallies, and in his return took from the Turks the Iſland of Ægina; and landing in diuers places of the Turkes Dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterward meeting with *Gonſalvus*, ſyrnamed the Great (ſent by *Ferdinand* King of Spain, to aid him againſt the K
Turks) at Zacynthus, hee inuaded Cephalenia (which *Triviſanus* his predeceſſor had in vain attempted the year before) and layd hard ſiege vnto the City; which for a ſpace was valiantly defended by the Turks, but yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonſalvus* it was by force taken; when as *Giſdare* the Gouernor therof, with his garriſon of Turks, had before fought it out euen to the laſt man. The City being taken, all the whole Iſland yeelded forthwith to the Venetians.

Cephalenia taken by the Venetians.

Piſaurius hauing taken Cephalenia, repaired the city, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon for the defence of the Iſle, departed for Corcyra; where he was aduertiſed that the Turkes were rigging forth a great fleet againſt the next Spring, wherof ſome part lay in the Bay of Ambracia not far from Corcyra; ſome at Eante, and the reſt within the ſtreits of Helleſpontus. Where- L
fore purpoſing to do ſome exploit vpon thoſe gallies which lay in the Bay of Ambracia; to auert the mind of the enemie from perceiuing of that which he had ſecretly with himſelf intended, he ſent the greateſt part of his fleet vnto the Iſland of Neritos, who ſuddenly landing ſhould put the inhabitants in fear. The Captains ſent about the buſineſſe, cheerfully put in execution what the Admirall had commanded, and by their ſudden landing raiſed ſuch a tumult, that all the Countries therabout were filled with the expectation of that which ſhould enſue therof. The Bay of Ambracia is ſo ſtreitned on either ſide with the mountains of Epirus, that the entrance therof is but half a mile ouer: but by and by opening it ſelf into a great wideneſſe, and running vp into the land, maketh a moſt pleaſant and ſafe harbor for ſhips and Gallies to ride in. *Piſaurius* with a fair wind comming thither with eight Gallies well ap- M
pointed, when the Turks thought him to haue bin at Neritos, and entring the ſtreit, rowing farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turks great gallies, to the terror of all them that dwelt round about the Bay; and carried away with him eleuen more, laded with munition and Victual, through the ſtreit; the Turkes in vain fretting thereat, and doing what they could with

their

A their great ordnance from shore, to haue sunk him in going out of the Bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey again to Corcyra. Not long after he also recouered the castle of Pylos in Morea: which as it was suddenly gotten, so was it as suddenly lost. For *Camalia* a notable Turkish pyrat, who had bin abroad seeking after purchase, putting in that harbor by chance, took 3 gallies there left by the admiral for defence of the place, and so terrified the faint-hearted captain, that he fel to composition with the pyrat to yeeld him the castle, so that he and his soldiers might in safety depart. Which the pyrat granting, had the castle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with far greater strength haue possibly won. So was Pylos for fear twice in one yeare yeelded vp vnto the Turkes, and was both times the death of the cowardly captains that gaue it vp, being both beheaded by commandement of
B the Admiral. About the same time *Pisaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turks gallies lying in the riuer Eante, vpon the coast of Macedonia, but not with so good succes as before; for the Turks made more carefull by the losse they had but a little before receiued at Ambracia, did now more vigilantly look vnto their gallies. So that when *Pisaurius* had in certain small vessels made of purpose for that seruice, imbarked two hundred resolute souldiers, to haue gon vp the riuer to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way, after they had a good way entred into the riuer, incountred by the Turks and inforced to return. But before they could get out of the riuer, the wind rose so contrary, with such a stif gale in the mouth of the riuer, that the mariners ouermastred with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and spent al their strength, were driuen on shore, some on the one side of the
C riuer, some on the other, and so fel into the hands of their enemies, of whom it booted not to craue mercy.

Pylos taken frō the Turks, and againe yeelded vnto them.

About this time *Bajazet* took also the antient and famous city of Dyrrachium, now called Durazo, from the Venetians; before ruinous, and almost quite abandoned by the inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got all the Country round about it. The Venetians sore pressed with these wars so long maintained against the Turkes, had many times craued aid of other Christian princes, and were wel holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of Cephalenia. And now *Lewis* the French King, vpon a good deuotion to that war, sent the Lord *Rauestein* with seuen tall ships and fifteen gallies wel appointed, out of Prouince and Genoa, to aid the Venetians his friends. This fleet departing from Naples, where
D they had by the way put in, and passing about Italy, and so through the Ionian sea, came vnto Melos one of the Cyclads; at which Island *Pisaurius* with his fleet in short time arriued also. From whence they by mutual consent departed together to inuade the Island of Lesbos; and being there safely ariued, landed their forces, and laid siege vnto the strong City of Mytilene, where by the fury of their artillery they in short time had made a fair breach in the wall. In the time of this battery, whilst the breach was in making, *Pisaurius* with part of his fleet sailed to Tenedos: for it was reported, that certaine of the Turkes Gallies were then comming for that place out of Hellespontus. Which report, as some write, was of purpose giuen out by the French, therby to draw the Venetian Admirall from the siege; that so in the mean time they being in good hope to take the town in his absence, might themselues carry away the
E honour therof, together with the rich spoile. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpose departed, enuying at the honor of the French. Which is hardly to be beleeued in so honourable a personage, and in an action so much concerning the good of his Commonwealth. Howsoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his absence was by the French presently assaulted; although that *Paulus Valatesius* the Venetian Vice-admiral earnestly requested the French Admiral to deferre the assault for a while, and to expect the comming of *Pisaurius*. Which his counsell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the assault. The Frenchmen after their maner furiously assailing the breach, were valiantly repulsed by the Turks; so that in the breach was made a deadly and horrible fight, many falling on both sides. Yet for all that, the City was manfully defen-
F ded by the Turks, and the Frenchmen were inforced to retyre. The French Admiral hauing taken this repulse, commanded all things to be caried aboord, purposing to haue forsaken the siege, and so to haue departed. When in the mean while the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much ado persuaded the French to stay. Wherupon the battery was again begun with

Dyrrachium taken by the Turk.

Mytilene besieged.

greater fury than before; and now the leaders were consulting of a fresh assault to be giuen; G
when suddenly news was brought, That the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the city: and therupon the assault was for a time deferred, and the battery continued. But those Turks that came being in number but few, were for most part by them in the gallies taken and cast ouerboord; some few that got to land, saued themselues in the woods & desart places of the Isle. By this time the city was again made saultable, and the Venetians with great courage assailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the Rampiers, from whence they were againe both times beaten down by the Turks, the French al the while looking on. Many valiant men were there slain and hurt; and in the end the Venetians were glad with losse to retyre, as had the French don before. Whilst this was in doing, a pinnace came to the fleet with news, That the Great Master of the Rhodes was comming with his gallies to the siege: wherupon the ad- H
The siege of Mytilen broken vp. mirals determined to maintain the siege vntill his comming. But the next day after, the French Admiral changing his purpose, shipped his men; and hoising sail departed to Chios; and sailing thence toward Italy, was ouertaken with a terrible tempest, wherin the Admirall gally with two others were lost, with 800 good soldiers; the Admiral himself with aboue forty others were by chance contrary to all hope saued, and with much danger with his weather-beaten fleet recouered the hauen of Tarentum. The Venetian Admiral thus forsaken of the French, and seeing the time past wherin he expected the comming of the Great Master of the Rhodes, brake vp the siege and departed from Lesbos to Chios, and from thence to Páros, where he found the Master of the Rhodes with his gallies, vnto whom he complained greatly
1502. of the inconstancy of the French, imputing it to them, that the city of Mytilen was not won. I
Neither were they behind with him, but in all places where they came laid the fault as much or more vpon him. From Paros the Venetian Admiral took his course to the Island of Melos, where he found one *Rhichius* an arch pirat of the Turkes, who by force of tempest was driuen on shore, and by the sudden comming down of the Island people taken. Him (for that he had exercised exceeding cruelty vpon certain Christians that he had taken) *Pisaurius* caused to be fast bound to a spit, and with a soft fire to be rosted to death. From Melos he returned to Corcyra, and there wintred.

The next Spring, *Pisaurius* with certain gallies which *Alexander* Bishop of Rome had sent vnto him, vnder the command of *Iacobus Pisaurius* Bishop of Paphia, sailed to Neritos, now called S. Maura, which is an Island parted from the firm land with a little fret of the sea, long K
Neritos taken by the Venetians. time before that way let in by the Corinthians. Here *Pisaurius* suddenly landing his men, surprised the Island, and with wonderful celeritie and industry cast vp two great trenches, in such sort and to so good purpose, that 3000 of the Turks horsemen comming at a low water, ouer that narow streit which parts the Island from the maine, were with losse repulsed, and forced to retyre. Wherupon S. Maura the chief city was forthwith deliuered to *Pisaurius*, with the rest of the Island.

The Venetians weary of this long and chargeable war against so mighty an enemy, sent *Lodouicus Manetius* their embassador to *Bajazet*, to treat with him for peace: but *Bajazet* stood vpon such hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Manetius* so discreetly vsed the matter, that *Bajazet* sent with him at his returne to Venice, his Embassadour, to pro- L
pound vnto the Senat such conditions as it pleased him to grant them peace vpon. This embassador had audience in the Senat twice, where he in his masters name propounded such vnreasonable and proud conditions, that they were by the Senat rejected, and so he himselfe dismissed and sent back again.

1503. The year following, the Venetians sent an Embassador to *Bajazet*, who moued with the pittiful complaints of his own subjects, for the daily harmes they receiued of the Venetians alongst the sea coast, as also for want of trade; and fearing also some troubles like to arise in his kingdom in Asia (as indeed there did not long after) yeelded himself more willingly to heare of peace than before. This embassador, called *Zacharias Phriscus*, was wel heard of *Bajazet*, and after long suit, brought the matter he came for into some good terms; and being honourably M
rewarded by the Turkish Sultan, returned home, carying with him to the Senat far more reasonable conditions of peace than had at any time before bin by *Bajazet* propounded. Herupon the Venetians shortly after sent *Andreas Gritti* (an honorable Senator) a man wel knowne

to

A to *Bajazet*, both for his famous traffique in former time at Constantinople, and also for that in these late wars he was taken prisoner at the winning of Methone, and his life spared at the intercession of *Cherseogles* (*Bajazets* son in law) and afterward ransomed: hee in the name of the State from whence he came, concluded a peace with *Bajazet*. The capitulations wherof were, first, That the Venetians should deliuer vp the Islands of Neritos and Leucadia, reseruing to themselues the Island of Cephalenia only. Then, That *Bajazet* should restore all such goods as had bin taken from the Venetian merchants in these late wars. And that it should be lawfull for them (as they were wont) safely to traffick into the Euxine sea, and to Constantinople, and there to haue their Consul or gouernor as they had in former time. And lastly, That the Venetian territory should be certainly known, and separated from the Turks by certaine
B bounds and limits. These conditions were solemnly agreed vpon, and confirmed both by *Bajazet* and the state of Venice; and so a firm peace concluded in the year 1503, after the Wars had continued betwixt them about the space of fiue years.

Peace concluded betweene Bajazet & the Venetians.

The same year *Bajazet* assembled a great and puissant army of his best and most approued soldiers, as wel in Asia as Europ, which met together at Sophia, purposing as it was thought, to haue inuaded Hungary: but worthily doubting the succes of that war against so warlike a nation, he changed his purpose, and leauing *Achmetes Bassa* with his Asian soldiers at Sophia, turned himself with the rest of his Army into Albania, to reduce those rebellious people again to his obeisance; and had before sent a fleet of gallies to stop the passages of that country along st the sea coast. But the country people vnderstanding of his comming, fled into the
C high and rough rocks and mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harm. Who neuertheles with incredible labor and aduenture mounting those difficult places, and killing an exceeding number of those mountain and sauage people, carried all the women and children they could light vpon, away with them prisoners; and with fire and sword made all the country desolat. After which spoil don, *Bajazet* returned with his army to Manastirum: and departing thence, vpon the way met with a Dervisiar (which is a phantastical and beggarly kind of Turkish Monkes, vsing no other apparel but two sheepe-skins, the one hanging before, the other behind) a lusty strong fat fellow, attyred after the maner of his order, with a great ring in each ear: who drawing neer vnto *Bajazet*, as if he would of him haue receiued an Almes, desperatly assailed him with a short scimitar which he had closely conueyed vnder his hypocriti-
D cal habit. But *Bajazet* by the starting of the horse wheron he rid (beeing afraid at the sudden approch of the hobgoblin) partly auoided the deadly blow by the traitor intended, yet not altogether vnwounded. Neither had he so escaped the danger, had not *Ishender Bassa* with his horsmans mace presently strook down the desperat villain as hee was about to haue doubled his stroke; but now struck dead, he was forthwith rent in pieces by the soldiers. This treacherous and desperat act so much mooued *Bajazet*, that he proscribed all them of that superstitious order, and banished them out of his empire.

Bajazet in danger to haue bin slain by a Dervisiar or Turkish Monk.

After so many troubles, *Bajazet* gaue himself to a quiet course of life, spending most part of his time in study of philosophy, and conference with learned men. Vnto which peaceable
E kind of life he was by natural disposition more inclined than to wars; albeit that the regard of his state, and the earnest desire of his men of war, drew him oftentimes euen against his wil into the field. As for the ciuil gouernment of his kingdom, hee referred it wholly to his three principal Bassa's, *Alis*, *Achmetes*, and *Iachia*, who at their pleasure disposed of all things. After he had in this pleasing and quiet kind of life, to his great contentment passed ouer fiue years; of a little neglected sparke suddenly arose such a fire in Asia, as was hardly after with much bloud of his people, and danger of that part of his Empire quenched: the reliques wherof yet troubleth those superstitious people at this day. Which thing was brought to passe by the
F crafty deuice of *Chasan Chelife* & *Schach Culi* his boy (whom some cal *Teckel Schachoculis*, and others *Techellis*) two hypocritical Persians; who flying into those countries, with the counterfeit shew of feigned holines hauing procured to themselues a great name among those rude people, with a number of windy headed fellows (filled with the nouelty of their new doctrin) raised first such a diuersitie of opinions about the true successors of their vntrue prophet, and afterwards such a rebellion amongst the people, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not a good while after with great bloudshed appeased.

Bajazet by nature peaceable.

But

But for the better vnderſtanding of the ground of theſe troubles, which hapned at this time G
in the reign of *Bajazet*, by occaſion of theſe two fugitiue Perſians; as alſo for the mortall wars which afterwards inſued betwixt *Hyſmael* (commonly called the great Sophy of Perſia) and *Selymus*, *Bajazets* ſucceſſor; it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe, briefly to declare the great mutation which at this time hapned to the Perſian kingdom, as well in the State it ſelf, as in matters of their ſuperſtition. At ſuch time as *Aſymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes* reigned in Perſia, there was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Iouius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honorably deſcended among the Perſians, who contemning worldly honor, riches, pleaſure, and whatſoeuer els belonged to delicacie of life (commonly accounted the greateſt part of humane felicity) as vanities and trifles, led ſuch a ſtreit and auſtere kind of life, with ſuch continencie and contempt of the world, as that the vulgar people, for moſt part giuen to pleaſure, wondring at that H
in him, which they could not or would not imitate; began to haue the man in ſingular admiration, for the opinion they had conceiued of his vpright life and rare vertues. The fame of this new prophet (for ſo he was accounted) was grown ſo great in the Perſian kingdom, that people without number reſorted out of all parts of Perſia and Armenia, vnto the great City of Tauris, to ſee the man. And he the more to ſeduce the multitude (delighted in nouelties) began to inveigh againſt the common receiued opinion of the Mahometans, concerning the true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet; and to reuiue the opinion of *Giuni*, ſyrnamed *Sofi*; perſuading the people (as if he had bin inſpired with ſome diuine inſpiration) that none of the profeſſors of the Mahometan religion ſhould inherit the kingdom of heauen after death, but ſuch as were the followers of *Haly*, the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and his I
fellow in writing. Whom he taught them only to honour, as priuy to the mind of the great Prophet, and ſo to receiue his writings, as of all others moſt authentical; reiecting *Ebubekir*, *Omer* and *Oſman*, with their writings, as moſt wicked and accurſed men: whom the Turks had euer, and yet do with the other Mahometans, honor and worſhip as the true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet, and his ſincere Interpreters, together with the aforeſaid *Haly*; whom the Perſians do only acknowledge, and therfore in their prayers do commonly ſay, *Curſed bee* Ebubekir, Omer, *and* Oſman, *and God be fauorable to* Haly, *and well pleaſed with him*. Which their difference about the true ſucceſſor of their Prophet, in whom was no truth, hath bin, and yet is one of the greateſt cauſes of the mortall Wars between the Turkes and the Perſians; and not the diuers interpretation of their Law (as many haue written) which amongſt the Turks and Per- K
ſians is all one.

The Turks and Perſians differ not about the interpretation of their Law, but about the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet Mahomet.

Haider maries Martha, daughter to the great King Vſun-Caſſanes.

Vſun-Caſſanes mooued with the fame and vertues of this new Prophet, or rather (as ſome thought) deſirous to win the hearts of the multitude that had receiued this new phantaſie; gaue him in mariage his daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Chriſtian lady *Deſpina* the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes* Emperor of Trapezond. Which mariage the Chriſtian Emperour made with the Mahometan prince, and he alſo accepted therof, therby to ſtrengthen themſelues againſt the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet* the Great, whoſe power was then become a terror vnto all his neighbor princes: but to how ſmal purpoſe this policie ſerued them both, is before declared in the life of the ſaid *Mahomet*. At the concluſion of this mariage, the emperor had ſpecially couenanted with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, that his daughter *Deſpina* might haue the free exerciſe L
of the Chriſtian religion. Wherby it came to paſſe, that this *Martha* her daughter, inſtructed by her mother, became a Chriſtian alſo: who now maried by her father vnto this preciſe hypocrit *Haider Erdebil*, in ſhort time bare him a ſon called *Hyſmael*; whom ſhe ſo much as ſhee could trained vp in the principles of Chriſtian religion. Wherby it came to paſſe that afterwards when he had by rare fortune obtained the kingdome of Perſia, hee alwaies during his life had the Chriſtians in good regard, and neuer found fault with their religion.

Haider thus graced with the mariage of the great kings daughter *Martha*, only for his rare vertues and puritie of life, as was commonly ſuppoſed, grew now into far greater credit and eſtimation of the people than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began generally to be receiued, and the number of his followers ſo greatly augmented, that *Iacup* ſucceeding his M
father *Vſun-Caſſanes*, but lately dead, began to haue his brother in law *Haiders* power and credit in ſuſpect; and to diſtruſt leſt the Perſians (who ſecretly fauored the remainder of the poſteritie of their antient kings) ſhould aſſemble together vnder color of this new ſuperſtition,

and

A and raiſe ſome dangerous rebellion before he was well ſetled in his ſeat. For he was not ignorant, that *Aſembeius Vſun Caſſanes* (his father) had but by force and policie vſurped the Kingdom, hauing killed *Molloonchres* the lawfull King. Wherof there aroſe two factions, ſome fauoring the Vſurper, and other-ſome the poor remainder of the deſcent of their antient Kings of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which cauſe *Iacup*, as he was of a ſuſpitious and troubleſom nature, and aboue meaſure jealous of his eſtate, nothing regarding the neere allyance or reputed holineſſe of his godly brother in law, cauſed him (ſuſpecting no ſuch matter) to be ſecretly murthered: and ſo hauing ſtruck off his head, with fire and ſword perſecuted al the profeſſors of that new doctrine; ſo to deliuer himſelf for euer of that his vain and needleſſe fear: *Hyſmael* the ſon of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great Sophy of Perſia) beeing then but a
B child, as it were by fatal deſtiny eſcaped the fury of his cruel vncle *Iacup*, and fled into Hyrcania, vnto one *Pyrchales* his fathers friend, who then ruled in a ſmall territory neer vnto the Caſpian ſea.

Haider Erdebil ſecretly murthered.

Amongſt many others of the diſciples and followers of *Haider* (which in that cruell perſecution were glad to fly for ſafegard of their liues) the two before named, *Chaſan Shelife* and *Schach Culi*, afterwards ſyrnamed *Cuſelbas*, in outward ſhew both of vertue and learning not inferior vnto their maſter, flying that dangerous tempeſt, and paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, came into Armenia the leſſer, and there took vp their dwelling at the great mountaine Anti-taturus; at the foot wherof the broken rocks haue diuers dark and obſcure caues, made partly by art, partly by nature; which place is by the Inhabitants called Teke-Ili: wherof diuers Hi-
C ſtoriographers, I know not whether deceiued by the name of the place, or els wittingly tranſferring the name of the place vnto the man that liued therin, haue called this *Schach Culi* (who of the two proued of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name wee wil alſo from henceforth cal him. A thing hertofore much vſed among the religious, and alſo ſome of the children of great princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were born, or where they moſt liued. This place is both wholſom and exceeding pleaſant, for the varietie of fruits and liuely ſprings, wherwith the plaines adioyning are continually watered, and the mountains at all times of the year garniſhed.

Here *Shelife*, with his companion *Techellis*, hauing ſeparated themſelues from the company of men, and giuen themſelues wholly to a contemplatiue life, for diuers yeares liued moſt
D ſtreitly and ſeuerely, contenting themſelues with ſuch things as the earth of it ſelfe afforded, without ſeeking for better. Theſe hypocrits were firſt ſeene, and afterward acquainted with the ſhepheards and herdſmen liuing vpon the mountains, and in proces of time with the rude husbandmen and country people, who wondring at their ſtreit and deuout kinde of life, relieued them with all things neceſſary. Yea *Baiazet* himſelf, hearing of their auſtere and deuout maner of liuing, ſent them yearly ſix or ſeuen thouſand aſpers, as his alms giuen them vpon charitie and deuotion. But afterwards when they began to tell fortunes, and as it were by the way of diuination to prognoſticat of things to come, the rurall people held them for more than men, and conceiued of them a firm opinion that they were ſome diuine prophets. And ſo were by the country people firſt drawn into the country villages, and afterward, as if it had
E bin againſt their wils, into the cities; where they had in ſhort time filled all the countrey far and neer with the admiration of their fame. But after they began to publiſh their new phantaſied doctrine concerning the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet *Mahomet*, they wanted not their new fangled followers (as had *Haider* their maſter before amongſt the Perſians) who had them in ſingular reuerence, perſuaded now by them, that they ſhould be condemned for euer, if they did not, as they were by them taught, giue the honour of the true ſucceſſion of their great Prophet, only to *Haly*, and him only to reuerence and call vpon next vnto the great Prophet himſelf.

When they had thus with their often ſermons and blinded prophecies ſeduced the people, and in ſhort time won great credit among the vulgar ſort, of themſelues too much giuen
F to nouelty and ſuperſtition; they commanded their diſciples & followers to wear vpon their Turkiſh hats a red band or riband, whereby to be knowne from others that were not of their profeſſion. Of which red bands or ribands, they who profeſſed this new ſuperſtition, were, and yet are ouer all the Eaſt part of the world called by the name of *Cuſel-baſſa's*, that is to ſad, *Red-heads*.

The beginning of the Cuſelbaſſa's

Hyſmael

Hyſmael his behauiour in the time of his exile.

Hyſmael alſo liuing in exile, moſt earneſtly embraced that new ſuperſtition which *Haider* G
his father had before taught in Perſia, but with far better fortune and ſucceſſe. For as ſoon as he was grown to mans eſtate, he following his fathers maner of life, and being by nature wonderfull eloquent, comely of perſon, exceeding wiſe, and of an inuincible courage, was of the rude vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man; ſo that hee grew to be of great fame and power amongſt thoſe barbarous people with whom he liued. And not the baſe and vulgar ſort only, but diuers noblemen alſo, and others of good reputation, once allured with the noueltie of his doctrine, the more to manifeſt their good will toward the author of their ſect, after they had forſaken their old ſuperſtition, ceaſed not (as the maner of men is) to commend him in the higheſt degree of vertue and honor. And he himſelf as yet but a youth, altogether bending his wit to the ſetting forth of himſelf, making ſemblant of more than was in- H
deed in him, obtained, as if it had bin againſt his wil, riches, honor, fame, and authority; of all which things he as a notable diſſembler ſeemed to make no account or reckoning. Neither were ſome wanting who would ſwear, that *Haider* his father (as hee was an excellent Aſtronomer) calculating his natiuitie, ſhould ſay, That he ſhould proue a great prophet, and the Author of true religion, who ſubduing the greateſt part of the Eaſt, ſhould become as glorious both in matters of religion and martial affairs, as was *Mahomet* the great Prophet himſelfe. Which report being bruted abroad among the common people, greatly increaſed his authoritie, & gaue them ocaſion to talk of wonders. Not long after, *Hyſmael* was firſt by the admiration, or rather aſſentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had bin by general conſent, ſyrnamed *Sophos*, which amongſt thoſe people ſignifieth a Wiſe man, or the In- I
terpreter of the gods. Theſe proſperous beginnings, with the troubled ſtate of the kingdom of Perſia, incouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vncle *Iacup* the Perſian King was long before dead, being together with his ſon poiſoned by his adulterous wife: the which he preſently perceiuing, inforced her to drink of the ſame cup; and becauſe he would be ſure ſhe ſhould not eſcape, with his own hand ſtruck off her head, and immediatly after died, with his ſon. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe about the ſucceſſion, and diuers great men one after another aſpired to the kingdom, which they enioyed not long. And among the reſt *Elvan Beg* (whom *Iouius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time ſtood in no ſure poſſeſſion of the kingdom, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyſmael returneth into Armenia, and recouereth his inheritance.

Hyſmael taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the moſt able men of his follow- K
ers, and receiuing ſome ſmal aid from his poor old friend *Pyrchales*, entred into Armenia, and there partly by the fame that ran of him, and partly by the good wil of the people, rather than by any force, recouered his fathers inheritance, wherunto the remembrance of his dead father did not a little further him. He incouraged by this good beginning, daily grew ſtronger and ſtronger, by the continual repairing vnto him of ſuch as hauing once receiued the doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long, for fear of perſecution, to diſſemble the ſame: but now hauing got an head and chieftain to cleaue to, began openly to ſhew themſelues again, and in great number to reſort vnto him, in hope of the good ſucces of their Religion, not ſo happily begun by his father.

Sumathia taken by Ayſmael

His power thus daily increaſing beyond his expectation, he beſieged Sumachia, a City in L
the confines of Media, which he took by force and ſacked; and with the ſpoil thereof both enriched and armed his ſoldiers, which before were for moſt part naked men. The taking of this city wonderfully increaſed both his fame and credit; as oftentimes it falleth out, That hauty minds, couragiouſly attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their firſt attempts make way vnto the full of their ſtately deſires. So after this, *Hyſmaels* thoughts were not ſo

Hyſmael commeth to Tauris.

low as to think of the taking of this or that little city; but how hee might now compaſſe the great City Tauris, the very ſeat of the Perſian kings, and afterwards the kingdome it ſelfe. Wherupon repoſing no leſſe confidence in his own good fortune, than the valor of his ſoldiers, he marched with his army directly to the City of Tauris, and that with ſuch expedition, that he was come before it before any ſuch thing was feared, much leſſe prouided for it. *El-* M
van the Perſian King was then at Tauris, and had but a little before fought a great battell againſt his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdom: and hauing vanquiſhed him, draue him out of Armenia and Perſia. And afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of Ciuile Wars, had cauſed diuers of the chief Citiſens of Tauris, which had taken part with his

bro-

A brother againſt him to bee ſeuerely executed, filling the eies of their friends with the horrible ſpectacle of their diſmembred bodies, and the hearts of moſt men with ſorow and heauines: wherby he had ſo alienated the minds of the Citiſens from him, that now vpon *Hyſmaels* approch, they were al ready to forſake him: of which their diſpoſition *Hyſmael* was beforehand informed, and vpon the good hope therof had haſted his comming. *Eluan* the Perſian King thus ouertaken on the ſudden, had not time to raiſe ſuch forces as might ſuffice either to incounter his enemy, or defend the city; wherfore diſpairing of his own ſtrength, and iuſtly fearing the reuolt and fury of the diſcontented Citiſens, as a man diſmaid ſuddenly fled out of the city. After whoſe departure, the gates were preſently ſet open to *Hyſmael*. For the citiſens which in thoſe troubleſom times (wherin the two brethren contended for the kingdom) had
B ſuffered great calamitie, choſe rather in that preſent danger to receiue a Conqueror as then was *Hyſmael*, than to their vtter deſtruction to oppoſe themſelues againſt him in the quarel of their cruell King. And the rather, for that they ſaw a general ſecuritie and open way to preferment propoſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould receiue the reformed Religion of this new Conqueror.

Hyſmael entring the city, ſlew certain of the Kings gard which were not yet departed, and then vtterly raſed the ſtately tomb wherin his vncle *Iacup* was after the manner of the Perſian Kings royally buried. And to mitigat the ſorrow hee had ſo long conceiued for his fathers death, and with reuenge to appeaſe his angry ghoſt, he cauſed the tyrants bones to be digged vp and ſcattered abroad, and the memorial of his name to be quite raſed out of all the places
C of the city.

Hyſmael takes the city of Tauris, & defaceth the tomb of his vncle Iacup.

Although *Hyſmael* was thus poſſeſſed of the regal city of Tauris, and had therby made way for obtaining the whole kingdome, yet hee knew that ſo long as *Eluan* liued, his conqueſt was not vnto him aſſured: and therfore to the vtmoſt of his power hee augmented his Army with new ſupplies taken vp in that populous city, whom he furniſhed with armor and weapons taken out of the Kings armory. In the mean time news was brought vnto him, That the Perſian King before fled into the fartheſt part of his kingdom, was now comming from Scyras with a great army againſt him: and that *Moratchamus* his brother forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raiſed a great army about Babylon in Aſſiria, in ſhort time to join with his army.

D *Hyſmael* neuertheleſſe nothing terified with the report of the great preparation of the two brethren againſt him, to the intent he might ſeeme to vndertake this War by Gods appointment, and vpon a greater aſſurance than his own ſtrength, reſolued to go againſt them. And ſo after he had muſtred his army, and in beſt maner he could prouided all things neceſſary, hee ſet forward from Tauris; vſing no other perſuaſion to incourage his ſouldiers, but that they ſhould all, as became reſolute men, make haſt and follow him whom God had giuen them for a chieftain and leader, vnto a moſt aſſured victory. The Perſian King was at the ſame time ten daies journy from Tauris, when *Hyſmael* with incredible celeritie preuenting the fame of his comming, was come to the mountain Niphates, which parteth Armenia from Aſſyria: which mountain *Eluan* purpoſing ſhortly after to paſſe ouer with his populous Army, had ſent be-
E fore his ſcouts to diſcouer the ſtreit paſſages, and a multitude of pioners to make the wayes more commodious for his great army to paſſe. Which thing *Hyſmael* vnderſtanding, and politickly conſidering that it ſhould be much for his aduantage, if he ſhould firſt himſelf paſſe ouer thoſe great mountains, and ſo vpon a ſudden ſet vpon his enemies then lying in ſecuritie, and fearing nothing leſſe than ſuch a deſperat attempt; vpon that reſolution aduanced his enſignes vpon the mountains, and hauing with ſmall reſiſtance diſcomfited them which kept the paſſages, came down the ſame mountaines like a tempeſt, and furiouſly aſſailed the King then lying in his camp on the other ſide at the foot of the mountain: vpon whoſe approch ſuch a hurly-burly was raiſed in the Kings camp, that what for the confuſed tumult of the ſouldiers, and fearful outcries of the multitude of baſe people that followed the Camp, the King
F could ſcarſly giue order to his captains what he would haue don, or yet incourage his ſouldiers, or put them in order of battel. So that *Hyſmael* giuing a fierce onſet with his Armenian ſoldiers, there was ſuddenly begun a moſt terrible and bloudy battell. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyſmael* faile him, whoſe courage and proweſſe did neuer faile: for aſſailing the Kings battell of footmen with three ſquadrons at once, hee had ouercome them and put them

Hyſmael goeth againſt the Perſian King.

them to flight before that the horſmen could arm themſelues and mount their horſes, which G
were for moſt part vnſadled and vnbridled at his comming. The king, who had nothing either
feared or foreſeen this ſo ſudden a miſchief, but had vainly perſuaded himſelf, That the very
fame of his comming with ſo huge an army, would ſo terrifie his enemies, as that he ſhould
find none either at Tauris, or in all Armenia, that durſt make reſiſtance; was glad now to run
to and fro to incourage his ſouldiers, to ſtay his diſcomfited battels, yea and to come to han-
dy blows himſelf. But when neither his captains nor ſoldiers could put in execution his ſud-
den directions, which he was inforced to giue in that imminent danger, being ouercome with
ſhame and deſperation, he reſolutely thruſt himſelf into the head of his battel, and there va-
Elvan the Perſian king ſlain. liantly fighting was ſlain. Wherupon the Perſian horſmen, the greateſt ſtrength of the kings
Army, hauing now no King for whom they ſhould fight, betooke themſelues to flight; after H
whom followed the archers and all the reſt of the Kings army.

When as *Hyſmael* had with leſſe loſſe than a man would haue thought ſo great a victory
could haue bin atchieued, poſſeſſed the enemies Tents, he made no great purſuit after them,
for that he thought it more requiſit to refreſh his ſoldiers, throughly wearied & almoſt ſpent
with long trauel and late fight: wherfore for certain daies he repoſed himſelf and his Army
in thoſe his enemies forſaken tents. Afterwards, when he had receiued Embaſſadors from di-
uers places, yeelding their cities and towns, and that the fauour of the people generally incli-
ned to him, together with the victory; he marched with his army to Scyras, where hee was of
the citiſens who had before heard of the victory, joyfully receiued, & his army relieued with
all things he could deſire. *Hyſmael* there entertained with the greateſt honors that the fearful I
citiſens could poſſibly attribute to him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the truth & ex-
cellencie of his fathers doctrine; and withall gaue out ſtreit proclamations, That hee would
account all them for his enemies, which did not within the ſpace of thirty daies renounce all
their old ſuperſtition, and receiue this new found verity (as he would haue it.) Wherfore, for-
aſmuch as on the one ſide were propoſed moſt certain rewards by the happy courſe of his vi-
ctories; and on the other was threatned exile and torture to ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly perſiſt
in their opinion; in ſhort time he drew al the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine: and
afterwards hauing payd his ſoldiers with the riches of that great city, he gallantly furniſhed
both his old and new ſoldiers that wanted armour, with moſt excellent armor and furniture.
For in that city, one of the greateſt and moſt famous of the Eaſt, were many ſhops full of all K
kind of armor, which the armorers with wonderfull cunning vſed to make of iron and ſteele,
and the juice of certain herbs, of much more notable temper and beauty than are theſe which
are made with vs in Europ; not only head-pieces, curiaſſes, and compleat armors, but whole
capariſons for horſes, curiouſly made of thin plates of iron and ſteel. Departing from Scy-
raſhe took alſo the great city of Saphas, ſuppoſed to haue bin the city in antient time called
Suſa, and Sultania; which for the wonderful ruins of the huge buildings, is deemed to haue
Hyſmael goeth againſt Moratchamus. bin the antient and famous city Tigranocerta. Theſe great matters quickly diſpatched, and
hauing in euery city placed gouernors of his own ſect; he paſſed ouer the Riuer Tygris, into
Meſopotamia, of purpoſe to expulſe *Moratchamus* the late Kings brother out of Babylon, who
was yet in arms, and had intended (as is before ſaid) to haue paſſed into Armenia, to haue joy- L
ned his forces with the King his brother. But now terrified with his brothers calamity (who
together with a moſt puiſſant army, and the ſtrength of the Perſian kingdom, was in one day
fallen from the height of ſo great a fortune) thought it not beſt to try his fortune in the field
againſt ſo fortunat an enemy, but forthwith to withdraw himſelf into the remoteſt places of
that large kingdom, and from thence to expect ſome better fortune. For he wel knew that hee
was not able to withſtand his victorious enemy, now leading after him a moſt puiſſant army;
who not long before with a ſmall power had vanquiſhed and ſlain his brother in a great bat-
tel. *Hyſmael* now by the greatnes of his fame and forces, & as it were by the fauor of God him-
ſelf, become a terror to all the princes of the Eaſt, entered into Meſopotamia after the flight
of *Moratchamus*, and receiued al that great prouince into his ſubiection, euery man ſtriuing as M
it were who ſhould firſt by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion purchaſe himſelf the fauour of the victori-
ous conqueror. In brief, *Moratchamus* already terrified, and repoſing no great hope in himſelf
or his own power, neither deeming it ſafe to ſhut vp himſelfe within the walls of any ſtrong
City, truſt vp his things of greateſt price, and with his Wiues and children fled into Arabia.

This

A This *Moratchamus* is he whom ſome Hiſtoriographers called *Mara Beg*, and is in the Turks Hiſtories called *Imirſa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of *Bajazet*, and recouering part of the Perſian kingdome, was ſuddenly murthered by ſome of his Nobility, whom he purpoſed ſecretly to haue put to death, if they had not preuented the ſame by murthering of him firſt. *Hyſmael* hauing victoriouſly ſubdued a great part of the Perſian kingdome, and filled all the Eaſt part of the world with the glory of his name, returned out of Aſſyria into Media, and tooke in ſuch cities and ſtrong holds as were yet holden by the garriſons of the late Perſian King. And afterwards returning into Armenia, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caſpian: for that thoſe nations, in antient times tributaries to the Perſian Kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile
B wars wherewith the kingdome of Perſia, and all the Eaſt countries, with the ruine of the Kings houſe, had been of late turmoyled; had neither paied any tribute by the ſpace of foure yeres, nor ſent any honourable Embaſſage, as they were wont, and as was expected, eſpecially in ſo great a victory and alteration of the State.

Hyſmael hauing thus obtained the Perſian kingdome, in ſhort time became famous through the world, and was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be ſpoken of, than the innouation he had made in the Mahometane ſuperſtition: for by his deuice and commandement a new forme of praier was brought into their Mahometan Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before vſed. By reaſon whereof, *Ebubekir*, *Homer*, and *Oſman*, the ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*,
C before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of *Haly* exalted, as the true and onely ſucceſſor of their great Prophet. And becauſe he would haue his ſubjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they ſhould all weare ſome red hatband, lace, or riband vpon their heads; which they religiouſly obſerue in Perſia vntill this day: whereof they are of the Turks called *Cuſelba's*, or *Red heads*. And in ſhort time he had ſo vſed the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his ſubjects; inſomuch that his ſayings were accounted for diuine Oracles, and his commandements for Laws: ſo that when they would confirme any thing by ſolemne oath, they would ſweare by the head of *Hyſmael* their King: and when they wiſhed well to any man, they vſually ſaid, *Hyſmael* grant
D thee thy deſire. Vpon his coyne which he made both of ſiluer and gold, on the one ſide was written theſe words, *La illahe illalahu* Muhame *dun reſul allahe*: which is to ſay, *There is no gods but one, and* Mahomet *is his Meſſenger*. And on the other ſide, *Iſmaill halife lullahe*; which is to ſay, *Hyſmael the Vicar of God*.

Hyſmael exceedingly beloued and honored of his ſubjects.

Whileſt *Hyſmael* was thus wreſtling for the Perſian Kingdome, *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis* 1508
(whom we haue a little before declared to haue bin brought out of the mountains and deſarts, into the country villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countries of Armenia and a great part of the leſſer Aſia with the nouelty of their new doctrine and opinions, firſt phantaſied by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterwards reuiued by *Haider Erdebil*, *Hyſmael* his father) hauing gathred a great army of ſuch as had receiued their doctrine, inuaded the Turks
E dominion. For after that *Techellis* (this cold Prophet) had with wonderfull felicity in the preſence of many prognoſticated of things to come; and *Hyſmael* the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and baniſhed man) was thought to haue grown vnto the higheſt type of worldly honours, not by mans helpe, but by vprightneſſe of life, and the fortunat paſſage of an vndoubted religion: ſuch a deſire of receiuing that new ſuperſtition poſſeſſed the minds of the people in generall, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profeſſion had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne Cogniſance of the *Cuſelba's*. Firſt they met together at the city of Taſcia, at the foot of the mountaine Antitaurus, or as the Turkiſh hiſtory reports, at the city of Attalia, to the number of 10000, vpon a great Faire day; where they layd hands vpon the chiefe magiſtrate of the city, and execu-
F ted him, ſetting his quarters vpon foure of the higheſt towers of the city: and further perſuaded by theſe new maſters of this new ſuperſtition, to take vp armes in defence of themſelues and of their ſincere religion (as they termed it) in caſe that any violence ſhould be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all ſwore, neuer to forſake their Captaines for any diſtreſſe, or yet refuſe any labour or aduenture for the honor of their moſt holy religion (as they

Chaſan Chelife & Techellis inuade the Turks dominions.

would haue it) in defence whereof they had already vowed their ſoules and bodies. Theſe G
ringleaders of rebellion, ſeeing the minds of their frantick followers, ſo well prepared for their purpoſe, and repoſing a great confidence in their valour and reſolution; and withall conſidering that the mony which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the country people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not ſufficient to maintaine ſo great a multitude, gaue leaue by publike proclamation to their vnruly followers, to forrage the country round about them, and to liue vpon the ſpoile of them which would not receiue their new found doctrine. Wherupon they diuiding themſelues into diuers companies, and ranging vp and down the country, brought into the camp abundance of cattell, and other ſuch things as the country yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude ſtil increaſing) they entred into Lycaonia, a populous & fruitfull country, where they refreſhed themſelues many daies, roaming vp and downe to the great H
grieuance and terrour of the people; and brought ſuch a feare vpon the whole country, that they which dwelt in open dorps and villages, were glad to fly with their wiues, children, and goods, into the ſtrong city of Iconium: for proclamations were in many places ſet vp in the names of *Chaſan Chelife*, and *Techellis*, wherin many both ſpirituall and temporal bleſſings were in moſt ample maner propoſed to all ſuch as ſhould forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine already eſtabliſhed in Perſia: but vnto ſuch as ſhould obſtinately perſeuere in their old ſuperſtition, after they had once drawne their ſword, was threatned vtter deſtruction without hope of pardon of life. So that all the inhabitants therabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, ſome for feare of death, ſome vpon inconſtancy, ſome for
ſafegard of their goods and poſſeſſions (dearer vnto them than any religion) ſome other indebted, infamous, in danger of law, beſide many fugitiue ſeruants, dayly reſorted to theſe new maſters. I
Not long after, whilſt the Turks were making preparation for the ſuppreſſing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horſemen ſent from *Hyſmael*, came in good time to theſe new prophets: for *Hyſmael* in fauour and furtherance of that new ſuperſtition, had a little before by fit meſſengers exhorted them to proceed couragiouſly in their ſo religious an enterpriſe, and to joine martiall force vnto the religion they profeſſed: promiſing further, not to be wanting vnto them at their need, but to ſend them skilfull Leaders, and from time to time to furniſh them with coyne for the maintenance of that war. All this *Hyſmael* did openly in deſpight of *Bajazet*, of ſmall beginning to ſow the ſeed of greater war. For he bearing an old
grudge againſt *Bajazet* for the former wars betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, as alſo for their K
diſagreement in matters concerning their ſuperſtition, and prickt forward with the heat of youth, deſired nothing more in the greatneſſe of his power, and proſperous ſucceſſe of his affaires, than to haue occaſion to make war with the Turkiſh king: for which purpoſe he ſent his
Hyſmael ſends embaſſadors vnto the Veaetians, to joyne in league with thē againſt Bajazet
Embaſſadors vnto the State of Venice, to joine with them in league and amity, in ſuch forme and ſort as they had long time before, by *Caterinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embaſſadors, concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the great Perſian King his grandfather. The chiefe thing that he requeſted of the Venetians, was, That they would ſend him out of Italy by the way of Syria, men skilfull in the caſting of great ordnance, and with their fleet to trouble *Bajazet* by ſea: promiſing in the meane time himſelfe to fill Aſia the leſſe with his army by land, and ſo to giue a faire occaſion vnto them, to recouer by ſea all ſuch places as they had before L
in the late wars loſt vnto the Turks vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus and Grecia.

The Venetians hauing with all courteſie entertained the Embaſſadours, gaue them anſwer, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the antient league and amity they had made with the Perſian King; the remembrance whereof was vnto their State a thing moſt pleaſant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new King was an enemy vnto the Turke, and had them in ſuch regard, as to participat to them the cauſes of that war: and further to promiſe vnto them thoſe things, which if his grandfather *Vſun-Caſſanes*, or his vncle *Iacup* would haue performed, he ſhould not now haue had need to make wars with the Turkiſh Emperor. But ſuch was the alteration of things and times, that as the Perſian kings then liued at home in peace, thought it not good to ſtir whilſt *Bajazet* was buſie in Europe; ſo now their State ſtanding in far worſe M
condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wiſhed, and moſt of all deſired; for that they thought it not good to break the league which they had not long before made with *Bajazet* the Turkiſh emperor: eſpecially then, when ſundry warlike nations of Europe conſpiring together, and diuers mighty Kings prouoked with no injury, but only enuy-

ing

A ing at their happy estate, made warres vpon them; yet neuertheleſſe were in good hope, that God would ſtand in their juſt defence, and ſtill preſerue their ſtate, which no enemies power had for the ſpace of 700 yeares and more beene able to ouercome. Wherefore they ſhould ſhew vnto their King, that they would as occaſion ſhould ſerue, and as it ſhould ſtand with the good of their State, do their vttermoſt deuoire to make him vnderſtand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendſhip of ſo great a King: nor any thing more honorable, than by mutuall counſell and combined forces to aſſaile the Turke their common enemy.

Shortly after, the Embaſſadors (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their gallies to Cyprus, and ſo from thence to Syria, where they had ſecret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the ſon
B of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embaſſage vnto *Vſun-Caſſanes* into Perſia) Gouernour of the Venetian Merchants at Damaſco. Which thing *Bajazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the paſſage of the Perſian Embaſſadors that way, complained grieuouſly both by his Embaſſadors and letters vnto *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt, That he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him, in ſuffering theſe Embaſſadors ſo to paſſe throughout the middeſt of Syria, vnto the Chriſtians their common enemies, to ſtir them vp to war. Whereupon all the Venetian Merchants which were at Tripolis, Aleppo, Damaſco, Berytus, and Alexandria, and eſpecially *Zenus* himſelfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to Caire, where they were many times inforced in chaines to anſwer vnto ſuch things as were layd to their charge, and after they had by the ſpace of a yeare
C endured the manifold deſpights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to eſcape with life and liberty.

The two ſeditious Prophets, *Chaſan* and *Techellis*, well ſtrengthened with the aid of the Perſians, were now come vnto Iconium the moſt famous city of Lycaonia; and waſting all the country before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repreſſing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahomethes*, two of *Bajazet* his nephews (who in ſtead of their fathers *Alem Schach*, and *Tzian Schach*, the ſons of *Bajazet* before dead, gouerned thoſe countries) gathered together their forces, and diſdaining to ſuffer ſuch diſgrace by ſuch a rabble of raſcal people, in the ſight of ſo famous a city, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too muſt haſt, and joyning battell in a place
D of diſaduantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would theſe ring-leaders in that victory haue forborne to haue aſſailed Iconium, but that they wanted Artillery and engines of war requiſit for the beſieging of cities.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Bajazet his nephewes ouerthrowne by Techellis.

Corcutus alſo, one of the ſons of *Bajazet*, hauing at the ſame time leuied a conuenient Army about Thiatyra, Sypilus, Magneſia, and Phocea, durſt not further ſtir or ſet forward againſt the rebels, although they lay diſperſed about the country faſt by him. Theſe new prophets with enſignes diſplaied, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the leſſer Aſia, entered at length into Bythinia, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Caragoſes Baſſa* the Viceroy of Aſia, comming againſt them with a great army well appointed, which he had a little before raiſed vpon the bruit of the comming of theſe rebels, and had al-
E ſo commanded *Achometes* (whom the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldeſt ſonne of *Bajazet* then liuing, Gouernor of the great countries of Capadocia and Pontus, to raiſe his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they ſhould hap to be put to the worſe, would neither be able to retyre, neither to keepe the field, being ſo ſhut vp betwixt two ſo great armies. But *Techellis* by his ſpeedy comming fruſtrated theſe deſignes of the Viceroy; for marching with all ſpeed, he was vpon *Caragoſes* before he was well aware of his comming, neere vnto the mountaine Horminus, as he was then taking vp of more ſoldiers, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had been going againſt ſome puiſſant enemy. The Viceroy ſeeing the Rebels approch, although he had before not purpoſed to haue encountered them before he had raiſed far greater forces; thought it not now to ſtand with his honor, to refuſe to giue them
F battell, although his army for moſt part conſiſted of the rude countty peiſants, taken vp vpon the ſudden out of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bythinia, raw ſoldiers, and for moſt part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in thoſe countries are preſſed againſt their wils out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turkes called Aſapi, who of the Ianizaries are ſcarcely accounted for men. But his greateſt confidence he repoſed in the approued valour

of his antient horſemen, by whoſe means he doubted not in ſafety to retyre out of the battell, G
and to ſaue himſelf if any thing ſhould fall out otherwaies than wel; making no great account
of the common ſouldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the force of the rebels:
who on the other ſide (their greateſt force conſiſting of footmen) had no hope to ſaue them-
ſelues by flight, but only by plain valour and dint of ſword. Which *Techellis* well conſidering,
exhorted his ſoldiers to remember into what country they were come, and that there was no
cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to fly vnto, if they ſhould not that
day play the men: Wherefore let vs couragiouſly (ſaid he) ſet forward againſt our enemies,
and by victory defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue
The battell be- vowed both our ſoules and bodies. He had ſcarcely ſaid thus much, but that his whole Army,
tweene Caragoſes in token of cheerefulneſſe, gaue a moſt terrible ſhout, and without further ſtay ſet vpon their H
& Techellis. enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his
horſemen in the wings, thereby to haue compaſſed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had ſet all his
footmen in one great ſquare battell, and his Perſian horſemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy
his freſh-water ſouldiers could ſcarcely abide the ſight of *Techellis* his army; for in the front
of the battell ſtood ſouldiers throughly armed, and all the reſt of his army with red hats vpon
their heads, as if they had beene embrued with bloud, which wonderfully terrified the Baſſaes
cowardly and vnskilfull ſouldiers: ſo that hauing endured the fight ſcarcely halfe an houre,
they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkiſh horſemen which had valiantly aſſailed the
rebels army on both ſides, although they had ſlaine many with their arrowes and lances, and
ſomewhat diſordered the battell, for that the footmen were enforced to leaue their places, and I
to preſſe ſtill on forward againſt them; yet when *Techellis* his ſoldiers (hauing ouercome the
footmen, and diuiding themſelues into diuers ſquadrons) began with their long pikes to kill
their horſes, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewiſe betooke themſelues to flight alſo.
Then the Perſian horſemen (which all this while had ſtood ſtill as lookers on) left their ſtan-
dings, and following the chaſe ſlew many of the Turks in their diſordred flight: and following
faſt on, incloſed the Viceroy as he was ſtaying of his horſemen, and could not for the thicke-
neſſe of the duſt well diſcerne his enemies; ſo that he had beene there taken, if he had not been
ſpeedily reſcued by his guard, and ſo deliuered from that danger. The reſt of the Turks horſe-
men ſaued themſelues by flight. In this battell ſeuen thouſand of the Turks footmen were
ſlaine, and all their enſignes taken, with great ſtore of prouiſion. K

Techellis beſie- After which victory, *Chaſan* and *Techellis* reſting their army one day, marched to the city of
geth Caragoſes Cutaie, neere vnto the mountaine Horminius: this city is ſcituated as it were in the midſt of
the Viceroy, in Aſia the leſſe, and is the ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors Viceroy in Aſia; as Sophia in Mœſia is
the City of Cu- for his other Viceroy in Europe: for it was reported, that the country people had for feare of
taie. the preſent war conueyed thither the greateſt part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew,
that the Viceroy himſelfe with his chiefe horſemen were fled thither alſo: neither doubted
they, but that all the army might be greatly enriched by the wealth of that city, if they ſhould
without delay employ their whole forces for the gaining thereof, their enemies now altoge-
ther diſcouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* alſo deeming that enterpriſe of ſo much
worth as whereon to gage his whole forces, comming before the city, placed ſuch field pieces L
as he had before taken in the battel, & his archers in ſuch fit places as might moſt anoy the de-
fendants: afterward he cauſed ſcaling ladders to be ſet vp, and proclamation made thorow all
his camp, That the whole ſpoile of the city ſhould be the ſoldiers if they could take it; with
promiſe of greater rewards to them that ſhould firſt recouer the top of the wals. Filled with
this hope, the rebellious multitude approached the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multi-
tude of ſhot, or danger of death; ſtriuing who ſhould firſt mount the ladders, & ſome climbing
one in the necke of another, ſo to get vp by the ruins of the wall. The defendants in the meane
time from aboue caſting down vpon them great ſtones, timber, fire, ſcalding water, lime, ſand,
and ſuch like without meaſure: wherewith although many were ouerthrowne and cruſht to
death or ſpoiled, yet others preſently ſtept vp in their place; neither was any of them ſeen, for M
feare of the preſent danger to ſhrinke back or be diſcouraged: for the Viceroy on the one ſide,
and *Techellis* on the other, were both eie-witneſſes of euery mans valour in that hot ſeruice:
the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope, for feare to be enforced to giue ouer the aſſault
ſo begun; and the other with the due regard of his honor, life, and ſtate, all ſubject to that dan-

ger,

A ger, and therefore in perſon himſelfe performed all the parts of a worthy chiefetaine and courageous ſouldier. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce aſſault of the enemy, and for moſt part wounded, *Techellis* continually ſending in freſh men, and withdrawing ſuch as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the city in two places ouer the heaps of the dead bodies: and hauing repulſed the defendants, burſt open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole army. Then began a miſerable ſlaughter of the ſoldiers and poore citiſens in euery houſe and corner of the city. At which inſtant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retyred himſelfe with his family) was alſo taken: the Viceroy himſelfe with his wiues and children were there alſo taken priſoners, and the ſtately Palace built with marble, in a trice conſumed with fire.

Caragoſes the Viceroy with his wiues and children taken by Techellis in the City of Cutaie.

B The rich city of Cutaie, the ſeat of the great commander of the Turkiſh Empire in Aſia, thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole army both beautified and inriched with the ſpoile thereof: he perſuaded himſelfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the city of Pruſa alſo, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in Bythinia, and ſo endanger the whole ſtate of the Turks Empire in Aſia, if he ſhould now without delay carry the terror of himſelfe thither, before the Turks could in that country make head againſt him, or the citiſens be able in ſo ſudden a feare to make any ſufficient prouiſion for the defence of themſelues and their city; and ſo in the courſe of his good fortune to vſe the courage and cheerefulneſſe of his ſouldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would ſet forward, he commanded all things neceſſary to be made ready for the taking of that rich city, being neither ſtrongly walled, neither furniC ſhed with any good garriſon for the defence thereof.

But whileſt he was making this preparation, a new army, lately ſhipt ouer the Helleſpont from Callipolis into Aſia, inforced him to change his former determination. For *Bajazet* waked at the name of *Techellis*, & the fame of the new ſuperſtition now generally receiued in Perſia, had long before giuen commandement to his ſonnes, nephewes, and the Viceroy of Aſia, That they ſhould with all carefulnes prouide, that that part of his kingdome tooke no harme thereby. But after he ſaw *Techellis* of a poore hermit become a great captaine, and backt alſo with the Perſian King, and all his dominions in Aſia in danger of ſome great alteration; he ſent *Alis Baſſa* with his Europeian army. This *Alis* an Eunuch, borne in Macedonia (yet for his courage comparable with the greateſt captaines) had for his many and worthy deſerts, in the D time of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Bajazet* his father, got vnto himſelfe both the honour and name of a moſt famous chiefetaine. He hauing made choice of the principall horſemen of Epirus, Macedonia, Seruia, Illyria, and Thracia, and joining vnto them ſeuen thouſand Ianizaries (the moſt aſſured hope of the Turks in all their expeditions) paſſed ouer from Callipolis into Phrygia, and vpon the way directed his letters vnto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Bajazet* his ſons, and to all the other Sanzacks and Gouernors of the Turks prouinces in Aſia, That they ſhould with as much ſpeed as they could, raiſe their forces and meet him in Galatia. But *Techellis* aduertiſed of his comming, thought it beſt for him to depart out of Pontus, and to retire to ſome place of more ſafety, leſt by longer ſtaying he ſhould be encloſed by his enemies, repairing thitherwards on euery ſide; or elſe vpon ſome great diſaduantage to joyne battell: E for he ſaw, that if he ſtaied neuer ſo little, he ſhould find no ſafe paſſage or place of refuge to retyre vnto, hauing left ſuch large and ſpacious Countries, ſo many enemies Cities, ſo many great riuers, ſo many diſcontented people behind him; all which the firſt fauor of the vulgar ſort, and ſpeedy courſe of his victory, had a little before layd open vnto him. Wherefore calling together his Captaines and moſt expert men of war to conſult vpon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meere madneſſe, or elſe of extreme neceſſity, with ſo ſmall a power of vnskilfull ſouldiers, without any ſufficient ſtiength of horſemen, to joyne battell with ſuch an enemy as better knew the countrey than he, and far exceeded him both for number and expertneſſe of his ſouldiers. Wherefore *Techellis* truſſing vp his rich prey he had before gotten, began now with ſpeed to retire backe againe with his followers through F Galatia. But the Baſſa hauing intelligence almoſt euery houre by letters and eſpials, both of the retyring of *Techellis*, and the way he held, paſſed ouer the riuer Sangarius, and coaſting the country, came and incamped betwixt the cities of Cutaie and Ancyra, which way it was ſuppoſed the enemy would paſſe. Where when he had there a while reſted his wearied ſouldiers, and was certainely aduertiſed, that the rebels had taken another way, he ſet forward againe,

Bajazet ſendeth Alis Baſſa out of Europe againſt Techellis.

and after fiue daies march in the plaines of Galatia, ouertooke the ſtraglers of the enemies, G
who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the army: all whom the Baſſa commanded to be cruelly put to the ſword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Baſſa, or at leſtwiſe with a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſtay his purſuit, cauſed *Caragoſes* the Viceroy, whom he had carried along with him in chaines, to be cruelly empailed by the highway ſide, vpon a ſharpe ſtake ſet faſt in the ground, and ſo left him ſticking for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis Baſſa* nothing diſmaied with the horrible death of ſo great a perſonage, held on his way with more haſt than good ſpeed, exhorting his ſouldiers patiently to endure the painfulneſſe of the long march, and to ſtraine themſelues to take reuenge of thoſe rebellious theeues and robbers, who deſtroying the country before them, ſpared not ſo much as the Turks children, and the temples of their religion; and ſo the day following came into the plaines of Ancyra. The ſame H
day alſo *Achomates* came vnto the Baſſa with ten thouſand ſouldiers. *Alis Baſſa* perceiuing that he could not poſſibly with his whole army ouertake his enemies, marching with greater ſpeed before him, and grieued at the heart to ſee them eſcapes out of his hand, reſolued to proue if he could with his horſemen ouertake them: whereupon leauing his footmen with *Achomates*, he himſelfe with eight thouſand horſe following the enemy vpon the ſpur, ouertooke the rereward of their army at the mountaine Olyga, a little from the city of Ancyra, vnto whom he gaue an hot skirmiſh.

The battell betwixt Alis Baſſa and Techellis.

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the riſing of the hil, although he ſaw his men faint with long trauell and the ſcorching heat of the Sun, yet quickly perceiuing that he ſhould haue to do only with horſemen, and that in a place of aduantage; I
turning his army, and orderly placing his ſoldiers, as the ground & the ſhortneſſe of the time would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impreſſion of the Turks, and with their long pikes and arrows at the firſt repulſed them: ſo that it ſeemed they would neither haue giuen ground vnto the bragging horſemen, neither haue done any thing not beſeeming their former victories, had not *Alis Baſſa* ſent 1000 Carbines, who in troups orderly following one another, deliuered their ſhot as thicke as haile vpon the enemy: with which ſtorme many of them being ſlain, and moe wounded, their ranks began to be ſomewhat diſordred: whereupon the other horſemen breaking in, with great ſlaughter ouerthrew the vauntgard of *Techellis* battell: in which

Chaſan Chelife ſlaine.

conflict *Chaſan Chelife* himſelfe was ſlain. *Techellis* alwaies at hand where moſt need was, euen in the midſt of the ſlaughter of his men ſet in order a new battell of his moſt ready and beſt K
armed ſoldiers, the only remedy in ſo great a diſtreſſe; and bringing them on into the front of the battell, oppoſed them againſt the horſemen, now (as they thought) in poſſeſſion of the victory; commanding them by little and little to retire vnto the mountaine, to the intent that they might ſeeme to do that by commandment of the Generall, which they were like enough to haue done of themſelues for feare: hoping that it would ſo come to paſſe, That the Turks finding the diſaduantage of the place, would leaue ſo hardly to aſſaile them. But the Baſſa encouraged with the firſt ſucceſſe of the battell, exhorted his ſoldiers to vrge the victory, now almoſt as good as gotten, & not to giue the enemy ſpace to recouer the ſtrength of the mountain, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little ſhort paines that day to end all the war, to the honor of *Bajazet* their ſoueraigne, and worthy commendations of themſelues in generall. L
In this ſort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his beſt horſmen (to animate the reſt, and to ſhew his own valor) brake through the enemies battell: which thing he in the ſame heat, with more courage than diſcretion, attempting to performe the ſecond time, was incloſed by his

Alis Baſſa ſlain.

enemies and ſlain: vpon whoſe fall the fortune of the battell was in a moment changed; for the Turks, which erſt fought couragiouſly, hauing beaten backe and almoſt ouerthrown their enemies, now diſmaied with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, and by little & little to giue ground, and at laſt turning their horſes about, fled. On the other ſide *Techellis* his ſoldiers who but a little before had repoſed greater hope in the ſtrength of the place and the mountain, than in their weapons and valour, now encouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thruſt forward, and with a moſt terrible noiſe M
crying victory, put to flight the Turks horſemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as they had by the Generals raſhneſſe loſt a notable victory almoſt already gained. *Techellis* although he knew that the enemy could neither refreſh his horſes, nor yet with any aſſurance keepe the field, if he ſhould haue purſued him; yet hauing loſt many of his beſt ſoldiers, & the

reſt

A reſt of his army ſore weakened with trauell, faſting and fighting, determined to refreſh his wearied followers vpon the mountain Olyga. From whence after a few daies he marched ouer the riuer Halys vnto the city of Taſcia, his old dwelling place, and ſo to the city of Celenis, which the riuer Marſya (much ſpoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by the name of Maras, but as then the regall ſeat of the mountaine King *Aladeules*. The Turkes horſemen hauing thus in ſome ſmall ſort rather reuenged the injuries done by the rebels, than obtained any victory, returned to *Achomates*, who was then comming on with the footmen. Not long after, *Bajazet* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alis Baſſa* his Generall, ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa*, a warlike captaine, and of great experience (borne in Epirus) in his ſtead. Who as ſoone as he had receiued the charge of the army from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into Cappado-
B cia, and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine Antitaurus, came in few daies vnto the city of Taſcia, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and deſtroying the country all about, he came and encamped with his army at the foot of the mountaine. The Baſſa had in his army about forty thouſand horſe and foot, well appointed, with many field pieces, and plenty of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare country. *Techellis* terrified with his comming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hyſmael* the Perſian king, and wanting alſo great artillery, and beſides that, ſeeing his ſoldiers greatly both diminiſhed and diſcouraged with the late battell at Olyga; determined not vpon ſo great diſaduantage to meet his enemy in the plaine field, but to keep the rough mountains and thicke woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe thoſe ſtrong places, he ſhould either
C receiue ſome aid from *Hyſmael*, or by the heat of the Turks leaders take them at ſome notable aduantage. In the meane time many notable skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the ſoldiers on both ſides: for the Turks fetching a compaſſe oftentimes about the mountains, and ſeeking for the beſt paſſages, by the eaſie riſing of the hils, came to skirmiſh with their enemies: and *Techellis* his ſouldiers on the other ſide, ſallying many times out of the woods and abrupt places of the mountains, valiantly aſſailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this ſort, as if it had been in diſport, rather proued their forces one vpon another, than done any great matter; the Turkes prying into euery corner, at length perceiued two waies whereby their whole army with enſignes diſplaied might without any great difficulty be brought vnto the top of the mountaine, and ſo into their enemies ſtrength. The Baſſa hauing well viewed and conſidered
D the places, cauſed the Ianizaries at one inſtant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the aforeſaid waies, and the reſt of his army by the other: who with ſoft pace climing vp the ſteepe mountains, with their targuets defended themſelues as well as they could againſt their enemies darts and ſhot. For *Techellis* his ſouldiers hauing before taken the high mountaines and places of aduantage, caſt downe vpon the Turks great ſtones and ſhot without number, as if it had beene out of ſome ſtrong fort. But the Turks bending certaine ſmall field peeces againſt the places which moſt anoied them, eaſily draue them from their ſtandings; the harquebuſiers ſtill following their enſignes, ſhrouded cloſe vnder the targuetiers, and deliuered their deadly ſhot as ſhoures of raine vpon their enemies. Whoſe deſperat approch *Techellis* perceiuing, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and with all his army retired further off into the higher
E mountaines aud rougher woods. The night following, perceiuing that by the euill ſucceſſe of the former skirmiſh he had loſt a great part of his credit and ſtrength, he with great ſilence forſooke the woods, and paſſing quite ouer the mountaines fled into Armenia, then part of the Perſian kingdome. Neither did the Turks perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and that their ſcouts entring the thick woods, and finding the enemies baggage, with ſome wounded ſoldiers not able to fly, brought newes vnto the Baſſa of the enemies departure, and of his ſpeedy flight into Armenia. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, vnderſtood to be certainely true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not preſently vpon the enemies retreat beſet the wood round, he ſent his horſemen forthwith to purſue them: but all in vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne waies gone into Armenia. Some few ſtraglers not
F able to make ſo much haſt as the reſt, were ouertaken by the Turks horſemen, and brought backe to the Baſſa.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Ionuſes* cauſed ſtreit inquiſition to be made through all the cities of the leſſer Aſia, for all ſuch as had profeſſed the Perſian religion: and them whom he found to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, he cauſed to be put to death with moſt exquiſit tor-

Ionuſes Baſſa ſent by Bajazet, Generall of his army againſt Techellis.

ments,

ments, and the reſt to be burnt in their foreheads with an hot yron, thereby for euer to be G
knowne; whom together with the kinsfolks and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he cauſed to be tranſported into Europe, and to be diſperſed through Macedonia, Epirus, and Peloponeſus: for feare leſt if *Techellis* now fled into the Perſian Kingdome, ſhould from thence returne with new forces, they ſhould alſo repaire againe vnto him, and raiſe a new rebellion. This was the beginning, courſe, and ending, of one of the moſt dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkiſh Empire: wherein all, or at leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of their dominions in Aſia, might haue beene eaſily ſurpriſed by the Perſian King, if he would throughly haue proſecuted the occaſion and opportunity then offered.

The remainder of *Techellis* his followers, flying into Perſia, by the way lighting vpon a Carauan of Merchants laden with ſilkes and other rich merchandiſe, tooke the ſpoile thereof: H
for which outrage comming to Tauris, the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hyſmael* executed, and *Techellis* himſelfe to the terrour of others burnt aliue.

Techellis burnt at Tauris.

1509 *A great earthquake at Conſtantinople.*

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a great and terrible earthquake in the city of Conſtantinople and the countries thereabouts: by the violence whereof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall city, with many ſtately buildings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thouſand people ouerwhelmed and ſlaine. The terrour whereof was ſo great, that the people generally forſooke their houſes and lay abroad in the fields: yea, *Bajazet* himſelfe, then very aged and ſore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof remoued from Conſtantinople to Hadrianople; but finding himſelfe in no more ſafety than before, he left the city and lay abroad in the fields in his I
tent. This earthquake endured by the ſpace of eighteene daies, or (as the Turkes Hiſtories report) of a moneth, with very little intermiſſion; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miſerable calamities which ſhortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake enſued a great plague, wherewith the city was grieuouſly viſited, and for the moſt part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceaſed, and the mortality aſſuaged, *Bajazet* cauſed the imperial city to be with all ſpeed repaired, and to that purpoſe gaue out commiſſions into all parts of his dominions for the taking vp of workemen: ſo that there were at once in work eighty thouſand workemen, who in moſt beautifull manner in the ſpace of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great city.

The children of Bajazet.

Bajazet had by his many wiues, eight ſonnes and ſix daughters, which liued to be men and K
women growne: and the ſons all Gouernors in diuers prouinces of his large Empire: whom the Turkiſh Hiſtories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Scach*, *Tzihan Scach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Vrius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Bajazet* his court, and (as he of himſelfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the ſonnes of *Bajazet*, maketh mention but of theſe ſix, *Sciemſcia*, *Alemſcia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names ſomething differing from the other. *Sciemſcia* the eldeſt, Gouernor of Caramania, for his towardlineſſe moſt deerely beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his ſubiects greatly lamented. *Alemſcia* died in like manner, of whoſe death as ſoone as he was aduertiſed, by mourning letters written in blacke paper with white characters (as their maner of writing is, in certifying of heauy news) he caſt from him his Scepter with all other tokens of honor, and cauſed general mourning to be made for him in the court, and through all the city of Conſtantinople, by the ſpace of three daies; during which time all ſhops were ſhut vp, all trading forbidden, and no ſigne of mirth to be ſeene: and for a certaine ſpace, after the manner of their ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne ſacrifices to be made for the health of his ſoule, and 7000 aſpers to be giuen weekely to the poore. His dead body was afterward with all princely pompe conueyed to Pruſa, and there with great ſolemnity buried. *Tzihan* Gouernour of Caria, and *Mahomet* Gouernor of Capha, vpon their fathers heauy diſpleaſure, were by his commandement both ſtrangled. L

Of his other foure ſons, *Achmet*, otherwiſe called *Achomates*, *Machmut*, or *Mahometes*, *Corcut*, or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*: the ſecond (namely *Mahometes*) was of greateſt hope and expectation, not giuen to ſenſuality or voluptuous pleaſure, as *Achomates* his eldeſt brother, neither altogether bookiſh as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of ſo fierce and cruell a diſpoſition as *Selymus*: but of ſuch a liuely ſpirit, ſharp wit, bountifull diſpoſition, and princely carriage of him- M
ſelfe,

A selfe, that in the judgement of most men, he seemed already worthy of a kingdome. Which immoderat fauour of the people, caused his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Bajazet* also himselfe to haue him in no small jealousie, as if he had affected the Empire; and was in short time the cause of his vntimely death: which thing he nothing doubting, hastned (as fatal things are) by such meanes as he least feared might haue procured any such mortall distrust or danger.

Most of *Bajazte* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the same mother: for which cause, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleasure in him than in any his other brethren, although it were not answered with like loue again. *Achomates* was Lord and Gouernor of Amasia; and this *Mahometes*, of Magnesia; who desirous to see the manner of his brothers life and gouernment, disguised himselfe with two of his familiar and
B faithfull friends, as if they had bin religious men, of that order which the Turks call *Imalier*. [These men are for most part comely personages, borne of good houses, who in cleanly attire made after an homely fashion, do at their pleasure wander vp and downe from towne to town, and country to country, noting the dispositions and manners of the people; whereof as fitteth best their purpose, they make large discourses afterwards to others: they commonly carry about with them siluer cymbals, wheron they play most cunningly, and therunto sing pleasant and wanton ditties: for which idle delight they receiue mony of the people, as an almes giuen them of deuotion. These are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogether giuen to ease and pleasure, and are of the Turks called, The religious brethren of Loue: but might of right, better be tearmed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than professors of
C any religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two consorts, as men of this profession, trauelled vp and downe the countries of Pontus and Capadocia (where *Achomates* commanded) and so to the city of Amasia; receiuing for their merry glee by the way as they went, the almes and deuotion of the foolish countrey people. And being at length come to Amasia vpon a solemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who passing by, staid a while listening attentiuely vnto their pleasant and alluring harmony; which was for that purpose most curiously and skilfully before deuised, and by them both with their instruments and voices performed. When they had ended their musicke, and according to the manner of their idle profession expected his deuotion; *Achomates* being a man of a spare hand, commanded fiue aspers to be giuen them in reward [which is about six pence of our mony.] *Mahome-*
D *tes* disdaining his brothers base reward, as a signe of his miserable disposition, would in no wise discouer himselfe, as he had before determined; but taking horse, returned with speed to Magnesia: from whence he wrote taunting letters to his brother *Achomates*, scoffing at his good husbandry (no praise to a Prince) and in contempt sent him backe againe his fiue aspers; which thing *Achomates* tooke in so euill part, as that he was neuer afterwards friends with him. The report of this fact was in short time dispersed throughout all parts of the Turkish Empire, diuers men diuersly deeming of his purpose therein.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this sort plaid with his brother *Achomates*, he attired himselfe with certaine of his trusty followers as if they had beene seafaring men, and with a small barke came to Constantinople, and there landing as aduenturers from sea, tooke diligent view
E both of the imperiall city, and of the city of Pera standing opposit against it, curiously noting how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It hapned whilest he was thus staying at Constantinople, that *Bajazet* had appointed a solemne assembly of all his chiefe Bassaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was desirous to haue the sight of, as also of the fashion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions pressed to haue entred in at the court gate, they were by their base apparell taken of the porters to haue bin rude mariners, and so by them kept out. Wherefore consulting what to do in that case, he went and presently bought a most beautifull Christian captiue boy, and the next day comming again to the court with two of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at sea) requested to be let in, for that they had brought a present for the Emperor. So finding meanes to be admitted to the presence of
F *Bajazet*, one of his consorts (as if he had bin a sea captain) boldly stept forth, and with due reuerence offered the present vnto the Emperor; which he thankefully tooke, and in token therof gaue him his hand to kisse, and commanded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vnto him, with two other of lesse value vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, supposed to be the said captaines followers: who all this while stood a farre off, as if it had beene for reuerence of the

Mahometes disguised as a seafaring man, commeth to Constantinople and so to the court.

Empe-

Emperour, but indeed for feare to be discouered. As these counterfeit guests were returning G
from the court in their garments of fauour, they hapned to meet with three courtiers which knew *Mahometes*; who dismounting from their horses, had done him honour and due reuerence, as to the sonne of the great Emperor, had he not by secret signes forbidden them, as one vnwilling to be knowne. When he had thus seene his father, the court, and the imperiall city, he went againe aboord, and so with speed returned to Magnesia.

The report of this his doing, had in short time filled both the city and the court, and was at last brought to *Bajazets* ears: which raised in his suspitious head many a troublesome thought, greatly fearing, that in these sly practises lay hidden some secret and desperate conspiracy, dangerous to himselfe and his other children. Wherefore after long discourse had with the three great Bassaes then of his secret counsell, concerning the matter, to rid himselfe of all H
feare, he resolued in any case to take him away. And therefore caused them in his name to write vnto *Asmehemedi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poyson him with a secret poison, for that purpose inclosed in those letters sent vnto him: with promise of great rewards and preferments for that his seruice, to be afterwards receiued from the Emperor: charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he should so conceale it, as that *Mahometes* should haue no distrust thereof, the least suspition whereof, would tend to his vtter destruction. This *Asmehemedi* for som vnkindnes bare a secret grudge against *Mahometes*, which *Bajazet* knowing of, made choice of him the rather: and he on the other side, partly to performe the old tyrants command, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat wrong, vigilantly awaited all
Mahometes poisoned by Asmehemedi, oportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* haI
uing disported himselfe in the gardens of pleasure, and being thirsty after his exercise, called for drinke: *Asmehemedi* alwaies at hand, in a guilt boule fetcht him such drinke as he desired, whereinto he had secretly conueied the deadly poyson sent from *Bajazet*. *Mahometes* hauing drunke thereof, in short time began to feele himselfe euill at ease, and presently sent for his physitians: who thinking that he had but something distempered himselfe with drinking too much cold drink in his heat, perceiued not that he was poisoned, vntil that within six daies after, he died. Of whose death *Bajazet* aduertised, could not abstaine from mourning, although he himselfe had bin the only author thereof: and the more to manifest his heauinesse, commanded all the court to mourne with him, and praiers to made in their temples after their superstitious manner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his soule. His dead body K
Asmehemedi justly rewarded for his treachery. was afterwards carried to Prusa, and there honourably buried with his ancestors. *Asmehemedi* the traitor in reward of his faithfulnesse towards his master, was by the commandement of *Bajazet* cast into prison, and neuer afterwards seene, being there (as it was thought) secretly made away.

Now had *Bajazet* but three sons left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* Gouernour of Amasia, was a man both politick and valiant: but much giuen to pleasure and delight: him *Bajazet* and most part of the great men of the court fauoured aboue the rest of his brethren; except such as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his milde and quiet nature, was of most men beloued, but not thought so fit for the gouernment of so great an Empire; especially by the Ianizaries and souldiers of the court, for that he was (as they thought) altogether L
drowned in the study of Philosophy, a thing nothing agreeing with their humor. Yet might *Bajazet* seeme to do him wrong, if he should not according to his promise againe restore him vnto the possession of the Empire, which he had almost thirty yeares before receiued at his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more hauty disposition than to brooke the life of a subject vnder the command of either of his brethren, and altogether giuen to martiall affaires, sought by infinit bounty, feigned courtesie, subtill policy, and by all other meanes good and bad, to aspire vnto the Empire. Him therefore the Ianizaries with all the great souldiers of the court, yea, and some of the chiefe Bassaes also (corrupted with gifts) wished aboue the rest, for their lord and soueraigne: desiring rather to liue vnder him which was like to set all the World on a hurly burly (whereby they might increase M
their honor and wealth, the certaine rewards of their aduentures) than to lead an idle and vnprofitable life (as they tearmed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whilest men stood thus diuersly affected towards these princes of so great hope, *Bajazet* now far worne with yeares, and so grieuously tormented with the gout that he was not able

to

A to helpe himſelfe: for the quietneſſe of his ſubjects and preuenting of ſuch troubles as might ariſe by the aſpiring of his children after his death, determined whileſt he yet liued (for the auoiding of theſe and other ſuch like miſchiefes) to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion in ſome one of his ſonnes; who wholly poſſeſſed of the kingdome, might eaſily repreſſe the pride of the other. And although he had ſet downe with himſelfe, that *Achomates* ſhould be the man, as well in reſpect of his birth-right, as of the eſpeciall affection he bare vnto him; yet to diſcouer the diſpoſition of his ſubjects, and how they ſtood affected, it was giuen out in generall termes, That he meant before his death to make it knowne to the World, who ſhould ſucceed in the Empire, without naming any one of his ſonnes; leauing that for euery man to diuine of, according as they were affected: which was not the leaſt cauſe, that euery one of his ſonnes with
B like ambition began now to make ſmall account of their former preferments, as thinking onely vpon the Empire it ſelfe.

1511 First of all *Selymus*, whom *Bajazet* had made Gouernor of the kingdome of Trapezond, rigging vp all the ſhips he could in Pontus, ſailed from Trapezond ouer the Euxine (now called the blacke ſea) to the city of Capha, called in antient time Theodoſia, and from thence by land came to *Mahometes* King of the Tartars called Præcoponſes, a mighty Prince, whoſe daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and diſcouering vnto him his intended purpoſe, beſought him by the ſacred bonds of affinity betwixt them, not to ſhrinke from him his louing ſonne in law in ſo fit an opportunity for his aduancement: And withall ſhewed vnto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empite was propoſed vnto him
C by his moſt faithfull friends and the ſoldiers of the court, if he would but come neerer vnto his father (then about to transfer the Empire to ſome one of his ſons) and either by faire meanes to procure his fauor, or by entering with his army into Thracia, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other brethren for the ſucceſſor. The Tartar King commending his high deuice, as a kind father in law with wonderful celerity cauſed great ſtore of ſhipping to be made ready in the Ponticke ſea, and Mœotis, but eſpecially at the Ports at Copa and Tana, vpon the great riuer Tanais, which boundeth Europe from Aſia: and arming fifteene thouſand Tartarian horſemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promiſing forthwith to ſend him greater aid if he ſhould haue occaſion to vſe the ſame. Theſe things being quickly diſpatched, *Selymus* paſſing ouer the riuer Boryſthenes, and ſo through Valachia, came at length to Danubius, and
D with his horſemen paſſed that famous riuer at the city of Chelia: his fleet he commanded to meet him at the port of the city Varna, called in antient time Dionyſiopolis, in the confines of Bulgaria and Thracia: he himſelfe ſtill leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending in ſhew quite another thing than he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it out as if he had purpoſed to haue inuaded Hungary.

Selymus aided by Mahometes his father in law, riſeth againſt his father.

But *Bajazet* a good while before aduertiſed, that *Selymus* was departed from Trapezond, and come ouer into Europe, maruelling that he had left his charge in Aſia (the rebellion of *Techellis* and the Perſian war yet ſcarce quieted) and that vpon his own head he had entertained forreine aid to make war againſt the moſt warlike nation of the Hungarians; and farther, that with his army by land, he had ſeized vpon the places neereſt vnto Thracia, and with a
E ſtrong nauy kept the Euxine ſea; he began to ſuſpect as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and intended againſt himſelfe: for the crafty old fire had good proofe of the vnquiet and troubleſome nature of his ſon, eſpecially in that without his knowledge he durſt preſume to take a wife from among the Tartars, and afterwards with no leſſe preſumption of himſelfe raiſe an army both by ſea and land: whereby he eaſily perceiued, that he would neuer hold himſelfe contented with a ſmall kingdome, ſo long as he was in hope by deſperat aduenture to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like diſſimulation to appeaſe his violent and fierce nature, than by ſharpe reproofe to moue him to further choller, he ſent vnto him em-
F baſſadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkiſh Kings had in former times taken vpon them thoſe Hungarian wars: for example whereof he needed not to goe further than to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding loſſe had made proofe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he ſhould do well to expect ſome fit opportunity, when as he might with better aduice, greater power, and more ſure hope of victory, take thoſe wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, That he had left Aſia, inforced thereunto by the injuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into Europe, by dint of ſword

Bajazet ſendeth Embaſſadors to Selymus.

and

and the helpe of his friends, to win from the enemies of the Mahometan religion a larger and G
better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had giuen him, bordering vpon Hiberia and Cholchos, bare and needy people, liuing as connies amongſt the rocks and mountaines. As for the Hungarians whom they thought to be a people inuincible, and therefore not to be dealt withall, he was not of that baſe mind to be daunted with any danger, were it neuer ſo great: and yet that in his opinion the war was neither ſo difficult or dangerous, as was by them pretended; foraſmuch as the antient proweſſe of that warlike nation was now much changed, together with the change of their Kings; and their diſcipline of war not onely much decaied, but almoſt quite loſt, after that *Vladiſlaus*, farre vnlike in policy and proweſſe, had ſucceeded the renowned *Matthias* in that kingdome. Neither had he (as he ſaid) H
from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of war, as knowing that neither God nor man would be wanting to him, who with an honourable reſolution did aduenture vpon vertuous and worthy attempts: and that therefore he was fully reſolued for his owne honour (which his father had in ſome ſort blemiſhed by the immoderate aduancement of his brethren) either to die honourably in the field in battell againſt the enemies of the Mahometan religion, or elſe glorioufly to extend the bounds of the Turkiſh Empire: and that he would not (though one of the youngeſt in the *Othoman* family) be accounted inferiour to any of his brethren in vertue and proweſſe. Thus was the Hungarian war neuer by *Selymus* intended, notably by him pretended; and with no leſſe diſſimulation by *Bajazet* diſſuaded. The Em-

Preſents giuen to Selymus by his fathers Embaſſadors.

baſſadours, although *Selymus* in all his ſpeeches ſhewed no token of peace: yet in his fathers name preſented vnto him diuers gifts, thereby if it might be to appeaſe his fierce and cruell I
mind. Vnto his old gouernment they adjoined Samandria, which the Hungarians call Schenderouia, a ſtrong city of Seruia vpon the borders of Hungary, with many other ſtrong towns in the ſame country: they gaue him alſo threeſcore thouſand ducats, beſide a thouſand garments of cloth and ſilke: with good ſtore of prouiſion wherewith to relieue and content the ſoldiers by him entertained: leſt that they drawne far from home in hope of ſpoile, ſhould take it in euill part if they ſhould be ſent away emptie handed. *Selymus* in a happy time hauing receiued theſe gifts, returned the Embaſſadours vnto his father, with more doubtfull anſwer and vncertaine hope than before: yet changing nothing in himſelfe of his former reſolution, ſecret meſſengers and letters from his friends in the court ſtill whetting him forward (too much already inflamed with deſire of ſoueraignty) perſuading him to make haſt and to K
repoſe his greateſt hope in his quicke ſpeed; for that they vnderſtood, that about the time of his ſetting forward, his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power, being ſent for out of Capadocia by his father.

Bajazet would appoint his ſucceſſour whileſt he yet liued.

In the meane time *Bajazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*, reſolued vpon that, whereof he had long before in his minde deeply conſidered, and now ſaid openly, That hee would appoint his ſucceſſor, who in ſtead of himſelfe, ſpent with yeares and ſickeneſſe, ſhould bring with him the floure of youth and ſtrength of body, fit to gouerne ſo great an Empire. But when thoſe things were propounded vnto the ſouldiers of the court by the foure great Baſſaes (who in all things both of peace and wars had next place vnto the Emperor himſelfe) it was forthwith gainſaied by thoſe martiall men, crying aloud with one voice, That they L
would know no other Emperor but *Bajazet*, vnder whoſe conduct and good fortune they had now ſerued aboue 30 yeres: and therfore would not ſuffer him to liue a priuat life in obſcurity, who with ſo many victories and ſtrong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* Empire vnto that height of renown & glory. They ſaid moreouer, that there was in him yet ſtrength enough if he would but with the reuerend honor of his age retain the majeſty of his place, and the glory he had gotten with his long and happy reigne, and moſt famous victories: and that of his children, ſuch a one ſhould vndoubtedly in his due time ſucceed in the Empire, as of right ought: only they wiſht, that the old Emperor might in the mean time liue in health, with a long and happy reigne: neither needed he (as they ſaid) to feare that after his death any controuerſie ſhould ariſe among his ſons about the ſucceſſion; for that the *Othoman* progeny vſed M
to attain the imperiall ſeat, according to the old cuſtome of their anceſtors the *Othoman* kings, by right and order only, and not by corruption or faction. But if he would needs vpon his own priuat good liking, or as it were by new adoption, proceed to make choice of ſuch a one as the people & the men of war (his moſt loiall & faithful ſubjects) ſhould not ſo well like of, it would

be

A be an occasion of much more trouble, and haply the means to bring in that confusion of the State, which he thought therby to eschu. For then, beside the dislike of the people, the other brethren would neuer indure so notable an injury, or euer be at quiet, vntil they had (as men wrongfully cast off and disinherited) by strong hand and indangering of all, recouer their honor lost by the headstrong wil of their aged father.

The soldiers thus before instructed by the friends and fauorits of *Selymus* (who with mony and large promises had corrupted their captains and chief officers) spake these things frankly, to haue deterred the old Emperor from his purpose. But he thinking that they had (as he himself did) especially affected *Achomates* his eldest son (for that they had generally protested, That they would against all injuries defend his honor, vnto whom the Empire should of

Bajazet seeks to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.

B right appertain) said he would make choice of *Achomates*, if it should stand with their good liking. But the chief of the souldiers, who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together sold both their faith and themselues, cunningly commended *Achomates*, and seemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their Soueraign, *Bajazet* yet liuing, they said was not agreeing with the antient custom of the *Othoman* Kings, neither for the behoof of the men of war, neither yet good for the state of the Empire; forasmuch as neither his brethren, *Corcutus* and *Selymus*, neither the soldiers of the court, could patiently endure the least touch of the suspition of infidelitie; which they must needs do, if hee as a suspitious father should doubt either of the loue or loyaltie of his most dutiful sons, or of the faith or constancie of his most faithfull seruants, wherof he had made so many trials. Besides that, it seemed vnto them all vnreasona-

C ble, that by the odious preiudice of that fact, the soldiers should be left defrauded of the rewards vsually granted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the Empire, arising of the spoil taken from them which are of religion different from the Turks. For it is a custom, that immediatly vpon the death of the Turkish Emperor, all the Iews and Christians which dwel at Constantinople, Pera, Hadrianople, Thessalonica, and Prusa, especially merchants, exposed vnto the injuries of the Turks, are by the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court spoiled of all their wares and goods, and become vnto them a prey: neither will they giue their oath of allegeance vnto the new Emperor, vntil he haue granted vnto them all that prey, as a bounty; and haue solemnly sworn by his own head (the greatest assurance that can by Oath bee giuen among the Turks) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget all the outrages

D before committed. When *Bajazet* saw his men of war thus generally to oppose themselues against the translation of the empire to *Achomates*, he of purpose to corrupt the minds of them which were before already corrupted, promised to giue them fiue hundred thousand duckats, if they would stand fauorable to *Achomates*, and accept him for their Soueraign: which masse of mony his customers and receiuers vndertook to leuy of the same merchants strangers and Iewes, and to pay it as *Bajazet* had promised. Yet the ouerthwart forwardnes of these men of war ouercame the good fortune of *Achomates*, although the reward promised were great. For why, they had in their martial minds conceiued far greater rewards & preferments, if in sted of a peaceable and quiet prince, a monstrous Tyrant of restlesse nature (such as was *Selymus*) might by their helpe and meanes aspire to the Empire. Thus *Bajazet* driuen from his hope,

E thought it best for the present to dissemble the matter, & concealing his grief, with patience to put vp that dishonor, vntil a fitter opportunitie were offered for the effecting of that hee so much desired.

Selymus aduertised by his friends, with what affection and and fastnesse the soldiers of the Court had in the secret fauor of him, openly withstood the earnest desire of *Bajazet* for the preferment of *Achomates*; because he would no longer frustrat the expectation of his fauorits by lingring or delay, or seem to distrust the ready good wils of the men of war towards him,

Selymus marcheth with his army toward Hadrianople.

left the borders of Hungary, & with his army marching thorow Thracia, incamped at length vpon the rising of a hill not far from Hadrianople, from whence the neighing of his horses might easily be heard, and his tents from the high places of the city discouered. From thence

Selymus his dissembling Embassage to his father.

F he sent a messenger to his father then lying in the city, to certifie him, That forasmuch as hee had not of many years before seen him, he was now therfore desirous to come vnto his presence to visit him, before he crossed the seas backe again by his appointment to Trapezond. And therather, because it might so chance that he should neuer see him again, beeing now both aged and diseased. Besides that, it much concerned (as he would haue had him beleeue)

the quietnes of his kingdom in Asia, and the vnity of his children, if the controuersie betwixt him and his brother *Achomates*, which could not safely be committed to messengers, might by themselues be discouered to him their father, as an indifferent hearer and decider therof. Wherefore he humbly besought him to appoint him a time and place to giue him audience in, and not to deny him leaue to come and kisse his hands: which thing his Ancestors neuer refused to grant to their poor friends, much lesse to their children. *Bajazet*, who a few dayes before vnderstanding of the comming of *Selymus*, and throughly seeing into his deuices, had called vnto him certain of his Sanzacks or chief captains, with their select companies out of the neerest parts of Grecia, and had also set strong watch and ward through the City; fearing lest vnder colour of parle, his soldiers attending about his own person, corrupted by *Selymus* and his friends (who euen then loded with gifts and promises, were secretly vpon the point of reuolt) should be quite drawn away from him, and so he himself at length bee either by open force oppressed, or secret trechery circumuented, thought it best to cut him off at once from all hope of conference, or acces vnto his presence. Wherfore seriously blaming him, That he had vpon his own head brought his army into another mans prouince; that he in arms required audience; and lastly, That he so insolently abused his fathers lenitie and patience; he by the same messenger sent him further word, That he should not presume to approch any neerer vnto him, or expect any thing appertaining vnto peace; who garded with forreine power, had without his fathers leaue entred into arms, and spoiled the countries of his friends. And that therfore he should do wel, with all speed to retyre out of Thracia, yea and out of Europ also, and dis-banding his forces, again to retyre himself vnto his charge in Pontus; in which doing he should find greater fauor and kindnes with him his father, than euer he had before: but if he would needs proceed in the course by him begun, then he would no more take him for his son, but for his enemy, and before it were long, sharply chastise him for his malapert insolencie, little differing from vnnatural trechery. The messenger with this answer dismissed, it was not long after, but that *Bajazet* was by his Espials aduertised, That *Selymus* the night following was risen with his army, and marched directly toward Constantinople; whither he was sent for by his friends, in hope that vpon his approch with his Army, some sudden tumult or vprore would to his auail arise in that so great and populous a city. Wherupon *Bajazet* fearing lest in staying at Hadrianople, he might lose the Imperial city of Constantinople, early in the morning by breake of the day departed from Hadrianople towards Constantinople. Vpon his departure, *Selymus* peaceably entred the city of Hadrianople, the Citisens fearing, that if they should haue made any resistance, their vnseasonable faithfulnesse toward *Bajazet* might haue turned to their vtter destruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreshed his army with the plenty of that city, according to his former determination set forward again, of purpose by long and speedy marches to haue preuented his fathers comming to Constantinople. *Bajazet* was yet scarsly come to Chiurlus, or rather Tzurulum, an antient ruinous city almost vpon the mid way betwixt Hadrianople and Constantinople, when warning was giuen him by them that followed his army, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the straglers of his army, and with hot skirmishes staying and troubling his rereward. The aged Emperor more mooued than terrified with the strangenes of the matter, because his marching should not seem as if it were a flight or chase, commanded his standard to be set vp, and al his army to make a stand; of purpose that if *Selymus* should come vp to giue him battell, hee might find him in readinesse. The great Captains and Noblemen then present with *Bajazet*, whether it were for old acquaintance, or vpon some new inclination of their affection, or else vpon hope of new allyance and preferment, wishing well vnto *Selymus*, and therefore indirectly and cunningly fauoured him, seemed not to like of *Bajazet* his resolution, to be so far moued (as they said) with the youthfull heat and lightnesse of his son, as to seek reuenge by battell, whereas the victory it self could yeeld him nothing but sorrow, but the ouerthrow threatened destruction both to himselfe and all them that were with him: the imminent euent whereof seemed to be so much the more dangerous and fearefull, by how much hee was at that time inferiour vnto his sonne both in warrelike prouision and number of armed souldiours. Wherefore it were the best course for him (said they) to moderate his anger, and not now in the winding vp of his life, to make too much hast by a miserable death in a wofull battell to blemish the whole glory of his former life. There was (as they would haue per-

Selimus ouertaketh his father.

Bajazets chief Commaunders secretly fauouring Selymus, dissuade him frō giuing him battell.

suaded

A ſuaded him) but one only courſe to be taken, full of wholſome policie and ſafety; which was, that he ſhould with ſuch ſpeed as he had begun, march on forward to Conſtantinople, that ſo *Selymus* excluded out of the city (his chiefeſt hope) and then not knowing which way to turn himſelf, ſhould either of his own accord, or for fear of his fathers greater forces, thinke of return; and ſo with his raſcall followers more honeſtly periſh by their hands whoſe countries he had ſpoiled, and vpon whom he muſt of neceſſity liue in his return, than by the ſword of his father. The author of this counſel was *Muſtapha*, the moſt antient Baſſa of thoſe which beeing in greateſt authoritie vnder the Emperor, are only of his priuy counſel, and ſway all matters of importance concerning either peace or war: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malicious mind loathing *Bajazet*, as one that had too long reigned, hated him alſo for certain priuat
B diſpleaſures conceiued of the emulation of the other yonger Baſſa's by him promoted; & ſecretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and fauor reſembling his grandfather the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought vp himſelf, and him of all the ſons of *Bajazet* he thought moſt worthy of the empire. This *Muſtapha* was born in the town of Seres (neer to Amphipolis) the ſon of a Greek prieſt, a man of a ſly, crafty, and ſubtil wit, alwaies ſubiect to corruption; which diſeaſes of mind were in him well to haue bin diſcouered by his froward look and ſquint eies, the certain notes of a nature to be ſuſpected. Next vnto this *Muſtapha* was *Boſtanges Baſſa*, born of the honorable houſe of the *Deucagina* in Ætolia, and therof called *Deucaginoli*; a man for his couetouſneſſe, ambition, and treachery, infamous, as the foul & miſerable end of his life afterwards declared. Vnto this man *Selymus* had by ſecret mariage be-
C trothed one of his daughters, now mariageable, as a reward of his corrupt faith. By the which ſleight he alſo allured *Ajax* (Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and great Maſter of the houſhold) to promiſe his aid for the obtaining of the empire; wherunto he ſaid he was by deſtiny called: and by his means drew other inferior captains ſecretly to fauor his quarrel; to whom he ſpared not to promiſe whatſoeuer might pleaſe their humors. Yea the captains almoſt generally either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater commanders, of themſelues leaned that way. Of all the reſt, only *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (whom the Turks hiſtories call alſo *Achmet Hertezeck Ogli*) a faithfull conſtant vpright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a faſt and aſſured friend vnto *Bajazet* his father in law, was of opinion, That the immoderat pride and inſolencie of *Selymus* was euen there by force of Armes
D and ſtrong hand forthwith to be oppreſſed, before he ſhould approch any neerer vnto the Imperiall city, for fear of raiſing ſome further tumult or trouble there than were well to bee appeaſed; which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends moſt of all deſired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherſeogles* ſaid) that the naked Tartarian horſemen, although they were in number more, would euer be able to abide the firſt charge of *Bajazets* well armed penſioners. As for the Ianizaries, of whoſe approued faith and valor tried in many dangers, he had before had good experience; there was no doubt but that they would now to the vtmoſt of their power defend the perſon and honor of their aged and victorious Emperor, who had of long time ſo wel of them deſerued; and alſo to reuenge his quarrel vpon diſobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God, the iuſt reuenger of ſuch vngratious dealing, neither the infamy of men, had moſt
E vnnaturally lift vp his ſword againſt his father, wickedly to depriue him of life, of whom hee had receiued life. Wherfore he perſuaded him, in his own iuſt quarrell to go forth vnto his ſoldiers with cheerful countenance, and putting them in mind of the benefits they had from time to time moſt bountifully receiued at his hands, as alſo of their allegeance and duty; to make them to vnderſtand, that repoſing his truſt in their fidelity and valour, he had reſolutely ſet down with himſelf, in that place before he went any further, by their faithful hands to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous inſolencie of his vnnaturall ſonne, together with his rebellious Followers.

Cherſeogles Baſſa the onely great man faithfull to Bajazet perſuadeth him to giue battell to Selymus.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherſeogles*, it ſhall not be amiſſe, both for the honor of the man, and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Chriſtians, to ſtep
F a little out of the way, to ſee the cauſe why he being a Chriſtian born, turned Turk. For hee was not (as almoſt all the reſt of the great men about *Bajazet* were) taken from his Chriſtian parents of a child, and ſo brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown turned Turk: yet ſo, as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Chriſtian religion, or loue toward the Chriſtians; a thing not common among ſuch renegats. He being the ſonne of one

Cherseogles, a small prince of Illyria neer vnto the black mountain, and going to be maried to G
a Lady whom he most intirely loued, and vnto whom he was already betrothed, honourably descended of the house of the Despot of Servia; his intemperat father with lustfull eye beholding the yong Lady of rare feiture and incomparable beauty, desired to haue her for himself; and regarding more the satisfying of his own inordinat desire, than his own honour, or the fatherly loue of his son, took her in mariage himself; all his friends laboring in vaine to dissuade him, and with open mouth crying shame of so foul a fact. Wherfore the yong man, mooued with the indignitie of so great an injury, and driuen headlong with dispair, fled first to the Turks garrisons which lay not far off, and from thence to Constantinople; where the fortune of the man was to be wondred at: for being brought before *Bajazet*, who with cheerefull countenance entertained him, for that he was honorably descended, and well liked both H
of the man, and of the cause of his reuolt; smiling vpon him, said, *Be of good cheere, noble Youth, for thy great courage is worthy of far greater fortune than thy fathers house can afford thee; now in sted of thy Loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father (the kinswoman of a poor exiled Prince) thou shalt haue giuen thee in mariage the daughter of a great Emperor, of rare and singular perfection.* And not long after abjuring his religion, and changing his name of *Stephen*, to *Achomates* and *Cherseogles*, he maried one of *Bajazets* daughters, a princesse of great beauty, and deserued to haue a place among the Bassa's of greatest honor in the court. Yet stil retaining the remembrance of his former profession, with a desire to return therto again: insomuch that he kept in his secret closet the image of the Crucifix, which he shewed to *Io. Lascaris*, as to his trusty friend, as hee himself reported. This man at such time as the city of Modon was taken by the Turks, and a I
multitude of poor Christian captiues cruelly put to death in the sight of *Bajazet*, by ernest intreaty saued the liues of the Venetian Senators; and afterward deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, beeing prisoner at Constantinople, and condemned to die; who not many years after was chosen Duke of Venice. He was the chief means whereby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of *Bajazet*. He also by his great authority, and of his own charge redeemed innumerable Christians from the seruitude of the Turks, and set them at liberty. Neither is his kindnes toward the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at such time as the aforesaid *Io. Lascaris* the notable and learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the tenth, sought antient works of famous Writers, hee procured the Turkish Emperours Letters patents, that he might freely at his pleasure search all the Liberaries in Grecia, to the great furtherance of K
good letters.

Now *Bajazet* incouraged by this mans persuasion (as is aforesaid) and hearing as hee lay in his pauilion, the alarm of the enemy, with the tumult & clamor of his own soldiers as if they had bin men afraid; and sundry messengers also at the same time comming to him with news, That *Selymus* with his Tartarian horsmen had almost inclosed the rereward of his Army, and already taken some of his baggage; grinding his teeth for very madnesse and grief of mind, with tears trickling down his hoary cheeks, got him out of his pauilion in his horse-litter (for he was at the same time so troubled with the gout, that hee was not able to sit on horse-backe) and turning himself vnto the Pensioners and Ianizaries standing about him, as their maner is, said vnto them, L

Bajazets speech to the soldiers and Ianizaries of the Court.

Will you, foster-children, valiant soldiers, and faithfull keepers of my person, who with great fortune haue serued me in field aboue the space of thirty years; and for your faithful and good seruice haue both in time of peace and war, of me receiued such rewards, as by your own confession and thanksgiuing, far exceeded your own expectation, and the measure of our treasures: Will you (I say) suffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his graceles son? And your old Emperor, tormented with age and diseases, to be cruelly murthered by a company of wild Tartars, little better than arrant rogues and theeues? Shall I be now forsaken in this my heauy old age and last act of life? And shall I be deliuered vnto myne enemies, by them, by them (I say) who many years ago with great faithfulnes and inuincible courage defended myne honor and right against my brother Zemes? and haue many times since, not only valiantly defended this M
Empire against most warlike nations, but also victoriously augmented the same? But I wil not so lightly beleeue that which to my no small grief is brought vnto myne ears, concerning the reuolting of my army: neither if I did beleeue it, am I so fearfull as to be therwith discouraged, or to seek to make shift for my self. For to what purpose should I think of flight, as though I could in any place find more faithfulnesse,

or

A *or ſurer defence than with you? And concerning your ſelues, what ſhould be your hope by this ſo infamous trechery? If any of you (for I cannot beleeue that you are all ſo mad) without regard of faith, of worldly ſhame, or the fear of God, haue polluted your minds with the pernitious conceit of ſo foul a treaſon, doe you think to gain greater rewards and preferments by your trechery and villany, than by your fidelitie & conſtancie? There be many which carefull of my perſon, perſuade me to reſerue this my ſicke and feeble body vnto my better fortune, and to commit my ſelfe to flight, ſo rather to ſaue my life with ſhame and infamy, than to end my daies with honor and glory. Which is ſo far from my thought for the apprehenſion of any fear to do, that I will to the contrary forthwith giue the fierce Enemy battell, and in this my laſt danger make proof of all your fidelitie and valor, and of euery one of your good wils in particular: and ſo by conduct of the Higheſt either defeit the power and breake the ſtrength of this graceleſſe man; or els hauing*
B *reigned aboue thirty years an Emperor, end my daies together with them which ſhall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulneſſe and loyaltie, although I ſhould bee moſt ſhamefully and diſhonorably betrayed and forſaken of ſome of myne own Gard. Which thing though lying fame would make me beleeue, yet will I not fear it vntil I make proof therof.*

The common ſort of the Ianizaries (vnto whom the great Commanders and captains corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude imparted their purpoſe for tranſferring the empire to *Selymus*) began to cry out as if it had bin with general conſent, That he ſhould not doubt to join battel with his enemies, and ſo to make proofe of their conſtant fidelitie and valour. Which was done with ſuch a cheerefulnes and deſire, expreſſed by great
C ſhouts, clapping of hands, and clattering of armor, that it ſeemed they would play the parts of reſolute ſoldiers, and that as guiltleſſe men they tooke it grieuouſly to be once ſuſpected of treaſon or infidelitie. Others alſo who ſecretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for faſhion ſake followed them with like cry, but ſpecially the great Commanders of the Emperors court and army, now changed their affection, whether it were for ſhame of the fact, or for fear of diſcouering themſelues out of ſeaſon, is vncertain. Wherfore according to the maner of ſuch men, which through their mutability and miſchieuous diſpoſition, fearing to be conuinced and diſcouered, adde vnto the preſent a ſecond and new treaſon or treachery to couer the former: ſo *Muſtapha* and *Boſtanges*, not daring now to ſhew themſelues for *Selymus*, to make a great ſhew of their feigned loyaltie toward *Bajazet*, departed themſelues out of his pauilion
D to incourage the ſoldiers and to marſhal the batttel.

The commō ſort of the Ianizaries faithfull to Bajazet, deſire battell.

Bajazet ſick in his chariot, by the aduice of *Cherſeogles* the faithful Baſſa placed his battell in this order: The Sanzacks (which are the gouernors of prouinces) with their horſemen, in number about 6000, he ſet in the front of the battel: the Spachi oglans and Siliphtars, who are the chief horſemen of the Court, and as it were the Emperours Penſioners, were placed as two wings on each ſide of the great ſquadron of the Ianizaries; in the midſt whereof was old *Bajazet* himſelf. Other 4000 horſemen (ſeruants to the great men of the Court) were left in the rereward, and to gard the baggage. Theſe ſlaues (for ſo indeed they are) for their apparell and furniture, and for their valor alſo, are little inferior to their maſters, by whom they are ſo ſumptuouſly maintained both for ſtrength and oſtentation. The battel thus ordered, *Bajazet*
E commanded the trumpets to ſound, and a red enſigne in token of battell to be diſplaied. On the other ſide, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horſmen in both wings, and his Turks in the middeſt, in manner of an halfe moon, for that he in number of horſemen far exceeded his father, did almoſt on euery ſide incloſe him, and ſo charge him. The Tartars when they were come within 100 paces of their enemies, caſting themſelues (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, empty within in manner of a crowne, and ſo running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrows, caſt vpon their enemies whole ſhowres of ſhot, as if it had bin hail, to the great annoiance of the Turks. When as in the mean time the other Tartarian archers farther off, ſhooting their arrows not right forth, but more vpright towards heauen, which falling directly down, ſore gauled the Turks horſes alſo. But the old ſoldiers,
F taught by the example of their captains, ſerred cloſe together, and caſting their targets ouer their heads as if it had bin one whole roofe or penthouſe, receiued their Arrowes with leſſe harm, and haſted with as much ſpeed as they could to come to handy blows. The penſioners alſo at the ſame inſtant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battell, where his Turkiſh

The battell betwixt Bajazet and Selymus.

horſmen ſtood: and *Ajax* captain of the Ianizaries, drawing out 700 ready harquebuſiers out G
of the ſquadron of the Ianizaries, with them aſſailed the hindmoſt of one of the wings of the Tartars: and the four thouſand ſeruants left in the rereward, as deſirous as the reſt to ſhew their forwardnes, with great ſlaughter repulſed the other wing of the Tartars, which came to haue ſpoiled the Turks carriages. This fierce battel betwixt the father and the ſonne, with doubtful euent indured from noon vntil the going down of the Sun; *Selymus* in many places ſtil reſtoring his declining battel, and fighting himſelf as for an Empire. But after that the Tartars, hardly charged by the harquebuſiers, were not able to abide the ſhot, eſpecially their horſes, being with the vnwonted noiſe therof wonderfully terrified, and ſo carrying back their riders whether they would or no, began to fly; the reſt of the horſmen could neither by commandment, threatning, or wounds, be inforced ro ſtay, but turned their backes and fled. The H
footmen alſo whom *Selymus* had attyred and armed after the manner of the Ianizaries, being forſaken of their own horſemen, were now by *Bajazets* horſemen compaſſed about and almoſt all ſlain.

Selymus his army diſcomfited

Selymus his army thus ouerthrown, and himſelf hardly beſet, was by certaine troups of his Turkiſh horſemen which yet ſtayed with him, deliuered from the preſent danger, and beeing wounded, was mounted vpon a freſh horſe, and ſo with all ſpeed hee could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be purſued and ouertaken by his fathers ſpeedy horſemen, hee changed his horſe, and took another of a wonderfull ſwiftnes: and ſo reſeruing himſelf to his future fortune, with a few of his followers fled to Varna, and from thence by ſea to Capha.

The eſtimation Selymus had of his horſe wheron he eſcaped frō his father.

The horſe wheron *Selymus* fled was all cole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to ſay, a blacke I
Cloud) whom *Selymus* as a good ſeruitor euer after exempted from all ſeruice; and had him in ſuch eſtimation, that couered with Cloth of gold, he was as a ſpare horſe without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, firſt into Perſia, & afterward into Egypt, where he died at Cair, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horſe, had a monument erected for him. Wherein *Selymus* ſhewed himſelf more kinde than vnto his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murthered, and hardly afforded vnto ſome of them ſo honourable a Sepulture.

In this battel, of 40000 which *Selymus* brought into the field, eſcaped not aboue 8000, but they were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Of *Bajazets* army were loſt about 700, and 3000 hurt with Tartarian arrows. Which loſſe he preſently reuenged with extream cruelty, cauſing all K
ſuch as were taken priſoners to be without mercy put to the ſword in his ſight; whoſe heads were laid together by heaps, and their dead bodies as if they had bin towers. Of this notable battel betwixt the father and the ſon in the year 1511, Chiurlus, called in antient time Tzurulum, before an obſcure old ruinous city (or as *Iouius* calls it, a village) became famous. But much more afterward by the fatal deſtiny of *Selymus*, who not many years after, ſtrucken with a moſt lothſom and incurable diſeaſe, ended his daies in the ſame place with an vntimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the ſame place taking iuſt puniſhment for his former diſloyaltie toward his father, as ſhal herafter in due time and place be declared.

Three daies *Bajazet* lay ſtil in the ſame place where he had obtained the victory, vntil ſuch L
time as all his ſouldiers were again returned from the chaſe of the enemy: after that, he held on his way to Conſtantinople, and there bountifully rewarded his ſouldiers. In the meane time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had hapned betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*, with the euent thereof, came with an Army of 20000 from Amaſia, thorow the countries of Galatia and Bythinia, vnto the city of Scutari, called in antient time Chriſopolis (though ſome ſuppoſe it to haue bin the famous city of Chalcedon) which city is ſcituated vpon the ſtreit of Boſphorus, directly againſt the city of Conſtantinople. In this place *Achomates* incamped his army, neer the ſea ſide, expecting what courſe his father would take after ſo great a victory. For beſides the prerogatiue of his age, and the eſpecial loue of his father towards him, the general affection of the vulgar people, with the good opinion he had of M
himſelf, had already filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherfore hee ceaſed not night nor day to ſend meſſengers ouer that narow ſtreit to Conſtanſtantinople, and moſt earneſtly to ſolicit *Bajazet* his father, in ſo fit an occaſion to make haſt to diſpatch what hee had

ſo

A so long before determined, concerning the resignation of the empire. He also importuned his friends and familiars in best manner he could to commend him to his father, and in most ample sort to extoll his graue purpose for translation of the empire; and to do the vttermost of their devoir, that seeing God and good fortune had iustly ouerthrown the rash attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the sooner obtain the empire, of which he was the vndoubted heir.

Bajazet desires to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.

Bajazet, who of himselfe and according to his old good liking was altogether desirous of the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their persuasions easily intreated to hasten the performance of that he had before determined for transferring the empire. And making no great secret of the matter, commanded certain Gallies to be made ready for the transporting of *A-*
B *chomates* from Scutario to Constantinople. But the great Bassa's and soldiers of the court, the secret fauorits of *Selymus*, vnderstanding the matter, began again openly to resist and impugn his purposed determination, and to alledge the same reasons they had before at Hadrianople alledged: in fine they said plainly, they would by no means suffer him so far to disable himself, as an insufficient man to resigne the empire, who of late had with so valiant and couragious an heart fought for the honor of his crown and dignitie: and that therfore so long as hee liued, they would acknowledge no other Soueraign but *Bajazet*. Yet for all that, as they meant not to cut off *Achomates* hope, so neither ought he to distrust the good wil of the men of war; but that he being a man of most approued and known valor, might in due time with their general good liking injoy his right, which should then without all question be due vnto him as
C the eldest son of their Emperor. They said moreouer, That they had in the late battel against *Selymus* sufficiently declared what minds they were of, both towards their Emperor & *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repose in the fidelitie of their soldiers, who to manifest their faithfulnes and loyaltie, had not refused to offer themselues to the hasard of a most vnequal battel, yea their liues vnto death it self. O foul dissimulation, the couert mask of all mischief! vnder which, meer trechery is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged Emperor too too much flattered, *Achomates* shamefully deluded, and the man that might not as then without some addition of disgrace bee named, *Selymus*, euen bloudy *Selymus* secretly sought for aboue all men to be preferred.

Bajazet by this offwardnes and insolencie of the soldiers again disappointed of his purpose,
D or els (as some thought) delighted with the sweetnes of soueraignty; for that after the late victory he seemed (as one grown yong again) neither to feel himselfe old or vnable still to gouern so great an empire; sent word to *Achomates*, how the matter stood, & that he should forthwith depart from Scutari to his old charge at Amasia, from whence he would again call him, at such time as he had with new bounty won the hearts of the soldiers, & procured the good liking of other the great men in court, wherby so great a matter and not vsuall, might the better and with more security be effected.

Achomates thus deceiued of his hope & expectation, grieuously complaining that he was so mocked of his father, and contemned of the soldiers of the court, began to mix his new request with words of heat and discontent, and to invey against his father, for making him a by-
E word (as he termed it) and a laughing stock vnto the World, after hee had taken the paines to come so far, and that by his special appointment. But if he proceeded so to doat, and to make so great reckoning of the soldiers of the court, that in respect therof he neither regarded his promise, nor that was right and iust; he would himself by force of arms take vpon him the defence of his own honour and right, so lightly esteemed by his father, and reuenge the disgrace offered vnto him by others.

Wherunto *Baiazet* answered by the Cadelescher (which is a man of greatest place and authoritie among the Turks in matters concerning their superstition, and therfore of them honored aboue others, as the sacred interpreter of their law) that he did neither well nor wisely, without iust cause to fall into so great rage and choler, as by his speech and force to think to
F extort that good which was only by loue and loyaltie to be gained: wheras all things should be surely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly descend vnto him, if by vntimely hast hee did not mar that hope which he ought by sufferance and patient expectation to cherish. He might (as the Cadelescher told him) learn by that late example & fortune of his brother *Selymus*, what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger,

despe-

desperatly to thrust himself headlong into such an action as he could not possibly see the end G
of, than moderating by reason his hot passions, to expect with patience the opportunitie of time, and fitnes of occasion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

Achomates inflamed with anger and grief of the repulse, all the while the Cadelescher was deliuering his fathers message, gaue him many sharp taunts, and had much adoe to stay himself from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatning him, that in short time both his father should dearly buy the changing of his purpose, and the soldiers of the court their treacherous dealing. And so sending him away with this short answer, he presently rose with his army, and passing thorow Bythinia, cruelly spoiled the country in his return to Amasia. There daily more and more inflamed with the grief and the indignitie of the repulse before receiued, he determined to inuade the lesser Asia: that if it should so fall out, that hee must needs H
by force of arms try his right against either of his brethren, he might therin vse the wealth of that rich prouince. Wherby if it should chance that he should by the practise of any fail of the whole empire, yet he should at the leastwise be possessed of the one half therof, and be the readier for all euents, hauing all these great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherfore calling vnto him his two sons, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, young princes of great hope, after he had grieuously complained of the vnkindnes of his father *Bajazet*, and of the injuries don against him by his enemies in the Court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtain the empire, except they would forthwith enter into arms with him, and so together with him, defend both his and their own right and honour, against the malice and injuries of their enemies: which hee said would be an easie matter to doe, by surprising the lesser I
Asia, if they would couragiously enter vpon it; forasmuch as all Pysidia, Licaonia, Pamphilia, with the sea coast of Ionia, were not as then kept with an army or navy. And as for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet disposition would be content either to sit stil, or els in regard of his iust quarrell to take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet state with the troubled, and so enter into arms, might easily be thrust out of whatsoeuer he possessed. As for the Gouernors of the rest of the prouinces, hee doubted not but that they would also yeeld either to his commaund or fortune. Wherfore he willed them to pluck vp their hearts as men of courage, and to go into the countries therabouts to take vp men, and whatsoeuer els were needful for the wars. These gallants, of their own youthfull disposition ready enough for such a matter, and now incou- K
raged with their fathers persuasion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in short time raised a notable army of voluntary souldiers, of whom the greatest part were of seruile condition. But *Achomates* himselfe, besides his old army which he had formerly led against the Persian rebels, leuied new forces also, and called forth into the field all the able men that were to be found in the Cities round about: and so running through the prouinces, proclaimed himself king of Asia; and such as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, those he and his two sons in diuers places prosecuted with all hostility: by which means many cities, especially such as were but meanly fortified, partly for fear, partly by constraint, were deliuered vnto him.

Achomates inciteth his two sons *Amurathes* and *Aladin* to take part with him against their grandfather *Bajazet*.

After that, he entred with his army into Licaonia and the borders of Cilicia, where by em- L
bassadors and often letters he requested *Mahometes* his brothers son (who then gouerned those countries) to aid him in his iust quarrell against them, who by crafty and sinister persuasions had to his dishonor and disgrace withdrawn his fathers good will from him, and so far seduced him, that he was determined to appoint another successor in the empire, than him his eldest and first begotten son. Which their malice he would (as he said) preuent, and by force of arms recouer his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about to haue put him in possession therof whilst hee yet liued, had hee not by the sinister practise of others bin hindred. For the recouery wherof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid him with men and victual, and so further his iust cause, he promised that he should find a far better Vncle than he had found a father; and that his present friendship should in time be most amply M
and bountifully requited.

Wherto *Mahometes* answered, That he could not do what his vncle had required, except he were so commanded by his grandfather *Bajazet*, whom alone hee acknowledged for his dread Soueraign: and that it was not for him to iudge whether he did right or otherwise, That hee would

A would not in his life time resigne the empire to his son. But this (he said) he was not ignorant of, that hee was not to yeeld his obedience to any other, so long as hee liued possessed of the Empire: to whom both his father *Tzihan Schach* whilst he liued, and himselfe also, had giuen their oath of obedience and loyaltie. Wherfore it were good for him to pacifie himself, lest in seeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he should to the offence of all men wrong his father, and by too much heat & hast ouerthrow both his hope and honor; which of right should be most great, if he could but in the mean time haue patience, and stay himself a while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing lesse than such an answer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for loue or fear haue presently come vnto him, and now finding his requests to bee with greater grauitie and consideration denied by his nephew, than were by reason of him demanB ded, entred with his army into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and sword began to destroy the country before him. Which *Mahometes* with such power as hee had thinking to remedy, was by the way incountred by his vncle, not far from Larenda, and there ouerthrown; and taking that city for refuge, was there certain daies besieged by *Achomates*, and at last, together with his brother (then but a child) deliuered into his hands, at such time as the City was by the fearfull citisens by composition yeelded vnto him. *Achomates* hauing taken the city with his two nephews, caused *Mahometes* his counsellors, with his foster brother, by whose persuasion it was supposed that he had so answered his Vncle and indangered himself, to bee put to death.

These proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Bajazet* with griefe and indignation, that he should 1512.
C in so great years be set vpon by two of his own sons one after another. Yet to proue if those troubles might without more bloud shed be pacified, he sent Embassadours vnto him to reprooue him for his disloyaltie, and to command him forthwith to set at libertie his two Nephews, *Mahometes* & his brother, and so without more stir to get him again to Amasia: which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. But hee, which by how much the more he had after his repulse ambitiously affected the empire, had resolued with himselfe to deal so much the more cruelly in his proceedings; hauing receiued this message from his father, caused the chief embassador (for that he had in frank speech deliuered his message and denounced vnto him wars) to be in his own presence put to death; and threatned the rest with the like, if before the going down of the Sun they auoided not his camp.

Bajazet sends Embassadours to Achomates.

Achomates killeth his fathers Embassador.

D This outrage highly offended *Bajazet*, and alienated the mindes of many, before well affected to *Achomates*; for that without any reuerence to his father, and contrary to the law of nations, he had violated the Embassadors sent to him for peace. Vpon the first bruit herof, the soldiers which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Bajazet* exclaimed, that the insolencie of *Achomates* was not longer to be suffered, but forthwith by force to be represt: that by sufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worse; and that if *Bajazet* should prolong the time, and in fatherly sort seek by fair means to reclaim him, he should afterwards in vain craue the aid of his best soldiers against his rebellious son, strengthned by his owne long sufferance. *Mustapha* also the chief Bassa, with *Bostanges* and others of great place (who secretly fauored *Selymus*, and had cunningly caused these things by fit men to be dispersed among
E the souldiers) began at first to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the strangenes and heinousnes of the fact, in such sort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer. But afterward, when they saw that *Bajazet* was throughly heated, both by his own angry disposition and the speech of the soldiers, and vpon the confidence of his former victory against *Selymus*, now ready to seek reuenge; they began then to heap fresh coles vpon the fire, and bitterly to invey against *Achomates*, as a traitor to his aged father and the state; and withall highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the Ianizaries and soldiers of the court, who for the safety and honor of their aged Emperour were most prest and ready to expose themselues, their liues, and whatsoeuer els they had, vnto new dangers.

So was *Achomates* by the craft and subtiltie of these great men, by the anger of his father, *Achomates proclaimed traitor.*
F and the iudgement of the soldiers, proclaimed traitor; and order taken, that the soldiers of the Court, with the Europeian horsemen, should with all possible speed be sent against him into Asia. But when choice was to be made of some valiant and worthy Generall that might take vpon him so great a charge, which seemed especially to appertain vnto some one of the great

Bassa's;

Bassa's: it was strange to see how they all began to strain curtesie at the preferment, and euery one to refuse the place, and disable himselfe, saying, That it were a great indignitie, that the Emperors Army should be led against his son by any of his seruants: and the souldiers (hauing their lesson before hand) said plainely, That they durst not nor would not draw their swords, or lift vp their hands against the son of the Emperor, and heir apparant of the empire, except they were conducted and commaunded by some of the *Othoman* bloud in person present with them: for so had his brother, long before when hee rebelled in Cilicia, and now of late *Selymus* his rebellious son, bin both ouerthrown and vanquished, euen by the conduct of *Bajazet* himself, and not by any of his seruants. These things all tended to this purpose, that *Selymus* might by indirect means be reconciled to his father, (whom they secretly fauoured, although for fear of displeasure they durst not so much as name him, but by way of disgrace) and by this very meanes to make way for his returne to Constantinople, and so consequently giue him power to seise vpon the Empire. For it was probably supposed, that neither *Bajazet* himself, being very aged and diseased; neither *Corcutus* (altogether buried in his study) would vndertake the mannaging of those Wars. So that of the *Othoman* Family onely *Selymus* was left, to whom that charge might be committed; all the Nephews of *Bajazet*, by reason of their tender yeares, as yet vnfit for the same. At these speeches of the Bassa's and the souldiers, *Bajazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his palace, excusing himself by reason of his great years and diseased body. But complaining deeply, That *Corcutus* in following the vain title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the meane time neglected other studies and honourable qualities, better beseeming his princely birth and Calling. As he was thus reasoning with himself, and deuising what course to take, *Mustapha* the old Bassa, who all the time of his reign had vsed to dis-burthen him of his cares, hauing by way of talk drawn him into a full discourse concerning the proceeding to the intended War, set vpon him with this crafty and premeditated speech, framed of purpose for his destruction.

The crafty oration of the great Bassa Mustapha to Bajazet, for the bringing home of Selymus.

Your Majesty may not (most dread Soueraign) although by years and strength of body you were neuer so wel able, you may not, I say either transport your army, or your selfe passe ouer in person into Asia; lest whilst you are there from place to place chasing Achomates, *you leaue a far more dangerous enemy behind you in Europe, who may in your absence seise vpon Thracia, Græcia, yea and the Imperiall City it selfe, destitute of sufficient Defendants. Do we not heare, that* Selymus *is raising of new forces aboue Varna? to expect a new supply of horsemen from the Tartar king his father in law? And already as it were houering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater spirit and courage, than to be dauntcd or dismayed with the misfortune of one battell? or if you shall send ouer your old beaten souldiers into Asia, and call* Corcutus *into Europe, with the forces he leauied the last yeare, who in time of your sickneſſe may withstand the attempts of* Selymus: *will he feare these fresh water soldiers of Asia, or their phylosophicall Generall, which feared not the soldiers of your court, the pickt and chosen men of the world, and your selfe a most worthy and victorious Emperor? You are deceiued, and (if I may be so bold so to say) you throughly see not into the doubtfull euent of things, if you thinke not, that you must at one time wage war against two dangerous enemies, euen in the remotest parts of your Empire, in Asia and Europe: For whilest you shall go about to expulse* Achomates *out of Cappadocia,* Selymus *neerer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities; will by and by at your back raise a most dangerous war in the very heart and chief strength of your Empire. But if you, mooued with the greatnesse and due consideration of the danger, shall goe about to defend Thracia, and for that purpose retaine with you the most approoued and faithfull souldiers of the Court, you shall see all Asia on a fire before your face: neither will* Achomates *make an end of waste and warre, vntill such time as he hath drawne the Empire of Asia vnto himselfe. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your selfe, should by your selfe and the consent of all men be iudged traiterous vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof the one through rashnesse, the other vpon pride and vaine discontentment, hath risen vp in armes against you: Why doe you not in so doubtfull and perplexed a matter, preferre safe and sound aduise before that which masketh vnder the shew of maiestie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be reuenged vpon, to set vpon them as occasion shall serue when they are together by the eares betwixt themselues? This is the onely hope of your safetie, this is the onely way, if you shall resolue (as the common prouerbe saith) to driue out one naile with another, and so to ouercome your*

A *your enemies: moderat for a while your hot desire of reuenge, and for the present dissemble your griefe; grant vnto one of them pardon, and in shew take him into your grace and fauour, imploy him against the other: so shall you without danger, howsoeuer it shall fall out, persecute the one whom you loue not, with the hasard of the other whom you trust not; and at your pleasure oppresse him to whom you shall commit your ensignes and army: the hands of your faithfull and trusty soldiers being euer at your appointment ready to take reuenge. So shall you with securitie make an end of this war, exposing vnto the danger, him whome you had rather to ouercome as your enemy, by him whom you wish also to perish.*

Mustapha had scarse made an end of speaking, but the other Bassa's (as they had before a-
B greed amongst themselues) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to persuade *Bajazet* to call home his son *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army against his brother; saying, that he had already endured sufficient punishment for his former disloyalty, and therfore it was like that he as a wel corrected child would from thenceforth contain himself within the compasse of his most dutifull obedience. Wheras *Achomates*, proud of his birthright, hauing of late violated his fathers Embassadors, and filled all Asia with rebellion, was not like to be brought to any reasonable conformity, vntill hee were by force of Armes pluckt down, and so made to know himself, in like manner as was his brother *Selymus* of late. *Bajazet* seeing that in resoluing of a matter of so great consequence, *Cherseogles Bassa* (his son in law, and the only faithful counsellor then about him) sat all silent, hanging the head, as one
C of a contrary opinion to the rest, stood a great while in doubt what to resolue vpon. He could not so easily forget the late injuries don against him by *Selymus*, it was yet fresh in memory, how that he had out of Asia inuaded Europ, surprised Hadrianople, giuen him battel, indangered his person by his Tartarian horsmen, and that only by the goodnes of God hee had obtained the victory. On the other side, his Majesty contemned, his Nephewes imprisoned, his Embassadors violated, the cities of Asia ransacked, and all those goodly Countries presently smoking with the fire of rebellion, so filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he desired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whilest he was thus strugling with his owne thoughts, and doubtful what to do, the vnfaithful Bassa's by deep deceit and trechery (*Cherseogles* most instantly persuading the contrary) ouercame him so far, as with his owne hand to
D write letters to *Selymus*, promising, that forgetting all injuries past, he would vpon the hope of his loyaltie receiue him into his former grace and fauor, and make him General of his army, if he would without delay repair to Constantinople, and so passe ouer into Asia against his rebellious brother *Achomates*.

Whilest these things were in doing at Constantinople, *Corcutus* being aduertised by Letters from his friends, of the weak estate of his aged father, and by what persuasions hee had bin induced (after that *Achomates* had bin proclaimed Traitor) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army; came down out of Magnesia to Phocis, and there imbarking himself in his Gallies, sailed to Constantinople. Where being arriued, he went pre- *Corcutus comes to Constantinople.*
sently to the Court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourits; and en-
E tring into the priuy chamber, humbled himself before his father, and kissed his hand: and after much talk had betwixt them of diuers weighty matters, is reported to haue spoken vnto him as followeth.

It is now aboue thirty years past (most reuerend father and dread Soueraign) since that I (being chosen and proclaimed Emperor by the prerogatiue of the soldiers of the Court, by generall consent of the Citi- *Corcutus his oratiō to his father Bajazet.*
sens of this Imperial City, and by the graue judgement of the wise and graue Bassa's of the Court) haue cheerfully and willingly, and as I may truly say, with my own had deliuered from my self to your Maiesty, the possession of this most glorious kingdom and Empire. Which thing what worldly Wight would haue don, but either a Mad man, or els a most kind ond louing son? Vnto which so rare an example of a religi-
F *ous and louing heart, I was not by any fear or constraint inforced, but only by regard and contemplation of your own sacred person, and due consideration of my duty. Neither did it in the course of so many yeares euer repent me of that my singular kindenesse and duty done; when as I contenting my self with such things as you had vnto me assigned, and with the generall commendation of my well-doing, as wel as with a king-*

dom,

dom, thought this your great estate and highest type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleasing Studies; when as I accounted it a vain thing, and not beseeming the resolution of a setled and quiet mind, to long after these worldly things, which being had and inioyed to the full, work no full contentment in the vnsatiable desires of man: and that surmounting vertue, and the sweet, ô most sweet meditation of heauenly things, promised vnto my contemplatiue and rauished minde, things of far more worth and Majesty than all the Kingdoms and Monarchies of the world. But whilst I was tracing this path, little regarding worldly honour, or the glory of an Empire; and was for pure deuotion and desire of knowledge trauelling into the fartherst part of Arabia, vnto the Altar of our most sacred Prophet Mahomet, *and so to the Indians, as to men of a more exact knowledge and sincere profession; you in the midst of my trauel drew me out of Egypt by the long hands of the Egyptian Sultan, back again into Phrygia; commanding me, that eschuing the manifold dangers which in my long trauel I must needs haue fallen into, I should from thenceforth haue more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruit both of my loyaltie towards you, and of your fatherly loue towards me. As if you had bin then of opinion, that the time would come, when for the euill disposition of some, an innocent man, deuoted vnto the study of wisdom and learning, might be a stay both vnto your self and the whole* Othoman *Family. Since which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your command, and with as much care and integritie as I possibly could, discharged my charge: and in the late Persian war, raised and brought into the field myne army, wherwith I defended the frontiers of my prouince from the incursions of the Barbarians. But after they were vanquished, and by your forces driuen out of the lesser Asia, and that my vnnatural and graceles brethren, the one of them in Europ as a most desperat Recreant, had in plain battell assailed the person of your most sacred Maiesty (his reuerend father, far spent with age, and then grieuously tormented with the gout) of purpose to haue at once depriued you both of your life and empire. And the other in Asia seeking by like disloyalty and most horrible treason there to possesse himself of a kingdom, had besieged and taken prisoners his brothers sons his nephews, yong princes of great expectation, your faithfull and louing subiects; and proceeding further, had set all that part of your empire on a broil: I thought my self in duty bound to repair hither vnto your Imperial Majesty, for that I saw it came to passe, not without the prouidence of the most Mighty, that I might at such time especially request the iust reward of my due desert of you my most reuerend and louing father, the most religious obseruer of equity and Iustice: when as you hauing had too great proof of the infidelity of my vnnatural brethren, might most fitly and most commodiously perform that which you vpon great reason might now grant vnto me your dutiful and obedient son, although my former deserts had merited no such thing. Wherfore most gratious, I beseech you, by all your fatherly loue and affection towards mee, and my known loyalty towards you, to vouchsafe before the comming of* Selymus, *to haue regard of myne honor, with the state of your empire: for when he shal once in arms break in, he wil at a trice cut of all hope of pacification, and supported by the men of war, confound all things at his pleasure. For I hear, that the very garders of your person, and chief commanders of your armies, altered in disposition towards you, do but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly salute for their Emperor and Soueraign, him whom your good fortune of late, full sore against their wills, ouerthrew in open field. Wherfore that empire wherof I was somtime possessed, and for the rare desert of myne antient loyaltie toward you, is of good right due vnto me, restore to me again whilest you may, and whilst it is yet in your power, in this sudden and momentary occasion now presented. For your Maiesty shal in vain fauor my most iust and vpright claim, after that you (hauing once receiued into the Imperial city a desperat and ambitious man) haue for euer lost your liberty, together with your self.*

Bajazet comforteth Corcutus, and promiseth to resigne to him the empire, after that Selymus was past ouer into Asia.

Corcutus with tears standing in his eies, hauing ended his speech, the aged Emperor moued with a fatherly affection, and the reasonable persuasion of him his only loyall and most kind son, comforted him vp with good words, and willed him to be of good cheer, and withall discouered vnto him the very ground of his resolution in calling home of *Selymus*; telling him further, That he could be wel content to resigne to him again the Empire, but that it was not in his power so presently to do, for fear of the soldiers of the court, who had (as he said) of late withstood him in the like motion, and would againe with tooth and naile gainsay it, if hee should but giue the least occasion for them to suspect any such matter. But that by the plot now laid, *Selymus* should vnder the title of honor be drawn out of Europe, together with the soldiers of the court, into Asia against *Achomates* (both bars vnto his present desire for transferring of the Empire; in whose absence it should be in his power freely to dispose thereof at

A at his pleaſure: which he promiſed preſently to reſigne vnto him, ſo ſoone as they were once paſſed ouer into Aſia. Which thing once don, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the captains or ſoldiers, who had of late ſo honorably and faithfully defended him againſt *Selymus*, ſhould now for his ſake diſlike of *Corcutus*, or attempt any thing not beſeeming the glory of their late deſert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnnaturall and rebellious ſons, *Achomates* and *Selymus*, ſhould once joine battell (as it was moſt like they ſhould) that either the one or both ſhould by the juſt judgement of God periſh for their ſo great diſobedience, murdred by the hands one of another. *Corcutus* not much diſliking of his fathers purpoſe, and reſting himſelfe wholly vpon his fauor, thought it not good further to argue the matter his father had ſo well conſidered of; but taking his leaue returned to his lodg-
B ing not without hope of obtaining the Empire, and ſo remained many daies after at Conſtantinople: during which time he ſought neither by gifts nor golden promiſes to procure the loue and good liking of the great Baſſaes or ſoldiers of the court; for that he as a plain vpright man, thought it not good by ſuit and corruption (the great promoters of the vnworthy) to ſeeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauor & promiſe.

In the mean time *Selymus* his faſt friends aduertiſing him of the comming of *Corcutus* to the court, aduiſed him to make haſte, and with all ſpeed poſſible to come to Conſtantinople; for that it was to be feared, leſt *Bajazet* being very aged, and withall eaſie to be drawn away, might by the perſuaſion of *Corcutus* be induced to alter, yea, and perhaps quite breake off the courſe before well ſet for his moſt ready preferment. Vpon which news, *Selymus* attentiuely waiting
C vpon nothing more than to haue exceſſe vnto his friends in court, and before reſolued, at his firſt comming thither not to ſpare for any coſt in corrupting the men of warre, and ſo to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Empire; made now no ſtay but with certaine troups of horſemen, commanding the reſt to follow after, came with wonderfull celerity to Conſtantinople. *Corcutus* with the great Baſſa's and Courtiers, and moſt part of the ſoldiers of the court, going to meet him at the gates of the city, at his entrance receiued him with a kiſſe (as is the manner of the Turks) and brought him through the midſt of the city, all the people running out by heapes to haue a ſight of the man, of late in euery mans mouth for his deſperat rebellion, but now welcommed with much thundring ſhot in token of triumph, and the joyfull acclamation of men, women, and children, and people of all ſorts. So that it eaſily appeared, that all the ha-
D tred before conceiued againſt him, for his late outrage againſt his father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in ſhort time before his other brethen aſpire vnto the Empire.

The next day after, *Selymus* came to the court, and hauing acceſſe to his father, fell proſtrate before him and kiſſed his feet, and with the greateſt ſhew of humility poſſible, craued of him pardon for his diſloyalty. O deepe diſſembler, and traitor of all other moſt trecherous! of late in field with ſword drawne to haue ſlaine his aged father, but now proſtrate at his feet; and within an houre mounted perforce into his imperiall ſeat.

The old Emperour ſmiling vpon this Crocodile, in moſt kinde manner tooke him vp, and courteouſly ſaid vnto him:

Bajazets crafty ſpeech vnto his ſonne Selymus.

E *Thy faults, ſon* Selymus, *are ſo much the leſſe, for that they haue found ſpeedy repentance, wherefore I do the more willingly grant thee pardon: but from henceforth endeauour thy ſelfe, that God who hath giuen thee a notable ſpirit and courage, may alſo be thought to haue indued thee with a good and well diſpoſed minde. There is a martiall matter ready, worthy thy hardneſſe, wherein thou mayſt ſufficiently manifeſt vnto the world thy forwardneſſe and courage: there when time ſerueth let it appeare.*

The craftie diſſimulation of Selymus.

Shortly after was called a Councell for the wars, but eſpecially for the chuſing of a Generall to goe againſt *Achomates*: the honour of which place when many would haue giuen to *Selymus*, he began with great diſſimulation to refuſe, making as though he would not in any caſe be preferred before his brother *Corcutus*, to whom he would (as he ſaid) willingly giue place, both in reſpect of his yeares and learned diſcretion, who could no doubt with greater authority and wiſedome mannage that war: as for himſelfe, now he had obtained his fathers
F gratious pardon and fauour, he could well content himſelfe with any corner of the Empire, were it neuer ſo little.

But *Corcutus* and his friends, who had repoſed all their hope and all their deuiſes in the departure of *Selymus* with the ſoldiers of the court; as if they had with great modeſty contended on both ſides, againe perſuaded him, yea, and inſtantly requeſted him not to refuſe that ho-

nour, by generall consent without any disgrace to his brother, giuen to him as to a worthy Chiefetaine of great experience in martiall affaires. So *Selymus* with wonderfull cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his fauorits, whilest he seemeth craftily to refuse the thing he most desireth, is by the generall consent of all parts chosen Generall of the army to go against his brother *Achomates*. Which was no sooner made knowne vnto the souldiers, especially the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the court; but they before instructed, with loud acclamations saluted him not for their Generall onely, but for their soueraigne Lord and Emperor also: and so without further delay put themselues in armes to defend and make good that they had done, if any better disposed should seeme to withstand them or dissent from them. G

Selymus by the souldiers thus saluted Emperour, at first made shew as if he had beene halfe vnwilling to take vpon him the Empire; and so began faintly to refuse it, as moued so to doe by the due reuerence and regard of his father, yet liuing. But after a while he suffered himselfe to be intreated: and then commending himselfe and his cause wholly to the men of warre, to binde them vnto him the faster, promised beside the particular fauours he ought them, to bestow a right great and generall largesse amongst them: which he afterwards accordingly performed. H

After that, he requested the chiefe Bassaes and commanders of the army there present, to go forthwith vnto his father, and to take such order (seeing it was the mind of the whole army it should be so) that the Empire might by his good will, without further trouble or tumult, be forthwith transferred vnto him.

Mustapha the great Bassa, in whose wyly head all this matter was (to his owne worthy destruction) first hammered; whether it were vpon a new fineneſſe of his owne, or that *Selymus* (as it was giuen out) had threatned to kill him, except he would go and shew all the whole processe of the matter to his father: comming as a man dismaied to *Bajazet*, (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the soldiers, was come out of his chamber, into the open roomes of his Palace) in few words deliuered vnto him this most vnwelcome message, as followeth: I

The blunt speech of Mustapha to Bajazet perswading him to resigne the empire to Selymus.

Emperour (said he) *the men of war haue in their Councell saluted* Selymus *both their Generall and Emperour, which their choice they require thee to ratifie, being ready presently to breake into the Court to kill vs both, if thou shalt refuse forthwith to resigne the Empire. They all with one consent request that of thee, which they haue already put into the hand of another. Wherefore it is a thing of far more danger, to seeke to recouer that thou hast already lost, than willingly to yeeld that which is already taken from thee, seeing it is not by any force or policy to be regained. They in armes, in fury, and now entred into rebellion, thinke vpon some greater mischiefe.* K

Bajazet troubled with feare and choler, and then too late perceiuing the trechery of the Bassaes, and how he had bin by them betraied; pausing a while at the strangeneſſe of the matter, afterwards in fury brake out into these words:

The resolute answer of old Bajazet to Mustapha and the other Bassaes.

False and forsworne, do you thus betray me? and with such monstrous villany requite mine infinite bounty? Why do you not also as murtherers take away my life; which could not endure for a while to expect the dissolution of this my weake and aged body; but deposing your just and lawfull Soueraigne, must needs in post haste set vp a most wicked and graceleſſe man to reigne ouer you? But much good do it you with your desired Emperour, the contemner of God, and murtherer of his father: to whom ere it be long, you shall full deerely pay the price of this your perfidious dealing and trechery against me. And he himselfe beginning his Empire by most vnnaturall treason, murder, and bloudshed, shall not (I hope) escape the heauy hand of God, the vndoubted and seuere reuenger of so great impiety and treason. L

Mustapha, with *Bostanges* and *Ajax* as false as himselfe, returning backe again to the soldiers, speaking not a word of the sorrow and indignation of *Bajazet*, told them how that he was well content to resigne the Empire, and so had appointed *Selymus* (to whom both God and the generall consent of the men of war had already deliuered the Empire, to succeed him in the Empire. When this their speech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold vp their heads and looke big on the matter: and others who before stood doubtfull what to do, seeing now no other remedy, in hast joyned themselues vnto the same faction. Whilest all things were thus disorderly carried by the vnruly souldiers, *Selymus* was by them mounted vpon a couragious horse, and so with all pomp conducted vp and down most of the faire streets of the Imperiall city; and with the generall voice and clamor of the people (how soeuer their minds were for most part otherwise affected) saluted Emperor. And M

A the ſame day both the great Baſſa's and the ſouldiers in generall, were all ſolemnly ſworne vnto *Selymus*, as their only Lord and Emperour.

Corcutus, whether it were for griefe of his hope now loſt, or for feare of his life, although *Selymus* had promiſed to giue him the city of Mytilene, with the Iſland of Lesbos, ſecretly embarked himſelfe and ſo returned to Magneſia. *Corcutus flieth.*

Bajazet of late one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world, but now thus thruſt out of his empire by his ſon, deteſting both him and the treachery of his ſubjects, and ouercome with ſorrow and melancholy, determined of himſelfe, before he were thereto enforced by *Selymus*, to forſake Conſtantinople, and to retyre himſelfe to Dymotica (a ſmall city wholeſomely ſcituated in Thracia, not far from Hadrianople; where in former time he had for his pleaſure be-
B ſtowed great coſt, and now as he thought beſt fitted his preſent eſtate.) Wherefore cauſing great ſtore of treaſure, plate, jewels, and rich furniture to be truſſed vp, he with fiue hundred of his houſhold ſeruants, full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, with teares trickling downe his aged cheekes, departed out of the Imperiall city, towards Hadrianople, with purpoſe from thence to haue gone to Dymotica. *Selymus* brought him about two miles vpon his way, and ſo returning againe to Conſtantinople, tooke poſſeſſion of the Palace.

Bajazet being then about ſeuenty ſix yeares old, or as ſome report full foureſcore; and beſide his old diſeaſe of the gout, ſore weakened with heauineſſe and griefe of minde, was not able to trauell aboue fiue or ſix miles a day, but was conſtrained by the extreamity of his pain and weakeneſſe, to ſtay ſometimes two or three daies in a place. Whileſt he was thus trauel-
C ling, *Selymus* no leſſe carefull of the keeping of his eſtate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the ſame, began now to doubt, That if he ſhould depart from Conſtantinople, and with all his Forces paſſe ouer into Aſia againſt his brother *Achomates*, *Bajazet* in the meane time might in his abſence returne to Conſtantinople, and ſo again poſſeſſe himſelf both of the city and the empire. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he reſolued moſt viper like before his going to kill his father, and ſo moſt vnnaturally to depriue him of life, of whom he had receiued life: ſuch is the cruell and accurſed nature of ambition, that it knoweth neither father, mother, brother, wife, kindred, or friend, no ſometimes not her owne children; the fury whereof was neuer in any more pregnant, than in this moſt monſtrous and cruell tyrant *Selymus*.

D The readieſt and moſt ſecret way he could deuiſe for the effecting of this his damnable deuice, (which without great impiety could not be ſo much as once by him thought vpon) was, to worke it by poyſon: vpon which reſolution he ſecretly compacted with *Haman* a Iew, his fathers chiefe Phyſitian, to poyſon him; promiſing him for his reward a penſion of ten duckats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terrour and feare, as well as with reward, enforced to be the miniſters of miſchiefe; he to be the more ſure of this Iew, (prone enough for gaine to do euill) threatned him with moſt cruell death, if he did not both ſecretly and ſpeedily worke this feat, commanding him ſo ſoone as he had done it, to returne vnto him to Conſtantinople. *Selymus practiſeth with Haman a Iew, Bajazet his Phyſitian, to poyſon him.*

The deceitfull Iew moued both with the feare of death and hope of reward (two great mo-
E tiues) comming ſhortly after to *Bajazet*, and finding him very weake, ſeeming to be very carefull of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a potion, which ſhould both reſtore to him his health, and alſo ſtrengthen his weake body, if it would pleaſe him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Bajazet* nothing diſtruſting his old phyſitian whom he had ſo often and ſo long truſted, ſaid he would gladly take it. Early the next morning commeth the Iew with the deadly poyſon in a cup of gold, *Bajazet* yet ſleeping, which he ſet downe in the chaire of Eſtate, and ſo ſtood waiting vntill the aged Prince ſhould of himſelfe awake. But *Bajazet* ſleeping ſoundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men ſleepe their laſt) and withall ſomewhat longer than ſtood with the Iewes purpoſe, he preſuming of his wonted practiſe, awaked him and told him, That the time to take the potion was almoſt paſt, and asked him if
F it were his pleaſure then to take it. *Bajazet* doubting no treaſon, willed him to bring it: whereof when the Iew had taken the ſey, (hauing before himſelfe taken a preſeruatiue againſt that poyſon) he gaue it to *Bajazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the Phyſitian commanding them that waited in his bed chamber, and atteeded on his perſon, to keepe him well couered with warme cloths, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill he had well ſweat. *Bajaſet poyſoned by the Iew.*

This curſed Iew hauing thus poyſoned the aged Prince, to auoid the danger of the fact, and to carry the firſt newes thereof to *Selymus*, ſecretly conueied himſelfe away, and fled in haſte to Conſtantinople. But *Bajazet* attainted with the force of the poyſon, began firſt to feele moſt grieuous gripings in his ſtomacke, the ſtrong paine whereof appeared by his miſerable complaining and heauy groaning; in the middeſt of which torments he gaue vp the ghoſt, in the yeare 1512, when he had raigned thirty yeres. The Turks report that he died a naturall death: but *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who at that time ſerued in *Bajazet* his chamber, and was preſent at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead body the euident tokens of poyſon were to be ſeene. His dead body with all his treaſures were preſently brought backe againe to Conſtantinople, and deliuered to *Selymus*, who cauſed the body of his father to be with the greateſt ſolemnity that might be, buried in a moſt ſumptuous tombe, in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he had before built for himſelfe at Conſtantinople: which Monument there remaineth at this day to be ſeene. His ſeruants were all by *Selymus* reſtored to their places which they before held in the court in the time of their old Maſter, excepting fiue of the pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their Maſter aboue the reſt, had attyred themſelues all in mourning apparell: for which cauſe they were by the commandement of *Selymus* caſt in priſon, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the ſuit of *Solyman*, *Selymus* his ſon, and of other two Baſſaes, were ſaued: but being ſtript of their rich apparell and whatſoeuer elſe they had gotten vnder *Bajazet*, they were inrolled for common ſoldiers vnder *Sulluſtares Baſſa*. Of theſe three, *Antonius Vtrius* (the Genoway before ſpoken of) was one, who after ten yeres of miſerable captiuity amongſt the Turks, at laſt eſcaped at ſuch time as *Selymus* was by the Perſian diſcomfited: and with much adoe returning againe into Italy, wrote the hiſtory of all ſuch things as he himſelfe had there ſeene, with the calamities of *Bajazet* his houſe, and a great part of the tyrannous reigne of *Selymus*.

The death of Bajazet.

Selymus cauſeth two of his Fathers Pages to be put to death for mourning for their Maſter.

Hamon the Iew iuſtly rewarded for his treachery.

Hamon the falſe Iew (as the ſame author reporteth) comming to Conſtantinople, and expecting ſome great reward for his foule treaſon, by the commandement of *Selymus* had his head preſently ſtrucke off: with this exprobation of his trechery, That opportunity ſeruing, he would not ſticke for reward to do the like againſt *Selymus* himſelfe. Of this *Bajazet*, *Ianus Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 4.

Dum rerum exquiris cauſas, & dum procul Hunnes
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromataſque domas:
Bajazethe, *domi proles tua te petit armis,*
Et te per fraudes amouet imperio.
Adijcit inde novum ſcelere ſcelus, & tibi miſcet
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempeſtiuos crudelis vipera fœtus,
Per ſua ſic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum eſt, cui ſint ingentia regna tyranno,
Si timeat natos, progeniemque ſuam?

In Engliſh thus:

Whil'ſt that thou *Bajazethes* ſeekes of things the hidden cauſe,
And faine would'ſt bring the Hunne and Ruſſe vnder thy Turkiſh lawes:
Thy ſonne at home ſteps vp in armes againſt thy royall Crowne,
And by falſe treaſon and deceit findes meanes to plucke thee downe.
Whereto he addeth miſchiefe more, and ſtreit without delay,
By poyſon ſtrong in glittering boule doth take thy life away:
The cruell viper ſo brings forth her foule vntimely brood,
Which eat and gnaw her belly out, their firſt and poiſoned food.
What things may Princes hold for ſafe, that do great kingdomes ſway,
If of their children they muſt ſtand in dread and feare alway?

FINIS. R. K.

Christian Princes of the same time with Bajazet the second.	Emperours of Germany	Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria,	1440.	54
		Maximilian the third,	1494.	25
	Kings	Of England: Edward the fourth,	1460.	22
		Edward the fifth,	1483.	0
		Richard the third,	1483.	3
		Henry the seuenth,	1485.	24
		Henry the eighth,	1509.	38
		Of France: Lewis the eleuenth,	1461.	22
		Charles the eighth,	1483.	14
		Lewis the twelfth,	1567.	17
		Of Scotland: Iames the third,	1460.	29
		Iames the fourth,	1489.	25
	Bishops of Rome	Xystus the IV,	1471.	13
		Innocentius the VIII,	1484.	8
		Alexander the VI,	1492.	11
		Pius the III,	1403.	26 daies
		Iulius the II,	1503.	9

Phil. Lonicer. Turc. Hist. l. 1.

En Selymus, *scelere ante alios immanior omnes:*
In patris, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Persas mouet inde ferox: Memphitica regna
Destruit: & Syros Æthiopasque domat.
Hinc in Christicolas irarum effundere fluctus,
Ipsorumque imo vertere regna parat.
Cum diro victus prosternitur vlcere: Christus
Scilicet est populi, portus & aura sui.

Lo *Selymus*, in cruelty exceeding others farre,
His father, and his brethren both, destroies with mortall warre.
The Persian fiercely he assailes: and conquers Ægypts Land:
The Syrian, and the Moore likewise, he tam'd with mighty hand.
But purposing in his mad mood, the Christians to confound,
And the memoriall of their name to root from off the ground,
A loathsome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end:
Christ is to his the safest Port, when he will them defend.

THE LIFE OF *SELYMVS*, FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

C THis *Selymus*, by fauor of the great Baſſaes and men of war whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father *Bajazet* firſt of the Empire, and ſhortly after of his life alſo, and now fully poſſeſſed of the Empire himſelfe; firſt tooke view of the treaſures which the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors his anceſtors had before of long time heaped vp in great abundance: out of which he gaue vnto the ſouldiers of the court two millions of duckats; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulneſſe towards them, augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euery horſeman foure aſpers a day, and to euery footman two aboue their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bounty, he greatly aſſured vnto himſelfe the minds of the men of war. 1512

Selymus goeth into Aſia againſt his brother Achomates.

D Shortly after he paſſed ouer with a great army into Aſia, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall city of Conſtantinople vnto his only ſonne *Solyman*: and marching into Galatia, came to the city of Ancyra, in hope there to haue oppreſſed his elder brother *Achomates*. But he vnderſtanding before of his comming, withall wiſely conſidering how vnable he was to withſtand his forces, fled before into the mountains of Cappadocia vpon the confines of Armenia, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all ſorts of people, yea, euen of ſuch as were but of ſmall ability themſelues, and vnto him meere ſtrangers; that ſo he might in beſt manner he could, prouide ſuch ſtrength as might ſerue him to make head againſt his brother, and for the recouery of Aſia.

Selymus hauing ſpent that ſummer without doing any thing worth the ſpeaking of, and conſidering that he could not well Winter in that cold country neere vnto the great mountaine E Taurus, by reaſon of the deepe ſnowes and extreame cold there vſually falling; and that to go farther was to no purpoſe, foraſmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place, and mountain to mountain, was not to be ſurpriſed; he retyred backe again into Bythinia, and ſending his Europeian horſemen downe to the ſea coaſt, and the Ianizaries to Conſtantinople; reſolued to winter with the reſt of his army at Pruſa. At which time being wholly bent againſt *Achomates* his competitor of the Empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father *Bajazet* had before concluded with *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungary, *Sigiſmundus* King of Polonia, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of Children) ſuperfluous which might concerne the eſtabliſhing of his Empire, he called vnto him fiue of his brothers ſons, *Orchanes* the ſonne of *Alem Scach*; *Mahometes* the ſonne of *Tzihan Scach*; *Orchanes*, *Emirſa*, and *Muſa* the F ſonnes of his brother *Mahometes*; all young Princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt ſixteene and twenty, excepting *Muſa* who was not paſt ſeuen yeares old: Of all theſe, *Mahometes* (whom his vncle *Achomates* had a little before taken priſoner at Larenda, as is before declared, and vpon the death of *Bajazet* had againe ſet him at liberty) being about twenty yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beauty of the

Selymus murthereth fiue of his brothers ſonnes.

the *Othoman* family: which great perfection, as it woon vnto him the loue and fauour of the men of war, and also of all the people in generall: so did it hasten his speedy death; onely *Selymus* his cruell vncle enuying at his life. After he had got these poore innocents into his hands, he sent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers, demanding of them, Whether it were not better that some fiue, eight, or ten persons should be taken away, than the state of the whole Empire should with great effusion of bloud be rent in sunder, and so by ciuile wars be brought in danger of vtter ruine and destruction? Who although they well perceiued whereunto that bloudy question tended, yet for feare of displeasure they all answered, That it were better such a small number should perish, than that the whole state of the empire should by ciuile war & discord be brought to confusion; in which generall calamitie, those few must also of necessity perish with the rest. Vpon colour of this answer, and the necessity pretended, he commanded these his nephewes before named, to be led by fiue of his great captaines into the castle of Prusa, where they were all, the night following most cruelly strangled. It is reported, that *Mahometes* with a penknife slew one of the bloudy executioners sent into his chamber to kill him; and so wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead: and that *Selymus* being in a chamber fast by, and almost an eye-witnesse of that was done, presently sent in others, who first bound the poore Prince, and afterward strangled him with the rest: whose dead bodies were buried at Prusa amongst their ancestors. The cruelty of this fact wonderfully offended the minds of most men, insomuch that many euen of his martiall men filled with secret indignation, for certaine daies absented themselues from his presence, shunning his sight as if he had beene some fierce or raging lyon.

1513 *Selymus seeketh after the liues of Amurath & Aladin, the sons of Achomates his brother.*

Of all the nephewes of old *Bajazet*, only *Amurath* and *Aladin* (the sons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purposed to surprise vpon the sudden, and so to rid himselfe of all feare of his brothers children; hauing then left none of the *Othoman* family, but them and his two brethren vpon whom to exercise his further cruelty. These two young Princes had a little before recouered the city of Amasia, from whence they were the Summer before expulsed by their vncle *Selymus*, at such time as *Achomates* their father was glad to fly into the mountaines of Capadocia. *Selymus* fully resolued vpon their destruction, sent *Vfegi* one of his Bassaes with fiue thousand horsemen, who by great journies trauelling to Amasia, might vpon the sudden come vpon these two yong Princes, and take them altogether vnprouided, and as then fearing no such danger: which was thought no great matter for the Bassa to do, forasmuch as he might with his light horsemen easily preuent the fame of his comming; and the City of Amasia where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furnished with any sufficient garrison for defence therof: beside that, *Achomates* himselfe was at that time absent, busied in taking vp of soldiers vpon the frontiers of Caramania. But *Mustapha* the old Bassa, by whose speciall means *Selymus* had obtained the Empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Bajazet*) being priuy vnto his wicked purpose, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, detesting his most execrable tyranny, both for the vnworthy death of *Bajazet*, his father, & the guiltlesse bloud of so many yong princes his nephews by him shed without all pitty; and hauing compassion of the imminent danger whereinto these two brethren were now like also to fall; by secret and speedy messengers gaue them warning of the comming of the Bassa, and of all that was intended against them. Who vpon such knowledge giuen, presently aduertised *Achomates* their father thereof, and laid secret ambush themselues for the intercepting of their enemies. So that within few daies after, the Bassa comming with his horsemen towards Amasia, fell before he was aware into the middest of his enemies: at which time also, *Achomates* following him at the heeles, so shut him in with his army on euery side, that most of his men being slaine, he himselfe with diuers other captaines were taken prisoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commandement committed to safe custody.

Vfegi Bassa taken prisoner.

Now it fortuned, that some of *Achomates* soldiers scoffing at the prisoners whom they had taken, told them how they had bin deceiued, and how all the matter had been carried (so hard a thing it is to haue euen the greatest counsels in court kept secret) boasting, that they wanted not their friends, euen of such as were most inward with *Selymus*, who secretly fauoured the better cause, & would not long suffer the cruell beast to rage further: all which things *Selymus* his soldiers reported again after they were ransomed and returned home. But *Vfegi* the Bassa lying still in prison, and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by secret letters gaue

Selymus

A *Selymus* to vnderſtand, that *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa whom he moſt of all truſted, had ſecret intelligence wth *Achomates*, and had been the only cauſe of the loſſe of his army.

Selymus of late enuying at the great honour and authority of *Muſtapha*, and wiſhing him dead, (whoſe deſert he was not able, or at leaſtwiſe vnwilling to requite) cauſed him vpon this accuſation without further triall to be ſecretly ſtrangled in his ſight, and his dead body (as it were in ſcorne of his former felicity) to be caſt out into the ſtreet for euery man to gaze vpon. *Muſtapha Baſſa ſhamfully murthered.* This was the ſhameful end of this traiterous Baſſa, who had of long time at his pleaſure commanded all things in the Turkiſh Empire, and was for riches, power, and authority, next vnto the Emperors themſelues: but now lieth as a dog dead in the ſtreet, no man daring for feare to caſt earth vpon him. A rare ſpectacle of the vncertainty of worldly felicity, and a worthy
B example of diſloyalty. But *Achomates* hearing what had happened to *Muſtapha*, in reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vſegi Baſſa* his priſoner; and according to his courteous na- *Vſegi Baſſa put to death.* ture ſet all the reſt of the priſoners at liberty.

Selymus thirſting after nothing more than the guiltleſſe bloud of his brethren and nephews, vpon whom he had againſt all right vſurped the kingdom, whereof he neuer thought himſelfe ſufficiently aſſured ſo long as any of them breathed; began with the firſt of the Spring to deuiſe with himſelfe, how he might firſt take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at Magneſia, and hauing caſt off all hope of the Empire, gaue himſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which he (ſeduced with ambition) had in euill time a little before forſaken; but now retyring himſelfe thereto againe, as to his greateſt contentment, ſpent his time in quiet cou-
C templation, not attempting any thing againſt his cruell brother vſurping the Empire. *Selymus* reſolued vpon the deſtruction of this harmleſſe Prince, ſuddenly commanded his captaines to make choice of 10000 horſemen to be in readineſſe within three daies, giuing it out that he would make an inrode vpon the ſudden into Cappadocia. In the number of theſe horſemen, *Antonius Mænauinus* a Genoway, author of this hiſtory (as he of himſelfe reporteth) was one.

All things being in readines againſt the appointed time, *Selymus* in perſon himſelfe ſet forward with his army from Pruſa, ſtill keeping the way on the right hand; ſo that the ſouldiers, who thought they ſhould haue marched directly into Cappadocia, and ſo to Amaſia, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrary courſe they held, that they were to go for Lydia and Ionia. When a valiant ſuoldier among the reſt, who had ſometime
D ſerued one of the Baſſaes in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumſtances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, ſecretly conueied himſelfe out of the army, and being excellently well mounted, taking the neereſt way, came to Magneſia, and gaue *Corcutus* warning of the comming of his brother. *Corcutus* conſidering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the meſſenger, and leauing his houſe in ſuch order ae it was wont to be, fled with two of his ſeruants to the ſea ſide, in hope to haue found paſſage either into Creet or elſe Rhodes.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the caſtle of Magneſia before the riſing of the Sun, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceiued of his expectation, he fell into a great rage, and with cruel torments examined all his brothers ſeruants and Eunuchs, What was become of him, and where he had hid himſelf?
E and with much ado got it out of them, That he had warning of his comming by a fugitiue ſoldier, and was thereupon fled, but whether they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* ſtaied there fifteen daies, duing which time he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made all ouer the country, and along the ſea coaſt, for to haue apprehended him. But when after much ſearch he could heare no tydings of him, he cauſed all his brother treaſure and rich furniture to be truſſed vp, and to *Selymus taketh the ſpoile of his brother Corcutus.* be ſent by ſea to Conſtantinople. So leauing one of his captains with a thouſand horſmen in garriſon at Magneſia, he returned againe to Pruſa with as much ſpeed as he came from thence: verily ſuppoſing, that his brother was for ſafegard of his life, by ſea fled into Italy. All this while *Boſtanges*, *Selymus* his ſon in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coaſt of Ionia, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of eſcaping by ſea: ſo that he was faine to hide himſelfe in a caue
F neere vnto the ſea ſide, not far from Smyrna; liuing in hope, that after a few daies the fleet would depart, and ſo he ſhould finde ſome opportunity to eſcape.

After he had thus a great while in feare moſt miſerably liued with country crabs and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of ſtate) and was with extreme neceſſity inforced to ſend his man for relieſe to a poore ſhepheards cottage thereby, he was by a country peſant diſcouered

Corcutus taken. red to *Cassumes*, who with two much diligence sought after his life: and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the tyrant his brother at Prusa. G

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as soone as he vnderstood that he was within a daies journy of Prusa, sent one *Kirengi-Ogli* (who of his squint looke was called *Chior Zeinall*) to strangle him vp vpon the way, and to bring his dead body to Prusa.

This captaine comming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his sleepe, told him his heauy message; how that he was sent from his brother *Selymus* to see him executed, which must as he said presently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with these heauy news, and fetching a deepe sigh, desired the captaine so long to spare his life, vntill he might write a few short lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore request being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkish verse (for he had spent all his time H in study) reproued his brother of most horrible cruelty; vpbraided him, that he had not only most disloially thrust his father out of his Empire, but also most vnnaturally depriued him of life, of whom he had before receiued the same: and not so content, had most tyrannously slaine his brorhers children; and now like an vnmerciful wretch thirsted after the guiltlesse bloud of himselfe and *Achomates* his brethren. At last concluding his letters with many a bitter curse, he besought God to take of him just reuenge for so much innocent bloud by him most vnnaturally spilt. And when he had thus much written, he requested the captaine, that it might together with his dead body be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any further delay he was

The lamentable death of Corcutus. according to the tyrants command presently strangled. The next day after, when the dead body was presented vnto *Selymus*, he vncouered the face thereof, to be sure that it was he, and see- I ing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruell nature and stony heart) he burst out into tears; protesting, that he was neuer so much grieued or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cause, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the court, and with princely solemnity buried his body. Three daies after, he caused fifteen of those diligent searchers who first found *Corcutus*, to haue their heads strucke off, and their bodies to be flung vnto the sea, saying, That if he were by any extremity driuen to fly and hide his head, they would not stick to serue him in like maner as they had don his brother.

Now of al the posterity of *Bajazet* remained none aliue to trouble the cruel tirants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two sons: who vpon the approch of the Spring, set forward with his army from Amasia, excited by the often letters of his friends, who assured him, that *Selymus* K might vpon the sudden be easily oppressed, if he would with al expedition come to Prusa; forasmuch as the Ianizaries and Europeian horsmen, the vndoubted strength of his army, were at that time absent, and he himselfe as one hated both of God & man, could not in so sudden and vnexpected danger tel what he were best to do, or which way to turn himselfe: wherefore they willed him without delay to hasten his comming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, lest in the mean time *Selymus* should call together his dispersed forces: God (they said) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunity and meanes to do great matters, if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he should do well now by celerity and courage to seeke to better his euill fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he must either gain the victory by plain battell, L which would be a hard matter, or els get him packing out of Capadocia and all Asia the lesse.

Achomates, who before had promised vnto himselfe better successe, as well for the great strength he had of his owne, as for the new supply of horsemen he had procured from *Hysmael* the Persian King, but especially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late cruelty, should in the time of the battell be forsaken of his owne soldiers; yeelded to the persuasion of his friends, who with many pleasing words set before his eies glorious things, easie to be spoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore when he was come into Galatia with somewhat more than 15000 horsemen, hauing for hast left his footmen by easie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertised of his comming, by speedy messengers sent for his horsemen to Prusa. In the meane time whiles he is leuying other common souldiers, and expecting the M rest of his forces; fortune, which alwaies fauoured his attempts, did then also auert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulnesse of his followers, and shewed to him the open way to victory. For *Achomates* secret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing firme in their good will toward him, did earnestly by letters persuade him (being already set forward,

A ward,and now come as far as Paphlagonia) to make haſt,and to come before *Selymus* his forces were come together: for that he had ſent for the Ianizaries and Europeian horſemen, and did with all ſpeed and diligence make all the preparation he could poſſibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he ſhould vpon the ſudden come vpon him before he was prouided. Which letters being by chance intercepted, gaue *Selymus* certaine knowledge both of his brothers purpoſe and comming, together with the treaſon intended againſt him by his owne ſeruants: wherefore executing them who had writ thoſe letters, he in their names cauſed others to the ſame effect to be written to *Achomates*, perſuading him with all ſeed poſſible to come ſtill on, and not to ſtay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might eaſily be oppreſſed with a few troups of horſemen, if *Achomates* would with ſpeed but come and ſhew himſelfe
B vnto his friends and fauorites: who vpon the firſt ſignall of battell would raiſe a tumult in the army, and vpon the ſudden kill *Selymus*, vnaduiſedly going to and fro in the battell. Which letters ſo written, *Selymus* cauſed to be ſigned with the ſeales of them whom he had before executed,and found meanes to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*,as if they had bin ſent from his friends: who giuing credit to the ſame, and preſuming much vpon his owne ſtrength,doubted not to leaue his footmen, who followed eaſily after him, vnder the conduct of *Amurath* his ſon; and came and encamped with his horſemen neere vnto the mountaine Horminius,vpon the banke of the riuer Parthemius. *Selymus* alſo departed from Pruſa,and hauing receiued into his army ten thouſand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the ſtreit) ſent before *Sinan Baſſa*, Generall of his Aſian horſmen, to know & make proofe of the ſtrength
C of his enemies. The Baſſa as yet not knowing where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he was,being deceiued by the darkeneſſe of the morning,fell into a place of diſaduantage,where he was ſet vpon by *Achomates*,and hauing loſt ſeuen thouſand of his men, was glad with other eight thouſand which were left,to fly backe vnto *Selymus*.

Treaſon againſt Selymus diſcouered.

Sinan Baſſa diſcomfited by Achomates.

For all this loſſe,was not *Selymus* diſcomforted, or doubtfull of the victory, but forthwith marched on forward to the riuer Elata, which runneth directly out of the mountaine Horminius into Pontus,watering moſt large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called the plaines of the new land. So did *Achomates* alſo, who although he knew his brother to be euery way too ſtrong for him,yet being encouraged with the late victory,and in hope that his friends in *Selymus* his army(whom he vainly ſuppoſed to haue bin yet liuing)would in the ve-
D ry battell doe ſome notable matter for him, and that victory would follow his juſt quarrell; reſolued neither to retire backe, neither to expect the comming of the reſt of his army. The riuer was betweene the two camps,and the number of both armies certainely diſcouered: yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a ſafe retreit vnto the reſt of his army) poſſeſſed with a fatal madneſſe,be perſuaded(conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger)in time to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and his army,carried headlong (as it ſeemed) by ineuitable deſtiny to his fatall deſtruction,which preſently after enſued.

Selymus a little before the going downe of the Sun, with his army paſſed ouer the riuer Ela-
ta,and gaue generall commandement through all his campe,that euery man againſt the next day ſhould be ready for battell: and in a wood not far off placed a thouſand horſemen in am-
E buſh,vnder the leading of *Canoglis*,his wiues brother,a valiant yong gentleman,whom his father had a little before ſent from Taurica vnto his ſon in law with a choſen company of Tartarian horſemen: vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge, that when the battell was joined,he ſhould ſhew himſelfe with his horſemen vpon the backe of his enemies,and there to charge them.

Selymus with his army paſſeth ouer the riuer.

As ſoone as it was day,*Selymus* in a great open field put his army in order of battell,placing his horſemen in two wings,ſo that all his ſpearemen were in the right wing,& the archers and carbines in the left: in the maine battell ſtood the Ianizaries with the reſt of the footmen. On the other ſide *Achomates* hauing no footmen, diuided his horſemen into two wings alſo.

Whileſt both armies ſtood thus rannged, expecting but the ſignall of battell, a meſſenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his maſters name, to try the equity of their quar-
F tell in plain combat hand to hand:which if he ſhould refuſe, he then tooke both God and the World to witneſſe, that *Selymus* was the only cauſe of all the guiltleſſe bloud to be ſhed in the battell,and not he: whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, that he was not to try his quarrell by the appointment of *Achomates*: and though he could be content ſo to do,yet would not his ſoldiers ſuffer him ſo to aduenture his perſon and their owne ſafety: and ſo with that anſwer returned

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the meſſenger backe againe to his maſter, giuing him for his reward a thouſand aſpers. G

Achomates hauing receiued this anſwer, without further delay charged the right wing of his brothers army, who valiantly receiued the firſt charge: but when they were come to the ſword, and that the matter was to be tried by handy blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Perſian horſemen; who being well armed both horſe and man, had before requeſted to be placed in the formoſt ranks, by whoſe valor the right wing of *Selymus* his army was diſordered, and not without great loſſe inforced to retire backe vpon their fellowes. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them againe; and preſently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and piſtals, in ſtead of them that were fled: and at the ſame time came on with the Ianizaries alſo, who with their ſhot enforced *Achomates* his horſemen to retire. *Achomates* himſelfe carefully attending euery danger, with greater H courage than fortune came in with freſh troups of horſmen, by whoſe valor the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victory made doubtfull: but in the fury of this battell whileſt he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victory, *Canoglis* with his Tartarian horſemen riſing out of ambuſh, came behind him, and with great outcries cauſed their enemies (then in the greateſt heat of their fight) to turne vpon them: at which time alſo the footmen ſtanding cloſe together aſſailed them afront, and the horſemen whom the Perſians had at firſt put to flight, now moued with ſhame, were againe returned into the battell: ſo that *Achomates* his ſmall army was beſet, and hardly aſſailed on euery ſide. In fine his enſignes being ouerthrowne and many of his men ſlain, the reſt were faine to betake themſelues to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing loſt the field, and now too late ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight, fell with his horſe into a ditch, which the raine falling the day before, had filled with water and mire: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtaine ſo much fauour at their hands as to be preſently ſlaine, but was reſerued to the farther pleaſure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderſtanding of his taking, ſent *Kirengen* (the ſame ſqint-eyed captaine which had before ſtrangled *Corcutus*) who with a bow-ſtring ſtrangled him alſo. His dead body was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterward by his commandement in royall manner buried with his anceſtors in Pruſa.

Achomates ſtrangled.

Amurath and Aladin the ſons of Achomates. fly, the on into Perſia, and the other to Egypt.

Now *Amurath*, *Acomates* his ſonne, vnderſtanding vpon the way by the Perſian horſemen (who ſeered together, had againe made themſelues way through the Turks army) of the loſſe of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to Amaſia: and there after K good deliberation, reſolued with his brother to betake themſelues both to flight; he with the Perſian horſmen paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, fled vnto *Hyſmael* the Perſian king: but *Aladin* the yonger brother paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus in Cilicia, fled into Syria, and ſo to *Campſon Gaurus* the great Sultan of Ægypt.

After this victory, *Selymus* hauing in ſhort time and with little trouble brought all the leſſer Aſia vnder his obeiſance, and there at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, determined to haue returned to Conſtantinople: but vnderſtanding that the plague was hot there, he changed his purpoſe, and paſſing ouer at Callipolis and ſo trauelling through Grecia, came to Hadrianople, where he ſpent all the reſt of the Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortality was ceaſed, returned to Conſtantinople; where it was found, that an L hundred and threeſcore thouſand had there died of the late plague.

Hyſmael the Perſian King, whoſe fame had then filled the World, hearing of the arriuall of *Amurath*, ſent for him and demanded of him the cauſe of his comming. The diſtreſſed young Prince, who but of late had loſt his father, together with the hope of ſo great an Empire, and now glad for ſafegard of his life to fly into ſtrange countries, oppreſſed with ſorrow, by his heauy countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expreſſed the cauſe of his comming: yet in ſhort trained ſpeech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vncle, with the reſt of his couſins, all Princes of great honour, had of late been cruelly murdred by the vnmercifull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like fury ſought alſo after the life of himſelfe and his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* family, who to ſaue their liues, were both glad to M fly, his brother into Ægypt, and himſelfe to the feet of his imperiall Majeſty.

Hyſmael moued with compaſſion, and deeming it a thing well beſeeming the greatneſſe of his fame, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him reliefe, willed him to be of good comfort, and promiſed him aid. And the more to aſſure him therof, ſhortly after

gaue

A gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his tyranny become odious to the world) should by any meanes miscarry (as with tyrants commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* Family, sore shaken with his vnnaturall crueltie, none was to be preferred before this poore Prince *Amurat*: besides that, it was supposed, that if he should inuade him with an army out of Persia, that vpon the first stirre, all the lesser Asia mourning for the vnworthy death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his cruelty and shamefull murthers had worthily deserued to be hated together both of God and man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hysmael* furnished *Amurat* his new sonne in Law with ten thousand horsemen, willing him to passe ouer the riuer of Euphrates at Arsen-
B ga, and to enter into Cappadocia, as well to make proofe how the people of that Countrey were affected towards him, as of the strength of the enemy: after whom he sent *Vsta-Ogli*, the most famous Chiefetaine amongst the Persians, with twenty thousand horsemen moe, with charge, That he should still follow *Amurat* within one dayes journey: and he himselfe with a farre greater power stayd behind in Armenia, doubting to want victuall, if he should haue led so great an army through those vast, barren, and desolate places, whereby he must of necessity passe.

Amurat marching through the lesser Armenia, and entring into the borders of Cappadocia, 1514
had diuers towns yeelded vnto him by his friends; some others he tooke by force, which he ei- *Amurat spoyleth Cappadocia.*
ther sacked or else quite rased; and brought such a generall feare vpon the inhabitants of that
C prouince, that the people submitting themselues to him all the way as he went, it was thought he would haue gon directly to Amasia, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captain whom *Selymus* had left for his lieutenant in Asia) with a great army come to meet him at Sebastia, which at this day is called Siuas. This *Chendemus* had also long before aduertised *Selymus* both of the preparation and comming of the Persians, as soon as he had learned by his espials, That they were passed the riuer Euphrates. Vpon which news *Selymus* came presently ouer into Asia, and commanding all his forces to meet together at Prusa, had with wonderfull celerity leauied thereabout forty thousand common soldiers. Which so soon as *Amurat* vnderstood, as well by such prisoners as he had taken, as by aduertisement from his friends; although he was very de-
D sirous to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* should with his wonted celerity come against him, he should be intangled in the streits of the mountain Antitaurus, he retyred backe again to *Vsta-Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that yeare had in his hauty thoughts bin plotting some such notable exploit as were worthy his greatnes, standing in doubt whether he should by sea and land inuade Hungary, the Rhodes, or Italy, at that time sore shaken with ciuill warres; hauing now so fit an occasion giuen him by the Persian, to the great ioy of all Christendome, conuerted himselfe wholly to the East, and in thirty dayes march came to *Selymus resolueth to inuade the Persian.*
Arsenga. Where ioyning his army with *Chendemus*, when he vnderstood that his enemies hauing harried the country, were again retyred; prickt forward with the griefe of the iniury, and desire of reuenge, with hope of victory he resolued to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into Armenia the greater, the principall prouince of the Persian kingdom.

E But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Councell propounded by them which had best knowledge of those Countries; were great and many; all which by his owne good hap and inuincible courage, he himselfe afterwards ouercame: for the souldiers which had in short time already marched by land out of Illyria, Epirus, and Macedonia, into Cappadocia, must of necessity in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they were to endure the sharp and pinching cold of the huge mountaine Taurus, and by and by after the most vehement and scorching heat in the plaines of Armenia the lesser, with extreme thirst, hunger, and most desperat want of all things: and well the more, for that the Persians in their retreat, spoyling the countrey as they went, had vtterly destroyed all that might serue for the vse of man, of purpose to leaue nothing to their enemies but want of all things, if
F they should pursue them: besides that, his most expert Captaines stood in no small doubt of the petty Princes of Armenia the lesse, and the mountaine King *Aladules*, whom they were to leaue behind them at their backs, without any great assurance of their friendship, who they well knew would leaue them, if any thing should happen otherwise than well to *Selymus*,

either in the battell, or for want of victuals, or in the ſtreit paſſages. For they were to be relieued with victuals from the Armenians: and *Aladeules* forces then in readineſſe, were neither for number nor power to be contemned; who alſo with caſtles commodiouſly placed, and ſtrong garriſons, at his pleaſure commanded all the ſtreits, paſſages, and entrances which led out of Capadocia into Armenia and the Perſian kingdome: for all the mountaine countries were vnder his command, and his kingdome ſtretched from the mountaines called Scodriſci neere vnto Pontus, all alongſt the great mountaine Taurus vnto Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria. G

Amongſt the reſt, old *Chendemus* Viceroy of Natolia, a man of great experience, and of all others in greateſt credit, fauour, and authority with *Selymus*, perſuading him to ſtay a while in Capadocia, and there to refreſh his Europeian ſouldiers already weary of their long trauell, and ſo to expect the comming of his enemies. And to perſuade him from the dangerous expedition into Perſia, ſpake vnto him as followeth: H

Chendemus Baſſa diſſuades Selymus from going any further againſt the Perſians.

It is not to be thought (moſt mighty and inuincible Emperour, that the Perſians are fled for feare, becauſe they retyred before they ſet eye vpon vs their enemies: it is a fineneſſe, and they plainely go about to entrap vs, whiles they by flight make a falſe ſemblant of feare. Know we not what cunning heads, what able bodies Perſia breedeth? Will they feare the naked Turkiſh light horſemen or archers, which with their couragious barbed horſes and themſelues ſtrongly armed, feared not the Scythian ſhot: or (if that be too little) which by their valour haue vanquiſhed ſo many nations, and gained vnto their King ſo great and large an Empire? Thinke you, that you haue either greater or better forces than had long ago Caſſumes *your vncle, or great* Mahomet *your Grandfather; who diuers times prouing their forces againſt this enemy, where more than once put to the worſt, I my ſelfe then ſeruing in their camps neere vnto Trapezond and the mountaines of Nicopolis. I will not deny, but that the great ordnance which you carry with you may ſtand you in great ſtead, ſo that fit place may be found to beſtow ſo many field pieces in: but this ſcorched ground, the froſen and abrupt mountains, with the vaſt and ſolitary plaines beyond them, terrifie me, whom all the armed Forces of our enemies in places of great aduantage could not diſmay. You muſt fight not only with your valiant enemies, but with the difficulties of nature alſo. Neither may your Majeſty giue any credit to the Armenians or* Aladaules, *Princes of moſt doubtfull faith: although at your firſt ſetting forward they ſhew a faire face, and ſeeme neuer ſo friendly: for they will but expect and await ſome fit occaſion to take you at an aduantage, and ſo to ſet vpon you when you leaſt feare them. But admit you were aſſured of victory, o with how much warme bloud of your beſt ſouldiers ſhall you buy the the ſame? with what other ſoldiers, with what other forces will you defend Grecia, if the Chriſtian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or deſire of fame being gone into the furtheſt part of Armemenia, ſhall in the meane time inuade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wiſedome, with ſafety to defend your owne, than with danger to ſeeke for that is other mens; if Princes of greateſt policy haue repoſed the glory of their victory, not in the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter of their enemies, but in the ſafety and preſeruation of their own ſoldiers: ſpare to object your ſelfe and your army to moſt manifeſt danger, and vnaduiſedly to commit all at once to the hazard of good fortune: which being a moſt tickle and vnconſtant miſtreſſe, if ſhe ſhall but once dally with your dangerous attempts, you ſhall through your raſhneſſe in far ſhorter ſpace tumble downe headlong from the tipe of ſo great Majeſty, than you haue thereunto a while ago by your rare vertues worthily aſpired.* I K L

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce nature, ſo would he haue all things done according to his own deuice and direction: and though he were not a little moued with this ſpeech of ſo graue a counſellor and moſt expert commander; and ſaw many of his captaines troubled with the imagination of the future danger; yet in a fume refuting ſome little of that which *Chendemus* had ſaid, he diſmiſſed the Councell, proteſting openly, that he would proceed in his intended purpoſe, hap what hap ſhould, from friend or foe: although that old fellow were (as he ſaid) ſo carefull of his life, that he feared to die a noble death. Which *Selymus* had no ſooner ſaid, but preſently others about him, accuſtomed to ſerue his humor, which enuied at the glory and wealth of old *Chendemus*, tooke hold vpon theſe words, and beginning with the greatneſſe of his forces, the valour of his ſouldies, the ſtore of his artillery, with his own inuincible fortune; made eaſie matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words labored to ex- M

tenuat

A tenuat al that the graue Baſſa had before ſaid concerning the proweſſe and power of the enemy. After that they began to diſcredit *Chendemus*; ſaying, That hee being a martial man, and of known reſolution in al his moſt warlike actions, had not ſaid as before, for want of courage, or any diſtruſt of the victory, but of purpoſe to hinder that moſt honorable expedition, and to cut off all hope of victory, (which was, as they ſaid, as good as already gotten) beeing before loden with *Amurats* great promiſes, and the gold of Perſia. Wherefore they wiſhed him to beware of the ſly old Fox his wyles and treaſon, and to proceed on in his expedition ſo much the more boldly; and not to think that his ſoldiers would refuſe any danger or labor ſo long as they ſaw courage in himſelf, but would be ready (as they ſaid) to vndertake the moſt deſperat difficulties of war, and deſired nothing more than to be conducted into thoſe far Countries,
B where by their martial proweſſe & valiant acts they might make their Emperor *Selymus* equal with the Great *Alexander*, and themſelues comparable to his Macedonians. And to work the vtter deſtruction of this moſt faithful Counſellor without all recure, theſe falſe flatterers ſuborned bold faced accuſers, who falſly and ſhamefully affirmed, that hee had receiued great ſums of mony of *Amurat*, and did not therfore in time go againſt the Perſian robbers; whereby all the former calamities happened (as they ſaid) in that prouince. For which pretended cauſes *Selymus* commanded *Chendemus* without further hearing to be ſlain: but indeed to terrifie others from like liberty of ſpeech; and withall to teach them, to deem thoſe deuices and counſels as moſt excellent, which their ſoueraign ſhould as it were by diuine inſpiration find out himſelf, and ſo to accept of them without contradiction. The ſudden death of this moſt
C faithful counſellor *Chendemus* ſtrook an exceeding fear into the minds of all men, for that ſo honorable a perſonage, of late in ſo great credit and fauor with his Soueraigne, was without hearing executed; whom they had knowne as a man of great account both for his proweſſe and policie, to haue ſtood faſt on *Selymus* ſide, firſt in his wars againſt his father, and of late againſt his brother: not doubting but that *Selymus*, by nature cruel, and ſuſpitious euen of trifles, would with like tyrannie not ſpare men of meaner calling, who ſpared not his deareſt and moſt antient friends.

Chendemus Baſſa by the commandment of Selimus ſlain

Selymus marching from Arſenga, came to the confines of the leſſer Armenian kings, and of *Aladeules*; where by his Embaſſadors he requeſted the kings of thoſe nations (who were then in arms) that they would join their forces with his againſt the Perſian, and to go with him in-
D to Armenia the great; promiſing that when the wars were happily ended, he would giue vnto them all ſuch teritory as ſhould chance in thoſe wars to be taken from the enemy, as a reward of their aid. But theſe poor kings, who hated both *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*, for the manifold injuries they daily receiued in the frontiers of their dominions, lying in the midſt between them (as it commonly falleth out, that the weakeſt go the wals) craftily expecting the euent of this war, would not openly ſhew themſelues, but anſwered, That they had taken vp Armes for no other purpoſe but for the defence of themſelues and their kingdoms. Not meaning in that doubtfull War to bear themſelues as enemies vnto either of thoſe two mighty princes their friends and Neighbours, of whoſe iuſt grieuances they were not able or worthy to determin; yet if they would without hoſtilitie, in peaceable manner paſſe through their Dominions,
E they promiſed to giue free paſſage vnto him and his Army; and after he was entred into Armenia the greater, to relieue him with ſuch prouiſion of victual as their bare countrey could afford.

Selymus thus deceiued of this his firſt hope, (for why, hee thought thoſe poor kings would at the firſt either for loue or fear haue bin ready to haue done him all the ſeruice they could) diſſembled his grief for the preſent, as wholly bent againſt *Hyſmael*; fearing that if he ſhould by word or deed offend thoſe neuter princes, he ſhould haue them at his backe his moſt aſſured and vndoubted enemies. Wherefore paſſing the mountaine called Scodriſci, he came in 8 days to the great mountain Moſchij, which the famous riuer Euphrates, with his mighty ſtream and hugy broken banks, ſeparateth from the great mountain Antitaurus, & with per-
F petual ſteep ridges runneth into Iberia and Colchis, and on the Eaſt diſcouereth Armenia the greater. Here *Selymus* with enſignes diſplaied marching alongſt the bank of the riuer, departed not from the ſame, for fear to lack water in that hot and barren countrey; and ſo held on his way directly Eaſtward, leauing the Countrey of Armenia the leſſe vpon his left hand, and the frontiers of the kingdom of *Aladeules* on the right, vntil he came to the mountain Periardo.

riardo. This great mountain, famous for the rising of two great and notable riuers out of it; G
is for the wonderful fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called Leprus, which is to say, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuers and contrary Marshes, with many arms water and inrich that champian and dry country. *Selymus* hauing made so great a journey, and yet not able so much as by report to vnderstand what was become of *Hysmaels* so great and populous army, which he knew was but a little before departed out of Cappadocia; as a man in doubt and half afraid, staied and incamped his army at the head of the riuer Euphrates; and from thence sent out his scouts euery way, if haply they could intercept some which might giue them knowledge of their enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for fear of the Turks comming, or that *Hysmael* their king had so commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the country wherby *Selymus* was to passe with his army; and hauing forsaken their houses, had carried away with them, or els by fire destroied what soeuer H
might serue for the vse of man.

Selymus sends out his Scouts, who returne with bad news

The Turkish scouts after they had by the space of two daies scoured vp & down the country, returned back again to *Selymus*, not hauing taken so much as one man; shewing vnto him, That all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wild fields and a most desolat country, without any appearance of man or beast: and that they were of opinion, that either the Armenian guids were deceiued in the way, or els had of purpose brought them into such desart places, wheras wanting pasture for their horses, and food for men, they must needs together perish with hunger. Which their present fear was greatly increased by the weak kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but especially *Aladules*, who either for fear I
or shame had a few daies at the first holpen the Turks with victuals, but after they were farther entred into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before most faithfully promised: seeking therin the fauor of *Hysmael*, who he thought would with the same good fortune vanquish the Turks, that he had not long before the greater part of the East. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to suspect treason, to fear famin, to dread the desarts and forsaken places, and with grief of mind to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his faithfull Counsellor had before most truly told him. For all that, he shewed himself to his soldiers with cheerfull countenance, as a man nothing dismaid: which his firm constancy seemed to promise to their discouraged minds good succes, with speedy victory. Wherefore calling vnto him his
Guids, and such as best knew the country, and vnderstanding by them, that on the right hand K
beyond the mountain Periardo lay the most fruitful country of all Armenia, he rose with his army, and compassing the hil toward the North, turned down toward the riuer Araxes, and

Selymus passeth ouer Araxes.

aboue the city of Coy passed his army ouer the riuer, his footmen by little bridges, and his horsemen by foords. For Araxes vntil it haue receiued such riuers into it as fall out of the marshes of Periardo, runneth but with a small streame, and is in some places easie to be passed ouer.

Selymus had scarsly wel got ouer the riuer and incamped his great army, when *Vsta Ogli* (who hauing joined his forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing lest the City of Coy and the vnprouided citisens should by the sudden comming of the enemy be oppressed) quickly rose with his army, and set forward to meet the Turkes: for that city of all others in L
that country, for fresh fountaines and riuers most pleasant (wherein the Persian kings, for the great plenty of al maner of fruit, & wholsomnes of the air, leauing Tauris, were wont to spend most part of the summer) had then in it many rich citisens and sumptuous buildings; which *Vasta Ogli* thought good betimes to rescue, and not with dishonour to lose that rich city, looking as it were vpon it; and leauing it vnto the enemy, to suffer him there to refresh his hunger-starued soldiers with plenty of all things. *Cassinus* an Armenian born, and present in those wars, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) shew vnto him, That this city of Coy was in antient time that most famous city which was called Artaxata, which *Domitius Corbulo* destroied. Neither did *Hysmael* himself (although he had but a little before sent the greatest part of his forces against the Coraxeni, who were then risen vp against him in rebellion, as one that M
made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durst haue come so far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as soon as he had heard of the comming of *Selymus*, came also in person himself vnto his army.

By chance *Vsta Ogli* (who contrary to all mens expectation had till then shunned to fight,

or

A or come in sight of his enemies, of purpose with lesse danger and losse of men to ouerthrow them afterward, being sore weakned & almost spent with long trauel & want of victuals) lay then incamped neer the city, when as the Turks scouts, vpon the comming of *Hysmael*, perceiued by the rising of the dust, and the neighing of the Persian horses, that some greater power was at hand. Which so soon as it was noised in the Turkish Camp, they began to rejoice exceedingly, and to conceiue the first hope both of their safety and victory: glad that now meeting with their enemies, they should either by victory turn their labor, toil, famin, and extremities, wherwith they had a long time striuen, into ease and plenty of all things, or else by honorable death end all their miseries at once. For many of the horsmen, especially of them which came out of Europ, whose horses were starued for want of forrage, and the common
B footmen spent with long trauell, and grieuously troubled with the flix (who trauelling in the extream heat of the sun, had for most part liued vpon Crabs and other wilde fruits, with a bad supping made of meale and vineger, and almost dispairing to get the sight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hysmael as soone as he was come within sight of his enemies, reposing great confidence as wel in the valor of his soldiers, as in his own rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to giue them battel. Wherupon he sent an herald vnto *Selymus*, accompanied with certain skilful soldiers, which should in best sort they could take view of the number and force of their enemies, of their artillery, and in what sort they lay incamped: and to tell him, That forasmuch as he had no title vnto Armenia, nor that the Turks had at any time claimed
C any interest therin, he could not but maruel, why he had against all right entred with his Army into his dominion. But if he haply vpon a vain presumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of Macedon, should think so much of the world his own, as he could by his sword & good fortune win, he should then make himself ready against the next day to make proof of his fortune, and the forces of others not inferior to his own.

Hysmael sends an herauld to Selymus.

Wherunto *Selymus* answered, that the fresh remembrance of the manifold injuries done to the Turks by the Persians, was such, as might giue him iust cause to take vp arms: forasmuch as long ago, both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his Vncle *Cassumes*, and euen of late his father *Bajazet*, and he himself also in his wars against his brother *Achomates*, had receiued great wrong and dishonor from the Persians. All which things, although they were of them-
D selues important, yet he esteemed not of them as sufficient causes of war, but only sought after his enemy *Amurat* his brothers son, who had of late spoiled Cappadocia; whom if hee would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutual lawes of amity and friendship among princes for the maintenance and preseruation of their estates and kingdoms required, then he would withdraw his forces, and peaceably return into his kingdome: otherwise, hee threatned with fire and sword to destroy not the frontiers of Armenia, but euen the heart of Persia. And dismissing the herauld, both the armies for that day lay stil in their trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battel.

Selimus his answer vnto Hysmael.

The next day *Selymus* by persuasion of his Captaines brought his army into the open field, and in order of battel set forward against his enemies, which lay about two miles off; thinking
E that *Hysmael* a prince of so great name would straightway accept of battel: yet what strength the Persian King was of, what number of men hee had, what manner of horsemen, how armed, and with what weapons, he could not certainly learn: for beside that the Persians are by nature ingenious and subtil, the soldiers generally so reuerenced and loued *Hysmael* their King, that no one was found to haue gon from him to the Turk; wheras many reuolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Persian captains.

The order of Selymus battell.

Selymus, who had at that time 80000 horsmen vnder his ensignes, placed *Chasan Bassa*, his lieutenant General of Europ, with his Europeian horsmen in the right wing; and *Sinan Bassa* with his Asian horsemen in the left; and before them both the Acanzij, which are voluntary horsmen the forerunners of the Turks Army, who in hope of spoil follow the Turkes Wars
F out of all countries: in the middle battel he placed the Asapi or common soldiers, which base and half naked people, as men of little worth or estimation, are commonly thrust into the front of the Turks battels, to receiue the first fury of the enemy, and to blunt their swords, more than for any other good seruice: directly behind them he bestowed his great artillerie, garded with 4000 horsemen: last of all followed himselfe with his chosen pentioners and

Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmal field pieces and his cariages, as with a double trench: G
for he had (as their maner is) ſo inuironed himſelfe round with his ſadled Camels made faſt one to another with long chains, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench, from whence he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed army; and in caſe of extremitie being in the midſt of his ſtrength, might as out of a ſure fort repres the furious aſſault of his enemies. He alſo commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battel, that vpon the approch of the enemies horſe, they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace for the great ordnance which was placed behind them, to play in the middle betweene them. On the contrary part *Hyſmael*, who by the Turkes fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuices of his enemies, calling to him the chief Commanders of his army, ſhewed vnto them, that there was no doubt of victory, ſo that they could ſhun the fury of the great Artillery: which he aſſured H
them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen diuide themſelues, they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts, and giue place to the fury of the great ordnance: for which purpoſe he cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplaid, wherunto they ſhould at the time appointed retyre; the one for himſelf and thoſe whom he conducted; the other for *Vſta Ogli* and the reſt of his army.

Hyſmael with 30000 Perſians giues battell to Selymus with 300000.

Hyſmael (as *Iouius* reporteth) had in his army about thirty thouſand horſemen, without any footmen, among whom were ten thouſand men at Arms, reſolute gentlemen of great experience, all gallantly mounted vpon couragious barbed horſes, and themſelues brauely armed, both for the ſhew, and the terror of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance, a ſure ſcimitar, and a horſmans mace; the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and head-pieces, & were I
either archers on horſeback, or els vſed light horſmens ſtaues made of Aſh after the Spaniſh faſhion, wherwith they ſerued at the half ſtaf: as for guns they had none, in which thing only and number of men they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the inuincible courage and noble minds of the Perſians, that contemning the huge multitude of their enemies (being in number about 300000) and making no reckoning of their great Artillery, they doubted not with ſo few to giue them battel.

Hyſmael hauing giuen the ſignal of battel, came on with his Army, exhorting his ſouldiors then to remember the honor they had long before gotten in many battels, and couragiouſly to follow him their Soueraign, whom they by their worthy ſeruice and many victories had made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt: telling them, that they ſhould haue now to doe but K
with naked men, whoſe weapons were but weak ſtaues and light targets, and their horſes little poor jades almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant men at arms.

On the other ſide, *Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies, by the riſing of the duſt, cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his army by his captains and officers, that the time of battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come; wherin if they would worthily acquit themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies, they ſhould to their immortall fame extend the Turkiſh empire from the Perſian ſea to the mountain Caucaſus. But if they cowardly forgetting their antient prowes, ſhould faint in time of battel, they were not then to thinke by any means to eſcape by flight back again thorow thoſe great plains & deſolat countries; L
where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh, or els to their perpetual infamy be taken priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues be inforced to ſerue the Perſian women: foraſmuch as beſides the great diſtance of place, both the great riuer Euphrates, and the huge mountain Taurus, and the faithleſſe King *Aladeules* (who had ſhut vp all the paſſages) did cut off all hope from them if they ſhould be ouercome, by any means poſſible to eſcape backe again into Capadocia.

The great and mortall battel between Selymus and Hyſmael.

When *Hyſmael* was come neer with his Army, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen diuiding themſelues, made place for the great artillery to play, as was before appointed; hee alſo preſently diuiding his horſmen, charged the right wing of the Turks army with ſuch force, that after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks, and the valiant Perſian men at arms, M
Chaſan Baſſa the great commander of the Europian horſmen, with the formoſt of that Wing being ſlain, and many more after them, he inforced all that wing to retyre to that place where *Selymus* himſelf with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide, *Vaſta Ogli* hauing receiued no little harm by the Turks great ordnance, becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelf and his

fol-

A followers of that danger,as had *Hyſmael*, charged the Aſian horſmen in the left wing, & there in a bloudy battel made great ſlaughter of the enemy,but not with like good hap as did *Hyſmael*: for whilſt he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt ranks aſſailed his enemies,he was ſtruck with a ſmal ſhot and ſlain. With whoſe fall the Turkes were greatly incouraged, inſomuch as that they which but now were glad to giue ground,and had loſt the third part of that wing, began afreſh to renue the battell, and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians, and with their harquebuſiers (wherwith the Perſian horſmen were wonderfully terified) draue them headlong vpon the Turks common footmen. The Perſians,whether it were forced by neceſſity,for that they had loſt ſo great a Commaunder, and not well able to gouerne their horſes, terrified with the thundring ſhot; or els for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented to them greater place of aduantage; ſerring themſelues together, brake through the middle of the battell of the Turkiſh footmen,and bearing them down before them with a mighty ſlaughter, came to the great ordnance,and there ſlew the cannoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces at all aduentures,in that great medly made a great ſlaughter, as well of their own men as of their enemies. And ſo without ſtop,as victorious conquerors,made way through the midſt of their enemies,vntil they came to the right wing,where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging the Europeian horſmen,who hauing before loſt *Chaſan* their General,and being many of them ſlain or wounded, were already inforced to retyre: but now charged afreſh vpon the ſide, had much ado to indure the fury of their enemies,but as men in extream danger were glad to cry to *Selymus* for help.

Vſta-Ogli ſlain

C In this hard diſtreſſe *Selymus* in two places opened his Carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it were intrenched,and preſently ſent out part of his horſmen. And by and by turning himſelfe vnto his Ianizaries,ſaid,*This daies victory is reſerued (moſt worthy ſoldiers) vnto your valor and labor; wherfore now valiantly ſet forward,and as freſh and couragious men aſſaile your wearied enemies; their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the weight of their armor.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not very forward,but ſtood ſtill, as men willing in ſo great a danger to keep themſelues ſafe within the ſafegard of their munition. Wherfore whilſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the midſt of the heat of this victory,compaſſing in the Europeian horſmen,ſlew them downright,*Selymus* in the mean time looking on, and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrectus* Maſter of the Rhodes,

D who of all theſe things had certain intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Biſhop of Rome, that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſuaſion or intreaty to be induced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſmen,but as men diſtruſting the euent of the battel,choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucces thereof, than with moſt manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues to the violence of the Perſian horſmen, which had as a tempeſt ouerborn the vantgard of the Turkiſh footmen.

The Perſians were now ready on euery ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength: when *Sinan Baſſa*,although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned,yet following the Perſians through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlain footmen, came in,in good time for *Selymus*, and with certain freſh troups which had eſcaped the fury of *Vſta Ogli*,reſtored the battell,be-

E fore almoſt loſt: but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis Beg* and *Mahomet* his brother,deſcended of the honorable family of the *Molcozzij*,which for nobility among the Turks is accounted next to the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their warlike farher *Malcozzius*,famous for that wofull expedition hee made into Friuli againſt the Venetians in the reign of *Bajazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged, but ſtill in hope, commanded all the great ordnance wherewith he was inuironed,which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge, to bee diſcharged: by the violence wherof ſuch ſlaughter was made as well of his own men as of his enemies,mingled together,that what for duſt,what for ſmoke,and thundring of the artillery, hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing,& their horſes being ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great ordnance,that that they were not now to be ruled; the

F battel was broken off,the victory yet doubtful. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the terrour of this day,number it amongſt their diſmal daies,terming it,*The only day of doom.*

The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

Hyſmael in this furious battel hauing receiued a wound vnder the left ſhoulder with a ſmall ſhot,by perſuaſion of his friend swithdrew himſelf to haue his wound ſearched: which thing vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* & his army:for the Perſians by and by following

ing their King, left the victory, now in all mens opinion almost gotten. But after that *Hysmael* perceiued the wound was not deep, for that the strength of his armor had so broken the force of the shot, that it pierced not far into his body, he was about to haue charged the Turkes afresh: but vnderstanding of the death of *Vsta Ogli*, in whom for his singular experience in martial affairs, he had reposed his greatest confidence; and his captains also persuading him, not to make so light reckoning of his wound, the grief wherof he yet felt not, being warm, but to haue regard to his own health: he in seemly order softly marched away in such sort, that his departure had no resemblance of flight. And passing by the city of Tauris, willed the chief of the citisens to open the gates of the city to *Selymus*, if he should come thither, and to receiue his garrisons, rather than by vain constancie to fal into vtter destruction: and so marched himself into the confines of Media.

The Persian Tents taken by the Turks.

But the Turks intangled with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for fear, nor strength for wearines to pursue their enemies, yet comming to the Persian tents took them without resistance: where beside the rich pauilions wrought with needle-work of silk and gold, & much other pretious furniture, many noble Ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the maner of the Persians had followed their husbands in those wars; whom *Selymus* caused to be all set at liberty vntouched, excepting one of the wiues of *Hysmael*, whom he detained & gaue her in mariage to one of his Bassa's. Some which were present at this battel, reported, That amongst the heaps of them that were slaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Persian women, who being armed, and following their husbands, died with them in the battel; whom *Selymus* caused to be honorably buried.

This was that notable battel fought in the Galderan fields, neer to the city of Coy, betwixt these two great princes, the seuenth day of August, *An. Dom.* 1514. In which battell *Selymus* lost aboue 30000 men, amongst whom was *Chasan Bassa* his great Lieutenant in Europ, seuen Sanzacks, in which were the two *Malcozzian* brethren, who labouring the one to rescue the other, were both together slain. Beside his common footmen, of whom he made least account, he lost most part of his Illyrian, Macedonian, Servian, Epirot, Thessalian and Thracian horsemen, the vndoubted flour and strength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almost all slain or grieuously wounded.

Selymus for all this great losse, by the confession of his enemies hauing gotten the victory, and receiuing embassadors from Coy and the Cities therabouts, and the great City Tauris, promising to relieue him with whatsoeuer he needed, and to do what els he should command; marched directly to Tauris, desiring both to see and possesse himselfe of that City, as one of the chief palaces of the Persian Kings. This city is two daies journy distant from Coy where the battel was fought, & is verily thought to be the famous city called antiently Ecbatana, about 150 miles distant from the Caspian sea. The citisens were ready at the comming of the Turks, and brought them great store of victuals out of the city, where *Selymus* had lodged his army in the suburbs, thinking it no safety to lodge within that great and populous City, contenting himself to haue the gates therof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with strong gard. Some report, That *Selymus* durst not trust the Persians, and therfore neuer went into the City but disguised in the habit of a common souldier. Yet some others say, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the stately palace of the Persian King, and there had great discourse with them of Tauris, concerning his late victory. But whilst he thus stayed at Tauris, and with himself purposed to spend that Winter in Armenia, he called together his great Captains and Commanders of his army, to know how they liked therof: who fearing his displeasure, referred themselues to his owne resolution. Onely *Mustapha* his chiefe Bassa chanced to say, That it were good that the minds of the Ianizaries and the other souldiers of the court should therin be known. Which his speech *Selymus* took in such euill part, that he presently commanded him out of his sight, and depriued him of his greatest honour. And the more to disgrace him, sent one of his jeasters after him, who in great scorne and derision comming behinde him, cut off part of his Tulipant that hung down as the fashion was. But the Ianizaries vnderstanding the matter, and much offended with the indignitie which was offered to the great Bassa, whom they dearly loued, rose vp all together in arms, and told their emperor *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any case Winter so far from home in the enemies country: and therfore that it were best for him betime to consider of the matter, for that they

The Janisaries mutine against Selymus.

were

A were resolutely set down to forsake him, if he would needs stay, and not with speed return. *Selymus* much troubled with this insolencie of the Ianizaries, and hearing daily, That *Hysmael* with new supplies out of Iberia, Albania, and Parthia, was comming vpon him with greater power than before, and considering withall, with what difficulty and danger he had escaped in the late battel, preserued rather by his good fortune and force of his artillery, than the valour and prowesse of his soldiers; and withall suspecting the multitude and strength of the Taurisians, of whose fidelitie he could make no reckoning; he changed his former determination, and resolued again to return into Capadocia. Wherupon hauing contrary to his promise exacted a great masse of mony from them of Tauris, he departed thence, carying away with him 3000 families, the best artificers in that city, especially such as were skilful in making of Ar-
B mor and weapons, and so with speed retyred towards the riuer Euphrates, a longer way than that wherby he came; feating to return again by the head of Araxis and the mountaines Periardes, for meeting the Iberian and Albanian horsemen, who were reported to be then comming against him.

Hysmael vnderstanding of his departure, followed after with as much speed as hee could, leauing behind him for hast his cariages and such of his soldiers as were not able to endure so long and speedy a march. Yet for all his hast (forasmuch as *Selymus* was gon a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his army vntil he was come to the great riuer Euphrates; where *Selymus* staying two daies, and hauing made diuers little boats, was passing ouer his footmen: which becawse they were not sufficient for the speedy transportation of so great a
C multitude, many for hast swam ouer the riuer with bladders, and some aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken pieces of their cariages, which they had for that purpose burst in sunder. *Selymus* himself got ouer to the farther banke in a little boat, hauing before caused his horsemen with their horses at once to take the riuer, of purpose to breake the violence of the streame, wherby his footmen and Camels with their burdens got ouer with lesse danger, and some of his field pieces were also with lesse difficulty transported: yet for all his speed, the Georgian horsmen, the forerunners of *Hysmaels* army, being come within sight before the Turks were al got ouer, raised such a fear and stir all alongst that side of the Riuer, that 2000 of the Turkes were in their hasty passage there drowned, diuers field pieces left sticking in the mud, and much of the baggage caried away with the force of the riuer. The Georgians contented with
D such things as were left, pursued them no further: for the wheels of the Turks cariages intangled together with the violence of the stream, had staied a great part of the Turkish trash, floting in the riuer, and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the shore; all which the Georgian horsmen easily drew out. *Hysmael* in the mean time rejoicing at nothing more, than that hauing chased away his enemies, he had also recouered much of the great Ordnance, by which he had before receiued so great hurt.

Selymus in passing the Riuer Euphrates, receiueth great losse.

Selymus by speedy flight thus got out of the hands of the Persians, found his passage much more dangerous at the mountain Antitaurus than he had before thought of: for *Aladeules* the mountain King hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his sauage people before taken all the streit passages of the mountain country; who eue-
E ry night in theeuish maner assailed the Turks, as they with their weake and weary companies passed through those rough and broken waies; and robbing their cariages, presently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thick woods and rocky mountains. *Aladules* himself in the mean time (by whose fraud all this was don) euery day excusing himself, as if it had bin don against his wil, by the rude mountain people, inured to such desperat roberies; whom neuertheles he said he would in short time seuerely chastise, so soone as hee could finde the authors therof. In the mean while for fashion sake sending a little spare prouision for certaine daies, did euery night rob and spoil the Turkes by his souldiers, as they could take them in places of aduantage. Against which mischiefs *Selymus* could neither by polcie, neither his souldiers by industry prouide any sufficient remedy. Wherfore dissembling the injuries he
F daily receiued, purposing to be therof in time reuenged, together with the foul & trecherous dealing of the faithles king; holding on his way, he with much ado came at length to Trapezond, and from thence to Amasia, where hee spent that winter in repairing his sore weakened army; purposing with the first of the spring to make war vpon *Aladules* and the mountain people, who in his return had don him so great harm and injury.

Selymus comes to Amasia.

In

In this sort *Iouius*, one of the great historiographers of that time, reporteth the afore said G
wars betwixt *Hysmael* and *Selymus*; whose credit in that matter other Writers haue since for most part followed. Howbeit *Io. Ant. Mænauinus* a Genoay who serued in those wars, doth in his book concerning Turkish affaires, dedicated to the French King, much otherwise report of the same. Which to satisfie the desirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to set down, as it is by himself reported.

The former history as it is reported by Io. Ant. Mænauinus a Genoay, present at doing therof.

Selymus (saith he) with his army, in number about three hundred thousand men, being come to the riuer Euphrates, found the bridge broken down by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies incamped in conuenient place on the farther side of the riuer, with their forces greatly increased by new supplies lately sent from the Persian King; so that there was then in the Persian army about 90000 men horse & foot, the horsmen for the most part furnished with two hor- H
ses apiece for seruice. And although *Selymus* did what he might to know whether the Persian King were in person himself in the Camp, or els (which he most feared) was raising of greater forces in Persia; yet could he by no means learn the truth of that he desired. Wherfore repairing again the broken bridge, he first sent ouer his two great Lieutenants, of Grecia and Natolia, who passing ouer the riuer, incamped themselues as they thought conuenient. The next morning, about two hours before the rising of the Sunne, *Amurat* suddenly assailed the great Commander of Grecia, *Chasan Bassa*, in his trenches, and by plain force discomfited the Turks and by good fortune took from them their tents: wherupon such a terror and fear came vpon the other great Commander of Natolia, that his souldiers thrusting themselues for fear into the riuer, swam ouer with great danger, and again joined themselues with the rest of the army. I
Selymus troubled with the great losse thus receiued, caused all his great artillery to be placed all alongst the hithermost banke of the riuer Euphrates; and because the enemy should not perceiue the same, ranged certain companies of his soldiers before the Ordnance, as if they should presently haue passed the riuer: who vpon signall giuen should forthwith withdraw themselues and giue place to the great ordnance bent vpon the enemy. But when fire was giuen to these great pieces, many of them being ouercharged burst in sunder, and slew diuers of the Turks: many also of their rich horses and mules being neer vnto the riuers side, and terrified with the thundring shot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with their riders. The Persians also receiuing great losse, retyred farther off for fear of the great artillery. So *Selymus* without resistance passing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith towards the K
enemy; whom the Persians as men nothing dismaid, notably incountred. The battell was of long time doubtfull, and much bloud shed on both sides; and if the approch of the night had not broke off the force of that fight, the Persian army rather ouercharged with the multitude of the enemy, than vanquished by valor, had vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow: but by the benefit of the night they without further losse escaped the pursuit of the Turkes. Vpon this victory, *Selymus* left his cariages and baggage with his footmen; and taking with him only his horsmen, set forward with intention to haue vpon the sudden surprised the regal city Tauris, before the fame of the late fought battell could be caried thither; the Persians in the mean time being no lesse carefull of their affairs. The day before, ten thousand men well appointed, which had not yet bin in the battel, were comming to *Hysmael*. These he craftily L
laid in the Turks way, commanding them vpon the approch of the enemy, to flie as if it had bin for fear. *Selymus* in the morning descrying these horsmen at hand, supposing them to be such of his enemies as being ouertaken with the darknes of the night, were not able to follow the rest of the Army, exhorted his souldiers couragiously to pursue their discouraged Enemies.

The Persians seeing the Turks, of purpose betook themselues to flight; and they suspecting no deceit, followed fast after them, vntill that about mid-day being weary of the pursuit, and comming vnto a little riuer that was in their way, there staid to refresh themselues; and after they had taken a short repast, againe pursued the Persians, still leauing behinde them such as were not able so fast to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they should sur- M
prise and ransack the rich city of Tauris. The Turkish horsmen thus drawn far from the footmen, the Persian horsmen left in ambush, in the mean time set vpon the Turkes footmen (lying as they supposed in great securitie) and with a great slaughter ouerthrew them: at which time they also took all *Selymus* his treasure and great Artillery. Which ouerthrow was by

speedy

A ſpeedy poſts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceiued the ſacking of Tauris) & withall that the fierce enemy was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abaſhed with this vnexpected newes, and the loſſe of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thouſand Perſians which had before of purpoſe fled, perceiuing, now turning themſelues vpon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly: ſo *Selymus* incloſed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great ouerthrow: and the Turks thus hardly beſet, and almoſt deſpairing of their liues, and hauing loſt their enſigns brake out ſidewaies betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* ſeeing all deſperat and forlorne, betooke himſelfe to flight alſo with the reſt: and paſſing the riuer Euphrates, brake down the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Perſians ſhould further purſue
B him, and with much trouble and no leſſe danger comming at length to Amaſia, aſſembled thither the reliques of his diſcomfited army. Such of the Turks as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keep way with the reſt, were all ſlaine by the Perſians.

The Genoway author thus concludeth his Hiſtory, That the Perſian King did not more reioice at this victory, than did he himſelfe for the ouerthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their ſo great a confuſion to free himſelfe of his long & miſerable thraldome, and to find a way vnto his natiue countrey parents: afterwards he did, flying firſt to Trapezond and there taking paſſage into Europ, he came to Hadrianople, from thence he trauelled by land on foot to Salonica, and there chancing vpon certaine ſhips of Chriſtian Merchants which had brought corne thither, he was by them tranſported into the Iſland of Chios; from whence he joyfully
C returned to Genoa his natiue country, after he had amongſt the Turks endured ten yeres captiuity: moſt part wherof he liued as a page in old *Bajazets* priuy chamber, and the reſt as a ſoldier of the court in the reigne of *Selymus*; and therfore well acquainted with the faſhion of the Turks Court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now ſhall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpoſe, here with *Iouius* a little to digreſſe in comparing theſe two great Princes *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* together, who in that time had filled the world with the glory of their fame: that wearied with bloudy broiles, and the wonderfull chances of war, we may a little repoſe our ſelues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable.

Selymus and Hyſmael compared together.

Theſe two mighty Princes, as they were for royall deſcent, ſtrength of body, courage of
D mind, riches, and power, equall, and had thereby obtained like fame and renowne: ſo in conditions and qualities of mind, and martial diſcipline, they much differed. Firſt of all (beſide the mutual hatred of the one nation againſt the other, deliuered as it were by ſucceſſion from their grandfathers and fathers) theſe two Princes, and ſo likewiſe their ſubiects alſo, were at great ods about an idle queſtion of their vain ſuperſtition, the one preferring & honoring *Eububekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the moſt true and rightful ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no leſſe deuotion honouring *Haly*, and deteſting the three former; differing otherwiſe in few or no points of their moſt fond ſuperſtition: yet did they vnder the colour and zeale of their religion (as they would haue it) both pretend iuſt cauſes of war, although their euil diſſembled ambitious deſires, plainly declared vnto the world, that they both ſhot at one
E and the ſame mark, *viz.* By confirming their power & ſtrength, to extend the bounds of their great Empires. For *Hyſmael* of purpoſe affected the fame and glory of *Darius* and *Xerxes* the antient Perſian kings, who hauing ſubdued Aſia, with great boldnes paſſed ouer into Europ: and *Selymus* the greatnes of *Alexander* of Macedon, who ſubuerted the Perſian empire. Which their aſpiring thoughts, masking vnder the vaile of zeale towards their religon, ſeemed not altogether vain; fortune with like indifference immoderatly fauoring their bold ambitious and endleſſe deſires. But in *Hyſmael* appeared ſuch a wonderful deuotion and grauity, that his hau- *Hyſmael maieſtical.*
ty thoughts were with the reuerend maieſty thereof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot and obſcure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward and puniſhment retained the maieſty of his empire, but with greater fame of ſecurity than bounty. Becauſe it
F was expedient in the exact diſcipline of that ſeruile gouernment, wherof the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire conſiſteth, to vſe all rigor and ſeuerity: otherwiſe then it ſtood with the ſtate of *Hyſmael*, who leauied alwaies his armies of his Nobilitie and men free borne, with whom temperat juſtice, ciuil courteſie, & popular clemency, are of greateſt force, to win their fidelity, faith, and loyalty: for that there is no man well borne, which feareth not more the

blemiſh

blemish of infamy than the heauinesse of punishment: so that it was not to be maruelled, if *Hysmael* by such honorable vertues did mightily defend the glory of his maiesty & renowne. Vnto these his rare vertues, was also ioyned a comlinesse of face (the fairest gift of nature) well beseeming so great a monarch: for he was well coloured, quick eyed, yellow bearded, and that which among the Persians is accounted the signe of antient nobility, hook nosed; & was withall exceeding eloquent: by which good gifts, he wonderfully woon to himselfe both the eies and hearts of such as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his stern countenance, his fierce and piercing eies, his Tartar-like pale colour, his long mustacho's on his vpper lip, like bristles, frild back to his necke, with his beard cut close to his chin, did so expresse his martiall disposition and inexorable nature, that he seemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but mischiefe and cruelty. Which diuersity of countenances was also accompanied with no lesse diuersity of affections, and so consequently with far vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hysmael* was of nature courteous and affable, easie to be seen and spoken withall, doing nothing that beseem'd his regall function, but in the sight of all men: his manner was to dine openly in the company of his nobility, delighting much in hawking and hunting, accompanied with his noblemen and the Embassadors of forraine princes: He would oftentimes run, leap, and proue masteries with his chiefe courtiers, being himselfe a most excellent horsman and cunning archer: in his exercises he was so popular, that he would not stick openly to bathe himselfe and swim in his princely bathes: his wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobility or neighbor princes, ladies of great chastity, he neither loathed nor diuorced; after the antient maner of the Persian kings, who alwaies vsed most tenderly to loue and cherish their wiues, doing them all the honor possible in court, as partakers of all their fortune, and carried them, their children, nurses, & richest furniture into their farthest wars, to their great trouble & charge, by the presence of so deer pledges the more to incourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwise did all things in secret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his pages & eunuchs only, and satisfying natures want with some one simple dish of meat: he seldome went abroad but to the church, vpon the friday the Turks chiefe Sabboth; and then so beset with his pentioners and other souldiers of the court, that although he vsed to ride alone mounted vpon some couragious horse, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him among so many armed men, who with great pride & insolency kept back the beholders: he was seldom seen abroad in the city, chusing rather for his recreation to passe ouer in his gally to Asia, and there alongst the sea coast to take the aire: his wiues he would not suffer to come to court, neither vsed their company but for procreation sake, and that (as was thought) without any great good countenance or familiarity; for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but more delighted with vnnaturall pleasure, thought a mans body and minde to be not a little weakened with the allurements of women: wherefore he seldome resorted to the cloister of choice paragons in the midst of Constantinople, shut in on euery side with high & blind wals: those dainty peeces, either taken from their Christian parents, or by chance surprised by pirats, are there most curiously kept by antient matrons and old eunuchs, by whom they are with all diligence instructed in the principles of the Mahometan law, and to read the Arabian tongue, and withall, cunningly and comely to sing, play, dance, and sow: but *Selymus* of all others vsed seldomest to see their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or desirous of many (and oftentimes vnfortunat) children; hauing but one son (*Solyman*) by the daughter of *Muhamet* a Tartar king, who afterwards by the sufferance of God, proued a great plague to the Christian commonweale. Such spare time as he had from his serious & weighty affairs, he vsed to spend in walking in his gardens with some of his Bassaes or other great courtiers, and in beholding and noting the Noblemens children there sporting themselues, would discourse and consult of many things of great importance. Some houres he would spend in the bathes, and in reading the Histories of his Ancestors and other forraine Princes: imitating therein his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who caused almost all the Histories of the famous Princes of the world to be translated into the Turkish language, and their liuely counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawne, that by their worthy examples he might be the more inflamed to extend his fame and glory. He would many times scoffe at the great busines of his father *Baiazet*, who (as he said) was so drowned in the study of *Auerrois* (determining nothing certainly of the nature of the soule) and the motions of the heauens, that he desired rather the name of a sharp disputer,

Selymus tyrannicall.

Hysmael courteous.

Selymus churlish.

A disputer amongst the idle professors of Philosophy, than of a renowned chiefetaine amongst his valiant soldiers and men of war.

One of the Persian embassadors finding him pleasantly disposed, demanded of him, why he did not weare his beard long, as his father *Bajazet*, and other great princes of that age had don, therby to seeme vnto their subjects of greater majesty: to whom he answered, That he liked not to carry about with him such an vnnecessary handfull, whereby his Bassaes might at their pleasure lead him vp and downe the court, as they had done his father: noting therby, that *Bajazet* whilest he yet liued, had bin too much ouerruled by the Bassaes; which he could by no means indure, following no mans aduice but his own in whatsoeuer he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Persians themselues, they in their wars had great disaduantage of the
B Turks: for as they were strong in horsmen, so were they destitute of expert trained footmen, by whose only means the Turks haue atchieued their greatest victories, and performed their greatest wars. Beside this, it was a great want in the Persians, that they had not the vse of guns, against whose fury no sufficient resistance can be made, or force of man opposed: as appeared by the lamentable example of *Vsun Cassanes* at Artenga, and now of *Hysmael* in the Calderan fields; whose victorious armies of horsemen were both places put to the worse by the terror and violence of the Turks artillery. For the naked Turkish horseman is not to be compared with the Persian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a strong cuiras, a sure head-piece, and a good targuet: whereas the Turkish Europeian horsemen, altogether naked, vse onely a square or crooked buckler, wherewith they do scarcely couer themselues: and the
C Asian horsemen, bucklers made of soft reeds, wound round, and couered with some kinde of silke. The Persian horsemen also, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing staues of good ash, armed at both ends, fight with them as occasion serueth at the halfe staffe, after the maner of the Numidians, and with doubling and redoubling their often thrusts from on high, do easily wound or kill the vnarmed Turks, with their horses: whereas the Turkish horsemen, after the manner of the Grecians, couching their staues in their rests, do at the first course most commonly breake the same, being made of light and brittle firre, and so presently come to their scimitars or horsemans maces, being in all other things far inferior to the Persian man at armes. As for the Turkish archers on horsebacke, they are in no respect to be compared with the Persians, who well mounted and surely armed, and vsing both greater and stronger
D bowes, shoot more deadly arrows, and so make small account of the Turks. So that all things well considered, the Persian army, deuoted to their King, as well for the great and firme opinion conceiued of his high courage and diuine spirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged, although it was in number far inferior, yet had it bin of the Turks inuincible, if it had not bin ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murthering artillery, and wonderfull multitude of men. The cause why *Hysmael* out of so many great and large prouinces then vnder his obeisance (able in antient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, & to drink the riuers dry) brought now so small an army against the Turkish Emperor, breaking into the heart of Armenia, was, for that *Hysmael* to win the hearts of the people by bounty, had remitted a great part of his customes and tributes, so as then stood best with his policy, hauing but
E lately aspired to the kingdome, and thrust downe his neere kinsmen, the posterity of *Vsun-Cassan* and *Iacup*, the rightfull inheritors thereof: so that his coffers being empty, and wanting mony, the sinewes of war, he was not able to raise so great an army as otherwaies he might out of those populous kingdoms & countries, yeelding plentifully all things necessary for mans vse. Whereas with *Selymus* it was far otherwise: whose horsemen, footmen, captaines, canoniers, both at sea and land, officers of peace and wars, receiued their daily wages and monthly paies in ready mony, of his treasurers and paimasters: for defraying of which charge he neuer wanted coyne, hauing an inestimable masse of mony alwaies in store in the seuen towers at Constantinople: and his yerely tributes and reuenues still exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The strength of the Persian King consisted in three kind of soldiers: the first were they
F which were accounted souldiers of the court: the second, such as were by custome and duty bound to serue him in his wars: and the third, such as were sent to him from the Princes his neighbors and confederats. Those which were accounted soldiers of his court, had their certain stipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge; of whom, according to the old custome of the Persian kings, they at certaine times receiued armor, horses, apparell, tents,

The Persians better horsemen than the Turks.

The cause why Hysmael came with so small an army against Selymus.

and wages, euery one as he is in place and degree. And being attended vpon with a gallant and G
ſtrong garriſon of theſe, he maintained the majeſty of his court, eſpecially when he rideth in
progreſſe. The nobility and antient gentlemen of his country, who hold lands and poſſeſſions
diſcended vnto them from their anceſtors, or holden by the gift of the King, are ſent for in
time of wars, and are of duty bound to performe ſuch like ſeruice as the nobility and gentle-
men of Italy, France, and Spaine do vnto their ſoueraignes: theſe hardly amount to the num-
ber of twenty thouſand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the reſt content
themſelues with head-pieces and jacks, and vſe for their weapons either horſemens ſtaues or
bowes, which they can moſt cunningly handle, diſcharging their arrows very neere vnto that
they aime at, either forward or backeward. They which come vnto him from forrein Princes,
confederat or tributary, are commnoly ſent from the kings and princes of Iberia, Albania, and H
the countries bordering vpon Media and Armenia; who being halfe Chriſtians, beare a mor-
The countries ſubject to Hyſmael. tall hatred againſt the Turkes. *Hyſmael* the Perſian King had then vnder his dominion theſe
great and famous countries, Armenia the greater, Sulthania, Perſia, Aſſyria, Meſopotamia,
Media and Parthia: wherof Armenia is the chiefeſt, famous for the great city Tauris, called in
antient time Ecbathana: this country yeeldeth vnto the Perſian King his beſt footmen; but
his choice horſemen come from out of Perſia, and eſpecially from Scyras, called of old Cyri-
polis: the next vnto them are from Aſſyria; the chiefe city wherof is Bagadat, called in antient
time Babylon. The Medes and Parthians are of all others accounted the beſt archers next vn-
to the Scythians.

1515 But now to returne againe from whence we haue a little too far ſtraied. *Selymus* after his I
great expedition againſt *Hyſmael*, wintering at Amaſia, by his lieutenants and captains in Eu-
Selymus with a new army entreth into Armenia. rope and Aſia raiſed ſuch a power, that with the firſt of the Spring he entered againe into the
confines of the Perſian kingdome, with a greater army than before, and that ſomewhat ſooner
than the extreame cold of that part of Armenia (ſubject to the ſnowie mountaine Taurus)
would either well ſuffer, or that the enemy thought it had beene poſſible for him to haue ſo
done. There was vpon the further ſide of the riuer Euphrates a ſtrong towne called Clamaſ-
ſum, ſcituate a little aboue that place where the riuer Melas (much celebrated by the Grecian
Poets) falleth into the riuer Euphrates; which towne for the commodious ſcituation therof,
ſtanding vpon the firſt entrance of the paſſage into Armenia the great, the Perſians had furni-
ſhed with a ſtrong garriſon: this towne *Selymus* thought good in any caſe to be maſter of, K
by taking wherof, and of ſome other holds thereabout, he ſhould open a faire way for himſelfe
into his enemies country. *Hyſmael* at the ſame time was gone with all his power againſt the
Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and other ſauage people dwelling neere vnto the Caſpian ſea, then vp
in arms againſt him: which wiſhed opportunity *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge ouer the
riuer Euphrates, paſſed ouer with his army, came before the towne, and laid hard ſiege to the
ſame before his enemies were all aware of his comming. The Turks at their firſt approch
compaſſing the city round with their huge multitude of harquebuſiers and archers, braue the
defendants from the wals; and ſtill without reſt or intermiſſion bringing on freſh men, as *Se-
lymus* had before taken order, and others at the ſame time breaking open the gates, and in di-
uers places ſcaling the wals, enforced the defendants to forſake their ſtandings, and to retyre L
themſelues into the market place, where although they were before ſore ſpent with labor and
wounds, yet did they there with wonderfull courage a great while notably withſtand the mul-
titude of their enemies ſtill ſwarming in, and in defence of their country, like reſolute men,
fought it out vnto the laſt man.

Selymus hauing taken and ranſacked Clamaſſum, with two other ſmall caſtles which the de-
fendants had for feare before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred and ambitious
deſire prickt forward againſt *Hyſmael*, and thirſting after nothing more than the ſubuerſion of
the Perſian kingdome: yet he thought it not good to enter further into Armenia, before he
had out of thoſe forreſts and mountains chaſed the mountain king *Aladeules*, who but the yere
before had moſt trecherouſly done him and his army ſo many injuries in his return from the M
Perſian expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cauſe fearing his owne eſtate, as ſoone as he vn-
derſtood that *Selymus* had againe taken the field, and that he was come to the riuer Euphrates,
and ſo to Clamaſſum, ſpeedily aſſembling his forces, had in ſhort time raiſed a great army for
the defence of himſelfe and his Kingdome: purpoſing that if *Selymus* ſhould goe farther

into

into Armenia, then after his wonted maner to looke on as a beholder, and by the euent of the war, to take occasion of prey, and by shutting vp the passages of his country, at his pleasure to rob and spoile the Turks in their returne. Wherefore *Selymus* leauing a garrison at Ciamassum, retired backe againe ouer the riuer Euphrates vnto the mountaine Antitaurus, where it was reported that his enemies lay.

This *Aladeules* (as is aforesaid) ruled ouer the rude and sauage mountaine people, inhabiting the great mountaines Taurus and Antitaurus: which mountaines as it were linked together one to another, run from the moantains called Scodrisci, and the borders of Capadocia, with a perpetuall rising, through many large prouinces and countries vnto the great mountain Amanus, and vttermost bounds of Cilicia. The people of this country were by nature fierce and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the want of all things; who as men dwelling in a rough and bare country, could little or nothing profit by husbandry: yet in such places as would beare any pasture, they had their breed of horses and cammels, and did with all diligence vse grasing; but the greatest part of their liuing consisted in hunting and stealing. These are supposed to haue had their beginning from the Galatians, Capadocians, Armenians, and the old inhabitants of Asia the lesse, which by long and continuall wars in former ages, and especially by the lamentable irruption of the Scithians, were inforced to forsake their cities and dwellings, and for safegard of their liues to fly into those rough and desolat mountains. These distressed people searching euery hill and euery dale, and following the opportunity of the riuers and fountains, but especially the mildest temperature of the aire, and fauourable aspect of the Sun, built in many places poore country villages, and afterwards diuers faire townes: where in processe of time they growing to better estate, there rise vp some amongst them, which ouerruling the rest, ambitiously tooke vpon them the name of kings, desiring to be had in regard, and to be feared of their neighbours, although they commanded but ouer rough woods and ragged rockes. Neere vnto the confines of *Aladeules* kingdome is the city Orpha, which many suppose to haue bin the famous city Edessa, because that as yet there remaineth certaine monuments of *Baldwin* in Latine letters; who after his brother *Godfrey* was possessed of Ierusalem, is reported to haue taken Edessa, and there reigned. Not far from thence is also the antient city Amyda, which at this day is called Caramida, joyning vpon Mesopotamia: which country lying betweene the two great riuers Euphrates and Tygris, is now called Diarbecha. The chiefe city of *Aladeules* kingdome was Maras, so called as may be thought of the faire riuer Marsias running through it out of the mountaine Cælene, taking the name of *Marsias*, ouercome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the verses of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*, after he saw that *Selymus* with his army was entered into the frontiers of his kingdome, and drawing neere vnto him, brought downe all his horsemen, in number about fifteene thousand, from the mountaines into a faire large valley; commanding his footmen wherof he had great store, to keepe the mountaines on the right hand and the left: where hauing the high rocky mountains and streit passages much for his aduantage, he determined in that place which he had long before chosen and fortified, to expect the comming of his enemies. *Selymus* considering the disaduantage of the place, although he perceiued the victory could not without great losse of his men be obtained; and before persuaded that his enemies would neuer haue willingly beene drawne to battell: yet made no doubt to aduenture his fortune, presuming vpon the multitude and strength of his army. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan Bassa* the Eunuch (whom he had made generall of the Europeian horsmen in stead of *Chasan Bassa* before slaine) with a square battell to charge the enemy afront, forasmuch as the place would not suffer him to range his battell in length, nor to vse any wings: and he himselfe with his Ianizaries and Asian horsemen followed after in the rereward. Neither were the soldiers of *Aladeules* vnmindfull of themselues and their king, who valiantly fought in the head of the battell, but hauing spent their arrowes, did couragiously receiue the furious assault of the Turks: and standing close to them, still keeping the aduantage of the ground, did with such force repulse them, that the old beaten soldiers of the Turks seemed little or nothing to preuaile either with their multitude or valor: for the Turks by reason of the streightnesse of the place, could not inclose them on either side, and were beside grieuously wounded by *Aladeules* footmen, who standing vpon the sides of the hils, with their darts and arrowes from aboue, ouerwhelmed the Turks in the valley. When *Selymus* saw that *Aladeules*, contrary to his expectation,

Aladeules his kingdome.

Selymus assaileth Aladeules.

made ſtrong reſiſtance, and valiantly withſtood his forces; he drew certaine companies of harquebuſiers out of his owne ſquadrons, and ſent them to relieue their fellowes: and at the ſame inſtant commanded the Ianizaries for all the danger to mount the hill. Then the mountaine people terrified with the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſhot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backs, and by knowne waies fled into their ſure haunts, in the mountaines and woods faſt by; yet the greateſt ſlaughter fell amongſt theſe footmen, who when they ſaw the horſemen put to flight, and the Ianizeries comming vp the hils againſt them, did with much difficulty, by ſteepe and broken waies clamber vp the high mountaines: as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the ſtrength of mens legs and other their wonted forces faile them moſt, when ſurpriſed and ouercome with ſudden feare, they deſire to run and fly faſteſt. The Turks hauing them in chaſe, had the killing of them vntill the going downe of the Sun. The horſmen with the King, vpon their ſwift horſes, well acquainted with thoſe rocks and rough waies, with little loſſe retired themſelues into the further and ſtronger places of the mountains. G H

Aladeules flies into the mountaines.

Aladeules after this diſcomfiture, finding himſelfe in all things far inferiour to his enemy, thought it beſt by protracting the war, to weary him out: wherefore as the Turks purſued him, and burnt the poore country cottages ſtanding in their way, he ſtill fled from mountaine to mountaine, neuer offering battell or ſhewing himſelfe, but in places of great aduantage: and therefore *Selymus* fearing leſt in that barren rough and vnknown country, he ſhould either want victuall, or by ſome other means be intrapped, if he ſhould ſtill with the whole army follow after his ſtrong enemies; vpon the ſeuenth day left off to purſue him any further. And encamping himſelfe in the moſt conuenient place of that country, ſent *Sinan Baſſa* with his light horſmen, who carrying with them certaine daies victuals, ſhould ſtill at the heeles follow the enemy, and with all ſpeed & policy poſſible hunt after the king himſelfe. *Selymus* in the meane time curiouſly inquiring of the country captiues after the ſtrength of *Aladeules*, and what means he had to maintaine the war; found, that he had taken with him his beſt men both horſe and foot; and had commanded the country villages to forſake the villages, of purpoſe to leaue all deſolate to the enemy: and hauing ſurely intrenched himſelfe vpon a certaine ſtrong rocke (whither he had before conueied great ſtore of prouiſion) was reſolued not to giue battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawn them into the impregnable ſtreits of the mountains, where their hugy multitude ſhould little auaile them, but to increaſe their owne loſſe. Another cauſe there was alſo (as they ſaid) for that he feared to be betraied by *Alis Beg* his kinſman, Generall of his horſemen; who firſt fled in the late battell; whoſe vnfaithfulneſſe and hatred might ſeeme to proceed of a juſt ground, for that *Aladeules* had in former time trecherouſly murthered his father, vpon a jealous ſuſpition of his aſpiring vnto the kingdome. I K

Selymus vnderſtanding all this, cauſed the captiues to haue their yrons ſtruck off, and in ſtead of their gyues lading them with gifts and promiſes, ſent them to *Alis Beg* with ſecret letters and rewards, to perſuade him in ſo fit a time to reuenge his fathers death; which thing if he would perform by ſome notable exploit vpon *Aladeules*, he ſhould both purchaſe vnto himſelfe great credit with *Selymus*, and alſo the kingdome. Theſe homely meſſengers according as was giuen them in charge hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Baſſa*, within a few daies had ſo wrought, that *Alis beg* (whom the deſire of a Kingdome together with *Selymus* his rewards prickt forward to ſeeke reuenge) was eaſily drawne to joyne hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladeules*, who miſtruſting all things, warily looked vnto himſelfe, he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Baſſa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladeules* his beſt horſemen: by whoſe meanes the reſt alſo which remained being with rewards corrupted, one company after another came at laſt all ouer vnto the Baſſa. *Aladeules* circumuented with this vnexpected trechery, which neuer before thought it poſſible that his men ſhould all ſo ſuddenly haue forſaken him and reuolted to the Turks, was now glad to repoſe all his hope in ſecret flight. But *Sinan Baſſa* & *Alis Beg*, hardly purſuing him as he fled thorow the mountains, hiding himſelfe in rocks and the thick woods, at laſt drew him out of a caue, being betraied by the country peaſants. *Aladeules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to death, & his head in great deriſion afterward s carried about thorow all Aſia the leſſe: and afterward by way of barbarous oſtentation, ſent by *Selymus* to the Senat of Venice, as a loathſome teſtimony of his victory. *Aladeules* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his kingdom to the form of a prouince, which he diuided into three parts, & after the maner of the Turkiſh gouernment, appointed L M

Aladeules taken & brought to Selymus, is put to death.

A pointed to euery part a Sanzacke: yet ſo, that *Alis Beg* ſhould be chiefe ouer the reſt, with ſuch ſoueraignty, as that he wanted nothing of a King but the name only. And for the better gouernment of all things in that new gained kingdome, he left *Sinan Baſſa* there all the reſt of that Summer; with commandement, that after he had ſet all things in good order, he ſhould winter at Iconium; and he himſelfe with a ſmall traine returned to Conſtantinople, for he had heard that whileſt he was buſied in his wars againſt *Hyſmael* and *Aladeules* in Armenia, that the Hungarians had made diuers incurſions into Seruia, and ſpoiled that country. Wherfore for feare of loſing Samandria (which ſtanding neere to Danubius, for the conuenient ſcituation thereof is reputed the bulwarke of Seruia and Thracia) he ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa*, then Gouernour of Boſna, with eight thouſand horſemen, who paſſing the riuer Sauus entered into Croatia as *Selymus inuadeth Hungary.*

B far as Catinum: and at the ſame time tranſported another army ouer Danubius into Hungary, to the intent that the Hungarians at one inſtant beſet with double danger, ſhould be inforced to feare their owne State; and withall to ſhew vnto the World, of what ſtrength and power the *Othoman* Emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the preſent, and the time to come, to the daunting of the Chriſtians; if he ſhould by his happy attempts make it knowne, that hee could at once eaſily and readily maintaine ſo many and ſo puiſſant armies, and wage ſo great warres in diuers parts of the World, and ſo far diſtant one from another.

In the end of the yere, when he had thus with double inuaſion troubled the Hungarians, he ſpent the Winter following at Hadrianople and Conſtantinople, in making of greater preparation for war than euer he had before from the beginning of his reigne. For he was aduertiſed,

C that the great monarchs of the North his neighbors, namely, *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungary, and *Sigiſmundus* King of Polonia, with the Princes of Germany, had combined themſelues together to make war vpon him. But after he had learned by his ſure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge ſent into all parts of Europe, diligently to obſerue what was done in the courts of theſe great princes) that all the great meetings of the Chriſtian Princes proued nothing but glorious words and ſumptuous banquets; he being rid of that vaine feare (God ſo appointing) turned himſelfe and all thoſe his wonderfull preparations againe toward the Eaſt, to the great quiet of Chriſtendome in generall.

Yet leſt happily in the abſence of himſelfe and of his armies, the Chriſtian Princes might

D take occaſion to inuade his dominions, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his empire with moſt ſtrong garriſons: and left his ſonne *Solyman* (who afterwards proued the ſcourge of Chriſtendome) at Hadrianople with a ſtrong power, and *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his tutor (a man of great wiſedome and gouernment) at Conſtantinople. This great Baſſa was of Cilicia, a natiue Turke borne, which was a thing accounted ſtrange, foraſmuch as the great Baſſaes were alwaies choſen of the Chriſtian bloud. After that, he ſent *Cherſeogles* (whom of all others he moſt truſted) with his army into Bythinia, and made *Zafferus* an Eunuch Admiral of his nauy, which he had but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labour and charge rigged forth. Then ſtaying a few daies at Conſtantinople to ſee the young ſouldiers, but then choſen Ianizaries, he de- 1516

E parted thence and went to his old army, lying with *Sinan Baſſa* at Iconium, purpoſing to haue againe inuaded the Perſian. *Selymus goeth to Iconium.*

When he was come thither, he vnderſtood that *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt (with a great army leuied in Ægypt and Iudea) was come into Syria; giuing it out that he would aid the Perſian king his confederat, & with al hoſtility enter into Cilicia, if *Selymus* ſhould farther proceed to inuade *Hyſmael* the Sophi his friend & ally. *Selymus* perplexed with theſe news, and fearing that if he ſhould once paſſe ouer the riuer Euphrates, *Campſon* lying ſo neere in readineſſe, ſhould forthwith break in at his back into Aſia by the mountain Amanus, and ſo indanger that part of his dominion; ſtaied at Iconium, and ſent his embaſſadors with great preſents to *Campſon* to pacifie him if it might be. The chiefe men in this embaſſage were the Cadeleſcher, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the

F opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan ſuperſtition, who afterward wrot the commentaries of this war; and *Iachis* a great captaine. The ſcope of whoſe embaſſage was, to intreat *Campſon*, that he would not hinder or diſturbe *Selymus* from making war vpon the Perſian King; who had ſo often and ſo forcibly inuaded his dominions in Aſia, and by bringing in a new forme of ſuperſtition, had corrupted and altered the moſt certain grounds of the

Mahometan religion. And if they found him resolutely set downe and not to be by any conditions remoued, then with all possible diligence to learne his strength and farther designes, so far as by any meanes they could, and with all speed to make their returne. G

The causes mouing Campson to fall out with Selymus.

But *Campson* now far spent with age, and liuing in the height of worldly blisse, although he knew it fitter for him at those yeres to giue himselfe to ease and quietnesse, than to thrust himselfe into wars and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many causes both good and necessary. First, he deadly hated the man for his inhumane cruelty, and therefore could neuer be persuaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time made with his father *Bajazet*: besides that, he desired to abate and represse his audacious insolency, growne already by his prosperous successe beyond the bounds of reason: for *Selymus* hauing taken Tauris, ouerthrowne the Persians, and slaine *Aladeules*, began now to seeme terrible to all the Princes that bordered vpon him; and there were many which said he was another *Alexander*, who whilest other Princes sate still as men asleepe, did in the meane time plot in his victorious mind, the Monarchy of the whole World. But aboue all things, the feare of the losing of Syria, and consequently the losse of all his kingdome (the quickest motiue for stirring vp of the suspitious minds of the greatest Princes) most inforced *Campson* to take in hand this war: for as much as the goodly kingdomes of Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria, oppressed with the intollerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore lesse faithfull to the Ægyptian kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turks, if the Persians should by any mischance or fortune of war be of the Turks vanquished. For which cause *Campson* in the beginning of this war, solicited by the Persian Embassadors, had made a firme league and confederation with *Hysmael*; and also moued with the misery of the wofull yong Prince *Aladin* the son of *Achomates*, was in mind perswaded, that the cruel Turkish tyrant might by his and the Persian kings forces, easily be thrust out of his empire in Asia and Europe. For *Aladin*, who after the death of *Achomates* his father, fled to *Campson* the Sultan of Ægypt (as is before declared) had liued three yeres as a forlorne and distressed Prince in the Ægyptians court, and by all meanes he could deuise incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the injuries and cruelty of his vncle *Selymus*. The eldest son also of the late King *Aladeules*, a goodly yong Prince, hauing at once lost his father, his kingdome, and whatsoeuer he had else, was in good time fled to the Ægyptian king, and had so filled the minds of all men with the indignation and detestation of *Selymus* his exceeding cruelty, that the Princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to *Campson*, humbly beseeching him to take vpon him so just a war: and if by reason of his great yeres he should thinke himselfe vnable to indure the trauell thereof, it would then please him yet to giue them leaue of themselues to take the matter in hand, for the repressing of the insolency of that great and wicked tyrant. H I K

The order of the Mamalukes.

These Mamalukes far excelled the Turks, not onely in strength of body, skilfull riding, and goodly armor, but also in courage and wealth. Beside that, they had not forgotten with what small power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan, ouerthrown the Turks great armies in Cilicia, first at Adena, and afterward at Tarsus, where they tooke prisoners, *Mesites Palæologus* the great Bassa, and *Cherseogles*, *Bajazet* his son in law: by which victory they grew into such a proud and vaine conceit of themselues, as if they had bin the onely souldiers of the World, able of themselues to vanquish and ouercome whomsoeuer they should set vpon. These so valiant soldiers, were for most part of the poore people called in antient time *Getæ*, *Zinchi*, and *Bastarnæ*, borne neere vnto the Euxine sea and the fens of Mœotis, especially on that side where the riuer Corax falleth into the Euxine sea: which Country is of later time called Circassia, of the people called Cercitæ neere vnto Cholchis. These miserable and wretched people, the Valachians, Podolians, Polonians, Roxolanes and Tartars, dwelling by Taurica (pulled from their mothers breasts, or by other violent meanes surprised) were sold to Merchants; who culling out the best for strength of body, or aptnesse of wit, conueied them by sea to Alexandria, from whence they were continually sent to the great Sultan of Ægypt: & by his appointment were at Caire (after the old maner of that people) deliuered to Masters of fence and such other teachers, who carefully instructed them, being shut vp in their schooles, in all manner of feats of actiuity: where after they were become able to bend a strong bow, and taught cunningly to shoot, leape, run, vault, ride, and skilfully to vse all manner of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the Kings L M

horse-

A horſemen or Mamalukes: and ſuch of them as proued cowardly or vnapt, were made ſlaues vnto the reſt. So that they ſeeing all honor, credit, and preferment, laied vp in martiall proweſſe, did with all diligence and courage imploy themſelues to military affaires, and therin ſo well profited, that oftentimes they which at the firſt were but bare and baſe ſlaues, of the meaneſt of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of ſeruice riſe at length to the higheſt degrees of honour. All theſe Mamalukes were the children of Chriſtian parents, from the time of their captiuity inſtructed in the Mahometan ſuperſtition: for no man borne of a Mahometan father, or of a Iew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horſemen: which was ſo ſtreitly obſerued, that the honor of a Mamaluke horſeman neuer deſcended vnto the ſons of the Mamalukes, yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands, poſſeſſions, and goods: by which
B reaſon the ſonnes of the Sultans themſelues neuer ſucceeded their fathers in the kingdome. Hereby alſo it came to paſſe, that many Chriſtians of looſe life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abjuring the Chriſtian religion, and ſuffering themſelues to be circumciſed, being men meet for the wars, grew by degres to great honor: as did *Tangarihardinus* the ſonne of a Spaniſh mariner, who by his forwardneſſe and induſtry grew into ſuch credit and authority with *Campſon* the great Sultan, that almoſt all things were done by his aduice and counſell; and was diuers times by him emploied in moſt honorable ſeruice, being ſent Embaſſador both to *Bajazet* the Turkiſh Emperor, and to the State of Venice, about matters of great importance. Yet his impiety eſcaped not the hand of God, for at length by the enuy of the court he was brought into diſgrace, thruſt out of his place, and caſt into priſon,
C where he, loaded with cold yron, moſt miſerably died. Neither was it to be maruelled if the Mamalukes were growne to that exceſſe of wealth, foraſmuch as the Ægyptians and Syrians being miſerably by them oppreſſed, were not ſuffered to haue the vſe either of horſe or armor, neither admitted to any matters of counſell; but being impoueriſhed and brought low with heauy impoſitions and daily injuries of the Mamalukes, gaue themſelues wholly to the trade of merchandiſe, husbandry, and other mechanicall occupations: ouer whom the Mamalukes had power and command, as imperious maſters ouer their ſeruants, and would with greater inſolency than is to be beleeued abuſe the country people, beating and ſpoiling them at their pleaſure; and not ſo contented, rauiſhing their wiues and daughters without redreſſe. The Ægyptians (a people in antient time much renowned for their valour and proweſſe) were by
D theſe maſterfull ſlaues kept in this miſerable thraldome and ſlauery about the ſpace of three hundred yeres. For after the declination of the Romane Empire, that rich country falling into the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, the Ægyptians ſoone weary of the proud and auaritious ſouereignty of the Greekes, called in the Saraſins, by whoſe helpe they expulſed the Greekes, and after choſe the Generall of the Saraſins for their King, after whoſe name the Ægyptian Kings were of long time called Caliphes, as they had of antient time bin called by the names of *Pharo* and *Ptolemey*.

The imperious gouernment of the Mamalukes, in Egypt, Iudea and Syria.

The laſt of theſe Caliphes reigned at ſuch time as the Chriſtians vnder the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, paſſing as conquerors through Aſia and Syria, erected the kingdome of Ieruſalem. He being inuaded by *Almericus* ſixt King of Ieruſalem, and finding himſelfe too
E weake, praied aid of the Sultan of Syria, who ſent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captaine, with a ſtrong power to aid him: but *Sarraco* no leſſe vnfaithfull than couragious, trecherouſly ſlew the Caliph, in whoſe aid he came, and tooke vpon himſelfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* ſucceeded *Saladine* his brothers ſon, who vtterly extinguiſhed the name and authority of the Caliphes in Ægypt, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high Prieſts. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquiſhed the Chriſtian armies in Syria and Iudea, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome of Ieruſalem, as is in the former part of this Hiſtory to be ſeen. *Saladine* dying, left the kingdome of Ægypt to his brother, whoſe poſterity ſucceſſiuely reigned of long time there, vntill the time of *Melechſala*. This *Melechſala* (laſt of the free borne Kings, and of the poſterity of *Saladine*) had great and mortall wars with the Chriſtians, wherein hauing loſt moſt of his beſt ſouldi-
F ers, and repoſing no great confidence in the Ægyptians, thought good to ſtrengthen himſelfe with a new kinde of ſouldiers, meere ſlaues bought for mony. For at that time the Tartars breaking into Armenia and Cappadocia, and ouerrunning the people called Comani joyning vpon Cappadocia, made generall ſpoile of that people, as of priſoners taken by law of armes. Of this baſe people, *Melechſala* for a little mony bought a great multitude, which he tranſported

ted into Ægypt, and furniſhed them with armes: by whoſe proweſſe he not only defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but alſo beſieged *Lewis* the French King in his trenches not farre from Camiata, called in antient time Heliopolis, or Peluſium, and ſhortly after in plaine battell tooke him priſoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victory, *Melechſala* was by the conſpiracy of theſe his new ſoldiers ſlaine: in whoſe place they ſet vp one *Turqueminius*, a deſperat fellow of their owne company, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of Ægypt. *Turqueminius* of a baſe ſlaue now become a great Monarch (after the maner of men) forgetting his old companions which had ſo highly promoted him, and hauing them in great diſdaine, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) ſuddenly ſlaine; for which fact he was by thoſe baſe ſoldiers, his companions, choſen Sultan in his place: who for the ſhort time of his reigne did much for the confirming of that ſeruile Monarchy: yet was he at length ſlaine alſo by *Bandocader*, ſometimes one of his fellow ſeruants, who alſo ſucceeded him in the kingdome. After him in long order ſucceeded many valiant men of the ſame ſeruile ſtate and condition, who for breuity I wittingly paſſe ouer. Amongſt the reſt *Caytbeius* (of whom we haue before ſpoken in the life of *Bajazet*) was for wealth and martiall proweſſe moſt famous; who according to the manner of his predeceſſors, did with greater bounty and care maintaine that ſeruile gouernment, than any of them who had before him reigned in Ægypt: and was for his notable gouernment and noble acts juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Princes of that age. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe in that ſeruile Monarchy about the ſucceſſion. Wherby the Mamalukes drawne into diuers factions, ſome ſeeking to prefer one, and ſome another, had in foure yeres ſpace with ciuile wars ſore weakned their eſtate, and ſlaine diuers of their greateſt Princes which had aſpired vnto that kingdome. For appeaſing of which miſchiefes, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and chiefe men amongſt the Mamalukes with one conſent offered the kingdome to *Campſon Gaurus*, or as the Turks call him, *Canſaues Gauris*, of whom we now ſpeake; a man of great integrity and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of ſo many Kings whom he had ſeene in ſhort time miſerably ſlaine by the ambitious aſpiring of other proud competitors; when he was ſore againſt his will hoiſt vp vpon the ſhoulders of the nobility and chiefe ſouldiers, and ſo carried into the court, as their manner was, began earneſtly to refuſe the kingdome, and to withſtand their choice, excuſing himſelfe as vnfit for ſo high a place; and with teares ſtanding in his eies, beſought the other great lords his friends, that they would forbeare to thruſt him (well contented with his priuate life) into that glorious place ſubject to ſo many dangers; and the rather, for that he neither had mony to giue bountifully to the ſoldiers of the court, as other the Ægyptian Sultans had accuſtomed; neither held that ſufficiency and authority as was requiſite for repreſſing of ſuch violent and ſeditious tumults as were too rife in that troubleſome time and confuſion of all things.

The beginning of the gouernment of the Mamalukes in Ægypt.

The nobility on the other ſide perſuaded him, That he would not vpon a fooliſh obſtinacy or vaine modeſty refuſe the offer of his preſent good fortune, but couragiouſly to take vpon him the gouernment of the ſtate, now ſore ſhaken with ciuile diſcord, together with the regall dignity, which was with the generall good liking of all men ſo frankely offered vnto him. At laſt they all by ſolemne oath promiſed vnto him, That they would with all their power, policy, and wealth, maintaine and defend the majeſty of his ſtate; and that the men of war ſhould not demand their wonted largeſſe, before the ſame might by his receiuers and treaſurers be raiſed of his cuſtomes and other reuenewes of the crowne. By which perſuaſions *Campſon* incouraged, ſuffered himſelfe to be ſaluted Sultan, and ſo tooke vpon him the gouernment. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of war ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largeſſe, and by his moderat gouernment had cauſed men generally to haue his proweſſe and wiſedome in admiration, he did with ſuch policy and dexterity reforme the ſhaken ſtate of that kingdome, before rent in ſunder by ciuile wars, taking away by poyſon and other ſecret deuices, ſome few, the chiefe authors of ſedition, that for the ſpace of ſixteene yeares neither tumult nor noiſe of war was at any time heard of in all Syria or Ægypt: worthy vndoubtedly the name of a moſt excellent and fortunate Prince, if when he had by ſingular wiſedome and policy eſtabliſhed the generall peace and proſperity of his kingdome, he could haue there contented himſelfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life not raſhly haue thruſt himſelfe into the dangerous quarrels of other Princes.

The moderate and happy gouernment of Campſon.

The

A The Cadeleſcher and *Iachis* (*Selymus* his Embaſſadours) departing from Iconium, came in few daies to *Campſon* the great Sultan, who then lay encamped neere vnto the riuer Orantes, at this day called Farfar. Theſe Embaſſadors entertained by *Campſon* with greater bounty than courteſie, and ſhortly after their comming hauing audience in his pauilion, did with moſt temperat and calme ſpeech deliuer their Embaſſage. To whom *Campſon* anſwered, That it was the antient cuſtome of the Ægyptian Sultans (foraſmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and induſtry to keepe the other Mahometan Kings and people in peace and concord amongſt themſelues; whereof he for his part had bin alwaies moſt deſirous: and was for no other purpoſe come with his army into his prouince of Syria, than to perſuade *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended wars againſt *Hyſmael* B the Perſian king, his friend and confederat, he would then do what ſhould ſtand with his honour and place, and not longer ſuffer all to go to wracke, for the vaine pleaſure and fury of one inſolent and ambitious man. He ſaid alſo, That he had of long time before ſeene into *Selymus* his inſatiable, fierce, and troubleſome diſpoſition; who hauing moſt vnnaturally procured the death of his good father the old Emperor *Bajazet*, and ſlaine his brethen, Princes of great valour, ſeuen of his nephewes, princes of no ſmall hope; with many other of his beſt friends and faithfull counſellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyranny. Wherefore they ſhould tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace ſhould be, if he would from thenceforth deſiſt from inuading of *Hyſmael*, and reſtore to *Aladeules* his ſon, his fathers kingdome, which had of long been vnder the defence and protection of the Ægyptian Sultans, as of right and C reaſon he ought to do: he ſhould in ſo doing, beſide his fauour and friendſhip which might greatly ſtand him in ſtead, reape greater fame and glory by an aſſured and honourable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous war.

Campſon his anſwer to the embaſſadors of Selymus.

The Embaſſadours, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats giue ouer his enterpriſe or lay downe armes, yet to the intent they might the ſooner be diſpatched, and ſo in time aduertiſe *Selymus* of the Sultans ſudden comming, ſeemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reaſonable perſuaſions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: foraſmuch as they were of his ſecret counſell, and men able to do much with him; whereby they truſted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleeue) it would eaſily be brought to paſſe, that thoſe ſparks might be quenched, which all things ſtan- D ding vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of war. So they being by *Campſon* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, trauelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to Cæſarea.

Campſon alſo remouing from Orantes, came into Comagena vnto the famous city of Aleppo, which city is probably ſuppoſed to haue bin built of the ruines of the antient city of Hierapolis, by *Alepius* the Emperor *Iulianus* his lieutenant; who in that prouince did many notable matters, and called that new-built city after his owne name. It is ſcituate neere vnto the riuer Singa, which riſing out of the mountaine Pierius, with many turnings and windings runneth through Comagena, and being but a ſmall riuer, falleth at length into the riuer Euphrates. This city *Hyalon* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at ſuch time as the Chriſtian Princes of E the Weſt made warre with the Ægyptian Kings, for the kingdomes of Syria and Ieruſalem. Which calamity notwithſtanding, it was againe repeopled; and is at this day a famous city, for the commodious ſcituation thereof much frequented with Merchants from the furtheſt parts of the World. It is ſcarce fiue daies journy from Tripolis and Berytus, the great ports of Syria, and is alſo neere vnto the Turks and Perſians: ſo that the riches of the Eaſt are thither commodiouſly conueied out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine Amanus which parteth Cilicia from Syria: and ſo likewiſe out of Perſia and Meſopotamia ouer the riuer Euphrates, where the city Byrrha of late time bounded the Kingdome of the Ægyptian Sultans, from the Perſians.

Selymus vnderſtanding by his Embaſſadors (who had diligently noted all things in the Sul- F tans campe) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies; and alſo informed of the Sultans proud anſwer, who had ſo peremptorily preſcribed to him ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as pleaſed himſelfe: thought good to alter his purpoſe, and now to conuert his forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into Armenia, leauing ſo puiſſant an enemy as *Campſon* at his backe, ſeemed a thing too ful of danger: and to giue ouer

Selymus conuerteth his forces from the Perſians againſt Campſon.

the

the enterprise he had with so great care and charge vndertaken, at the appointment and plea- G
sure of another man, stood neither with his honor or state. Wherefore in a matter so doubt-
full, he resolued vpon a notable necessary point, well fitting the greatnesse of his mind.
He made shew as if he would haue gone directly against the Persian, as he had before deter-
mined; and that the more certaine report of this his purpose might be carried to *Campson*, he
sent before part of his army with his carriages to the city Suassia, in old time called Sebasta,
it standeth in the frontiers of the Persian kingdome, where the great riuer Euphrates pent vp
with the rockes of the mountaine Taurus, breaketh againe violently forth into Mesopota-
mia: but turning himselfe vpon the right hand, purposed to passe the mountaine Taurus, and
breaking suddenly into Comagena, to come vpon the Sultan before he were well aware of his
comming. Wherefore calling vnto him his trusty Ianizaries, with the other souldiers of the H
court, he openly with cheerefull countenance declared vnto them what he had resolued to
Selymus encourageth his souldiers to goe against the Mamalukes. do, with the reasons of the alteration of his former determination: perswading them, that the
victory would easily be atchieued, if they as couragious souldiers would with all celerity
(before the Mamalukes could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the moun-
taines, and recouer those difficult passages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the Ma-
malukes. *For why* (said he) *the strength of those horsemen is long since decaied and gone: the old Mamalukes, who in the time of* Caitbeius *were of some fame and reputation, are all dead. You shall in battell meet but with a sort of gallant horse-breakers rather then souldiers, which can cunningly manage their horses in sport, to the pleasure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enemy, or to indure to be wounded: who as carpet Knights effeminat with long peace, and corrupted with excesse and* I
delicacy of their great Cities, neuer saw their foes intrenched, or armed enemies, neither haue heard the sound of a trumpet, but at plaies or shewes. Wherefore you are to make but small account of them, being furnished with no store of ordnance or strength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpreters of our sacred Lawes and Religion, hauing orderly performed all their obseruances, do diuine vnto vs all happinesse: so you as men full of hope, set forward cheerefully vnto most assured victory ouer your proud enemies. For God no doubt fauoureth the quarrell of men justly prouoked, and offereth meanes of victory to such as take vp just and necessary armes. Yet to ouercome the enemy, and to enjoy victory indeed, wholly consisteth in the courage and valour of them which deeme nothing better or more honourable, than to spend their liues for the honour of their Prince and Country. Here the Ianizaries shaking their weapons, forth-
with cried out with cheerefull voice, That he should lead and conduct them whithersoeuer K
he would: saying, That they were ready as couragious men, to ouercome all the difficul-
ties of those hard passages, and patiently to endure all the labors and dangers incident to that
warre.

Selymus, by the mountaine people hauing found out the easiest passages, resolued to passe
ouer the mountaine with his army in three places: and so appointing three great companies
of the common souldiers and country people, for the opening of the streit passages; he com-
manded the rough and vneuen waies to be made plaine and smooth, for the transporting of
his ordnance, and the broken passages to be cast euen, that so his baggage and carriages might
the better passe: and the more to encourage his souldiers to take paines, he promised present
reward to all such as in transporting of his ordnance, should take any extraordinary paines. L
Whereby it came to passe, that the same being of the smaller sort, bearing a bullet of no great
height, was in short time by the cheerefull labour of his soldiers, drawne ouer those great hils
and dales: so that in fiue daies all his army with his baggage and carriages were got ouer the
mountain Taurus, and come into the plaines of Comagena. For that mountaine where it ta-
keth the name of Amanus, which is almost in the middle where the riuer Euphrates parteth
the mountaine Taurus, and the Bay Issicus, is neither exceeding high, or yet impassible: for
as it commeth neerer the sea, it is not so rough as elsewhere, but is in many places inhabited
and tilled by the mountaine Cilicians, a fierce kind of people accustomed to labor and toile,
who are now called Caramanians, which is to say, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines;
for that the burnt rocks of the mountaine seeme a far off to be blacke. M

Alis Beg which betraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before sent for, as soone as the
army was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a strong power of his
light horsmen, speedily ouerran all that country which is at the foot of Amanus and Taurus:
thereby to vnderstand of the country people and such as they could take prisoners, where *Camp-*

son

A *ſon* lay with his army; and alſo by keeping the paſſages to doe what might poſſibly be done, that *Selymus* his comming might not be knowne to the enemy.

But *Campſon*, who with no leſſe vanity than pride had fondly flattered himſelfe, onely by the authority and greatneſſe of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouerruled him at his pleaſure; could not be perſuaded that he was come ouer the mountaine Amanus, vntill certain newes was brought him, that he was encamped with a moſt puiſſant army within two daies march of him. With which vnexpected newes being ſore troubled, and in the midſt of that danger to ſeeke counſell, as one which began rightly to conſider of his owne ſtrength, and the ſtrength of his enemy; began then to doubt what were beſt for him to do, & in great perplexity ſometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe diſcouraged and diſmaied. And
B now become exceeding carefull both of his honor and himſelfe, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to giue place to ſo great a danger, and ſhunning battell to retire with his army into places of more ſafety; or elſe couragiouſly to abide the comming of his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great diſaduantage: foraſmuch as he reputed it far more honourable, after the example of his predeceſſors from whom he had receiued that great kingdome (both gotten and kept by martiall proweſſe) to die with honor in the field, than by ſhamefull and vnwonted flight, either to blemiſh their military glory continued aboue the ſpace of 300 yeres, or for loue of a ſmall remainder of life, being now 77 yeres old, to ſeeme willing to reſerue vnto obloquie and ſhame his laſt daies, depriued of all honour and reputation.

C There were amongſt his chiefetains many, which preferred wholeſome counſell before that which was in ſhew more glorious: but aboue all others, one *Iamburd* ſyrnamed *Gazelles* (ſometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honor, for his long experience in martiall affaires, and at that time Gouernor of Apamia. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turks army, conſiſting for moſt part of expect ſoldiers, with ſo ſmall a power, were a thing of deſperat danger; ſo was he alſo, that it were good ſpeedily to retire, and to chuſe the city of Damaſco, as the fitteſt place for thoſe wars: foraſmuch as the Turks army could make no haſte after them, by reaſon of their footmen and carriages, ſo that they might at eaſe and with ſafety retyre; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were in garriſon in Iudea and Ægypt, and entertaining the Arabians their neighbors, to protract the war vntill
D Winter, when as they might eaſily diſtreſſe the enemy for want of victuall. And that it was not to be feared, that Aleppo, if it were furniſhed but with a reaſonable garriſon, could by and by be taken of the enemy, who had but ſmall field pieces not fit for battery. Beſide that, in ſhort time aid would come from the Perſians out of Meſopotamia; yea, and *Hyſmael* himſelfe hearing of the Turks expedition into Syria, was like enough to break into Aſia the leſſe: neither would the Chriſtians refuſe to furniſh them with great artillery from the Iſlands of the Rhodes and Cyprus, againſt that common enemy, if they were thereto in time requeſted. All which things being laid together, he ſaid, the Sultan might afterward vpon euen hand go into the field, if he ſhould thinke it ſo much to concerne his honor, to giue his enemies battell. But foraſmuch as the greateſt wars, which at the firſt had moſt violent and furious motiE ons, by the politicke enemies delay, did moſt commonly in time grow calme, he ſhould not therefore make too much haſt to aduenture the fortune of battell: for that the errors of war, which many times chanced through the ouerſight or raſhneſſe of the chiefetaines, might well of good men be lamented and deteſted, but hardly or neuer be recouered or amended.

Gazelles his graue and conſiderat ſpeech had much moued both the Sultan and others: yet the cheerfulneſſe of the ſoldiers, and fooliſh hardineſſe of the Mamalukes did ſo fill *Campſons* eares, that he could not hearken to ſo good and wholeſome counſell: for as ſoone as they heard certainly of the comming of the Turks, they began to leape and dance, and to rejoyce among themſelues, that the time was come wherin they might make proofe of their valor, and win to themſelues honor. For now (as they ſaid) was come that time they had long wiſht for, where-
F in they would by notable ſlaughter of their enemies, aduance the honor and majeſty of *Campſon* their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*: and ſome euen of the chiefe men about *Campſon*, vpon flattery and vaine oſtentation, alledging how honorably and with what ſmall labour they had before ouerthrown the Turks great army at Taurus; perſuading him, that the victory would eaſily and without any great danger be gotten. But eſpecially *Cayerbeius* Gouernor of

The wholeſome counſell of Gazelles for protracting the war.

of Aleppo and of the prouince of Comagena (who after his war ended, was in reward of his foule treason, by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greatest honours of Ægypt) extolling with glorious words the faithfulnesse, courage, and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the power and strength of the enemy, forced his wits to the vttermost to ouerthrow the wholesome counsell of *Gezelles*. G

A secret grudge between Campson and Cayerbeius Gouernor of Comagenes.

For this *Cayerbeius* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart against *Campson*, because he had some few yeres before poisoned his brother, whom he had in jealousie, being a man next to himself of greatest power, wealth, and authority amongst the Mamalukes, and withall of an aspiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himselfe, and doubting the like practise to be intended against himself; being, as the maner of that kingdom was, summoned to a parliament at Caire, feigned himselfe sicke, and would not come: where- H with *Campson* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it best to dissemble the matte, & to wait some fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, so forgetful of his duty, and bearing himselfe against his soueraigne, as if he had bin an absolute King in his own prouince: this he thought might most couertly be brought to passe, if he should vpon the occasion of the present war (as it then fell out) or els vnder the color of going in person himselfe to the riuer Euphrates, come to Aleppo: for it was the maner of the antient Egyptian Sultans, not to account themselues worthy of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had, as *Caytbeius* had of late done, encamped their army vpon the side of the riuer Euphrates at the city Byrrha (which standing vpon the banke of the riuer, retaineth at this day both the antient name and fame) and there with solemne pompe had in the sight of the army forced their hor- I ses into the riuer to drinke: giuing to vnderstand by that ceremony, the greatnesse of their empire, and that they were ready by force of armes to proue, that all those countries were theirs which lay alongst the riuer Euphrates, from the mountain Taurus, vnto the desarts of Arabia. But the consideration of this war letted that he did not at his first comming oppresse him, because he deemed it to stand best with his present affaires: and not yet knowing the purpose of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and Persians, and to defer the execution of his wrath against *Cayerbeius*, vntill the end of the war; for feare lest the other Mamalukes dismaied with the hainousnesse of the sudden fact, should either reuolt from him, or els raise some mutiny and rebellion in that populous city. For *Cayerbeius* had by his courtesie and bounty many strong companies in the army fast bound vnto him: and beside that, was of greatest credit and K authority with them of Aleppo, hauing in his keeping a strong citadell, built vpon the rising of an hill in the midst of the city, which he kept with a strong and sure garrison.

But whiles *Campson* doth thus slowly and considerately purpose his destruction, many of the Sultans secret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, secretly aduised *Cayerbeius* to beware of the Sultan, and by some good means in time to prouide for his own safety. He vnderstanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, sent secret messengers vnto *Selymus*, discouering vnto him the cause of his griefe, and promising as occasion should serue to come ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the castle with the heart of the citizens, and all the strength of his owne horsmen; thereby to prouide for his owne safety, to reuenge his brothers death, and to further his victory against *Campson*: and for performance of promises on L both sides, required secret hostages to be giuen. By the same messengers he also aduertised him, what strength the Sultan was of, persuading him in any case to make hast to giue him battell before he had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condiscend to all that the traitor had requested, promising of himselfe far greater things than euer he had required: assuring himselfe of the victory, if his enemie should lose so much of his strength by the reuolt of so great a commander.

Campson enforced by the generall consent of his souldiers, and the violence of his ineuitable destiny, then at hand, rejecting the good and faithfull counsell of *Gezelles*, at such time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand; resolued according to the counsell of the traitor *Cayerbeius*, to dare him battell. He lay conueniently incamped vpon the riuer Singa, almost ten miles M from the city, in such sort as that his soldiers might vse the benefit of the riuer, and remoued from the houses and pleasures of the city, might yet neuertheless be easily relieued with the store and plenty thereof.

The Mamalukes notable souldiers.

The Mamalukes were scarce in number twelue thousand, but euery one of them, according

as

A as he was of greater place or calling, ſo had he attending vpon him mo ſeruants, wel furniſhed with horſe and armor. A goodly and inuincible army, if the battel might haue bin tried by true valor. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and ſtern countenance, hauing ſtrong and able bodies, vſed ſuch cunning in all their fights and battels, that after they had giuen the firſt charge with their lances, they would by and by with wonderfull actiuitie vſe their bows and arrows, caſting their targets behind them; and forthwith the horſmans mace or crooked ſcimitar, as the maner of the battel and place required. Their horſes were ſtrong and couragious, in making and ſwiftnes much like vnto the Spaniſh Genets; and that which is of many hardly beleeued, ſo docible, that at certain ſignes or ſpeeches of the rider, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground, a lance, an arrow, or ſuch like
B thing; and as if they had known the enemy, run vpon him with open mouth, and laſh at him with their heels, and had by nature and cuſtom learned, not to be afraid of any thing. Theſe couragious horſes were commonly furniſhed with ſiluer bridles, gilt trappings, rich ſaddles, their necks and breſts armed with plates of iron. The horſman himſelf was commonly content with a coat of male, or a breſt-plate of iron: the chief and wealthieſt of them vſed head-pieces; the reſt a linnen couering of the head, curiouſly folded into many wreaths, wherewith they thought themſelues ſafe enough againſt any handy ſtroke. The common ſouldiers vſed thrumbd caps, but ſo thick that no ſword could pierce them.

Campſon of all his army made four battels: the firſt was committed to *Cayerbeius*, becauſe it was in his own piouince where the battell was to be fought: the ſecond was led by *Sybeius*,
C who for his wonderful actiuity was of them called *Balvano*, which in their language ſignifieth a tumbler, or one that ſheweth feats of actiuity: he was gouernour of Damaſco, a man of ſingular faith and valor. Theſe two great Commanders were appointed at once to charge both the wings of the Turks army. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third battell, to ſecond either the one or the other of the two formoſt, as need ſhould require. *Campſon* himſelf led the fourth, all gliſtring in gilt armor, behind the reſt almoſt a mile and a half. The laſt was left for defence of the camp.

The order of Campſon his battell.

But *Selymus* according to his wonted maner ſo ordered his battel, that his Aſian horſemen were in the right wing, his Europeian horſmen in the left, his Ianizaries and Artillerie in the main battel; before whom in the middle between the two wings hee placed his moſt valiant
D and gallant Pentioners; amongſt whom (contrary to his wonted cuſtome) he choſe to ſerue that day.

The order of Selymus his battell.

Cayerbeius ſo ſoon as he was come neer the enemy, in token of his braue courage gaue a hot charge vpon the Europeian horſmen; and by and by as if hee would haue compaſſed in that wing, wheeled a great way about behind them, where chancing vpon a great company of ſcullians, drudges, and other baſe people that followed the camp, with an infinit number of cammels and cariages, he made there a great ſtir, with little ſlaughter; that as a valiant & cunning traitor, he might in the ſelf ſame time ſatisfie the expectation of his valor and of his treaſon together. In the other wing, the gouernor of Damaſco, to enter vpon the open ſide of the enemy, forbearing to charge him afront, and turning about his tronpes on the left hand, entered
E ouerthwart their ranks; where the Mamalukes fought with ſuch fury, that hauing made great ſlaughter of the Aſian horſmen, they brake in amongſt them as if it had bin a raging floud, bearing down all before them, vntil they came to the enſignes in the midſt of the wing. Neither could *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by birth an Hungarian, and *Selymus* his brother in law) neither the Imbrahor Baſſa (or maſter of the houſe) though they did what they might to withſtand him, after the firſt were ouerthrown, ſtay the reſt, but that they would needs turn their backs and fly. So *Sybeius* as a valiant conqueror hauing cut in two pieces the right wing of the enemies battel, and thruſting in betwixt the battel of the footmen, and the backs of the pentioners, brought a great terror & fear vpon the whole battel. The matter was now brought to extream danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almoſt cut off from his foot-
F men, in whom he had repoſed his greateſt confidence. And now the Ianizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the fortune of *Sybeius*, had ſet vpon the head of the Enemies battell. The Aſian horſemen alſo beeing put to the worſe, and cut in pieces, found no means how to reſtore again their diſordred battel.

In this extremity *Sinan Baſſa* in good time came in with his horſmen: by his comming, for

that he had bin but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the Traitor, and had brought with him many freſh troups of horſmen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turks again incouraged, and the victory ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillery being by the commandement of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged among them, by the terrible thundring wherof the Mamaluks horſes ſomwhat troubled, could not ſo wel as before be ruled: neither could the men themſelues, although they were of wonderful courage, much preuail, being on euery ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that diſtreſſe being nothing diſmaid, although they were by *Cayerbeius* & their good fortune forſaken, they were not to ſeek either of courage or direction; but ſetting themſelues cloſe together, they brake through the midſt of their enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europeian horſemen, and hurt of the pentioners, and ſo with ſpeed fled toward the camp and city. After whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt troups of his horſmen: for *Selymus* (who that day in the extream heat, for his wonderful pains, courage, and direction, ſeemed vndoubtedly greater than himſelfe) riding vp and down, called erneſtly vpon his ſoldiers to vrge the victory, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying enemies. G H

Campſon had now (his deſtiny ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to haue come to the relief of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be ouercome, to be partaker of the victory: when vpon the way he vnderſtood by them that fled, that *Cayerbeius* was reuolted, his army ouerthrown, and the terror ſo great, as that the flight of his ſouldiers was not now poſſibly to be ſtaied. Beſide that, to augment the fear, it was reported, that the multitũde of his enemies & force of their artillery was ſo great, that they were not then to be incountred. With which I heauy news the proud old man, who in the perpetuall courſe of his good fortune had neuer taſted of euil hap, was ready for ſorrow and grief of mind to haue ſunke downe to the ground. And forthwith his own men, and the enemy purſuing them, comming vpon him, who in their headlong courſe without regard ouerthrew whomſoeuer they met, euery man making ſhift for himſelf, without reſpect of others harms; he being a corpulent man of great years, and beſide the heauines of his armor, troubled alſo with a rupture, ouercome with heat and griefe of mind fainted in that great preiſe, and ſo falling down, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great majeſty gouerned the kingdoms of Egypt, Iudea, and Siria, many years. The valiant Tetrarchs of Damaſco and Tripolis, whilſt others fled for life, either to the camp or to the city of Aleppo, laboring in the hindermoſt of their flying troups to repres the force of their purſuing enemies, were both fighting honorably ſlain. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the ſame field wherin the battel was fought, and keeping moſt part of his army in arms, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his victory or good fortune; fearing leſt men of ſo great courage as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the couert of the night return and ſet vpon him in his camp. For he knew right wel, that they were ouercome and put to flight rather by the trechery of *Cayerbeius*, and fury of his great ordnance, than by the valor of his ſoldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly vnderſtood of the death of *Campſon*, hauing giuen their horſes a ſhort bait, departed in haſt from Aleppo to Damaſco. The next day *Selymus* remouing with his army, took the rich tents of his enemies, full of all princely ſtore, which he gaue to his ſoldiers for a prey: and marching thence to Aleppo had the city peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*; where he fauorably took the Citiſens into his protection, and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time injoyed. K L

The death of Campſon.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus by Cayerbeius the traitor.

In this battel were ſlain not aboue a thouſand Mamalukes, but of their ſeruants and followers a great number; mo being ſlain in the flight than in the fight, when as their horſes fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirſt, many of them were inforced to betake themſelues to their feet, & ſo were eaſily ſlain of euery baſe horſman. For a great number of goodly horſes died there, which being foggy fat, and delicatly brought vp in cold ſtables, could not endure the feruency of the heat, and that vnacquainted trauel; for that day al things were burnt with the ſcorching heat of the ſun. M

This famous battell was fought the 17 of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1516, the very ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two years before hee had obtained the victorie againſt *Hyſmael* the great Sophy in the Chalderan fields. *Selymus* loſt in this battell three thouſand horſemen: whereby it may eaſily be gathered, That hee had there receiued a notable

A ble ouerthrow of his horſmen, if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left wing (who by the treaſon of *Cayerbeius* eſcaped with ſmall loſſe) had alſo hapned vpon his *Sybeius*, as the other General did.

The dead body of *Campſon*, found two daies after without any wound appearing therupon, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for al men to behold; that ſuch as beleeued him yet to liue, and to be gon to repair his army at Cair, might be out of all hope of his return; and others that were already reuolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all fear of him. Not long after when the dead body began to putrifie & grow noiſom, and to conuince the fame of his eſcape, had lien open to the view of all men by the ſpace of three days, it was without any funeral pomp or ſolemnitie ſimply buried in the moſt antient temple of Aleppo. Of the riſing and fall of this great man *Ianus Vitalis* hath written this
B Elogium or Epitaph:

campſons dead body layed out for all men to view.

CAMPSON GAVRVS,
Sultan of Ægypt.

Paul. Iov. l. 4. Elog. viror. Illuſtr.

Fortuna cæca & ſurda, verè diceris.
Et mente vna prædita.
Ad alta tollis ſcamna in imo conditos,
Vt mox cadunt profundius.

Morosa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugas, deinde te nihil petentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campson *vt ille* Gaurius, *nil ambiens,*
Nil te proterua flagitans,
Invitus Imperator ora Ægyptia
Tumultuosa militum
Ex fece plebis factus insolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora sydera
Mox excidens altissimus,
Absumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Gravis senectæ pondere
Eit ludus atrox impotentis aleæ
Tuæque pervicaciæ,
Amisit & cum vita, opes quæ maximo
Cum regno habebat maximas.

In English thus:

Fortune, wel call'd both deaf and blind,
And therto fond withall,
Thou setst the beggar vp aloft,
To work his greater fall.
Thou peeuish dame, more sudden than
The thunder clap from hie,
Rejects the suits of greedy wights
Which to thee call and cry;
And lauishly consumes thy self,
And whatso els thou hast,
On such as craue nothing of thee,
Nor wish ought to bee grac't.
As *Campson Gaurus* seeking nought,
Ne crauing ought of thee;
Against his wil, by soldiers rage
Was rais'd from base degree,
And soaring vp aboue the clouds,
Made King of Egypts land,
Receiv'd amongst the higheſt stars,
Did there in glory stand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppreſt
With rebels, war, and age;
Became the scorn of thine orethwart
Most fierce and fickle rage.
And so with life, together lost
A world of wealth also:
Which with his stately kingdom great,
He greateſt did forgo.

Selymus comes to Damasco.

Selymus hauing receiued the City of Aleppo into his obeysance, sent *Ionuses Bassa* before him with a great part of his light horsmen, to pursue his flying enemies to Damasco, whither he himself in few daies after came also, with the remainder of his Army, when hee vnderstood that his enemies were departed thence & fled to Cair. They of the city of Damasco thinking it not to stand with their good to stay the course of his victory, and with their liues to hazard M

the

A the great wealth of that rich city; without delay presently opened vnto him the gates at his comming. By whose example other cities alongst the sea coast mooued, especially Tripolis, Berytus, Sydon, and Ptolemais, sending their Embassadors, and receiuing in the Turks garrisons, yeelded themselues in like maner.

Not long after, *Selymus* held a great councel in his camp, which then lay vnder the walls of Damasco: for he would not bring his soldiers into the city, for troubling the quiet and populous state therof, together with the great trade of merchandise, which at that time was with wonderful security kept there by merchants of diuers countries comming from far, euen from the remotest parts of the world. And in the Campe such was the military discipline of that most seuere commander, that the soldiers (knowing the victory to giue them no whit the more B libery) suffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citizens, in the most plentifull time of Autumn, to rest in safety vntouched, without any keeper. By which seuere & streit gouernment he so politickly prouided against all wants, that his camp was in all parts furnisht with plenty of all things necessary, and that at prices reasonable. There taking vnto him men skilfull in the laws and customs of the country, and calling before him the embassadors of all the cities of the country, he heard and decided the greatest controuersies of the Syrians, appointed gouernors ouer the prouinces and cities, took view of the tributes and customs, and abrogated many customs and tributes due vnto the old sultans, which seemed either vnreasonable or grieuous to the people: therby to gain the fame of a iust and bountiful conqueror.

Notable discipline in Selymus his army.

When he had thus set all things in order in Syria, and sufficiently rested and refreshed his C army, and especially his horses, which with long and continual trauel were grown megre and lean; he of nothing more desirous than of the conquest of Egypt, and the vtter subuersion of the Sultans state and Mamaluks gouernment, sent before *Sinan Bassa* into Iudea with 50000 horsmen, and a strong regiment of harquebusiers selected out of te Ianizaries and other soldiers, to try the passage of that country, & to open the way for him to Gaza, which was thought would be to him very troublesom, by reason of the wild Arabians roaming vp and downe the Country. The City of Gaza standeth neere vnto the sea towards Egypt, not farre from the sandy desarts; wherby men with much difficulty and dangerous trauel, passe out of Syria, and so to Cair.

In the meane time the Mamalukes, who vnder the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to Caire, D with all the rest of their order which were thither assembled from all parts of the kingdom; entring into counsel together (as it often fals out in time of danger and distresse) without all contention or enuy chose *Tomombeius* (of the Turks called *Tuman-bay*) a Circassian born, to be their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honor and power vnto the Sultan; whose prowesse & policy was such, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able & sufficient to stay & vphold the afflicted and declining state of their kingdom. He by their general consent and good liking promoted to the state of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his own majesty, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to be reposed wholly in arms and the fortune of battel; began with great care & singular industry to prouide armor, weapons, and horses from all places; he also caused great store of ordnance to E be cast, and mustred great companies of such of his slaues as seemed meet for the war: besides that, he entertained for pay many of the Moors and Arabians his neighbors. He also for great reward hired men skilful in the Countries, to go thorow the desarts of the Palmyrens into Mesopotamia, and so to *Hysmael* the Persian King with letters; earnestly requesting him to inuade the Turks dominions in Asia the lesse, or with all speed to break into Comagena, being by the departure of the enemy left bare and destitute of sufficient garrisons. And further to aduertise him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of Iudæa, might easily bee inclosed with their two armies, and so be vanquished, or for want of victuals distressed: and the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turks vpon that coast, able from sea to relieue their Army by land, or yet to transport them thence, in case they should by chance of War bee distressed, and so think to return. In which doing, he should both relieue the Egyptian Sultan his friend and Confederat, for his sake brought into so great danger; and also without any great trouble or peril, notably reuenge himself of so many shamefull injuries as hee had before receiued from that most capitall Enemy. Whilest *Tomombeius* doth these things, *Sinan Bassa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, hauing easily repulsed diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

Tomombeius by general consent of the Mamalukes chosen sultan of Egipt.

maner of theeues and robbers lay vpon the paſſages, had now opened the way, & was come to Gaza; where the citiſens, although they were in heart faithful to the Mamalukes, yet for that to ſhut their gates againſt the Baſſa, and to ſtand vpon their gard without a ſufficient garriſon, ſeemed a matter both perillous and vnreaſonable, forthwith yeelded their city vpon reaſonable compoſition, and with the plenty therof relieued the Turks Baſſa, giuing him great, but diſſembled thanks, that by his meanes and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruel bondage of the Mamalukes, promiſing for the remembrance of ſo great a benefit, for euer to remain his faithful ſeruants. *Sinan* commending their ready good will, required of them al ſuch things as he wanted, or had occaſion to vſe; which they ſeemed willing to deliuer, and ſo lodged his army neer to the wals of the city, within the defence of the gardens, purpoſing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*.

Gaza yeelded to Sinan.

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and moſt skilful in martial affairs) he ſought by all means to get knowledge of that deſart and vnpeopled country, not inhabited for lack of water; and eſpecially of the nature of the great ſands wherby *Selymus* was with his army to paſſe. He alſo won by rewards the inhabitants of the country therabouts, by large offers to procure him the fauor of the chieftains and leaders of the Arabians neere vnto thoſe places; and alſo to ſpy what the Mamalukes did at Cair, and wherin they repoſed their chief confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge therof.

On the other ſide, the citiſens of Gaza in heart enemies vnto the Turks, as daily feeling the grieuances of the preſent army, aduertiſed *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Baſſa*, & that that power of the Turks army might eaſily be oppreſſed before the comming of *Selymus*, if a ſtrong power of the Mamaluks were ſent thither vnder the conduct of skilful leaders: promiſing, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time, vpon a ſudden in the night ſet vpon the ſleepy Turks, they would at the ſame inſtant ſally out of the city vpon the Camp, & there with fire and ſword do what harm they could for the ouerthrow of the enemy.

Of this deuice *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked wel, and ſo without delay ſent *Gazelles* with 6000 choiſe horſmen, and a great number of the Arabians, to perform the exploit vpon *Sinan*. For *Gazelles*, in that his wholſom counſel had bin by *Campſon* and others rejected (who being ſtraitway deſirous of battel, had raſhly caſt themſelues & the whole ſtate into ſo great calamity) and afterward in the greateſt danger of the battel, hauing performed all the parts of a politique and valiant chieftain, was grown into ſuch credit, that all men held a great opinion both of his valor and direction.

Sinan aduertiſed of the comming of Gazelles, goes ſecretly to meet him.

But he was ſcarſly wel ſet forth, when aduertiſement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming thorow the ſandy Deſarts, vpon the ſudden to oppreſſe him; and that they wonld be with him before two dais were expired, foraſmuch as they had ſet forward vpon the ſpur, without any cariages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the ſafegard of *Sinans* army, ſo was it of greateſt importance and moment for the ſubduing and obtaining of the full conqueſt of Egypt afterward. But *Sinan Baſſa*, although he knew nothing of the trechery of them of Gaza; yet as a man of a prouident and ſubtil wit, ſuſpecting that ſuch a thing might happen, becauſe he would not haue at once to do with a double enemy, reſolued to go & meet the Mamaluks vpon the way, and to giue them battel. Wherfore with great ſilence diſlodging his army betwixt ten and twelue a clock in the night, hee ſet forward and marched out of ſight of the city about fifteen miles toward Egypt. There was neer vnto that place a little low village wherin trauellers vſed commonly to lodge, for the commodiouſnes of a liuely and plenteous ſpring which there riſeth: there by chance both *Sinan Baſſa* had purpoſed to ſtay, and *Gazelles* in like maner had alſo determined to reſt a few hours to refreſh his army, that he might by night, after he had well refreſhed his horſes, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at Gaza. When news was brought to both the Generals almoſt at one inſtant, by the fore-runners of both armies, That the enemy was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that vnexpected news, for that he perceiued himſelf diſappointed of his purpoſe; and vnable to fight with his enemies in plain battel, eſpecially his horſes being ſore wearied with trauell, was inforced vpon the ſudden for the ſafegard of himſelf & his followers, to reſolue vpon a new reſolution: yet nothing diſcouraged, with cheerful countenance and liuely ſpeech exhorted his ſoldiers to make themſelues ready for battel, &

that

A that which they could not by policie bring to paſſe, they ſhould by plain force perform. *Sinan* on the other ſide hauing ſomwhat ſooner ſet his men in order of battel than had *Gazelles*, foraſmuch as he had before at good leiſure taken order what hee would haue don, if it ſhould come to the point of battel; with conſtant look and long perſuaſions ful of hope, incouraged his ſoldiers to fight. But the concluſion of all his ſpeech was, that they ſhould play the men, and not once think of flight, foraſmuch as all places about them would be ſhut vp and becom impaſſable, if they obtained not the victory: and that aboue all things they ſhould perſuade themſelues, that none of them could that day periſh, but ſuch as the immortal God had by the ineuitable law of deſtiny appointed to die: and that with like haſard valiant men found life in the midſt of their enemies weapons, that cowards by immutable deſtiny found death
B in their ſafeſt flight.

The battell betweene Sinan Baſſa and Gazelles.

The Baſſa had placed his harquebuſiers in the wings of his battell, which were raunged of a great length in thin ranks, therby to vſe their pieces at more liberty, and with more eaſe to incloſe the enemy: in the middle were placed the horſemen to receiue the firſt charge of the Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approching the enemy, ſent before the troups of the Arabian light horſmen to trouble the wings of his enemies battel, and with a ſquare battell of his Mamalukes charged the middle battel of the Turks. The battel was a great while moſt terrible, & the victory doubtfull: for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to indure the armed and couragious Mamalukes, but were glad to giue ground; and quite diſorderted by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men diſcouraged, began to looke about them
C which way they might fly. When by the commandement of *Sinan* the harquebuſiers, who with the firſt volly of their ſhot had repulſed the Arabians, wheeling about, incloſed all the enemies battel. By which means both men and horſe were afar off ſlain with the multitude of their deadly ſhot: where true valor helped them not, ſo on euery ſide incloſed. For where any troup of Mamalukes preſſed forward vpon the Turks, they quickly retyred, and in all places of the battel, as much as they could, ſhunned to incounter their enemies with their horſmen, laboring only to gaul them with ſhot. *Gazelles* ſeeing his horſes ſpent with extream wearines, and that he was not to expect any further help, his Arabians beginning now to fal from him; and alſo conſidering that many of his moſt valiant ſoldiers were either ſlain or wounded, and hauing alſo himſelf receiued a great wound in his necke: he with the reſt of his Army made
D way thorow the middeſt of his enemies, and hauing loſt diuers of his enſignes, fled backe again to Cair through the ſandy Deſarts wherby he came. In this battel was loſt the gouernor of Alexandria, and *Orchamus* Gouernour of Cair (both men of great account among the Mamalukes) and beſides them a great number of the Arabians, with a thouſand or more of the Mamaluke horſmen. Neither got *Sinan* a ioyfull or vnbloudy victory, hauing loſt aboue two thouſand of his beſt horſmen, and amongſt them certain Commaunders men of great account.

The Turks weary of this battel, which had endured from noon til night, and many of their horſes fainting vnder them, were not able to purſue their enemies, and therefore incamped in the ſame place where the battel was fought, neer vnto the fountain. The day following they
E at leiſure gathered the ſpoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies, which were eaſily known by their long and rough beards, faſtned them vp vpon the Date trees growing therby, as wel in witnes of their worthy labour, as by that ſtrange and horrible ſpectacle to feed the eies of their fierce Emperor (who was ſhortly after to paſſe that way) and ſo to manifeſt vnto him the victory of that day.

In the mean time they of Gaza vpon the riſing of the Sun, perceiuing the Turks camp left empty, as men not able longer to diſſemble their couert trechery; and vainly ſuppoſing that *Sinan Baſſa* vpon ſome knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes, had for feare retyred back into places of more ſafety; ſuddenly ſet vpon ſuch as were left in the Camp, which were for moſt part ſick and weak men (yet in number many) whom they moſt cruelly ſlew, and pre-
F ſently ſet vpon 2000 of the Turks horſmen ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the ſame day, enquiring with great carefulnes, what was become of the Baſſa and his Army; and ſpoyling them of their Carriages, put them to flight. Who after that diſcomfiture, ſuppoſing the Baſſa (whom they had thought to haue found at Gaza, tarrying for the comming of *Selymus*) by ſome miſhap or policy of the enemy to haue beene loſt, with

all

all his army,and therfore fearfully retyring,were by the way miserably slain by the Arabians: G
neither had any one of them escaped,if they had not met with *Iuleb* the Gouernor of Achaia at the city of Rama: for he was also sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Bassa* with a strong companie of Grecian horsmen,by whose comming the fury of the Arabians was wel represſed. Yet these pilfering people stil calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountains adjoining,and being grown to a great army, ouertook the Turkes at a village called Carasbara,where they inforced them to fight in a place of great disaduantage. For the Arabians hauing before taken certaine streits,which closed in the passage at the further end of a large vally,shewed themselues at once before,behind,& on both sides of the Turks: their weapons were bow and arrows,and long spears armed at both sides, which they nimbly handled after the maner of the Moors. These weapons they most skilfully vsed vpon their swift H
horses,and both in their charge and retreit wounded their enemies deadly. So the Turkes in number few,and for their horsmens staues inferior to their enemies, durst not offer to charge them;but keeping close together,hardly defended themselues,stil making way as they went: and had vndoubtedly been brought into extream danger to haue been vtterly lost,had not *Iuleb* with four pieces of artillery which he brought with him for his defence,driuen them that kept the streits, from their high places, and so opening the way, with all speed brought thorow his men. Which streits once passed, and comming into the open fields, he with more safety marched forward,skirmishing afar off with the enemy,with his archers and harquebusiers,and discharging his field pieces where he saw the greatest and thickest troupes of those wild people.

I
On the other part,the Arabians dispersedly houering about them in troups,were stil in the tail of the army,and such as were wounded or weak,and could not follow the rest, they slew; and sought by all means to hinder their journy,not suffering them (circumuented with so many dangers) either to refresh themselues,or to take rest. This was vnto the Turks a most dismal day,for many of them tormented with thirst,and weakened with wounds and extream labor,gaue vp the ghost: and now no help remained in this desperat estate, being stil beset and hardly laid to with a multitude of those fierce and desperat enemies; when suddenly a great number of other Turks came to them in the mid way vnlooked for,being now in despaire,and euen at the last cast. For *Selymus* hauing left the Imbrahor Bassa with a strong army vpon the borders of Persia,for the defence of Syria and Asia,and hauing sent for new supplies of soul- K
diers to Constantinople, which should with a great fleet be transported into Syria, had now remoued from Damasco:and the better to prouide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow scant in that wasted countrey;euery day sent before great troupes and companies of his army,as it were at certain appointed times.

Selymus doubting Sinan bassa to haue been lost,becommeth melancholy.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the present danger,by the comming in of these fresh souldiers, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had happened vnto him and his first troups,at Gaza and Rama,and all the way after; and also what they supposed by conjectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Bassa* and his army,for the manifold wyles of so dangerous enemies. With which which news *Selymus* became exceeding melancholy, and therupon thought not good to go any further,before he perfectly knew how all stood with *Sinan*; in whose fortune L
he had reposed al the hope of his good succes in that so great an enterprise. But whilst he was in this dump,suddenly came the Syrian spies,who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Bassa* had don,conuerted that melancholy passion into no lesse ioy and gladnes:for he saw that by that victory Egypt was laid open to him,and his desires as good as half accomplished in les time than euer he expected.

Newe of Sinans victory comforteth Selymus.

The next day after,he remoued with his Army to Rama,and by the way as hee went (to the terror of others) burnt the dwellings,together with the wiues and children of those Arabians who but a little before had don so much harm to his men in their passage. And from thence sending before his footmen to *Sinan Bassa* at Gaza,he himself with his horsmen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to Ierusalem,to visit that most antient and famous City, so much M
renowned both for the antiquity therof,and the fame of the religion of the Iews. That vnpeopled and desolat city lay then defaced with the hugy ruins of the old sacred and stately buildings; not inhabited by the Iewes, the antient Inhabitants thereof (who for their inexpiable guilt,as men exiled out of the world, haue no Country or resting place) but for most part by

a few

A a few poor Christians, who to the great scorn and shame of the Christian name, payd yearely a great tribute to the Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of the sacred Sepulchre: when as the Christian princes flourishing at that time with glory, power, & wealth, could not by any motiue of immortal glory and fame be incited to reuenge so great an injury; but deeming it (as should seem) better agreeing with their state to spend their time in idle vanities, or mortall war one against another, than in the quarrel of the true Christian religion.

Selymus hauing reuerendly worshipped the antient monuments of the old prophets, & don especial sacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*, gaue vnto the Christian priests keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) mony to maintain them for six months; and staying at Ierusalem but one night, marched in four daies to the rest of his Army at Gaza: where by
B the way he had continual skirmishes both day and night with the Arabians, who after their wonted maner were desperatly at hand in euery place, and where the streitnes of the place inforced the Turks to extenuat their rankes, there would they be ready to skirmish with them, and suddenly vnlooked for come to handy blows; and when they came into the Vallies, they tumbled down from the mountains great stones vpon them, which they had for that purpose before prouided. At which time the Turks harquebusiers, in whom they had greatest confidence, serued them to little purpose: for the weather was so tempestuous and extreame moist with continual rain, that the pouder in their flasks became wet and vnseruiceable, and hardly could they keep fire in their matches. Yet by the valour of the Ianizaries the matter was so vsed, that neer vnto the person of the emperor no great harm was don by those naked robbers:
C for climing vp the hils with pikes in their hands, they droue them from their standings, and inforced them to abandon the streits and high places.

But *Sinan Bassa* (who after the victory returning to Gaza, had put to death the authours of the late reuolt, confiscated their goods, and exacted of the people in general a great summe of mony, as the iust punishment of their false trechery) hearing now of the comming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious soldiers, furnished with the spoils of their enemies. Whom *Selymus* most honorably receiued, and gaue generally to the captains, and particularly to the most valiant of the common soldiers, garments of silk, with a great sum of money in reward of their good seruice. 1517. *Sinan Bassa goeth to meet Selymus, as hee was comming to Gaza.*

After that, he staid but four days at Gaza, for that he thought it not good to giue any long
D time of breathing vnto his discouraged enemies, now twice ouerthrown; or to suffer the new Sultan (not yet wel setled in his kingdom) to grow stronger by new preparations and supplies raised in the most populous and plentiful country of Egypt. Which to let, although it required great hast in setting forward, and serued as spurs vnto him, naturally hasting to glory and renown; yet was his army to be refreshed after so long and painful trauel, and great prouision to be made for the cariage of water vpon camels all the way through the dry solitary and sandy deserts. For between Gaza and Cair ly vast vnpeopled and barren sands, which moued by the wind, rise vp in billows in maner of a wrought sea, so troublesom, that many times it is not possible to see for dust: & the light sands in many places gauled deep with the wind, wonderfully troubleth the weary passengers. But such a sudden calm insued the great rain which
E fel but three dayes before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that hee could wish for the happy conduct of his army: for the air was becom so calm, that ther was no blast of wind to raise the sand to trouble their sight; and withall, such plenty of water was found almost in euery place, by reason of the abundant rain, which being not yet sunk far into the ground, afforded them water in such plenty, if they digged but two foot deep, that the soldiers commonly thought it needles to carry any bottle of water for fear of thirst. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that passage, on euery side to houer about the Turks army (as hawks ouer their prey) and suffered none of them to straggle out of order, or stay behind the rest of the army, but they were presently snatcht vp and slain. Against whom *Selymus* prouided an easy remedy, by placing his field pieces in diuers parts of his army; which by the
F direction of the Leaders (as euery man hapned to be neerest the danger) were forthwith discharged vpon the roaming enemy: and in the rereward of his army were placed strong companies of harquebusiers, for defence of the weak and feeble soldiers, who could but softly follow the army, and therfore were most subiect to danger.

By this means *Selymus* with some small losse receiued from the Arabians, in eight dayes

march

march drew neer to Cair, *Sinan Bassa* going before him; who with his Europeian soldiers still G
kept one daies journy before. There is a village about 6 miles distant from the city of Caire,
called Matharea, famous for the plenty of most excellent Balm, with liquor of al others most
fragrant and soueraigne, distilled out of low trees there planted; whose outermost rinde the
people cut with ivory kniues, to giue the liquor passage; which Balm for the notable vertues
therof being not elswhere to be had, mens diseases and wanton desires haue made of a won-
derful price. Into that place neer vnto a village called Rhodania, had *Tomombeius* conueyed al
his new and old prouision of artillery; and had drawn deep ditches ouerthwart al the field and
crosse the highway, which he had closely couered ouer with weak hurdls and earth, as if it had
bin firm ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thousand) and a great
multitude of Arabian horsmen, lay in places conuenient, of purpose that when the Turks bat- H
tels should approch, they should first feel the force of his great Ordnance, before they came
within the shot of their arrows, & forthwith vpon great disaduantage with all his forces sud-
denly to set vpon them disordred and intrapped. All which things were so cunningly & po-
litickly contriued and done, that there was none in the Sultans Army which doubted of the
good succes of that day: and a great mischief had vndoubtedly befallen the Turkes, had not
fortune which fauored *Selymus*, and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to say, the fatall
period of that kingdom so requiring) by the false trechery of a few, frustrated the great indea-
uors of the Mamalukes.

Tomombeius seeks to intrap the Turks.

There was in the Sultans army, among the soldiers of the court, four Epirot Mamalukes,
who grieued to see *Tomombeius* (contrary to their desires) preferred to the kingdom by others I
of a contrary faction; whether it were vpon a malicious dispositiion, or vpon hope of reward
and better preferment, or for that in so great a declination of their kingdom they thought it
good to seek for new friends of more assurance, fled secretly to *Sinan Bassa*, as to a most famous
captain, and one of their own nation. For this great commander *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand,
was born in a poor country village of Epirus, in the mountain of Ambracia, whom a strange
mischance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported, that a sow kept in
the house wherin he was born, bit off his genitoirs, being then but a child, as he lay by chance
sleeping in the shadow; and being made of greater esteem by that mishap, was by them that
took vp delicat minions for the Turkish emperor, brought to Constantinople, and presented
to the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Selymus* his grandfather: where fortune by the fatal direction K
of his good hap, aduanced him to his appointed honors, whom she had long before dismem-
bred. By these fugitiue Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were instructed of all the deuices of
the enemy, and especially what stratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and policy de-
uised: wherinto they must needs fall if they should go directly on, and not forsake the High-
way. Wherfore guided by the said fugitiues, they fetcht a great compas on the left hand, and
by an vnused way, before it was day, hauing escaped the front of the enemies Campe, with all
the dangers prepared for them; they came and shewed themselues at their backs in order of
battel, with their great artillery ready bent, becausse they were desirous without delay to join
battel.

Selymus comming by a way vnexpected, maketh great confusion in Tomombeius camp.

Tomombeius now too late perceiuing that his plot was discouered by the treason of some of L
his own people; although he was therwith aboue measure grieued, for that al that he had with
so great industry and the labor of so many men brought to passe, was through spiteful fortune
made frustrat, and in a moment brought to nought; yet for all that, as he was a man of an in-
uincible courage, presently entred into his wonted and deep deuices; and calling to him his
chief commanders, quickly told them what he would haue don. Now in this short moment
of time he was to do many things at once: the signal was to be giuen for the soldiers to mount
their horses, and to make themselues ready, the order of his camp was to be changed, his bat-
tel to be ordered, his soldiers to be incouraged, and all his great ordnance, as the cause requi-
red, quite the contray way to be turned: all which things, as they could but hardly and trou-
blesomly by one commander be directed, so were they hastily and disorderly at once don by M
many. But aboue all other things, the great concourse of people for turning and remooving
the great artillery, most troubled the well ordering of the rest; for many of them were hugie
iron pieces of great weight, made fast in stocks of wood, with rings and iron Clasps, after
the old and rude manner of ship Ordnance, which for their exceeding and ponderous weight

could

A could not be out of their places remoued, but by the ſtrength of many horſes, and the great labor of men, with levers and touls put vnder them; and ſuch as were mounted vpon cariages, when they were drawn thorow all parts of the camp, with the great clamour of the diſordered and haſty people, ſome drawing, ſome thruſting forward the ſame, with their tumultuous ſtir and doings wonderfully troubled the other ſoldiers, as they were mounting to horſe, & repairing toward their enſignes. But two things maruellouſly helped theſe difficulties, the ſoldiers cheerfulnes and conſtancy, which was ſuch as paſſeth credit; for they did not vpon any apprehenſion of fear fail either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it happeneth in ſudden accidents, wherin euen the old approued ſoldiers do many times fail of their wonted valor: & although they were twice ouercome in battel, yet ſtil they were of greater ſpirit and confidence, as men
B deſtitute neither of courage nor skil, but only of fortune.

Wherfore *Tomombeius* hauing with much ado ordered this battell, and his ſouldiers with great cheerfulnes deſiring the ſignal to bee giuen, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians to compas in the wings of the enemies battel behind, & ſo to skirmiſh with them: that ſo (if it were poſſible) the Turks horſemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight with ſuch an vncertain enemy, be diſordred before he ſet forward to charge them with his troups: and withall commanded his great Ordnance (which was now turned vpon the enemy) to bee preſently diſcharged. So did the Turkes likewiſe, diſcharging at once from a conuenient diſtance both their greater and ſmaller ordnance; and ſpeedily recharging them, brought them within an arrow ſhot: ſo that for a good ſpace they lay beating the one the other on both ſides
C with their great artillery only: in which maner of fight the Egyptian cannoniers were almoſt all ſlain, and many of their field pieces broken by force of the enemies ſhot. For *Selymus* had in his camp many excellent and skilful canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of Italy and Germany; and eſpecially of thoſe refuce Iewes, who by the zeal of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of Spain, afterwards to the ſhame of the Chriſtians diſperſt thoſe rare and deadly deuices through the Eaſt. The chief of theſe canoniers was one *Iacobus è regio Lepidi*, a cunning enginier, who but a little before ouercome by the Turks rewards, abjuring the Chriſtian religion, reuolted vnto the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Chriſtian canoniers ſerue the Turkes againſt the Egyptians.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battel on both ſides, they gaue out a moſt hideous and dreadful cry, and with exceeding fury aſſailed the Turks in three pla-
D ces: for *Selymus* ſtil keeping his wonted order, approched his enemies with his battel in form of a half moon. *Muſtapha Baſſa* had the leading of the Aſian horſemen in the right wing; and *Ionuſes Baſſa* of the Europeians in the left: he himſelf ſtood in the main battel with the ſquadron of his truſty Ianizaries, and great ſtore of artillery. But *Sinan Baſſa* the Eunuch, General of the field, led after him a great number of moſt valiant horſmen, drawn out of euery troup, to be ready againſt al the vncertain euents that might happen in the battel; vnto whom he joined 500 harquebuſiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and actiuitie, ſelected out of *Selymus* his own ſquadron, to relieue ſuch part of the Army as ſhould chance to be moſt preſt by the enemy.

The order of Selymus his army.

Sinan Baſſa generall of the field.

So almoſt at one time, whilſt *Tomombeius* ſtood in the main battel againſt *Selymus*, and the
E wings of the Mamalukes with equall battel incountred the wings of the Turks; and the Arabians alſo valiantly charging them in the rereward, as they had in charge, foure ſharp battels were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by ſome that were preſent in that battell, that what for the clamor and cry of ſoldiers, what for the noiſe of drums and trumpets, & ſuch like inſtruments of war, what for the thundring of ordnance, clattering of armor, and riſing of the duſt, all mens minds were ſo abaſhed and confounded, that running headlong as men furious and deſperat, when neither their ſpeeches could be heard, their tokens known, their Enſigns ſeen, or captains vnderſtood; miſtaking one another in that hurly-burly, they ſlew many of their friends in ſtead of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred, neither did euer two great kings with leſſe care of their perſons and ſafety more reſolutely or
F deſperatly make ſhew of their ſtrength & courage: for both of them with like danger both of themſelues and of their armies, ſeeing plainly that they had put both their liues & kingdoms to the haſard of a battel, promiſed vnto themſelues no other hope of ſafety, but what they ſhould obtain by victory. *Gazelles* deſirous both of honor and of reuenge, to requite the Europeian horſmen with like ſlaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from Gaza,

with

with wonderful fury assailed *Ionuses Bassa*, and at the first incounter brake his first ranks, and G
ouerthrew certain of his guidons; at which time the Arabians couragiously pressing in at their backs, inforced those victorious troups, which in al battels had hitherto caried away the prise (the very flour of Thracia, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, & Grecia) to fly & shew their backs, which neuer enemy had before that time seen. At which time *Sinan Bassa* carefully attending euery accident, came speedily in with his most valiant troups of fresh men, vpon the side of the enemy, and restored again the battel, now declining and fouly disordered. But whilst *Sinan*, who in this his last worthy labour had interrupted the manifest victory of *Gazelles*, was with an inuincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battell, hee was by the comming in of the couragious Captain *Bidon* with his Mamalukes ouercharged and slaine. His most valiant followers also laboring to rescue and carry away his dead body, were by *Gazelles* H
vnfolding his troups (that standing thin, they might at more liberty vse their swords, in which maner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks) for the most part slaine, and the rest put to flight: and that chosen company of fiue hundred of the most valiant Ianizaries, now destitute of their horsmen, when they had most couragiously don what was possible for men to do, beeing compassed round with the Mamalukes horsmen, were all in a maner cut in pieces and trodden vnder foot. Thus resteth this Eunuch Bassa in the bed of fame, who liuing had the leading of the most warlike Emperor *Selymus* his greatest armies in his most dangerous wars.

Sinan Bassa with most of his followers slain by Bidon.

Mustapha in the other wing of the Turks battel, comming on couragiously with his Asian horsmen, did sore presse the left wing of the Egyptians (wherof *Helymus* the Diadare, and *Giapal*, two valiant captains, had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harme by the great ordnance that was discharged out of the midst of *Selymus* his battel ouerthwart the field: which *Mustapha* perceiuing, and desirous to blot out the old infamy he had before receiued, did fiercely presse vpon them, so disordered, and with his whole troups ouerthrew their broken ranks; and glistring in his bright armor, with a loud voice incouraged his Asian souldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant prowesse or honorable death, to recouer their antient honor, of late lost in the fields of Aleppo. I

Mustapha and his Asian souldiers ouerthroweth the left wing of the sultans army.

At the same time also *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battel of the Turks horsmen, was entred into the squadron of the footmen, with his crooked scimiter giuing many a deadly wound, himself being a valiant big man, and of great strength. The Arabians had also in a ring inclosed the vttermost parts of the Turks army, and in many places inforced them K
to turn their battel vpon them, being sore charged with a doubtfull fight both before and behind: when *Selymus* set forward with his battel of footmen, and his squadron of Ianizaries, his last and most assured refuge in that his hard distres: whose inuincible force, neither the couragious barbed horses nor their victorious riders were able ro abide; for part of them with their harquebusies, and the rest with their pikes, had so strongly set the front of their battell, that nothing was able to stand whersoeuer that firm battel, linked together as if it had bin but one whole intire body, swaied. Yet was this cruell battel continued with diuers fortune on both sides, from four a clocke vntill the going down of the Sun: neither was there any part of their armies which had not with diuers succes and change of fortune, endured the fury of that bat- L
tel: for both the victors and the vanquished being inraged with an implacable hatred the one against the other, fought desperatly as men prodigal of their liues: the Mamalukes disdaining to haue the victory wrung out of their hands by them whom they had in so many places discomfited; and the Turks taking it in no lesse scorn, that they whom but of late they had ouercome and vanquished in two great battels, should now the third time make so strong resistance: so that on both sides their fainting hands and bodies, both wearied and weakned with wounds, supported only with anger & obstinacy of mind, seemed yet sufficient to haue maintained that bloudy battel till the next day, if the darknes of the night now comming on, had not made an end of that daies slaughter.

Tomombeius vndoubtedly vanquished, and fearing to be vtterly ouerthrown, first caused a re- M
treit to be sounded, that his Mamalukes which were not indeed able to withstand the Ianizaries, might not seem to be put to flight, but rather as men commanded, to retyre. Which he thought to concern much both for incouraging his soldiers, and for the keeping of his owne credit and estimation with his subjects. For now the self same fortune which had deceiued

his

A his first hopes, seemed to him (as it fareth with them in distresse, still hoping for better) to promise him more prosperous successe, if he were not discouraged: but reseruing such remainders of his forces as were left, he should againe couragiously renew the war.

The battell thus broken off by the approch of the night, the Turks as victors enjoying the tents and great artillery of their enemies, pursued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held on their way to Caire, in manner as if they had fled. This great battell was fought vpon a Thursday, the 24 day of Ianuary, in the yere 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally wounded, and with him the valiant captaine *Bidon*, hauing in the battell one of his legs broken in the knee with a faulchion shot, wherewith his horse was also slaine vnder him. *Selymus* commanded them both the next day to be slaine, either for that their wounds were sup-
B posed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleasure, with the death of those two honorable personages to appease the angry ghost of *Sinan Bassa*, whose death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus causeth the Diadare & the valiant captaine Bidon to be slaine.

The Turks although they still preuailed, yet was their army greatly impaired euen in their prosperous successe and fortunat battels: the fourth part of their army was consumed with sickenesse and the sword, and that daies labor had tyred a great number of their horses, beside the long journey they had before endured. For which causes *Selymus* was inforced to slacke somewhat of his accustomed haste: for as yet he had no experience of the disposition of the Ægyptians which dwelt at Caire; neither could he vnderstand by any certaine report, where *Tomombeius* staied, or vpon what resolution he rested. Which things not throughly knowne, he thought it not good to commit himselfe and his army into that most populous and spa-
C cious city: but staying foure daies at the village of Matharea and Rhodania, carefully prouided for his wounded soldiers, and caused the bodies of such as were slaine to be buried; but the dead carkasses of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beasts of the field. And afterward remouing his campe thence, that he might more commodiously water, he came to the plaines betweene old Caire and Bulach.

In the meane while *Tomombeius*, nothing discouraged with so many mishaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his army commodiously betweene the new city of Caire and the riuer Nilus; he also armed eight thousand Æthyopian slaues (which kinde of men he had not before vsed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion:) beside that, he opening the old armoury, put arms into the hands of the Mamalukes sons, and Moores, (his
D vassals) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians also, and couragiously prepared for a greater and more mortal war than before, but forasmuch as there were many difficulties in the managing thereof, hauing almost lost all his great artillery, with many of his most valiant horsemen slaine in the former battels; he in his troubled mind did so cast the doubtfull hopes of his last deuice, (which cruell necessity wrung from him) that forasmuch as he had by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vse policy; as he which of late hauing vnfortunatly made proofe of his strength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good againe to aduenture the fortune of a battell: neither was he in hope if he should so do, to be able with his small power and desperat supplies to protract the war vntil the heat of Summer, as he desired. Wherefore he resolued by night to assaile the Turks campe, and if possibly he
E could, to set it on fire. For which his deuice he seemed to haue two reasons: whereof the one consisted in the speedy execution, that he might desperatly attempt to do some notable exploit in the night, before the enemy should perceiue the weakenesse of his power, which was not great, and scambled vp on the sudden; as also before he himselfe should grow into contempt with the naturall Ægyptians; who desiring nothing more, than to cast off the seruile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering minds expected but some fit occasion to rebell: The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might auoid the danger of the great ordnance; which in sudden accidents, and especially in the darkenesse of the night, serueth to little or no purpose: in which kind of strength he had before to his great losse learned, that his enemies were too good for him. But these his reasonable policies, when al things
F were in readinesse to haue put the same in execution, were in like manner as the first, ouerthrowne by the treason of as such as secretly reuolted from him to the enemy.

Tomombeius his purposed scouered to Selymus.

For *Selymus* vnderstanding the whole plot by certain Mamalukes (which hauing the Kings euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in misery, dayly forsook him) commanded his army to be alwaies in readinesse, and making great fires in diuers parts of his

campe, kept moſt carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to paſſe, G
that the night following, *Tomombeius* approching his camp, was repulſed, with no ſmall loſſe of his firſt troups which vnaduiſedly were gone on too far: and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his laſt ouerthrow, but that he wiſely miſdoubting the vnwonted light of the fires ſhining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his haſting troups, which were themſelues with more haſt than good ſpeed marching into the the very mouth of the Turks great artillery, bent of purpoſe vpon them.

Tomombeius diſappointed of his purpoſe, by perſuaſion of the Chieftains retired to Caire: for the Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt in plaine field, thought it beſt to proceed in another manner; perſuading him, with the whole ſtrength of his army to man all the conuenient places of that great city, otherwiſe expoſed to the enemies pleaſure, and ſo to keepe the Turks H
from entring. For they as men brought to this extremity, that they muſt now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children; thought it more honourable and better agreeing with their antient glory, ſo to do in their ſight, and in the entrance of their houſes, than elſewhere further off. Wherefore the Mamalukes comming home to Caire, furniſhed all their families and flat roofes of their houſes, with all manner of weapons: euery one of them now humbly requeſting the Ægyptians their neighbours, to take vp armes againſt the Turks their antient and mortall enemies, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be cowardly ſlaine, their goods ſpoiled, and their wiues and children carried away into moſt miſerable captiuity; foraſmuch as the mercileſſe and greedy enemy, if he ſhould once get the victory, would no whit ſpare them, although they ſhould as neuters ſtand looking on, and helpe neither party: for victory (as they I
ſaid) alwaies full of inſolent pride, would know no friend but ſuch as with reſolute hand did their vttermoſt deuoire in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

The Egyptians diuerſly affected toward the Mamalukes.

There were many of the wealthieſt of the Ægyptians, who as they thought the change of the ſtate would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, ſo were they ready in all they could to helpe the Mamalukes their old lords: ſo on the other ſide there were many of the middle ſort of the citiſens, and a far greater multitude of the baſeſt ſort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to loſe, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens loſſes; and withall, remembring what miſery and ſlauery they had endured about the ſpace of three hundred yeares, vnder the proud gouernment of the Mamalukes, kept themſelues cloſe in their houſes, expecting the laſt euent of wars; and ſecretly reioycing in their hearts, that the time was come K
(God ſo appointing) wherein their outragious and cruell maſters ſhould be juſtly and worthily puniſhed for their oppreſſion and hard dealing; and that which gladded them the more, was, That the reuenge ſhould be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wiſhed ſpectacle they well hoped ſhortly to fill their deſired eies.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the city, appointed vnto euery ſtreet a particular captain, in euery publike place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could poſſibly be done or deuiſed; and that which in ſo great a calamity and danger was of all other things the hardeſt, with cheereſull countenance and vndaunted courage made ſhew of greateſt hope. The Mamalukes alſo, beſide the neceſſity (which in caſes of extremity is of power to encourage and make deſperate the faint hearted L
coward) prouoked with emulation, ſtraue amongſt themſelues, who ſhould beſt performe all the duties of worthy captaines and ſouldiers: for euery one of them according to his conceit and deuice, cauſed great ditches or great timber-logs to be caſt ouerthwart the ſtreets; ſome in couert trenches ſet vp ſharpe ſtakes, whereupon the enemy falling vnawares might be gaged; otherſome according to their ſtore, furniſhed the windowes and fronts of their houſes in the greateſt and moſt open ſtreets, with harquebuſiers: all which things with many moe, were done with ſuch celerity, that none of the beſt and moſt honourable of the Mamalukes refuſed to handle a ſpade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other baſe labour; ſo that nothing could be ſooner deuiſed, but it was forthwith performed.

The deſcription of the great city of Caire.

This great and antient city of Caire was not compaſſed with any wals, yet were there di- M
uers gates and entrances which led vnto it: whereof one broad ſtrait ſtreet came directly from the Eaſt gate vnto the caſtle and middle of the city; the reſt were ſo narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillery could poſſibly be brought, or ſoldiers enter without great danger. Into this place eſpecially had *Tomombeius* conueied his chiefeſt ſtrength; for that he knew his

enemies

A enemies muſt of neceſſity come in that way for the largeneſſe of the ſtreets; the other part of the city he kept with leſſe garriſons. But the innermoſt part where the caſtle ſtood, was kept with a very great and ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſoldiers: that whitherſoeuer the clamor of the enemy or danger of the battell ſhould call, they might ſpeedily from thence come with reliefe. For why, that city of all other the greateſt, could not with ſo ſmall a power as *Tomombeius* then had, be in euery place and entrance ſufficiently defended: for within the circuit of Memphis (now called Caire) are contained three great cities, which joyned one to another with ſtragling bridges, make one city; wherof the greateſt and moſt populous, is at this day called new Caire. It lieth in length ſix miles, alongſt the riuer Nilus, from which it is equally diſtant a mile: the breadth thereof exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midſt thereof
B is a caſtle ſtanding vpon a little riſing ground, ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the city; more notable for the beauty and greatneſſe thereof, than for the manner of the fortification: for in it were many Princely gardens, a faire ſtreet with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yards and courts, with ſtately chambers opening euery way: the vtter part thereof was garniſhed round about with towers, fortreſſes, and beautifull battlements, from whence all parts of the city, the riuer Nilus running by, and the high Pyramides, were moſt pleaſantly to be ſeene. Not far from this Princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man, the water wherein deriued from the riuer Nilus, is on euery ſide incloſed with moſt ſtately buildings; and is a place of wonderfull pleaſure, when as a man ſtanding at a window may take both fiſh & foule, wherof there is in the lake great ſtore. Another lake there is far greater and fairer than this, in form
C of a triangle, in the vttermoſt part of this new city of Caire toward Bulach: it is filled at the riſing of Nilus by a great ſluce made of ſtone with yron floudgates, and being joyned to the great riuer by a broad channell, is able to beare ſmall boats and barges; wherein gentlemen for their diſport vſed to ſolace themſelues both by day and night in courting their miſtreſſes. The houſes were all gallantly built afront all about the lake, with porches garniſhed with open galeries, and paued with ſmooth marble euen to the brim of the lake: there the citizens in their more proſperous times vſed to row vp and downe in boats, and with pleaſant muſicke to delight the liſtening eares of the hearers. On the Eaſt ſide of this lake ſtood a moſt ſumptuous and ſtately pallace, the late work of queene *Dultibe* wife of the great Sultan *Caytbeius*, for manner of the building & inward beauty far exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleaſant
D place: for the wals gliſtered with red marble, and pargetting of diuers colors, yea, all the houſe was paued with checker and teſſeled worke; the windowes and gates were made of alablaſter, white marble, and much other ſpotted marble; the poſts and wickets of maſſie yuory, checkered with gliſtering black ebony; ſo curiouſly wrought in winding knots, as might eaſilier ſtay than ſatisfie the eies of the wondering beholder: neither was the furniture in it inferiour to the magnificence of the building, but ſuch as might fitly anſwer both a princes ſtate, and a womans quaint deſire. All which things ſhortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victory) carried to Conſtantinople; not ſparing the very wals, but plucking them down, ſo to take out the curious ſtones whole. Beſide the goodly buildings about that lake, in euery place of New Caire was to be ſeene the faire houſes of the chiefe Mamalukes, more commended for their
E commodiouſneſſe, than for the manner of their building. The reſt of the buildings of the city was but low, repleniſhed with the common ſort of baſe people. There are yet extant in diuers places of the city, three churches of the Chriſtians; wherof one is holden in greater reuerence than the reſt, for the fame of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the Virgin *Mary* flying the fury of *Herod*, to haue repoſed her ſelfe with her child *Chriſt Ieſus* the Sauiour of the World: another dedicated to the Virgin *Barbara*: and the third to S. *George*, which amongſt thoſe nations are of great fame. Vnto the city of New Caire, the city of Bulacha is joyned almoſt with continuall buildings. It is of an high and ſtately building, lying cloſe vnto the riuer Nilus, and was in Summer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other noble men, that they might at their pleaſure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous ri-
F uer. There land all the ſhips which come vp the riuer; yet the great meeting of the Merchants is at New Caire. On the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt Bulach, are many cottages made of hurdles and leaues of Date trees, the dwellings of poore fiſhermen and watermen. A little aboue Bulach is old Caire, which is alſo joyned vnto the new city with continuall buildings; yet diſtant from it about two miles and a halfe, and ſtandeth alſo faſt by the riuer Nilus.

Ouer against it in the midst of the riuer is an Island, notable for the pleasantnesse of the gar- G
dens and banqueting houses therin: in it is an antient temple, famous for the loue of king *Pha-*
raos daughter, and the danger of *Moses* (a most antient history, yet euery where there stil fresh
in memory.) But most part of the buildings of old Caire, are now grown into gardens and rude
ruins. It is supposed by many probable conjectures, that there somtime stood the antient city
of Memphis. Vpon the banke of the riuer, the late Sultan *Campson* built a sumptuous tower,
ouertopping the castle in new Caire, to conuey water thither out of Nilus; which being by
many wheeles and ingenious deuises forced into the top thereof, and there receiued into great
The pyramides of Ægypt. cisterns, was from thence by pipes of stone and lead, conueied into all places of the kings great
palace at new Caire. About fiue miles distant from old Caire on Affricke side, stand the Py-
ramides, monuments of the barbarous Ægyptian kings vanity; whose proud names and titles H
Time hath worne out of those huge and wonderfull buildings, of purpose made for the vaine
eternising of their fame and endlesse wealth; so that of them it may now well be said,

Miramur perijsse homines? monumenta fatiscunt:
Interitus saxis nominibusque venit.

What wonder we that men do die? the stately tomes do weare:
The very stones consume to nought, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the sepulchres of the old Ægyptian Kings, diuided into chappels, garni- I
shed with stone of great price curiously wrought. Yet are those places loathsome of smell, and
for darkenesse thereof, dreadfull to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a nar-
row way, almost swarued vp with rubbish, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe
of the earth and swarmes of remise flying about their eares. Some hauing got to the tops of
them, report, that the watch-tower of Alexandria, and the mouth of the riuer Nilus where it
falleth into the sea, is from thence well to be seene: and that for the great height of them, a
man cannot shoot an arrow so high as the midst of the lower tower wheron the spire standeth.
Of these outragious buildings are written many strange and almost incredible things, as that
an hundred thousand men should be occupied continually by the space of twenty yeares, in
building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike, and onions onely, K
amounted to 1600 talents of siluer. These wonderfull Pyramides only excepted, nothing is
in the three cities more to be wondred at than the multitude of the people, who in number
almost incredible go vp and downe euery street: but for most part ragged and torne, for that
they which held any wealth, durst not make any shew thereof for feare of the Mamalukes. The
common people did then generally liue with mutton, hens, and rise, whereof the country yeel-
deth plenty: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but vnwholesome forced
dishes, and prouocations of glottony, which other nations had to their great cost and hurt in-
uented. But againe to our purpose.

Selymus encouragеth his souldiers to the winning of Caire. When *Selymus* vnderstood assuredly, that *Tomombeius* was retired into Caire, and that the
Mamalukes hauing thither assembled all their strength, were resolued there to proue the vt- L
termost of their fortune: he with his army drew neerer vnto the city, exhorting his soldiers to
set downe themselues that day for euer to vanquish and subdue their enemies, whom they had
so many times before ouerthrowne; and now a little to force themselues for the gaining of
the rewards due to their former labors and victories: which (as he said) would be so many and
so great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderat desires imagined. Telling
them moreouer, that there was but a few good soldiers left with the desolat Sultan, who alrea-
dy wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keep the field, had made choice to end their
daies in the sight & arms of their wiues and children. Beside that, he made them beleeue, that
he was voluntarily sent for by the Ægyptians, deadly enemies vnto the very name of the Ma-
malukes, whose vtter destruction they earnestly expected: and had therfore promised him for M
the rooting vp of that wicked and cruell kind of men, to assaile them as occasion serued out of
their houses, and so to further his victory: yet neuertheles he said, that the accomplishment of
the whole matter, and to make a full conquest, consisted in the subduing of those weak remain-
ders of the vanquished and scattered army; forasmuch as they were not to be accounted as men

quite

A quite ouercome,which did yet liue in hope,with weapons in their hands,poſſeſſed of the chiefe city and ſeate of their Empire. Wherfore that they ſhould thinke,That in the fortune of that day,reſted the good or bad eſtate and condition of all their liues, honours,and fortunes. Aſſuring them,that it would be a matter but of ſmall labour and trauell, to bring it to a wiſhed end,if they would in that new kind of fight (as they had alwaies valiantly in other battels vnder his conduct)but reſolue with themſelues, that they would ouercome.

This is ſpeech much inflamed the minds of his ſouldiers, but the hope of ſo great a prey much more: ſo that being in good order and ready,they expected but the ſigne of the aſſault. When *Selymus* entering by the gate called Baſuela,did at one inſtant thruſt in his horſemen at diuers places of the great city; but his Ianizaries he brought in by the greateſt and largeſt
B ſtreet. At the firſt entrance of the City, horſemen encountred with horſemen, and made a bloudy fight in the narrow ſtreets and lanes: but the footmen placing their culuerins and falcons before, and ſuddenly diſcharging them where they ſaw the thickeſt troups of their enemies,cleered the ſtreet directly before them. But when they came to the barricado's and trenches, and were by force to remoue the timber-logs and other like things lying croſſe the ſtreets,and ſo to paſſe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other ſide vilantly withſtanding them; they fought with ſuch force and obſtinacy on both parts, that in the memory of man was neuer a more fierce and cruell battell ſeene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turks in that fight ſhewed the vttermoſt of their ſtrength and power: not ignorant, that in that, as in the laſt, they were to fight not for honour only, but euen for their liues and Empire; when as
C greateſt rewards, or elſe extreame miſery, were by dallying fortune on both ſides propounded both to the vanquiſhed and vanquiſher. At theſe barricado's the Turks receiued great loſſe, as alſo at the trenches; for they vnaduiſedly running on, the hindermoſt ſtill bearing forward the foremoſt,tumbled by heapes one vpon another in the couert trenches, and were there miſerably impailed vpon the ſharpe ſtakes,for that purpoſe before ſet vp by the Mamalukes. The women alſo and children, with manly courage threw downe ſtones and tyles, and ſuch other things from the tops of their houſes,and out at their windowes, vpon the Turks: and they on the other ſide as they could eſpy them,fetcht them off from thoſe high places with their harquebuſies, or elſe violently brake into the houſes from whence they were aſſailed, and there fought with diuers ſucceſſe. But moſt part of the Ægyptians, diligently obſeruing the for-
D tune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection aſſailed ſometimes the Turks, and ſometimes the Mamalukes, ſeeming ſtill notably to helpe that part whom they ſaw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and moſt terrible incounters were at once made in diuers places of the city: for as they croſſed from ſtreet to ſteet,ſometime the one,and ſomtime the other hapned vpon new troups of enemies; and they which as victors purſued their enemies afront, were by others following them at the heeles, ſlain downe right;ſo that in the victory no man could aſſure themſelues of ſafety. The lanes and ſtreets(a moſt horrible thing to behold)did ſo flow with the bloud of them which lay by heaps ſlaine, that the duſt which at the firſt roſe wonderfull thicke, was quite layd, as with a plentifull ſhoure of raine:the aire was darkned with the ſmoke of ſhot,and ſhowers of arrows;
E and ſuch was the clamor of the people and ſoldiers,the clattering of armor, and report of the artillery,that the earth ſeemed to tremble,and the houſes to fall downe.

A moſt mortall battell fought in Caire.

This dreadfull and doubtfull fight endured two whole daies and nights without intermiſſion: yet ſo,that the Mamalukes in number few,and not able to endure ſo long labour and watchings, giuing ground by little and little, and forſaking their firſt munitions, retyred themſelues further into the city. The third day, beſet with the greateſt danger that could be, as to loſe themſelues with all that they had, (which commonly enforceth mens courages in their laſt attempts) they renewed the battell with ſuch reſolution, that they conſtrained the Turks to retire a great way,and for haſt to leaue behind them certaine of their fiield-pieces. With which repulſe it is reported,that *Selymus* diſpairing of victory,commanded to ſet fire vpon the
F houſes; moued thereunto with juſt diſpleaſure againſt the Ægyptians, for that *Ionuſes Baſſa*, now his greateſt man of war, had euen before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head, by a ſtone caſt out at a window.

A long and terrible fight.

Now were the houſes pittifully burning,and the Ægyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercy. The Turks themſelues fought but faintly, expecting the ſound of the retreat: when

newes was ſuddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other ſide of the city, G
were by *Muſtapha Baſſa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themſelues to flight, as
to their laſt refuge. For *Muſtapha* by the ouerture of the Ægyptians and fugitiue Mamalukes,
was directed to a faire broad ſtreet, where the Mamalukes had left their horſes ready ſadled
and bridled; that if the worſt ſhould chance, they might thither retire, and taking horſe, ſpeed
themſelues to ſuch places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All theſe horſes, reſer-
ued by the Mamalukes as their laſt refuge, *Muſtapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight
the garriſon which kept them, which was but weake, conſiſting for moſt part of horſe-boies,
and muletors; as ſafe enough in ſuch a place of the city as was leaſt to be ſuſpected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected miſchances) did not a
little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes: who now ſeeing themſelues hardly beſet, and that H
dreadfull battell by no other hope of helpe maintained, but only by courage; being in their
own judgements ouercome, betooke themſelues to flight. Moſt part of them haſting to the ri-
uer of Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his
proweſſe and policy) being tranſported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the country of Sege-
ſta: others of them hid themſelues in the houſes of the Ægyptians, and in the loathſome cor-
ners of the city. A thouſand fiue hundred of the better ſort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the
greateſt Temple of their vain Prophet: where after they had a great while valianlty defended
themſelues as out of a ſtrong caſtle, becauſe they would not yeeld themſelues but vpon hono-
rable conditions, at laſt ouercome with thirſt, wearineſſe, and wounds, together with the fury
Caire taken by Selymus. of the great artillery, they yeelded themſelues to the pleaſure of the conqueror: part of whom I
the furious ſoldiers ſlew in the porch of the ſame Temple, and the reſt within a few daies af-
ter were ſent downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murthered.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victory, forthwith ſent part of his army to quench the fire
then raging, and cauſed proclamation to be made thorow al the city, That all the Mamalukes
which would yeeld themſelues within twelue houres, ſhould be taken to mercy; but vnto ſuch
as yeelded not within the appointed time, ſhould remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Ægypti-
ans alſo that ſhould reueale the hidden Mamalukes, hee propoſed rewards: but to ſuch as
ſhould conceale them, he threatned to impaile them vpon ſtakes, and hauing ſold their wiues
and children, to burne their houſes: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes be-
fore crept into corners, came forth and yeelded themſelues, & were forthwith caſt into yrons. K
All which were ſhortly after, contrary to his promiſe, moſt diſhonourably murthered in pri-
ſon, (becauſe it was giuen out, they ſought means to haue eſcaped. Many of the Ægyptians
which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelity with the Mamalukes their old lords,
being appeached by their malitious neighbours, moſt conſtantly died for their friends, for
whoſe ſake they had vowed themſelues to death.

With this victory the Turks growing inſolent, ranſackt euery place of the city, drew out
the Mamalukes that had hid themſelues, and ſlew them, rifled the houſes of the Ægyptians,
as well friends as foes, and left nothing ſhut vp or in ſecret. And ſome there were, which at one
time in the ſame houſes raged with couetouſneſſe, cruelty, and luſt; euery man fitting his owne
humour, whereunto he was by nature or cuſtome inclined: for that in time and place of ſo L
great liberty, moſt men, but eſpecially the common ſouldier, flattereth himſelfe to the full,
making conſcience of nothing, but meaſuring all things according to his inſolent and diſor-
dered appetite. The ſame day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the
commandement of *Tomombeius*, was gone to Thebais, to aſſemble the Arabians and to enter-
taine new ſupplies) came to Caire; but finding all loſt, and ſeeing no poſſibility either by force
or policy to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of war,
which had ſo often with contrary courſe fruſtrated the endeuours both of himſelfe and his
partakers; he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the ſafety of himſelfe and his
followers (which were three Arabian captains, and a number of good horſemen) and being
admitted to his preſence, in the midſt of his greateſt captaines boldly ſpake vnto him as fol- M
loweth:

Gazelles his ſpeech to Selymus. *If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou haſt won to be thy friend, had not enuied our felicity, thou ſhouldeſt not haue (moſt noble* Selymus, *at this time, after that all things haue giuen place vnto thy valour)*

A *valour) matter whereby thou mightest excell others in worthinesse of mind also. Whilest we were in armes against thee for our liues and kingdome, our wealth and state yet standing whole, we alwaies as men proudly presuming vpon their owne vaine strength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turks; yea, to say the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that we haue to the vttermost of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worse; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine prowesse, and most prosperous victories (not giuen thee without the prouidence of the immortall God) we humbly come vnto thee, by thy goodnesse to better our hard and aduerse fortune: that thou by sparing and pardoning thy vanquished and yeelding enemies (by which only vertue men come neerest vnto the gods) maiest extend thy name and fame aboue the bounds of the rest of thine immortall glory. We haue faithfully serued* Tomombeius, *so long as he held the strength and majesty, yea, but the*
B *name of a King, or liued in any countenance: but seeing he is (his destiny so requiring) driuen out of his country, and wandreth the deserts, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; we come vnto thee, rather as men of him forsaken, than such as haue forsaken their Prince; ready to shew vnto thee our loyalty and valour in our better condition and state: if we may by thy goodnesse, changing our hard fortune, liue and serue vnder thy worthy conduct.*

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valor, wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greatest enemies, and also desiring to ioine in league & friendship with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be most to be feared, receiued them all courteously: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pensi-
C on, and persuading them to forget their old estate, willed them to looke for far greater things of his bounty. Not long after, when as the Moores and wilde Arabians, with certaine Mamalukes that were fled to the city of Achasia, made incursions into the country about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turks which went any thing far from the city to seeke abroad for forrage, he sent *Gazelles* with part of his army to represse them: who hauing quickly won and sackt Achasia, and slaine most part of those aduenturers, to his owne great praise, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in lesse time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the country of Segesta (which is on the other side of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miserably beset with so many mischieses, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a strong company of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which he had
D by letters sent for out of the garrison of that city, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongst the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that country) which promised him their help and furtherance. Beside that, many of the Ægyptians whose houses and families were become a prey and booty vnto the insolent Turks, promised him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raise such a tumult in the city, as should easily worke the confusion of the Turks; forasmuch as they all hauing endured most horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide those most insolent men to rage and reigne ouer them. They sent him word also, that the Turks huge army was now brought to a contemptible number, most part of them being slaine in the battell at Caire: and the rest being for the greatest part brought to extreame weakenesse with
E wounds and sickenesse. For which causes as *Tomombeius* his forces increased daily, so hope also, which neuer faileth the poore vanquished and distressed king, began now also to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miserable estate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then most cruelly and despightfully went about vtterly to supplant him (of all other distressed Princes most miserable) seemed but then first to change her frowning countenance, and to promise vnto him most happy and prosperous successe.

Albuchomar discouereth to Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the trechery of them of Caire.

Whilest *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Ægyptian, for authority and wealth the greatest man by far in all the country of Segesta, whether it were to auert the misery of the present war out of his country; or else by the pleasure of his reuolt to gaine the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things seemed to fawne, came and certified him both
F of *Tomombeius* his strength, and of the new practises of the citizens of Caire. Whereupon *Selymus* caused strong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great city: and such citizens as he suspected to fauour *Tomombeius*, he shut vp in the castle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the city in his possession: and placed all alongst the Riuer, boates furnished with men and artillery, to keepe and defend the farther banke

of

of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his passage ouer. Yet considering with himselfe, with how great danger he had so many times fought with those desperat enemies, and what a difficulty it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (protracting the war in those vast and vnknowne countries, and still preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing assure himselfe of all his former victories) to proue if he might be won by clemency and bounty, he resolued to send Embassadours vnto him, to perswade him to lay downe armes, and after so many ouerthows, at last to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promise him vpon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and submit himselfe, he should of the courtesie and bounty of the conquerour, vpon conditions reasonable repossesse that his late kingdome, which he should neuer be able by force to regaine. But if he would needs desperatly proceed to make head againe, forgetting his offered grace, together with his owne disability, he should afterward when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne just desert neuer more find at the hands of his angry enemy, any regard of his princely state or dignity.

The causes mouing Selymus to send Embassadors to Tomombeius.

For *Selymus* seeing himselfe by the course of his victories drawne into a far country, and not without cause fearing with so small power as he had left, to be oppressed in that so great and populous a city, euen with the very multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by some honorable composition to assure himselfe of some great part of that he had won, than by going on, to thrust himselfe with his army into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Besides that, he was certainly aduertised, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in euery place leuying new supplies of horsemen: and that the fleet which gone into the Arabian gulfe against the Portugals, was daily expected at the port Suezzia, wherein were three thousand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyrases* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert captains, with great store of good brasse ordnance: by which good helps *Tomombeius* stood in faire possibility to recouer his former losses, and to returne againe to Caire, whither he was by his secret friends most earnestly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Persians most induced him to thinke of peace: for feare that if the Bassa whom he had left at the mountaine Taurus, should not be able to withstand the forces of the Persian King, he should so be excluded out of Asia the lesser, and Syria also, before his fleet could from Constantinople arriue with new supply of men and victuall at Alexandria.

Selymus his embassadors slaine by the Mamalukes.

Wherefore he sent certaine of the most reuerend of his Turkish Religious, and with them some of the most honourable Ægyptians, Embassadors to *Tomombeius:* who passing ouer Nilus, into the country Segesta, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous cruelty slaine by certaine Mamalukes which chanced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any such matter, and to manifest their affection towards him, as also that they were not desirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and insolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and shortly after made an end of that mortall war, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when he was nothing at all moued, could by no meanes brooke that his enemies, so often vanquished and put to flight, should so lightly reject his offers vnto them as the case stood, both honorable and profitable; and that worse was, violate his Embassadors against the law of Nations, most religiously kept euen amongst the most barbarous and sauage people. Wherfore prouoked by so great an injury, he carefully prouided for all things necessary for his expedition into Segesta against *Tomombeius*. And because it stood not with his honour (as he tooke it) nor with the good of his present seruice, to passe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the small vessels and lighters he could possibly, made thereof a large and strong bridge ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius vnderstanding by his espials, and from his friends at Caire, of the preparations of *Selymus*, and of the bridge he had made; fearing also the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably suspected to be alienated from him, by the reuolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of so great power and authority amongst them; determined once againe to proue the fortune of battell, which had so often deceiued his expectation. For he justly measuring of his own strength, and finding himselfe in all things inferior to his mighty enemy, well saw that he was neither able to protract the war, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to fly further into the desarts, was as he deemed it, nothing else but to make shipwrack of that small remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherfore by the aduice of his best captains (which

A (which was the laſt indeuor both of himſelfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the prouince of Segeſta with foure thouſand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermiſſion to come to the riuer Nilus. By that deſperat attempt to deceiue the Turks, ſuſpecting no ſuch thing from their vanquiſhed and weake enemy: as alſo by celerity to preuent the fame of his comming; hoping ſo by his ſudden and vnexpected approch to ouerthrow that part of the Turks army which ſhould firſt paſſe the riuer, before they could poſſibly be relieued from the other ſide. Neither was he deceiued in the computation of the time, which he hauing before exactly caſt, with the maner of his trauell, fell out ſo fitly, that he came to the place he deſired, euen at ſuch time as the Aſian horſemen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before gueſſed. The harbengers and pages
B of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone ſomething further than the reſt, to make choice of the moſt commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors pauillion; by the riſing of the duſt, firſt perceiued the comming of the enemy: and *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa aduertiſed thereof, ſuddenly raiſed an alarum: which ſo vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were already paſt ouer, and alſo on them that were on the further ſide of the riuer.

Tomombeius preſently aſſailing his enemies, as yet but putting themſelues in order, and repairing to their enſignes, at the firſt onſet ſlew ſuch as made reſiſtance, and the reſt he diſcomfited & put to flight. Neither was *Muſtapha* the great commander (although he did what poſſibly he could, by his owne example to haue incouraged them) able either by his owne inuincible courage or other perſuaſion, after his firſt ranks were ouerthrowne, to repaire his diſorde-
C red battel, or ſtay the flight of his men: for in that ſo hot and ſudden a skirmiſh all was full of tumult, ſlaughter, doubtfulneſſe, and feare; and all alongſt the banke of the riuer, both aboue and beneath the bridge, were to be ſeen fearfull companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other ſide for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemy, tooke the riuer and there periſhed: others ſtriuing at the end of the bridge, to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes or others continually ſent from the further ſide, or elſe amaſed with feare, fell into the riuer, and were there drowned: the bridge was ſo broad, that foure horſmen abreſt might eaſily paſſe ouer at once, and ſo great numbers of them in ſhort ſpace be conueied ouer. But when the great ordnance (the Turks chiefe ſtrength) was alſo to be tranſported, fewer troups of horſemen were ſent ouer, than either the greatneſſe
D of the preſent danger, or ſuddenneſſe of the chance required. Neither did their great artillery as then ſtand them in any ſtead, for that it could neither be ſo ſpeedily conueied ouer, nor without great hurt be diſcharged from the hither banke to the further, by reaſon of their own men ſtanding betweene them and the enemy.

Tomombeius diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the bridge made ouer Nilus.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmiſh came downe to the riuers ſide, filled a great number of boats, and other ſmall veſſels with his Ianizaries with their harquebuſies, and withall haſted his horſemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes diſtreſſed on the further ſide: in which boats the nimble watermen vſed ſuch diligence in landing of ſome, and preſently in fetching ouer of others, that in ſhort time they had tranſported diuers bands of thoſe moſt ready and valiant ſoldiers: whoſe comming wonderfully comforted the
E Aſian ſoldiers, euen now at the laſt caſt, and ready to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglis* alſo, the Tartar kings ſon, and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horſemen to take the riuer, with loſſe of ſome few of his men recouered the further ſide, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that nation was not ſo much to be maruelled at, as they which by troups with their horſes had oftentimes ſwam ouer the great riuers Taurus and Volga, no leſſe dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

Tomombeius at the ſame time, for that he ſaw ſpeedy victory to conſiſt in one thing eſpecially, ſerring his troups together, ſtrained himſelfe with might and maine, to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away ſome few of the firſt boats, he might ſhut in his enemies already come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were faſtened to the
F banke, all the bridge with the Turks vpon it, might be borne away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon riſe a moſt cruell and deadly fight, for the reſolute Mamalukes in the front of the battell fought valiantly: and *Muſtapha* well conſidering the danger, had drawn to that place both his enſignes & his beſt ſoldiers: ſo that there was fought ſuch a fight, as a matter of ſo great conſequence required: the Mamalukes plainly ſeeing, that if they could

obtaine

obtaine the place, they ſhould ſhortly after with little ado, ouerthrow all the former victories G
of their enemies. And the Turks no leſſe ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but loſt men that were already come ouer; and that the reſt of the army together with their Emperor ſo far from home, and in the midſt of his enemies, muſt of neceſſity ſhortly after run the ſame fortune. But *Muſtapha* well relieued by the Ianizaries and the Europeian horſmen, which were now come ouer in great number, not onely receiued his enemies charge, but preſſing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire. This is that *Muſtapha* the Hungarian, and *Bajazet* his ſon in law, which for his owne glory and perpetuall fame, built that notable, ſtately, and ſumptuous ſtone bridge (of the ſpoiles of this victory) ouer the riuer Stremon, which at this day men paſſing ouer into Thracia, wonder at, as at a worke beſeeming the greatneſſe of the Roman Empire. H

Tomombeius, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamalukes, who, their horſes for wearines now fainting vnder them, were not able longer to ſhew their wonted courage; and deſirous by them again to proue the vttermoſt fortune of the battell, exhorted the Moores & Arabians, a while to charge the enemy, which thing they after the maner of their fight valiantly performed: and ſhortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themſelues & their horſes, came in afreſh and renewed the battell; with ſuch fury that *Selymus* doubting the victory (although he was by his moſt faithfull counſellors perſuaded to the contrary) yet doubted not to aduenture the bridge, and in perſon himſelfe to go and relieue his diſtreſſed ſoldiers: who by his comming in, encouraged, and in the ſight of their Emperor deſiring euery man for his part by ſome notable ſeruice to deſerue both credit and preferment, repreſſed the fury of the enemy; who in I
ſhort time after, by the comming on of certain freſh companies of Ianizaries, were notably repulſed, and ſo at length put to flight: whom the horſmen which were not in the battell, purſued all the fields ouer. At length alſo the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the ſtream, were ſomwhat long before they could recouer the farther bank and come to their enemies) were now come in alſo, and with their ſwift horſes following the chaſe, augmented the ſlaughter. But *Selymus* aboue all things deſirous of *Tomombeius*, preſently commanded *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, *Gazelles*, and *Cayerbeius*, with certaine freſh troups of light horſemen to purſue him at the heeles, and if it were poſſible not to ſuffer him to eſcape: for ſo long as he liued, he could not aſſure himſelfe of any thing he had yet gotten. Theſe vigilant captains not vnmindfull of their charge, followed faſt after him, ouertooke him the next day at the ſluce of a K
great deepe fen, where he had a little reſted himſelfe and his followers, being then about to cut off a woodden bridge, ſo to haue hindered the enemies purſuit. Some of his followers being there ſlaine, and ſome taken, he was againe inforced to fly. The third day when he had almoſt loſt all his men, and was come with ſome few into the territory of the Secuſſan Prince, theſe great captaines ſtill eagerly purſuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore country people which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extremities and tortures, if they did not with moſt diligent watch and ward ſo keep the paſſages of thoſe mariſhes, as that he ſhould not poſſibly eſcape; he was ſo beſet on euery ſide, that for ſafegard of his life he was glad to hide himſelfe all alone in a foule deepe mariſh: where ſhortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent
Tomombeius taken & brought to Selymus. ſearch of the country peaſants found out, hidden among the flags & bulruſhes, ſtanding in the L
water vp to the ſhoulders, who deliuered him miſerably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after, he with certaine captains and other of his chiefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to Caire. *Selymus* before reſolued to put him to death, and the rather for the injury done to his
Tomombeius tortured. Embaſſadors, would not ſuffer him to come into his preſence, but commanded him to be tortured, ſo to haue cauſed him to haue reuealed the great treaſures of *Campſon* his predeceſſour, which were thought to haue bin by him hidden: in which moſt horrible and exquiſit torments it is reported, that he with great conſtancy & ſterne countenance vttered nothing but certain deep ſighes and grones, ouercomming with patience the tyranny of the proud conqueror: who after that, commanded him in baſe and ragged apparell, with his hands bound behind him, as a theefe or murtherer condemned to die, to be ſet vpon a foule leane cammell, & ſo to be caried in deriſion through al the publike & notable places of the city; that the Ægyptians might M
ſee him, whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by chance of fortune caſt into extream miſery, by moſt ſhameful death to end both his life & empire together: when they had thus deſpightfully led him as it were in triumph, & brought him to the chiefe gate of the

city

The Mamalukes giue a freſh charge vpon the Turks.

The Mamalukes put to flight.

A city called Baſuela, they there openly ſtrangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better ſeene, and become more contemptible to all that paſſed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the ſame gate, and ſo left him to the Worlds wonder. *Palearius* propounding him as a mirror both of the better and worſe fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly deſcribeth both his happineſſe and miſery in theſe few verſes following:

The miſerable end of Tomombeius laſt Sultan of Ægypt.

TOMOMBEIVS, THE LAST Sultan of Ægypt.

Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum Illuſtr.

Non fuit in toto, Rex æquè Oriente beatus:
Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miſer,
Quam dolor Ægypti, olim Tomombeius, *auro*
Ingenti, atque armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoſte fero, miſerum ſimul atque beatum,
Exemplo potis eſt, commonuiſſe ſuo.
Quid rides temerè? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
Et natum poſthac te meminiſſe hominum?
Mitra heum induto, gemmis auroque corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

Mi quandam ornabant pretioſa monilia collum,
Nunc, fractam vili reſpice funegulam.

In Engliſh thus:

In all the Eaſt a King more bleſt was no where to be found,
Nor in the Eaſt one more accurſt liv'd not vpon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, Ægypts griefe, ſometime for ſtore of gold,
Of power great for martiall force, and kingdome he did hold.
But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be
Both to the happy and diſtreſt, of mans vncertainty.
Why do'ſt thou fondly laugh? Why do'ſt thou vainly crie?
Canſt thou from henceforth ſtay thy ſelfe, and thinke th'art borne to die?
My garments were the royall robes, I wore the crowne of gold,
With richeſt ſtones moſt richly ſet, moſt glorious to behold:
My necke adorn'd with richeſt gems which I did ſomtimes weare:
But now truſt vp in ſhamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

The Egyptians in doubt of their eſtate, bewaile the death of Tomombeius.

This miſery befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of Aprill, in the yeare 1517, vpon the Munday in Eaſter weeke. There were many which ſhed teares to behold that ſo cruell and lamentable a ſpectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation ſeemed to deteſt that I foule and vnworthy death of their late Sultan: notwithſtanding that the Ianizaries reproued them therefore, and threatned them with death, who like giddy braind fooles (as they termed them) enured to the ſlauery of the Mamalukes, joyfully and thankefully accepted not of their deliuerance; for the Ægyptians were as yet vncertaine of their eſtate, and therefore as men in ſuſpence (not without cauſe) ſtood in doubt what ſhould become of themſelues: fearing leſt the Turks, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the Princes of Europe and Aſia, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, ſhould with no leſſe inſolency rage and tyranniſe ouer them, vnder their warlike and cruell Emperor. Beſides that, the wofull ſight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the vnworthy ſcorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet freſh in remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and generall fauour K of the nobility, with good fame riſe vp all the degrees of honor both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignity; and therefore grieued the more to ſee him by ineuitable deſtiny caſt downe headlong, ſo ſhamefully to end his life and Empire together. A notable ſpectacle vndoubtedly amongſt the rareſt examples of worldly fragility, both to the happy and vnfortunat: the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themſelues in their greateſt bliſſe: and the other, to learne thereby with patience to indure the heauy and vnworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miſerable World. And ſo much the more did *Tomombeius* ſo hanging moue men to compaſſion, for that the majeſty of his tall and ſtrong body, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoary beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignity and martiall diſpoſition. The ſame fortune with *Tomombeius* ran alſo diuers of the Princes of the L Mamalukes, with ſome others of the common ſort alſo.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almoſt ſlaine, and no power of the enemy to be heard of in all Ægypt to renew the war: *Selymus* diuiding his forces, ſent them forth with his captaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of Ægypt lying further off. They of Alexandria after the battel at Caire hauing thruſt out the garriſon, and eaſily ſurpriſed the caſtle of Pharus (which the weake defendants choſe rather vpon the hope of preſent reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull euent to defend) yeelded themſelues many daies before vnto the Turks. Damiata alſo, called in antient time Peluſium, opened their gates, and ſubmitted themſelues to the victors. There was no city betwixt the riuer of Nilus and the borders of Iudea and Arabia, which yeelded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The Kings alſo of M Affricke bordering vpon Cyrenaica, tributaries or confederats of the Ægyptian Sultans, ſent their Embaſſadors with preſents to *Selymus*.

There remained none now but the wild Arabians (a people neuer to be tamed) and eſpecially they of Affricke, who hauing loſt many of their friends and kinſmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would

A would not(as it was thought)ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turkiſh obedience. This wandring kind of people,liuing for moſt part by theft,had filled the countries from Euphrates,where it runneth by the Palmyrens,with all the inner parts of Ægypt and Affrick vnto the Atlanticke ſea,with huge multitudes of men: and being diuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders haue no certain dwelling places, but liue an hard and frugall kind of life in tents & waggons,after the manner of the Tartars: their greateſt wealth is a good ſeruiceable horſe,with a launce or a bundle of darts: they were alway at diſcord and variance amongſt themſelues, by reaſon whereof they could neuer agree for the expulſing of the Mamalukes, who otherwiſe had not bin able to haue ſtood againſt them, if they ſhould haue ioined their forces together. So that the late Ægyptian Sultans ſeemed to hold their ſtate and empire among ſo populous
B a nation, rather by their diſcord than their owne ſtrength: wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by fit men, vpon his faith before giuen, allured many of their chieftaines and great commanders to Cair,honorably both entertained and rewarded them. By whoſe example others mooued, came alſo in daily,and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue their Oath of Allegeance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no fair promiſes or words be won, being cunningly intercepted by other captains,and deliuered to *Selymus*,indured the pains of their vain obſtinacy and malice. The other remote Nations toward Ethiopia, as they had in former time rather acknowledged the friendſhip than the command of the Egyptian Sultans;ſo now induced with the fame of the victory,eaſily joined in like amity with the Turks.

Selymus cunningly reduces the Arabians to his obedience

About the ſame time *Selymus* ſent certain troups of horſmen to Suezzia, a port of the red
C ſea (of old called Arſinoë) about three days journey from Cair; in which port *Campſon* the great Sultan(a little before the comming of the Turks) had with infinit charge and 4 yeares trauel built a ſtrong fleet againſt the Portugals,who by their conqneſts in India had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian merchandiſe into the Gulf of Arabia,to the great hinderance of the Egyptian Kings cuſtoms: ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkiſh wars) *Campſon* had appointed one *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon* Generalls, with a ſtrong power of Mamalukes and great ſtore of ordnance againſt the Portugals. Theſe valiant Captains hauing yet don nothing in the ſeruice they were appointed vnto; as they lay at Gidda, (the port of the famous city of Mecha,wherin is the temple of their great prophet *Mahomet*) vnderſtanding of the death of *Campſon*,and of the comming of *Selymus* into Egypt, fell at vari-
D ance betwixt themſelues,one of them beeing willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan,and the other no leſſe deſirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Whereupon a mutiny ariſing among the ſoldiers, *Amyraſes*,who fauored *Tomombeius*,was inforced to fly to Mecha: but ſhortly after,*Ray Salomon* requiring to haue him,and threatning all hoſtility except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of Mecha (fearing to haue Gidda their port ſpoiled) and ſo ſent back again to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*,that he might be Admirall alone,his aſſociat being taken out of the way, and by ſome notable fact to inſinuat himſelf into the fauor of the Conqueror, cauſed *Amyraſes* in the night to be caſt ouerbord,and giuing to the ſoldiers two months pay,and ſwearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*,in few days ſailing came back again to Arſinoë;where leauing the fleet,he came directly
E himſelf to *Selymus* at Cair,of whom he was gratiouſly receiued. After that, all the Princes that were before tributaries or confederats to the late Sultans of Egypt,euen to the confines of *Dauid* the moſt mighty King of Ethiopia (whom ſome call *Presbyter Iohn*) without delay entred into the like ſubjection or confederation with the Turks.

Egypt with al the prouinces therunto belonging,thus brought into ſubjection,*Selymus* about the beginning of Iuly ſailed down the riuer of Nilus to Alexandria (*Cortug Ogli* a famous pyrat of Halicarnaſſus ſitting at the helm of his gally) there to take view of his Fleet, but lately come from Conſtantinople with new ſupplies both of men and victuals, ſent from *Pyrrhus Baſſa* and his ſon *Solyman*: which after he had wel ſurueyed, and diligently viewed the wals of the city,and of the caſtle of Pharos, he returned again to Cair. In the mean time the
F Mamalukes in durance at Alexandria, were by his commandement murthred euery mothers ſon, in the entrance of the priſon. At which time alſo aboue fiue hundred families of the nobleſt & richeſt of the Egyptians were commanded to remoue from Cair to Conſtantinople, and a great number of women and children,of the race of the Mamalukes, were tranſported thither alſo in ſhips hired for that purpoſe. Into this fleet beſides the Kings treaſure and

Of this Cortug-Ogli ſee more in the life of Solyman.

riches,he conueyed all the priuat and publique ornaments of that moſt rich and famous city, G
with ſuch a couetous and greedy deſire of ſpoil,that the very marble ſtones, commended either for the excellencie of the workmanſhip, or beauty of the ſtone, were violently rent out of the main walls,to his great reproch and infamy. Lying at Cair,he with great pleaſure beheld the riſing of the riuer Nilus, which had then ouerflowed the Countrey next vnto it; and that with ſuch a deſire, that he moſt curiouſly inquired of the old Countrymen the meaſure and nature of the riuer;for by the diuerſitie of the riſing therof(which they by certain marks and meaſures wel find out)they prognoſticat ſomtime abundant plenty,ſometime extreame dearth,and ſomtime reaſonable ſtore:when as the violent riuer moderately or furiouſly breaking out,ſomtime ſo drownes the greateſt part of the country, that all the ſeed ſeaſon it lieth vnder water;and at another time floweth ſo ſparingly,that in many places it ſcarſe layeth the H
duſt,therby foreſhewing an vndoubted dearth. So that the Egyptians then aſſure themſelues of plenty, when as Nilus keeping a mean, pleaſantly riſeth neither to the higheſt nor loweſt marks of his inundation.

The Mamaluke kingdom,together with the name of the Mamalukes thus ouerthrown,and the conqueſt of Egypt ſo happily atchieued, *Selymus* reſolued to make his return into Syria; and the rather,for that it was reported, That *Hyſmael* the Perſian King was comming with his army into Meſopotamia,and ſo like enough to break into Comagena. Wherfore hauing as he thought good diſpoſed of all things,he left a garriſon of his beſt ſouldiers at Cair, and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable traitor his Deputy and great Commander ouer all that great
The Traitour Caierbeius made gouerner of Cair and Egypt.
and new gotten kingdom of Egypt,now conuerted into the form of a prouince, as it remains I
at this day. Which honorable preferment ſo vnworthily beſtowed,exceedingly both grieued and troubled the great Baſſa *Ionuſes*, before inflamed with the hope and iuſt deſire therof: for now that *Sinan Baſſa* was dead,hee puffed vp with the eſtimation of his own worth and valour, and proud of the wound hee had lately receiued in the preſence of *Selymus* at the entring of Cair,and to the vtmoſt of his power ſuffering no man to grow neer him in credit and eſtimation,thought himſelf the only man now left,to whom of all others that eſpecial and honorable charge ſhould in the jndgment of *Selymus* and of the whole Army of right be committed. Neither wanted he the general good liking of the men of war; for immediatly after he was recouered of his wound,when he in the moſt magnificent houſe of the Diadare at Cair(which he in the victory had rather of himſelfe vſurped, than by the gift of *Selymus* obtained) daily K
kept princely cheer for all commers(no ſmall means to gain the loue of the common ſouldiers)and gaue frankly to them all; to ſome horſes,to ſome beautiful ſlaues,to ſome money, plate,jewels,rich garments,fair armor,and ſuch like;he won vnto himſelf ſuch fauor and credit,that wherſoeuer he ſhould(as the maner was)go to the caſtle vnto the Emperour, he was brought thither with a great and goodly train of his fauorits and followers, as a man in all mens iudgements aſſigned vnto the gouernment of that great and rich kingdom. All which things highly offended the mind of *Selymus*, who as he was apt to ſuſpect,and cruel where he feared; ſo did he alſo in ſecret enuy great vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

Ionuſes ſeeing *Cayerbeius* the Traitor thus vnworthily promoted, ouercome with griefe and L
Ionuſes enuies at Cayerbeius his preferment.
indignation(who as a man of a proud and haughty mind took it as don to his owne diſgrace) yet colouring his inward diſcontentment by counterfeiting himſelf ſicke,for certaine dayes came not abroad: neuertheles ſtill more and more tormented both with the injurry (as hee took it) don vnto himſelf, and the vnworthy preferment of the Traitor,hee could not ſo well contain himſelf, but that in his choler ſome words fel from him,wherby his diſcontentment was perceiued. It hapned that *Cayerbeius* comming in curteſie to viſit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drink (which was water and ſugar after the maner of the Egyptians) immediatly after he had drunke, felt ſuch grieuous and vnwoonted gripings and tormentings in his ſtomack and belly,that many ſuppoſed him to haue bin poiſoned by the Baſſa: yet was he by the power and vertue of a more ſoueraign and effectuall remedy preſerued. M
Which report,whether it were true or no was vncertain,but certain it is that it did ſinke further into the mind of *Selymus* than any man would haue thought. He had alſo but a little before been informed, That many of thoſe rich Egyptian Families which hee had before commanded to be remooued to Conſtantinople,had for great ſums of money obtained of *Ionuſes*

(who

A (who had the whole ordering of the matter) that they might quietly and in safety remain stil in their own country. Of which his couert dealing great probabilitie was alledged by such as repined at his honor; and secretly accused him, that those princelike and excessiue charges and expences, which he was not able possibly to maintain of his ordinary pension, were royally supported with the imbeselled spoil and reuenues of that new gotten kingdom. Which malicious suggestions, as they tended to the lightening of his credit, so also another crime, (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further respect, is vncertaine) comming in the neck of another, wrought his vtter disgrace and finall confusion: for *Selymus* after the manner of great princes (who more seuerely to punish the former offences, notably dissembling their present anger, expect but the occasion of some new crime) with vigilant eie
B waiting vpon his words and deeds, prosecuted him with a mortall and deadly hatred, with full purpose to destroy him.

Selymus commands the wages of his soldiers to be left in garison at Cair to be augmented.

A few daies before it was certainly reported, that *Selymus* would again returne into Syria, the soldiers appointed to be left in garrison at Cair, alledging the great distance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labor by them already endured, requested of the bounty of their most fortunat Emperour, that they might haue their wages augmented. Which thing *Selymus* (neuer spare handed to his men of war) easily granted; commanding *Ionuses* the stately Bassa, that the sum they required might be added to their accustomed wages, and so entred into his accounts for the wars. But he caried headlong with discontent, made neither the treasurers nor pay-masters acquainted with any such matter as *Selymus*
C had before commanded: of purpose that the garrison souldiers deceiued of their greater wages promised them by their Emperor, might euen at the first begin to hate and contemn *Cayerbeius*, as author of so great an injury, that so the state of Cair, and of that new gotten Kingdom, disquieted by the mutinie of the garison soldiers, *Selymus* inforced to change his former purpose, should in stead of that strange gouernor (hated of the Egyptians for his late treason, and not beloued of the garrison souldiers, because he was vnto them a stranger) of necessity send some of his own Bassa's, a Turke, for the better stay and assurance of that wauering and mighty prouince. But al these things (as commonly wicked purposes haue their foul euents) fel out in fine far otherwise than he had in his troubled mind before conceiued. For *Selymus* being departed out of Egypt, and now on his way almost as far as Ierusalem; the garrison sol-
D diers of Cair, the pay day being now come, and receiuing no more but their old accustomed wages, moued with that euil dealing (as contrary to the Emperors promise, and their generall expectation) began with more fury and rage than euer *Ionuses* had before imagined, openly and insolently to insult and threaten the treasurer and pay-masters, and with open mouth to rail vpon *Cayerbeius* their gouernor. With which so insolent and opprobrious speeches he astonied (as one not yet acquainted with the fashions of the Turks garisons) together with the pay-masters, in best maner they could excused themselues vnto the soldiers, requesting them not to think so hardly of them, who were altogether innocent in the matter, but with patience to vnderstand the truth of the cause; wherin if they should on their part finde any fraudulent or euil dealing, they craued no fauor, either refused any punishment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the
E pay-masters seeking by all means to auoid both the suspition and the present danger; and the mutinous souldiers no lesse hastning to find out by whom they were so abused, and to be therof reuenged, it was at last with much ado agreed, that trusty messengers should forthwith be sent vnto *Selymus* (who was not yet gon out of Iudæa) to vnderstand of him the truth of the matter.

These speedy messengers hauing with wonderfull celerity dispatched their journey, ouertook *Selymus* with his Army a little from Lariſſa in Iudæa: and admitted to his presence, orderly declared vnto him both the complaints of the souldiers, and the carefulnes of *Cayerbeius* and the pay-masters to excuse the matter, together with the danger they were in, with euery other accident whatsoeuer which had hapned since the time of his departure from the City
F of Cair. Which complaint so insenced the mind of *Selymus* with new passions of anger and choler, being already sore alienated with former displeasures, that he without further delay commanded *Ionuses Bassa* to be brought before him to answer the matter. Who although he were inwardly stricken with the guilt of his own conscience, and surprised with a deadly feare, which appeared in his colour as pale as ashes, seeing in the angry face and countenance

The answer of Jonuses Bassa.

of his soueraign the most certain tokens of his heauy displeasure: yet as he was a man of great G
spirit answered boldly, That he had forbidden the soldiers wages to be augmented, contrary to his Majesties command, not vpon any euil meaning to haue inuerted that mony to his own vse, neither therby to haue drawn any man of purpose into disgrace, as was by some his malicious enemies suggested; but for great reason, thereby to prouide for his Majesties Coffers, wonderfully emptied with those late wars: beside that, the constant report of new troubles like to arise out of Persia, gaue good occasion for him to spare vnnecessary charges. Wheras on the other side, as he said, the garrison souldiers were already inriched with the plentifull spoils of Egypt, and in a most goodly city possessed the houses and lands of the Mamalukes, feeding vpon the goods of the Egyptians, and had already receiued both greater pay & more bountiful rewards from him, than euer any souldiers had from any his predecessors the *Othoman* Kings: in which case if they were not past all modesty, they might well enough take it H
in good part, if they were somthing restrained in their vnreasonable requests. Hee alledged moreouer, That great Princes which retain their soldiers in reasonable pay in time of peace and war, ought somtime for warlike discipline to require of them a moderation of their desires; lest whilest they all striue with greedines for their priuat gaine, there want money afterwards in the common treasurie to maintain a greater and more necessary charge, wars still rising vpon wars: seeing no Commander, were he neuer so valiant or fortunat, euer did any great matter in wars, if he wanted coin, the most proper instrument and very sinues of War, answering to his other most heroical parts and sufficiencie. But as he was yet thus speaking, *Selymus* full of wrath and indignation interrupted him (for if he should haue suffered him in longer I
discourse to haue recounted his former deserts and worthy seruice don, as wel in the time of his father *Bajazet*, as of late euen in his own presence, he was like enough to haue had of them who were able to do most with him, intercessors for him) and so without further delay caused him euen there in his own presence to be executed: saying moreouer, that others who would arrogantly presume to prescribe vnto their Soueraigns what they had to do, should for euer after by the example of that most insolent seruant be admonished of their duty and condition. It is reported, that the soldiers in despight of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the vnworthy death of this so worthy a man. For he, beside his notable and rare valour, so many times to his great honour in sundry battels approued, had by the dexterity of his Grecian wit, comelines of personage, military eloquence, and gallant maner of liuing, so won the loue and fauour K
of all men, that there was few or none in all the Army which did not acknowledge himselfe some way indebted and beholden to him; and did therefore condemn the Emperors cruelty. They then began to tell, how *Mustapha* syrnamed *Caloger*, a man of wonderfull credit and authority both with *Bajazet* and himself, was in the heat of his fury slain without hearing. And in like maner of rage, old *Chendemus*, a man of greatest honor and integrity of life, and of al the chieftains which came out of the great Emperor *Mahomets* nursery the most skilful, had bin for his graue and wholsom counsel without cause murthred. Neither was then *Bostanges* his son in law forgotten; neither *Cherseogles* (the most honourable for the great place he held in court, and the mariage of *Bajazets* daughter; and the other a man of no lesse marke, being his great Admiral, and bearing himself high vpon his infinit wealth, but more vpon his wife, one L
of the daughters of *Selymus*) both which two noble Gentlemen, about two yeares before had their heads struck off, no man well knowing wherefore; and their dead bodies cast out at the Court gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miserable spectacle of their own misery & the Emperors cruelty. Yea, the remembrance of his old tyrannie (renued as it were with this late outrage) presented afresh vnto all mens eies the reuerend old Emperour *Bajazet* his father, with his two brethren *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, by right both called vnto the Empire before himself; with many other yong princes of the bloud, of great hope and expectation, who as all men knew, perished through the vnnaturall and execrable cruelty of this most mercilesse man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him; forasmuch as he without all
fear of God, or regard of worldly shame, accounted no practise wicked, or deuise detestable, M
that might serue for the better establishing of his kingdom: and had set down in his minde, (long before corrupted with ambition and tiranny) That it was far better for the assurance of his estate, to be feared of all, than beloued of many: and therfore spared no mans life of whom he had but the least suspition. Howbeit the seuerity by him vsed against this so great a man,

The death of the great Bassa Jonuses.

and

A and ſo gratious with the people,may in ſome ſort be excuſed,as iuſtly mooued thereunto by the preſumptuous & malicious dealing of the proud Baſſa vnder hand,contrary to the charge giuen him by his lord,to the perill of thoſe his great but late conqueſts both in Ægypt and Syria.

This great Baſſa whilſt he yet liued and flouriſhed in the court,in nothing ſo much offended the minds of the people(who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the cruelty by him ſhewed vpon the perſon of the fair lady *Manto* his beſt beloued wife. Who beeing a Greek born,and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, whereunto her louely conditions were alſo anſwerable,was by *Zebalia* her firſt husband(a man of great honor)carried with him into the wars,as his greateſt treaſure and chief delight. But he ſlain, and ſhee by misfortune
B falling into the hands of the Turks her enemies, remained ſo priſoner with them for a time; vntil that this great Baſſa *Ionuſes* ſhortly after(ſeeing her among the other Captiues there taken,ſo far to exceed the reſt as doth the Sun the leſſer ſtars)ſurpriſed with her incomparable beauty,became of her amorous; and in too curious viewing of the captiue Lady, was by her himſelf taken priſoner. Where finding her outward perfections no leſſe graced with inward vertues,and her honorable mind anſwerable vnto her rare feature, took her vnto his wife, honoring her far aboue all the reſt of his wiues and concubins; and ſhe again in all dutiful loyalty ſeeking to pleaſe him,for a time liued in all worldly felicity and blis, not much inferior to one of the great Sultaneſſes.But long laſteth not the ſummer fruit of wanton loue,blaſted moſt time in the bloſſom,and rotten before it be wel gathered : for in ſhort time the Baſſa
C more amorous of her perſon,than ſecured in her vertues, and after the maner of ſenſuall men, ſtil fearing leſt that which ſo much pleaſed himſelf,gaue no leſſe contentment to others alſo; began to haue her in diſtruſt,although he ſaw no great cauſe why,more than his own conceit not grounded vpon any her euil demeanor,but vpon the exceſſe of his owne liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be euer purged) ſtill more and more in him increaſing,he became ſo froward and imperious,that nothing ſhe could ſay or do,could now ſo pleaſe or content him, but that he ſtil thought ſome one or other,although he wiſt not who, to bee therein partakers with him; ſo fearful was the jealous man of his owne conceits. Yet could he not chuſe but loue thoſe perfections,wherat he could not enough wonder, although hee found no contentment therin,tormenting himſelf,and her whom he ſo dearly loued,with his own paſſionat di-
D ſtruſt. Vntil at length,the fair lady grieued to ſee her ſelf thus without cauſe to be ſuſpected, and wearied with the inſolent pride of her peeuiſh husband, together with his imperious commands,determined ſecretly to depart from him, & ſo to return again into her own country. Which her purpoſe ſhe diſcouered to one of her Eunuchs,to whom ſhe had alſo deliuered certain letters to be by him conueied to ſuch of her friends, as whoſe helpe ſhe was to vſe in her intended flight:which letters the falſe eunuch opened,and for the more manifeſting of the matter,deliuered them vnto the Baſſa his maſter. Who therwith inraged,and calling her vnto him,forthwith in his fury, with a dagger ſtabd her to the heart and ſlew her:ſo together with the death of his Loue,hauing cured his tormenting jealouſies. The liuely counterfeits of theſe two notable perſonages thus vnworthily ſlain, the one by the imperious command of
E his Soueraign,and the other by the cruel hand of her husband, thou maiſt in the pages following behold,as they are by *Boiſardus* expreſſed.

Ionuſes Baſſa jealous of his fair wife Manto.

The faire Lady Manto cruelly ſlain by her jelous husband.

Rejice Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis
Quos confert : erit hic invidiosus honos.
Regna Tomombeo, Campson, *cum rege reliquit :*
Virtutis Selymus *dicit id esse tuæ.*

Reject the Sultans titles which proud Memphis doth thee show :
From such great honors oftentimes doth greatest dangers grow.
That *Campson* with great *Tomombey* lost both their state and fame,
Vnto thy valor *Selymus* doth yet ascribe the same.

Formam si ſpectes, nihil eſt formoſius iſte,
Pectoris & caſti gratia rara fuit.
Sed dum diſſimuli vixit malè iuncta marito,
Infelix miſera morte peremta iacet.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou doſt reſpect, thou canſt none fairer ſee,
Nor in whoſe chaſt and conſtant breſt could greater graces lie.
But whilſt miſmatcht, ſhe liv'd to mourn, inthral'd to jelous brain,
Vnhappy ſhe, with cruel hand was by her husband ſlain.

But leauing this great Baſſa with fair *Manto* vnto their reſt; his courſe thus run, to return again to *Selymus*, who now come into Syria, was by letters from the Himbracor Baſſa or Maſter of his horſe (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his Kingdom, to attend the motions of the Perſians) aduertiſed, That the Perſian preparations which had raiſed ſuch a hot rumor of wars in the beginning of Winter, was grown cold in the heat of ſummer; and that hee had ſeen in all the time of his abode in thoſe quarters, none but certaine ſtragling Companies, who made ſhew as if ſome greater power had beene comming, which had many times made ſudden roads into the Countrey, with whom he had ſundry times proſperouſly encountered: and

and it was generally reported by such prisoners as hee had taken, and by his owne espialls also, That *Hysmael* troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had conuerted the greatest part of his forces against those nations: so that winter drawing fast on, and deep snows already fallen vpon mount Taurus, he could not though he would that yeare look after Asia the lesse, or Syria. There were that reported, That the Tartars which dwel betwixt the two riuers Tanais and Volga, were by *Selymus* his procurement and mony set awork to keep *Hysmael* busied, by inuading the Iberians & Albanians which were vnder his protection: which thing he wrought by means of *Mahomet* his father in law, the Bosphoran King, who being of the same language and nation, by rewards easily induced the needy captains of the Tartars his friends and Confederats, to take vp arms against their neighbors. G

The cause why Hysmael inuaded not Selymus, wholy busied in the Ægyptian wars.

Many maruelled that *Hysmael* the Persian king neglected so fair an opportunity, whereby he might (as most men thought) haue thrust *Selymus* quite out of Asia and Siria, whilst he was thus busied in Egypt; yea and easily haue destroied him, shut vp with all his power, especially at such time as the Egyptian Sultans *Campson* and *Tomombeius* made so great resistance. But they which could better judge of the matter, saw that *Hysmael* was not of so great power and strength abroad as at home: for his army for most part consisted of gentlemen, or such as were by custom bound to serue him in his defensiue wars, voluntary men, and such as serued without pay. These, as they were the most valiant horsemen of the East, so did they with singular valor worthily defend the kingdom of Persia, and also as occasion required, make War with their neer neighbors: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withall, accounting it a grieuous thing to depart from their Wiues; vnto whom they are so addicted, that oftentimes they carry them with them into the wars: and being a wanton & fine kind of people, are not able without wages to draw after them, according to their accustomed maner, so many carriages and horses as might serue both for their necessary and wanton vses. With which difficulty the great King *Vsun Cassanes*, *Hysmaels* Grandfather by the mother, was much troubled in his wars against *Mahomet* the great. But was now much harder for *Hysmael* to do, for that he hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdom by the meer good wil of the people, easing them forthwith of their heauy impositions, did alwaies think the loue of his subjects (which is easily gotten by bounty and justice) the surest riches of his kingdom; and that to commaund only ouer the bodies and goods of his people, their hearts altogether alienated and lost by most heauy and grieuous exactions, seemed not the part of a gratious and natural prince, but of an outragious and momentary tyrant. Wheras *Selymus* on the contrary part, who had by force, mischiefe, and most detestable practises, stept vp into his fathers seat, had after the maner of the *Othoman* kings, reposed his greatest & most assured strength, in a seruile and mercinary kind of men, whom he might for pay, as his owne Creatures at his pleasure draw far from home, and as hee best liked lead them from place to place, and country to country, for the inlarging of his empire, and eternising of his name: and therfore according to the quality of his people, deemed true and ready power to consist only in mony, and the seuerity of his own command: wherby he had learned with most happy succes, in a short time to obscure all the victories of the former *Othoman* kings, with the greatnes of his own. H I K L

1518. All the winter following, *Selymus* staied with his army in Syria, spending his time in visiting the ports and cities of that prouince, and setting things in order for the better assurance therof. But vpon the approch of the spring, when he certainly vnderstood that by the procurement of Pope *Leo* the tenth, the Christian Princes were entered into consultation to make war vpon him, and that supplications with great solemnity were made for that purpose, and honourable Embassadours sent into all prouinces to stir vp the greatest kings of Christendome against him; he (leauing *Gazelles* his Lieutenant in Syria) by great journies returned to Constantinople: from thence as at hand to behold the deuices & motions of the Christian princes his enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to arise in the prouinces of Syria and Egypt, for asmuch as he wel saw, that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles* his Lieutenants, beeing at deadly hatred betwixt themselues, as wel for old grudges, as for the late treason of *Cayerbeius* (the greatest cause of the ruine of the Mamalukes Kingdome) would neuer agree together against him, but rather with a certaine emulation striue betwixt themselues with diligence, faithfulnes, and moderation, who should deserue best in wel gouerning the prouinces by him committed M

committed to their charge, as indeed they did during the short time of his reign.

Selymus being arriued at Constantinople, and purposing from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Christians, caused wonderfull preparation to be made for his wars, but especially at sea: wherby it was thought that he would haue either attempted the strong Island of the Rhodes (a great moat in his eye) or els some part of Italy. But whilst he was hatching this mischief, or some other of no lesse importance, and in the mean time delighted himself with visiting the cities of Græcia and Thrace, and solaced himselfe in the pleasant country about Hadrianople, he was suddenly attached with the hand of God, and strucken in the reins of his back with a canker: which melancholy and deuouring malady contemning all cure, did by little and little so eat and corrupt his body, as that he, before so much honoured, became now loathsome and odious both to himselfe and others. 1519. *Selymus purposing to inuade the Christians, is struck in the reines of his backe with a canker.*

As he lay thus languishing, his incurable disease stil increasing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Bassa, whom of all others hee most loued, said, *O Pyrrhus, I see I must shortly die without remedie.* Whereupon the great Bassa tooke occasion to discourse with him of many matters: and amongst others, that it would please him to giue order for the well bestowing of the great wealth taken from the Persian merchants in diuers places of his empire: perswading him to bestow the same vpon some notable Hospitall for relieue of the poore. To whom *Selymus* replyed, Wouldst thou *Pyrrhus*, that I should bestow other mens goods, wrongfully taken from them, vpon works of charity and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glory and praise? assuredly I will neuer do it: nay, rather see they be againe restored vnto the right owners. Which was forthwith done accordingly: to the great shame of many Christians, who minding nothing lesse than restitution, but making *ex rapina holocaustum*, do out of a world of euill gotten goods cull out some small fragments, to build some poore Hospital, or mend some blind way; a poore testimony of their hot charity.

Selymus lying thus sicke to death, and rotting aboue the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to Hadrianople, sent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greatest Bassaes, to prouide for the solemnising of the great feast, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and as it were their Easter) purposing to come after himselfe at leasure, as his weake body would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greatest Bassaes and priuy Counsellors. But such was the fury of his foule disease, continually attainting him with intollerable paines, that shortly after the departure of the other two Bassaes, he breathed out his cruell ghost, in the month of September, in the yeare 1520: neere vnto the city Chiurli, in the selfe same place where he had somtime most vnnaturally assailed his aged father *Bajazet*, with purpose to haue slaine him, had not the fortune of the old Emperour in a great battell preuailed both against his force and the treason of his owne people. Thus intending the mischiefe he could not performe, cut off by a lothsome and vntimely death, he to the great ioy of all Christendome ended his dayes, when he had liued six and forty yeares, and thereof reigned eight: which time of his reigne was nothing else but a most horrible and dreadfull time of bloudshed. His dead body was afterwards solemnly by his son *Solyman* buried in a new temple at Constantinople, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather, had for that purpose before built. Vpon his tombe is ingrauen in the Greeke, Turkish, and Sclauonian Tongues, this short Epitaph. 1520. *The death of Selymus.* *The iust iudgement of God.*

Hic maximus adsum Selymus, *qui orbem domui.*
Non bella relinquo sed pergo inquirere,
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euerterere:
Licet ossa jacent, animus quærit.

Phil. Lon. Tur. hist. tom. 1. l. 1.

In English thus:

Lo here I lie, great *Selymus*, which held the World in feare:
The World I leaue, but not the wars, which I seeke, though not here.
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could take from me the spoiles:
And though my bones lie buried here, my ghost seeks bloudy broiles.

He

Selymus before his death commends the tuition of his son Solyman vnto Pyrrhus Bassa.

He vsed commonly to say, That nothing was sweeter than to reign without fear or suspition of his kindred. A little before his death, he commended his son *Solyman* to *Pyrrhus Bassa*; streitly charging him, that after his death he should leaue the Persian, and turn his forces altogether vpon the Christians. And the more to insence him to the effusion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeit of himselfe hanging at his bed side, with sundry bloudy precepts breathing forth his cruel and vnmercifull disposition. G

Tabulæ Epigraphe.

Soldanus Selymus Othomanus, *Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum, Princeps omnium Principum, Filius & Nepos Dei. S. S. S.*

Ad dextram, Versus Græca Lingua adscripit in hunc sensum,

Tutus ut imperij Princeps sibi sceptra capessat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pavore premat;
Ne putet esse nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nece fraterna, constabilire domum.
Iura, Fides, Pietas, regni dum nemo supersit,
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Hæc ratio est, quæ sola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te sinit esse metus.

Ad sinistram Lingua Sclavonica,

Te semel adversus peccantem, mitis haberi
Ne studias, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus ense rescindendum, putrescere si quid
Incipiet, clemens rex malè sceptra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porigit ansam
Qua se sustentans, ad nova damna ruat.

Ad Calcem Tabulæ Lingua Turcica,

Qui non ipse sua Princeps hastilia dextra,
Agmen in adversum marte fauente jacet.
Sed refugit sævis caput objectare periclis
Dum gravia impavido, prælia corde subit:
Iste sciat vanis belli sese artibus uti:
Et votis nunquam fata favere suis.
Nulla sibi speret, suscepti commoda belli,
Hostiles acies quisquis adire timet.

The Inſcription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus Othoman*, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of all Princes; the Sonne and Nephew of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written Greek Verſes to this ſence:

The Prince that ſafely ſeeks to reign, and hold his ſtate in quiet reſt,
Muſt neuer ſuffer troubled care to harbor in his princely breſt:
Nor think it ſin to ſpil the bloud of his moſt neer and deareſt kin,
Not of his brother, ſo therby aſſured ſafety he may win.
Law, Faith, Deuotion, and ſuch like, to break them all he muſt not ſpare,
Nor conſcience make of any thing, to rid him from aſpiring care.
This is the way and only mean that may protect a princes ſtate,
And ſet him ſafe without all fear, whilſt none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudy and tyranicall precepts left by Selymus vnto his ſonne Solyman, which he afterward aſſuredly kept, as is to be ſeen in his life following.

On the left hand of the Table was written in the Sclavonian Tongue;

Of him that ſeeks to work thy wo, deſerue not to be counted kind;
But take him for thy mortal foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away, for fear of doing further harm:
The gentle Prince doth bear ſmall ſway, if no abuſe can make him warm.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to preſume of further grace;
It doth but ſtrength to Rebels lend, to thruſt their Soueraign out of place.

At the lower end of the ſame Table was written in Turkiſh Verſe;

What Prince in perſon dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnappalled heart his deadly darts himſelf to throw;
But hides his head for fear of harm, and ſhuns the danger of the field,
When martial minds with courage bold withſtand their foes with ſpear & ſhield:
Let him wel know, how that in vain he beareth arms but for a ſhow,
And that the honor of the field wil neuer ſuch a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gain the ſpoil by any wars he takes in hand,
That feareth with couragious mind his enemies forces to withſtand.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus *the first,*	*Emperours of Germany*	*Maximilian the first,*	1494.	25
		Charles the fifth,	1509.	39
	Kings	*Of England* — *Henry the eighth,*	1509.	38
		Of France — *Lewis the twelfth,*	1497.	17
		Of France — *Francis the first,*	1514.	32
		Of Scotland — *Iames the fourth,*	1489.	25
		Of Scotland — *Iames the fifth,*	1513.	22
	Bishops of Rome	*Iulius the II,*	1503.	9
		Leo the X,	1513.	8

Phil. Lonicer. Hist. Turc. l. 1.

Imperij Solyman *patrij moderatur habenas,*
Regnaque Christianum cladibus vsque metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Nexumque Parumque
Tyrrheni infastat Littora curua maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Inclyta Sigethi dum mœnia concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.

His fathers Empire *Solyman* doth rule with mighty power,
And Christian kingdomes ceaseth not with slaughter to deuour.
The antiant Rhodes, with Naxos Isle, and Paros he did take:
And on the coasts of Italy did wofull hauocke make.
Faire Hungary with armies great he often did annoy,
And with a world of men had thought Vienna to destroy.
But whilest to Sigeth he layd siege, in hope the same to haue,
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.

THE LIFE OF *SOLYMAN*, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFICENT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

THe death of *Selymus* was with all carefulneſſe concealed by *Ferhates* the onely Baſſa then preſent, for feare leſt the Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court getting knowledge thereof, ſhould after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancy of the Empire, ſpoile the Merchants and ſtrangers in places where they lay in garriſon, and eſpecially in the imperiall city: and not ſo contented, after their accuſtomed inſolency preſcribe vnto the greateſt Baſſaes at their pleaſure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferhates* diſpatched a truſty meſſenger with letters in poſt to *Solyman* the only ſon of *Selymus*, then lying at Magneſia; certifying him of the death of his father; and that he ſhould deſerue well of his peaceable ſubjects by haſtening his comming to Conſtantinople, whileſt all things were yet in good order, in time to repreſſe with his preſence the feared diſordered proceedings of his men of war.

Solyman hardly perſuaded that his father was dead.

Solyman hauing to his great content peruſed the Baſſaes letters, as one deſirous enough of the empire; yet conſidering the cruell diſpoſition of his father (who vpon a meere jealous conceit of his aſpiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in diſlike of his fathers extream dealing, had practiſed moſt vnnaturally to haue taken away him by poiſon: which danger he eſcaped only by the carefulneſſe of his mother, who miſdoubting the worſt, cauſed the poiſoned rich ſhirt ſent to him from his father, to be firſt worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in ſhort time after died) and alſo that the letters were ſigned only by *Ferhates*, and the newes not ſeconded by any of the other Baſſaes: fearing ſome hidden and ſecret plot of his father tending to his deſtruction, durſt not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the meſſenger as one to whom he gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus ſpent, and the death of *Selymus* nothing as yet ſuſpected; *Ferhates* vnderſtanding by his meſſenger the warineſſe of *Solyman*, and that he expected more aſſured aduertiſement, ſent preſently vnto the other great Baſſa's *Pyrrhus* and *Muſtapha* at Hadrianople, that they ſhould without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming he declared the death of the Emperour. Which after they had ſeene to be true, they by another ſecret and ſpeedy meſſenger aduertiſed *Solyman* againe therof, confirming thoſe letters with all their hands and ſeals: whereby *Solyman* now aſſured of his fathers death, preſently put himſelfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull iourneies in few days came to Scutarium, called in antient time Chriſopolis, ouer againſt Conſtantinople. Where he was met with the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and by him tranſported in a gally ouer that ſtreit paſſage to Conſtantinople; where at his landing the Ianizaries by the appointment of their captain were ready to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, vntill that *Solyman* being now in the midſt of them, the captaine with a loud voice ſaid vnto them, *Behold your Emperor*. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, *Long liue the great Emperor Solyman*: which conſent of the men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Emperours the greateſt aſſurance of their eſtate. And ſo with much triumph he was by them brought

brought into the roiall pallace, and placed in his fathers ſeat in the yeare 1520: in which yere G
alſo *Charles* the fifth was choſen Emperour of Germany. The Ianizaries diſappointed by the Baſſaes of the ſpoile of the Merchanrs, eſpecially Chriſtians and Iewes, receiued of the bounty of *Solyman* a great largious; and in the beginning of his reigne had their accuſtomed wages ſomewhat augmented alſo, to their wonderfull contentment.

Solyman was about twenty eight yeres old when he began to reigne, and was at the firſt ſuppoſed to haue bin of a milde and peaceable diſpoſition: ſo that the Princes to whom the name of *Selymus* was before dreadfull, were now in hope that a quiet Lambe was come in place of a raging Lyon. But in ſhort time they found themſelues in their expectation far deceiued; and eſpecially the Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon him, vnto whom he became a far more dangerous enemy than was his father before him; conuerting his forces moſt part of his long H
reigne vpon them, which *Selymus* had almoſt altogether imploied againſt the Kings of Perſia, and Ægypt, the greateſt Princes of the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

The firſt that felt his heauy hand was *Gazelles* Gouernor of Syria: who preſently vpon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himſelfe now diſcharged of the oath of obedience which he had giuen to *Selymus*, but not to his ſucceſſors; and earneſtly deſiring to reſtore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes lately ouerthrowne, gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed Mamalukes, which ſpeedily reſorted vnto him out of all parts of Aſia and Africke: and
Gazelles gouernor of Syria rebelleth againſt Solyman. alluring with rewards the leaders of the wilde Arabians, with great numbers of the countrey people of Syria, diſcontented with the Turkiſh gouernment, entred into open rebellion, and by force of armes draue the Turks garriſons out of Byrrha, Tripolis, and diuers other cities I
of Syria, taking them into his owne poſſeſſion. And the better to effect that he had taken in hand, he ſent Embaſſadors to Caire, vnto *Cayerbeius*, who had of *Selymus* receiued the gouernment of Ægypt, the vnworthy reward of his horrible treaſon; perſuading him by any meanes to take reuenge of the injury and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turks garriſon to make himſelfe Sultan of Ægypt, and reſtore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the vttermoſt of his deuoire and ſeruice. But *Cayerbaius* either not truſting *Gazelles* his old enemy, or aſhamed by new treaſon to augment his former diſhonor, or els (which was moſt like) miſdoubting his owne ſtrength in performance of ſo great an enterpriſe: after he had attentiuely heard what the Embaſſadours had to ſay, cauſed them preſently in his own ſight to be put to death as traitors, and with all ſpeed certified *Soly-* K
man thereof; who without delay ſent *Ferhates Baſſa* with a ſtrong army into Syria. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and hauing in his power moſt of the cities of Syria, retired himſelf with all his army into the ſtrong city of Damaſco; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Baſſa by long march came alſo. *Gazelles* (reſolued to try the fortune of the field, and ſo either by ſpeedy victory or honourable death to end the matter, rather than to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſhut vp within the wals of the city) vpon the comming of the Baſſa, valiantly iſſued forth with all his power, and gaue him battell; which for the ſpace of ſix houres was moſt cruelly fought, and many ſlaine on both ſides. At length *Gazelles* being oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly aſſailed on either ſide, was inforced to fight in a ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthy Generall and valiant ſoldier, ho- L
Gazelles ſlaine. norably died together with his Mamalukes in the midſt of his enemies, leauing vnto them a bloudy victory. *Gazelles* thus ſlaine, the city of Damaſco with all the country of Syria without any more ado yeelded againe vnto the Turks obedience, which the Baſſa tooke in ſo good part, that he would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to enter into the city, then richly ſtored with commodities of all ſorts, brought thither by Merchants out of diuers parts of the World.

Syria thus pacified, the Baſſa went to Caire in Ægypt, and there commended *Cayerbeius* for his fidelity, confirmed him in his gouernment; and enuying againſt the cruelty of *Selymus* (ſo to pleaſe the Ægyptians) wiſhed them to hope for all happineſſe vnder the peaceable gouernment of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And ſo when he had ſet all things in order in both the prouinces of Syria and Ægypt, returned againe to *Solyman*.

The yeare next following, *Solyman* by the counſell of *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his old tutor (a mortall M
enemy vnto the Chriſtians) and by the perſuaſion of the Ianizaries, reſolued to beſiege the ſtrong city of Belgrade, otherwiſe called Taurunum, ſcituat vpon the borders of Hungary. where the riuer Savus falleth into Danubius. Which city his great grandfather *Mahomet* (ſyr-

named

A named the Great,and before him the warlike *Amurath*) had with all their power, long time before to their great losse and dishonor, vainly attempted. Wherein vntill that time were reserued the ensignes, then taken from the Turks, to their no smal griefe, with other trophies of the glorious victories of the worthy captaine *Huniades*, and the great King *Matthias Coruinus* his son. Wherefore *Solyman* sending his army before, was come as far as Sophia, a city in Seruia (the place where the Turks great lieutenant in Europe is alwaies resiant) before that the Hungarians were aware of his comming: for they liuing at ease all the time that *Vladislaus* reigned, and sleeping securely vnder the young King *Lodouicus* his sonne, a man of no experience; who contenting himselfe with the title of a King, suffered himself to be so pilled & poled by his nobility and great clergy men (inuerting all the wealth of the land to their owne priuat
B gaine) that he was not able to raise any sufficient power to go against his puissant enemy; especially his nobility, in whose hands rested the wealth of his kingdome, promising him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardy souldiers, the scourge and terrour of the Turks, was dead long before; so was also *Matthias* that fortunat warriour: after whom succeeded others giuen to all pleasure and ease; to whose example the people fashioning themselues, forgot their wonted valour, and gaue themselues ouer to sensuality and voluptuous pleasure: so that *Solyman* without let, presented his army before the city of Belgrade, and with battery and vndermining in short time became Lord thereof, hauing lost few of his people in that siege. How much the losse of that strong city concerned the Christian common wealth, the manifold and lamentable miseries which afterwards ensued by the opening of that gap,
C not vnto the kingdome of Hungary onely, but to all that side of Christendome, did, and yet doth, most manifestly declare. It was won by the Turks the nine and twentieth day of August, in the yeare 1521.

Belgrade won by Solyman.

After the taking of the strong city of Belgrade, *Solyman* returning to Constantinople, brake vp his army and there lay still almost all the yeare following. During which time he caused great preparation to be made at Calipolis and other his ports, for rigging vp of a great fleet: which caused the Italians, Venetians, and them of the Rhodes, to looke about them, as men carefull of their estates, fearing that those forces would ere long be imploied against some or all of them. 1522

Philippus Villerius chosen Great Master of the Rhodes.

About the same time *Philippus Villerius* a man of great wisedome and courage, then follow-
D ing the French court, was in his absence by the knights of the Rhodes chosen Great Master of that honourable company: who embarking himselfe at Marcelles, after a long and dangerous journy (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hardly laied for at sea by *Cortug Ogli*, a famous pyrat of the Turks, whose two brethren the Knights of the Rhodes had but a little before surprised and slain, and then held the third in prison) arriued in safety at the Rhodes, where he was with great joy and triumph receiued.

The great Bassa, by whose graue aduice *Solyman* was contented in all his weighty affairs to be directed, consulted with the other Bassaes, of diuers great exploits, which was first to be taken in hand, for the honour of their Emperour and inlarging of his Empire, were of diuers opinions concerning the besieging of the Rhodes. *Pyrrhus* the Bassa of greatest account, dis-
E suaded the taking in hand of that action, as too full of difficulty and danger: producing for proofe thereof the example of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Solymans* great grandfather; by whom it was vnfortunatly attempted, and in fine shamefully abandoned. But *Mustapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, said, That the greatnesse of their Emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predecessors; as well appeared by the late taking of Belgrade; from whence first *Amurath*, and after him, *Mahomet*, two of the most warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great dishonour been repulsed: and should no doubt with like good fortune preuaile against the Rhodes also, being able (if need were) to bring more men before it than were stones in the wals thereof. Which he so confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that he seemed to make
F no doubt of the good successe of that war: presumptuously affirming, that vpon the first landing of *Solymans* great army, they of the Rhodes would without delay yeeld themselues and their city into his hands.

Amongst others of great experience, whose opinions *Solyman* was desirous to haue, before

he would take so great a matter in hand, was the famous pyrat *Cortug Ogli*, a man of a mischieuous and cruell nature, but of great experience in sea matters. Who presented to *Solyman* by *Mustapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greatest Bassaes, going before him, after due reuerence done, and commanded to deliuer his opinion, spake vnto *Solyman* as followeth : G

Cortug Oglithe pyrat persuadeth Solyman to besiege the Rhodes.

The greatnes of your deserts (most mighty and puissant Emperour) maketh me (being by you so commanded) at this time frankly to speak what I think may be for the glory and honour both of your Majestie and Empire. I daily hear the pittifull lamentation of the miserable people of Mytilene, Eubœa, Peloponesus, Achaia, Caria, Lycia, and all alongst the sea coast of Syria and Ægypt, bewailing the spoil of their Countries, the ransacking of their Cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with other infinit and incredible calamities which they daily suffer of the crossed Rhodian pyrats, no man withstanding them. Many a time haue these wretched people holden vp their hands to me for help, most instantly requesting me to be a mean for them vnto your Imperiall Majesty, whereby they might be protected from the injury, rapine, and slaughter of these cruell Rouers. Wherfore in their behalf I beseech your sacred Majesty, by the most reuerend name of the holy Prophet Mahomet, *& by your own most heroicall disposition, to deliuer your afflicted subiects from these their most cruell enemies, and at length to set them free from the fury, captiuity, and fear of these Pyrats, more grieuous vnto them than death it self : And consider with your self, That this insolencie and iniury tendeth not so much to the hurt of your poor subjects and oppressed people in priuat, as to the dishonour and disgrace of your Imperiall name and dignity; which if any other Christian King or Prince should offer, your Majesty I know would not suffer vnreuenged : And will you then suffer these Robbers, Cut-throats, base people gathered out of all the corners of Christendom, to wast your Countries, spoile your Cities, murther your People, and trouble all your seas ? For who can passe by sea to Tripolis, Damasco, Alexandria, Caire, Chalcide, Lesbos, Chios, nay, vnto this your Imperiall City of Constantinople, without most certain and manifest danger of these Rouers ? What haue we heard euery Spring these many years, but that the Rhodians had taken some one or other of your Ports, led away your people into most miserable captiuity, and carried away with them the rich spoiles of your countries ? And that which is of all other things most dishonourable, this they doe vnder your nose, and in your sight, in the middest and heart of your Empire. Pardon me I beseech you most mighty Emperour, if I too plainely speake what I thinke : For whatsoeuer I say, I say it to no other end, but that you should now at length do that which should many yeares ago haue beene done. We your most loyall subjects may not, nor ought not, for the increase of our Mahometan Religion, and for the inlarging of your Empire and Honour, to refuse to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues, to all hazard and danger without exception. If you likewise be carried with loue of glory and renowne, or rauished with desire of neuerdying Fame ; in what wars can you more easily gaine the same, or better imploy vs your seruants, than in vanquishing and subduing the Rhodes, the reputed bulwarke of Christendome, which onely keepeth vs from their countries ? But some will perhaps say, your ancestors haue in former times vnfortunatly attempted that city : so did they also Belgrade in Hungary ; yet hath your happy fortune to your immortall fame brought the same vnder your subjection, being farre more strongly fortified than in times past : and doe you then despaire of the Rhodes ? Cast off such vaine and needlesse misdoubt. The Turkish Empire hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts. Therefore make hast to besiege it both by sea and land. If your subjects mourning vnder the heauy burthen of the Christian captiuity, built it with their owne hands for the Christians ; cannot they now at liberty, desirous of reuenge, and fitted with opportunity, with like hands destroy the same ? if it please you to vouchsafe but to looke into the matter (most dread Soueraigne) you shall see that there is a diuine occasion by the procurement of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *presented vnto your most sacred Majesty, now that the Christians of the West are at discord and mortall warre amongst themselues. Your Majesty is not ignorant, that in managing of warres, the opportunity of the time is especially to be followed ; and that when occasion serueth, all remisnesse and delay is to be carefully auoided : the changes of times are most tickle, and if you suffer your good hap now to passe ouer, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fled and gone.* H I K L M

Solyman by nature an ambitious yong prince, prickt forward thus also by the persuasions of *Cortug-Ogly* and others, seeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious humor : but most of all by the instigation of the Bassa *Mustapha*, resolued to go in person himselfe

A ſelfe againſt the Rhodes. And firſt to make ſome proofe of what ſpirit and courage *Villerius* the new choſen Great Maſter was of, in whoſe ſufficiency the greateſt part of the defence of the city was ſuppoſed to conſiſt: to him by way of a little cold friendſhip, he ſent a meſſenger with this ſhort letter thus directed:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greateſt Emperour of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, moſt mighty King of Perſia, Arabia, Syria, and Ægypt; Lord of Aſia and Europe; Prince of Mecha and Aleppo; Ruler of Ieruſalem; and Maſter of the Vniuerſall Sea: to the Reuerend Father, *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, and Legat of Aſia,
B greeting.

Solymans Leter to Villerius, Great Maſter of the Rhodes.

I am glad of thy kingdome and new promotion, which I wiſh thou maieſt long and happily enjoy, for that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelity exceed all them which before thee ruled in the Rhodes: from whom as my anceſtors haue withdrawne their hand, ſo I after their example joyne with thee in amity and friendſhip. Ioy thou therefore, my friend, and in my behalfe rejoyce of my victory and triumph alſo: for this laſt Summer paſſing ouer Danubius with enſignes diſplaied, I there expected the Hungarian King, who I thought would haue giuen me battell; I tooke from him by ſtrong hand Belgrade, the ſtrongeſt city of his kingdome, with other ſtrong holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and ſword deſtroied much people, and carried away many moe into captiuity, as a triumphant conqueror, breaking vp mine army, am returned to my imperiall city of Conſtantinople, from whence farewell.
C

The Great Maſter hauing read theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, perceiued forthwith *Solymans* meaning; and that peace was offered him in words and ſhew, but warre in deed and meaning. Which becauſe he was ready by force to repulſe, he rewarded the Turks meſſenger, and ſent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat perſon. For the Rhodians did ſeldome vouchſafe to ſend any honourable Embaſſadours to the Turkiſh Emperours (with whom they for moſt part liued in hoſtility) either the Turks to them. By this meſſenger he anſwered *Solymans* Letters with other of like vaine, as followeth:

D *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to the Turke.

The anſwer of Villerius to Solymans Letters.

I right well vnderſtand your letters which your meſſenger brought vnto me. The friendſhip you write of, is as pleaſing to me as diſpleaſing to Cortug-Ogli *your ſeruant, who went about to haue intercepted me vpon the ſudden, as I came out of France: but failing of his purpoſe, ſtealing by night into the Rhodian Sea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine Merchants ſhips bound from Ioppe to Venice: but ſending my fleet out of my hauen, I ſtaied his fury, conſtrained the pyrat to fly, and for haſt to leaue behind him the priſes he had before taken from the Merchants of Crete. Farewell, from the Rhodes.*

By this anſwer *Solyman* perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne fineneſſe, and
E that he ſhould not ſo eaſily carry the Rhodes, as he had before done Belgrade. Yet being fully in himſelfe reſolued to try his fortune therein, he called vnto him certaine of the chiefe commanders of his wars, to whom he opened the whole determination in this ſort:

Solymans Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpoſe of beſieging the Rhodes.

Although I doubt not, worthy chiefetaines, but that you are of the ſame mind now that you haue beene alwaies of, in the inuading of other Nations; yet I haue thought it good in matters tending to the common glory, and good of vs all, to vſe your generall aduice and counſell. Since the time that my father left this World, we haue made warre with diuers Nations and people. The Syrians by nature vnconſtant, and prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience. The Sophi, that mighty King, nephew vnto the great King Vſun-Caſſanes, *by his daughter the ſiſter of King* Iacup, *in heart and deed*
F *our mortall enemy, not contented with the Kingdomes of Aſſyria, Media, Armenia the greater, Perſia, and Meſopotamia, we haue with our forces ſhut vp within the compaſſe of his owne dominions. The laſt yeare running through Hungary, both on this ſide and beyond Danubius, we tooke Belgrade the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe in that Kingdome: And whatſoeuer elſe we attempted, we ſubdued. Yet for all that (to ſpeake*

plainly

plainly of my ſelfe) my minde greater in conceit than my Empire, and the bloud of Othoman, *findeth no contentment in theſe victories. For whatſoeuer you haue yet done, although it be great, yet I aeeme it all but little in regard of your worth: my deſire carryeth me further. This haue I alwaies aboue all things moſt earneſtly deſired, to ſet vpon the Rhodes, and vtterly to root out all the ſtrength and forces, yea, the very name of thoſe Rhodian ſouldiers. And haue not you alſo no leſſe than my ſelfe deſired the ſame? How often haue I heard you crying out, The Rhodes, The Rhodes? I haue expected the time that being diſcharged of other warres, I might here employ my whole ſtrength and power. That we ſo long deſired is now come: there was neuer greater opportunity of good ſucceſſe offered, a great part of the wals of the city of the Rhodes now lying euen with the ground; which cannot in ſhort time be repaired, eſpecially in their want of coyne. Beſide this, the garriſon in the caſtle is but ſmall, and their aid from France far off, which will either come too late when the city is loſt, or that which I rather beleeue, neuer. For neither will the French King (being at mortall warres with the Germane Emperour, and Lord of Italy) ſuffer his ſtorehouſes to be diſfurniſhed, or his Ports bared of the neceſſary defence of his ſhipping. Neither do you beleeue that the Spaniards (diſtreſſed at home with famine, war, and ciuill diſſention) will eaſily come hither out of Sicilia and Campania with ſupplies of men and victuall. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Iſle of Crete, which I aſſure you is not ſo: for I know (although I will not now manifeſt the ſame) how I haue preuented that miſchiefe. Wherefore couragious ſouldiers (borne to the ſubduing of all Chriſtendome, much more of the Rhodes) with cheerefull hearts follow me your Soueraigne againſt theſe your moſt perfidious and cruell enemies. How long I pray you will you ſuffer that ſtaine and diſgrace to ſticke vpon the* Othoman *Family, and generally vpon all the name of the Turks, which theſe Rhodians caſt vpon vs the laſt time they were beſieged? Which was not ſo much done by their valour, as by the vnfortunat counſell of my great grandfather* Mahomet, *calling home* Meſithes Palæologus *his Generall in that war, for one vnlucky aſſault. But admit that their valour gained them victory, will you alwaies ſuffer theſe pyraticall excurſions vpon our Maine and Iſlands? The ranſacking of cities and countries? The carrying away of your cattell and richeſt ſubſtance? The captiuity and ſlaughter of your wiues and children? The ſlauery of your neereſt friends and kinſmen. So helpe me great* Mahomet *it ſhall not ſo be: I vow in deſpight of Chriſt and* Iohn, *in ſhort time to ſet vp mine enſignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of Rhodes. Neither do I ſeeke any thing vnto my ſelfe, more than the honour of the enterpriſe; the profit I giue vnto you my fellow ſouldiers, their coine, plate, jewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours, to carry home with you vnto your wiues and children. Wherefore let vs now with all our forces and courage ſet forward to the beſieging of the Rhodes.*

Solymans purpoſe thus made knowne, and the ſame with one accord of all his captains well liked of: *Pyrrhus* the eldeſt Baſſa and of greateſt authority, who at the firſt diſſuaded the war, ſtanding vp in the middeſt of the reſt, ſaid:

I cannot but much admire the great wiſedome and rare vertues of our young Emperour, who ſo wiſely and aduiſedly hath declared all the deep counſels of a worthy chiefetaine in taking the war in hand. Bleſſed be Mahomet, *thrice and foure times bleſſed is this Empire, bleſſed is our eſtate, and bleſſed are we with ſuch a Prince, which carrieth with him in his wars not only men and habiliments of war, but moſt deepe wiſedome and policy. Which wholeſome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eies, and would follow, we ſhould in ſhort time bring vnder our ſubjection not the Rhodes only, but all the kingdoms of the Chriſtians. Yet beſide that which our Emperour hath moſt carefully and conſideratly deuiſed, mine age and experience would exhort you, by gifts, promiſes, rewards, and all other means whatſoeuer, to corrupt if it were poſſible the chiefe and principall citizens of the Rhodes, thereby to enter into their moſt ſecret deuiſes and counſels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to vnderſtand. I as a man indifferent, deſirous of peace and quietneſſe, will by meſſengers, and letters induce the great Maſter to ſend ſome honourable Embaſſage to our dread Soueraigne, which if I can once bring him vnto, then let me alone with the reſt.*

Solyman maketh preparation againſt the Rhodes.

This counſell of the old Fox pleaſed all the hearers wel, but aboue others the emperor himſelfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and ſpeed, to proue what he could do: the other captains he commanded to prepare the greateſt forces they could, both for land and ſea ſeruice.

A ſeruice. Which preparation was ſo great both at Conſtantinople and other places, that it could not long be kept ſo ſecret, but that news thereof was brought to the Rhodes the fourth day of February: which newes dayly increaſing, and ſtill confirmed by more certaine reports, *Villerius* the Great Maſter for more certaine intelligence, ſent a Chriſtian of Epidaurus, who could perfectly ſpeake the Turkiſh languege, as a ſpy to Conſtantinople; who by ſecret letters from thence gaue him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great fleet, and raiſing a mighty army, aduertiſing him alſo of a wonderfull proportion of artillery prepared for battery: but againſt whom was not commonly known, ſome deeming it to be for the inuaſion of Italy, ſome for the Rhodes, others ſuppoſing it to be for Cyprus or Corcyra: which diuerſity of conjectures, made many (whoſe conceits auerted from themſelues the fortune of that war)
B to be more careleſſe & ſecure. But whileſt euery man was of opinion, that it was made againſt any man rather than himſelfe; certaine aduertiſement was giuen to the Rhodians, from diuers places by Letters from their friends and confederates, That the Turks did with extraordinary diligence keepe ſtreit watch and ward in all their ports thereabouts along the ſea coaſt, otherwiſe than they were before accuſtomed: which ſeemed to prognoſticate ſome farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. *Villerius* carefull of his charge, as the marke whereat the enemy aimed, prouided with all poſſible diligence great ſtore of victuall, armor, weapons, ſhot, powder, and whatſoeuer elſe neceſſary for the defence of the city.

Villerius preparеth to make reſiſtance againſt the Turks.

The new wals of the City, and Auergne fortreſſe, by *Baſilius* enginier to the Emperour *Charles* the fift (a worke begun in the time of *Fabritius Caractus* the late Grand Maſter, but not
C yet finiſhed) was now with all diligent labour ſet vpon, euery man putting his helping hand vnto ſo neceſſary a worke. Whileſt theſe things were with ſo great endeauor and labor a doing, a meſſenger came from Conſtantinople, (ſent from the old Baſſa *Pyrrhus*) a ſharpe witted and cunning fellow; who with much filed ſpeech in moſt ample manner doing his meſſage, by the way, painted forth the great towardlineſſe and courteous nature of the Turkiſh Emperour *Solyman*, with the great commendation of *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his Maſter: deliuering from both of them Letters vnto the Great Maſter of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. To the reuerend father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the
D Rhodes, and Legat of Aſia, greeting.

I am certainely informed that my Letters are deliuered vnto thee; which for that thou vnderſtoodeſt them aright, I cannot expreſſe how much it pleaſed me. Truſt to it, that I am not contented with the victory I got at Belgrade; I hope for another, nay I aſſure my ſelfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from Conſtantinople.

Solymans letters to Villerius.

Pyrrhus, great Counſellour to the mighty Emperour *Solyman*, to *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes and Legat of Aſia, greeting.

E

Your Letters, greater in meaning than character, I haue deliuered vnto our moſt mighty Emperour: but the bearer thereof I would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, leſt he ſhould be too much offended with ſo baſe a meſſenger. Vnto whom from henceforth ſend men of worth, commendable for their yeares and diſcretion, with whom his Majeſty may (if he ſo pleaſe) conferre and conclude of matters concerning the common good: which thing if you ſhall do, it ſhall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counſell. The meſſenger I ſend, bringeth Letters vnto you alſo from our great Emperour; to whoſe diuine excellency how you are to anſwer, you are already admoniſhed. Farewell from Conſtantinople.

Pyrrhus Baſſa his letters to Villerius.

Theſe letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuerſly. Such as altogether wiſhed for peace, meaſuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integrity, commended the counſell of *Pyrrhus*, ſaying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not ſo deſirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince and country: and therfore wiſhed by wiſedome to order that which the yong prince ſought for by war, fearing the vncertainty of mans
F fragility, the common chance of war, the violence of fortune, which haue oftentimes in a moment

ment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne moſt mighty Kings with their ſtrong armies. The G
perſuaſion of theſe men took ſuch effect, that one of the Knights of the Order called *Raimund March*, a Spaniard, a noble gentleman of great courage, and very eloquent, skilfull alſo in the Turkiſh tongue, and then Muſter-maſter, was appointed to haue beene ſent Embaſſadour vnto the Turkiſh Emperour. Many there were of a contrary opinion, which ſuſpecting fraud and deceit, ſaid it were good to beware of the enemies counſell: asking, to what end this Embaſſage were? For ſhould we proclaime war (ſay they) againſt the moſt mighty tyrant, not yet our profeſſed enemy, who writeth all peace; Or ſhould we intreat for peace, no war as yet proclaimed; that he which as yet is afraid himſelfe, may now vnderſtand that he is of vs feared? Beſides that, with what ſecurity, with what face can our Embaſſadors go, vnrequeſted of the Turkiſh Emperor, without his ſafe conduct through thoſe countries which we daily burne and H
ſpoile? But they ſhall ſhew *Pyrrhus* the great Baſſaes letters forſooth, his protection, his credit and authority ſhall defend them from all injury and wrong; as though the ſeruant ſhould preſcribe lawes to his maſter, and ſuch a ſeruant as is moſt like vnto his maſter (that is) cruell, falſe of faith, a hater of all Chriſtians, but eſpecially of vs Rhodians: whom the mercileſſe tyrant hauing in his power, with his nauy and army in readines, ſhall with cruell torture inforce to diſcouer vnto him our prouiſion, the ſecrets of our city and Order. This opinion of the wiſer ſort, was greatly confirmed by the two much curioſity of the meſſenger which was ſent, who with all diligence enquired of the ſtate and ſcituation of the city, of the number and ſtrength of the Order. Wherefore in concluſion he was ſent backe againe accompanied but with one priuat ſoldier to carry the Great maſters letters vnto the Turkiſh tyrant: the tenure I
whereof was thus:

Philippus Villerius Great Maſter of the Rhodes, vnto the Turke, greeting.

Villerius his anſwer to Solymans letters.

That you are mindfull of me grieueth me nothing; and I am alſo mindfull of you. You repeate your victory in Hungary, wherewith not being contented you hope for another: nay, you promiſe and aſſure your ſelfe thereof, before you haue attempted the war. Beware you deceiue not your ſelfe; mens expectations neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

K

The other lettes written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect.

Philippus Villerius Liladamus Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa.

Villerius his anſwer to Pyrrhus the Baſſa his letters.

I haue aduiſedly conſidered thy letters, with the behauiour and diſpoſition of thy meſſenger. As I contemne not thy counſell, ſo I will not follow the ſame, whileſt my men of war do ſpoile the countries and ports of thy lord and maſter, which I beare with all, by reaſon of the injuries they haue ſuſtained of the Turkiſh pirats. But I will call them home, and will ſend Embaſſadors vnto thy great lord: ſo that thou before ſend me ſafe conduct vnder thy maſters great ſeale, for their ſafe comming and returne. Farewell, from the L
Rhodes.

But theſe letters were neuer deliuered to the great Turke, or the Baſſa: for as ſoone as the Turkiſh meſſenger was come ouer into the maine, he preſently tooke horſe, which was there in readineſſe for him, and poſted towards Conſtantinople with as much ſpeed as he could, leauing the Chriſtian meſſenger his companion behind him; who returning backe againe to the Rhodes, and telling what he had heard and ſeene, gaue them all great occaſion to diſpaire of peace: whereupon *Villerius* ſent into Crete to hire certaine companies of Cretenſian archers. In the meane time aduertiſement was giuen vnto the Great maſter by letters from the Iſland of Naxos, That the Turks were ready to put their fleet to ſea with the firſt appearance of the M
new Moone: which thing they moſt ſuperſtitiouſly obſerue in the beginning of all their great actions. The ſame newes was brought alſo by certaine merchants of the Iſland of Pathmos, who came to the Rhodes with a great ſhip laded with corne from Eubœa; vnder the colour, of the ſale thereof, they (by the commandement of the Turks, to whom they were tributaries)

Villerius aduertiſed of the comming of the Turks.

A ries) diligently noted all that was done in the city, ſhortly to be beſieged. The great maſter with no leſſe diligence, ſent diuers of his ſmall gallies amongſt the Iſlands and alongſt the maine, to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the order, and captaine of one of theſe gallies, meeting with a great ſhip of the Turks laded with corne, tooke her and brought her home to Rhodes. But *Alphonſus* captaine of another of the gallies, lying in harbor in one of the Iſlands, and ſuffering his men to ſtraggle too far into the land, was ſet vpon by a Turkiſh pirat and taken.

About the ſame time the Turks by often fires made vpon the maine in the night ſeaſon, gaue ſigne vnto the Rhodians, that they were deſirous to haue ſome parly with them, as their manner was. Whereupon one *Meneton* a French-man, one of the Knights, by commandement
B of the reſt of the Order, was ſent with a gally well appointed to the maine to ſee what the matter might be; and with him was joyned *Iacobus Xaycus* a pay-maſter for the gallies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended war: for this *Xaycus*, beſides that he was a skilfull ſeaman and one that knew the coaſt well, had alſo good experience in ciuill affaires, and was wonderfully beloued and made of by the Turkiſh Merchants whoſe language he had perfectly learned. Drawing neere the ſhoare, he found the Turkiſh Merchants making merry vpon the maine, with their carpets, cotten-wooll, and ſuch like merchandiſe about them as they vſed to exchange with the Rhodian Merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto theſe Merchants he gaue due ſalutations, gaging their faith for their ſafety, and they likewiſe to him. But being requeſted
C to come aſhore to make merry vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be ſent for, who as they ſaid was not far off; he anſwered, he could not ſo doe, except they would firſt deliuer a pledge for him a ſhipboord. The perfidious Turks laughing as it were at his needleſſe feare, willingly ſent their merchandiſe, and a pledge aboord the gallies. *Xaycus* then going aſhore, and embracing the Turkiſh Merchants which met him: vpon a ſigne giuen, was forthwith beſet on euery ſide and taken priſoner, and by poſt horſes conueied with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople; where he was with the moſt exquiſit torments that could be deuiſed for any man to endure, enforced to confeſſe whatſoeuer his cruell enemies could deſire. After *Xaycus* was by treachery thus loſt, then began their prouident wiſedome to be highly commended, which were the occaſion, that the decree made for ſending Embaſſadors vnto the Turks, was
D againe reuoked. The hoſtage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the Rhodes and examined, was found to be a ſimple country fellow whom the Turks had of purpoſe well apparelled to deceiue the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his ſimple knowledge, anſwered to all things that were of him demanded; as that the Turks were making great preparation for ſea, vpon the coaſts of Caria and Lycia, and had taken vp many ſoldiers in the countries thereabouts to ſend into the frontiers of his dominions towards Syria, for defence of the ſame againſt the Perſians. All which was true: for *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all ſuſpition of inuaſion (whom he knew carefully to obſerue his doings) ſent the ſouldiers whom he had leuied in the countries neereſt to the Rhodes, far away againſt the Perſian, as if he had meant nothing againſt the Rhodes, and ſo vpon the ſudden to ſet vpon them with his army brought
E out of Europe, before they were aware. But this his deuice ſerued to ſmall purpoſe; for the great Maſter perceiuing by many circumſtances, but eſpecially by that late calamity of *Xaycus*, that the Rhodes was the place the Turkiſh Tyrant longed for; and fearing that delay might bring further danger, cauſed a ceſſation from all other buſineſſe to be proclaimed, vntill all things neceſſary for defence of the city were accompliſhed: watch and ward was kept in euery ſtreet, the great artillery planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed for the defence of euery place, the publike armory of all warlike prouiſion was open, all the ſtreets were full of men carrying weapons, ſome to one place, ſome to another. At which time a generall muſter was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where where found about fiue thouſand men able to beare armes, among whom were ſix hundred Knights of the Order, and
F fiue hundred ſouldiers of Creet; the reſt were for the moſt part mariners, able bodies, who in the time of the ſiege did great ſeruice, encouraged by their ſea captaines: the Iſland people which repaired into the city, ſerued to little other purpoſe but to dig and carry earth vnto the rampiers: and the citizens (except it were ſome few of the better ſort) were for the moſt part weake and of ſmall courage, not able to indure any labor or paines, and yet hardly to be kept in

The carefulnes of the Grand maſter.

order

order and gouernment, great ſpeakers, but ſmall doers, greater in ſhew than in deed. The Great Maſter hauing carefully prouided and ordered all things needfull for defence of the city, and fearing nothing more than the faint heart of the citizens, cauſed them all to be called together; for incouragement of whom, he ſpake vnto them as followeth: G

Villerius his Oration vnto the Rhodians.

Valiant Gentlemen and worthy Citizens, wee heare that the Turke our mortall enemy is comming againſt vs, with a huge army raiſed of diuers Nations: from whoſe naturall cruelty and wonted perjury except we defend our ſelues by force, one and the ſelfeſame danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For we haue with common conſent and hand grieuouſly ſpoiled him both by ſea and land, and you are by booties taken by ſtrong hand out of his dominions, inriched: and at this day we keepe his people ingrieuous ſeruitude, and he ours; but he injurioufly, and we moſt juſtly: For his anceſtours (weary of the darke dennes and caues of the mountaine Caucaſus, their naturall dwelling) without right, title, or cauſe, incited only with couetouſneſſe, ambition, and the hatred of our moſt ſacred religion, haue driuen the Chriſtians out of Syria: and afterwards oppreſſed the Grecians in Grecia; where not contented to haue deſtroied the people, with one ſimple kinde of death (as barbariſme is euer cruell and mercileſſe) they haue with moſt exquiſit and horrible torments, butchered many thouſands of that Nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whoſe miſchiefe exceedeth his yeares) an euill neighbour to all men, not contented with the dominions of Arabia, Syria, Ægypt, the greateſt part of Aſia, and of many other places moe, ſeeketh in tyranny, murther, ſpoile, perjury, and hatred againſt Chriſt and Chriſtians, far to excell: and forceth himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power, to take from vs our Iſlands, and to ſubdue the Chriſtian Countries; that ſo at length being Lord of all, and commander of the World, he may at his pleaſure ouerthrow the Chriſtian Cities, kill the Chriſtians, and vtterly root out the Chriſtian name, which he ſo much hateth. For the repulſing of which intollerable injury, we haue eſpecially choſen this Iſland of the Rhodes for our dwelling place, becauſe the ſame ſeemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous Nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by proofe your great valour and fidelity, which we now haue not in any diſtruſt. Wherefore I will not vſe many words to perſuade you to continue in your fidelity and loyalty, neither long circumſtance to encourage you to play the men: ſithence worthy minds are not with words either encouraged or diſmaied. But concerning my ſelfe and my Knights of the Order, I will ſpeake a few words. I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Chriſtian Princes and other my Knights of the Weſt will in good time joyne their forces, are moſt ready and preſt to defend your ſelues, your children, your wiues, your goods, the monuments of your anceſtours and ſacred Temples, dedicated to the ſeruice of our God. Which opinion that it may remaine firme and fixt in your minds, if nothing elſe, my faithfulneſſe in your warres, my body not yet altogether ſpent, but able enough to endure paines and trauell, the Nobility of theſe worthy Knights of the Order, their loue towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies were ſufficient to confirme: but beſide this, the ſtrength of this city, which this noble Order hath with infinite charges ſo notably fortified with ditches, wals, towers and bulwarkes, againſt all the force and fury of Artillery, is ſuch, as that no city may worthily be compared, much leſſe preferred before the ſame. It is wonderfully ſtored with all kinde of weapons and warrelike prouiſion: we haue laied vp plenty of wine, fleſh, and corne, in vaults, ſo that neither wet weather nor wormes can attaint the ſame: of wood and wholeſome water not to be taken from vs, things neceſſary for men beſieged, we haue plenty, and able men now for the defence of the City. All which things promiſe vnto vs aſſured victory, and ſuch end of the warre as wee wiſh for. Beſides this, Neceſſity, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet ſtandeth on our ſide true Religion, Faith, Conſcience, Deuotion, Conſtancy, the loue of our Country, the loue of our Liberty, the loue of our Parents, Wiues, Children, and whatſoeuer elſe we hold deare: Whereas they bring with them the proud command of their captaines, Infidelity, Impiety, Vnconſtancy, a wicked deſire of your bondage, of your bloud, and the bloud of your parents, wiues, and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not ſuffer ſo many good vertues to be ouercome by their foule vices. Wherefore be you in minds quiet and ſecure, and trouble not your ſelues with forboding feare of your enemies; onely continue in the fidelity and loyalty which you haue alwaies kept inuiolate and vnſpotted toward this ſacred and honourable fellowſhip, in moſt dangerous warres, and hardeſt chances of fortune: and if need ſhall ſo require, with couragious hand ſhew your valour againſt your enemies, and make it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and Engliſh, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkiſh pride, and to auert their fleets and armies from Italy, which they haue ſo many yeares threatened with fire H I L M

and

A *and sword: and will no doubt thither with all speed haſten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to ſpeak) they ſhould here preuail. Neither will his ambitious youth, in courage, falſhood and cruelty exceeding* Hannibal, *imitatte him in that, that hauing ouerthrown the Romans in the great battel at Cannas, knew not to vſe his victory; but he will preſently with more than* Cæſars *celerity, bring forth the treaſures his father got in Egypt, and with great fleets and huge armies inuade Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia: from whence he will forthwith break into France, and afterwards into Spain and other Chriſtian countries, raging through them with all cruelty. But I am carried away further than I purpoſed, & than need is: for your fidelitie and valor (moſt worthy Citiſens) to endure the ſiege, and repulſe the Enemy, is ſuch as needeth not my perſuaſion; and of greater reſolution than that it can be ſhaken with the dangers incident to men beſieged: yet the greateſt and moſt forcible miſeries of all, which is hunger and thirſt, I*

B *aſſure you, you ſhall neuer feel. Which pinching calamities for all that, ſome people (in faithfulnes, courage, and valor nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheles moſt conſtantly indured. For they of Petelinum, beſieged by the Carthaginenſes, for want of victual thruſt their parents and children out of the city, the longer to hold out the ſiege, and liued themſelues with hides and leather ſod or broiled, and leaues of trees, and many other homely things, by the ſpace of eleuen moneths; and could not be ouercome, vntill they wanted ſtrength longer to ſtand vpon the walls, and to hold their weapons in their hands. They of Caſilinum, beſieged by* Hannibal, *held out vntill a pror Mouſe was ſold for much mony. You muſt of neceſſity keep watch and ward in your ſtations; if your houſes chance to be beaten down with the enemies artillery, you muſt haue patience; for why, they ſhall be repaired again, and it is not a matter of ſuch importance, that we ſhould therfore yeeld vnto our enemies, in whoſe curteſie and fidelitie no aſſurance is to bee*

C *reposed. For beſides that he is by nature cruell and vnfaithfull, he can by no means be gentle and faithful towards vs, which haue don him ſo much harm, who only (as himſelf ſaith) haue oftentimes to his griefe, interrupted the courſe of the victories of him the conqueror both of ſea and land: whom hee hath ſo many times aſſailed by open force, with all his ſtrength, wit, craft, deceit and policy: yet alwaies hitherto in vain, almighty God ſtill protecting vs, whom aboue all things (moſt dear Citiſens) I wiſh you to ſerue and call vpon; for except he keep and defend the city, the watchmen do but watch in vain.*

This cheerful ſpeech wonderfully incouraged the hearers, eſpecially the vulgar ſort, eaſily caried away with pleaſing words. But whilſt they in their jolity dream of nothing but of triumph and victory; the wiſer ſort poſſeſſed with care, ceaſed not to do what in them lay, to

D procure, that the good commonly forewiſhed, might in fine come to effect. Amongſt others, *Clement* Biſhop of the Greeks, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing, had in great reputation amongſt them, laboured earneſtly by dayly exhortations, to perſuade the Greeks his countrymen, in that great and common danger with heart and hand to joyne with the Latines in defence of the city: for although the gouernment was altogether in the great Maſter and his Knights, which were Latines, yet the people both of the Iſland and City were for moſt part Greekes, who liked not altogether ſo well of the Latine gouernment, but that they did many times repine therat: howbeit the matter was at that time ſo ordered by the good perſuaſion of the Biſhop, and good gouernment of the great Maſter, that they all agreed as one man to ſpend their liues in defence of the City; and were ſo far from fear of the com-

E ming of the barbarous Enemy, that many of the Vulgar people (in whom appeareth commonly more heat than wit) wiſhed rather for his comming than otherwiſe. But looke what they had fondly wiſhed, proued afterward to their coſts ouer-true: for within a few nights after, the Turks by fire made in the night time vpon the main, gaue ſign of parly vnto the Rhodians. Wherupon a Gally well appointed with a long boat, was preſently ſent forth to ſee what the matter was: which drawing neer vnto the ſhore, was haled by a Turke, accompanied with a troup of horſmen; deſiring the captain of the Gally to ſend ſome on ſhore, with whom they might more conueniently parley. Which thing the Captain refuſing; What, ſaid the Turk, art thou afraid of *Xaycus* fortune. To whom the Captain in threatning maner anſwered again, *Xaycus*, whom you haue contrary to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; nei-

F ther am I afraid of you, whom I truſt not; but if you haue any thing to ſay, let me heare it, or els get you farther off, otherwiſe I wil ſpeak to you by the mouth of a canon. Then one of the Turks comming to the waters ſide, laid down letters vpon a ſtone, ſaying, That in them was contained that they had in charge. Which ſaid, he preſently ſet ſpurs to his horſe and depar-

ted with the reſt of his company. The Captain ſending out his long boat for theſe Letters, G
found them directed in this ſort:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords,

moſt mighty Emperor of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, &c. Vnto the reuerend Father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes: To his Knights, and all his people in general.

Solyman his threatning letters vnto the Rhodians.

THe compaſsion I haue of my diſtreſſed ſubjects, and the great injury you do me, hath mooued mee to H
wrath: wherfore I command you without delay to yeeld vnto me the Iſland and city of the Rhodes; willingly and charitably granting you leaue ſafely to depart with all your riches, or to tary, if you ſo pleaſe, vnder my obeiſance, your liberty and religion in no part infringed with any tribute or impoſition. If you be wiſe, prefer friendſhip and peace before bloudy war: for vnto them which are by force ſubdued, are reſerued all extremities which the miſerable vanquiſhed vſe to ſuffer of the angry Conqueror: from which neither your own force, nor forrein aid, nor huge walls, which I will vtterly ouerthrow, ſhall be able to defend you: Fare you well. All which ſhall aſſuredly be performed, if you ſhall make choice rather of my friendſhip, than of my force. Wherin you ſhall neither be deceiued nor circumuented; I take to witneſſe God the Creator of heauen and earth, the four Writers of the Euangelicall hiſtory, the fourſcore thouſand Prophets deſcended from heauen, and amongſt them our higheſt Prophet Mahomet; *the reuerend ghoſts* I
of my Father and Graundfather, and this my ſacred and Imperial head. From our palace at Conſtantinople.

When theſe letters were openly read in the counſel chamber at Rhodes, ſome were of opinion, that it was good to anſwer the Turkiſh tyrant roundly, therby to let him know that they feared not his threats. Others thought it no wiſdom, with hard words to prouoke ſo great an enemy to further diſpleaſure. Thus whilſt euery man would haue framed an anſwer according to their own diſpoſition, in concluſion it was agreed vpon to giue him no anſwer at all.

The ſame day theſe letters came to the Rhodes, which was the 14 of Iune, one of the Turks great commanders at ſea with 20 gallies, the fore-runners of the Turkiſh fleet, arriued at the K
Iſland of Chos, famous in antient time for the birth of *Hippocrates* the great Phyſition, & the wonderful picture of *Venus* left there vnperfect by *Apelles*, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durſt afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitful and pleaſant Iſland was then at the arriual of the Turks, part of the dominion of the Rhodes. The Admirall of this Fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the corn which was then almoſt ripe, with the country villages round about. With which injury *Prejanes* Gouernor of the Iſle (a man of great courage and valor) mooued, with a choſen company of footmen, and certain troups of horſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon the Turks, in diuers places diſperſed abroad far into the countrey, with ſuch a terrible cry of the country people, and inſtruments of war, that the Turks being therewith amaſed, ran away as if they had bin mad, and were many of them ſlain without reſiſtance. And L
had not the gallies lien neer the ſhore, to receiue them that were able to fly thither, there had not one of them which landed eſcaped the hands of the Iſland people. The Turks hauing receiued this loſſe, left the Iſland and put to ſea again.

The Rhodians for fear of the Turks, deſtroy their ſuburbs and places of pleaſure without the city.

The Rhodians for the moſt part now aſſured and out of doubt of the Turks comming, by the perſuaſion of *Gabriel Pomerolus* Vice-Maſter, and other men of great experience, plucked down the ſuburbs of the City, and layd them euen with the ground: their pleaſant orchards alſo and gardens neer to the city they vtterly deſtroyed; the great Maſter for examples ſake beginning firſt with his own, being a place of great delicacie lying vnder the wals neer to the French bulwark: and taking into the city all ſuch things as they thought needful for the indu-
ring of the ſiege, they vtterly deſtroied all the reſt, were it neuer ſo pleaſant or commodious, M
within a mile of the towne, leauing all that place as euen and as bare as they could poſſibly make it; to the intent that the enemy at his comming ſhould find nothing neer the city, wherof to make vſe. But whilſt the pleaſure and delights of the ſuburbs are thus defacing, another

more

A more heauy and woful ſight preſented vnto the eies of the citiſens, filled the city with greater mourning and penſiuenes than did the comming of the enemy. The miſerable multitude of the poor country people, ſome bringing wood, others corn, cattel, fouls, and other neceſſaries that they had out of the country, into the city (for ſo the great Maſter had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of women & children weeping, with diſhiveled haire, ſcratching their faces & tearing themſelues after the maner of the country, wringing their hands, and caſting vp their eies to heauen, beſeeching God with heauy countenance and flouds of tears, to defend the noble city of the Rhodes, and themſelues from the fury of their enemies. Which multitude of country people, with their prouiſion, being packt vp into narrow rooms in the houſes of the citiſens, and their cattel ſtaruing for want of fodder, afterwards corrupted
B the air, wherof inſued rotten agues and the flix, during the time of the ſiege: but after the city was giuen vp, ſuch a plague and mortalitie followed, as deſtroied great numbers of the Turks and poor Chriſtians, who knowing not whether to go, choſe rather there to dy, than to forſake their natiue country.

The feare of the country people.

The General of the Turkiſh fleet which landed in the Iſland of Chos, and was of purpoſe ſent by *Solyman*, to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at ſea, before hee with his whole power came to beſiege the Iſland; came daily with twenty gallies halfe thoſe narrow ſeas ouer, between Lycia and the Rhodes, leauing the reſt of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontory called Gnidium (not far from the City of Rhodes) ready to aid him as need ſhould require. This maner of brauery he vſed many daies together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians
C out of their hauen to giue him battel: knowing, that if he ſhould therin obtain the victory, it were at that time little leſſe than the taking of the city; or if he could by cruel fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, he ſhould therein do his maſter good ſeruice, and greatly further his victory, by diminiſhing the number of the Defendants. When hee had many daies without intermiſſion in this proud maner come half ſeas ouer, and ſometimes paſſing farther, came and lay at the mouth of the hauen, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be ſo braued at their own doors, mooued with the intolerable inſolency of this proud Turk, by their continual importunitie cauſed the great Maſter to call a councell, to conſider whether they ſhould fight winh this fleet of the Turks or not. The Counſellors by appointment of the great Maſter aſſembled; the Chancellor, a man of great authoritie and ſpirit, fa-
D mous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turks was to be fought with, ſaid;

The Chancellors ſpeech, perſuading the Rhodians to fight with the Turks gallies.

So great diſgrace was not longer to be ſuffered, but preſently reuenged. For (ſaid he) *the hugy Fleet of the Turks, I do not ſay at whoſe force and ſight, but at whoſe very name many men do tremble & quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great nouelty, for euery year we hear of the like) is as a head to be joined vnto theſe pyraticall gallies, as members; and then will it be moſt expedient (which will be an eaſie thing for vs to do, hauing the better both for ſtrength of ſhipping, and number and valor of men) to giue that great head ſuch a blow and wound, by cutting off theſe limbs, that it ſhall euer after ſtagger and faint for want of ſtrength: or elſe there is no other fleet at all prepared againſt vs to follow this, and then this diſ-*
E *comfited we ſhall be in quiet. Which thing in my opinion (though others which fear their own ſhadowes and the falling of heauen ſay otherwiſe) is moſt like to be true: for the great Turk is not ſo ſottiſh to come hither, the fitteſt time of the year being ſo far ſpent, in the later end of Iune, to beſiege this city, and ſuch a city as he knoweth to be moſt ſtrong, wanting nothing that is needfull, and thorowly manned with valiant ſoldiers, from whence his anceſtors haue bin with loſſe and ſhame repulſed: when as the remainder of the Summer will be ſpent before he can incamp himſelf, and place his batteries. And Winter time you know is vnfit for euery ſiege, eſpecially in this Iſland, wherin they can find no hauen or harbor to reſt in. Wherfore on Gods name let vs ſet vpon our proud enemies, and let vs not for a few threatning words ſent vnto vs from a fearfull youth, vpon a fineues and policie leſt we ſhould follow the tail of his fleet bound for ſome other place, ſit ſtil like cowards within our walls, with our hands in our boſomes, as men which for feare*
F *and dread durſt not ſhew their heads. Which our cowardiſe and want of courage we* (forſooth) *call* Fabius *his policy. But I would to God we were like* Fabius: *but I fear we ſhall proue more like* Antiochus, *the Ætolians, the Vitellians; all whoſe courage conſiſted in words, vainly hoping to gain the victory by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing well. But Gods help is not to be gotten with womens prayers and ſupplications, or theſe*

faint-hearted policies, which cowards call aduiſed counſell. But victory is gained by aduenturing and ex- G
poſing our ſelues to danger and perill.

With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he ſo mooued the multitude, who commonly conceiue moſt courage vpon the greateſt vncertainties, that they deſired to fight; ſaying, That they would waſh away that foul diſgrace with the bloud and ſlaughter of their enemies: for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they ſaid) to do it withall.

For all this, the grauer ſort of the Counſell (without whoſe conſent the Maſter might in ſuch caſes do nothing) thought it not good in ſo dangerous a time to aduenture any great part of their forces, which they ſhould afterwards want for defence of the city. The Turkiſh General deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not bee drawn H
forth to battel at ſea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called Villanova; where caſting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the Corn all thereabout, which was now almoſt ripe, but forſaken of the people as a thing deſperat: as for the people themſelues, they were all fled into the city of Rhodes, or els into ſtrong caſtles in other places of the Iſland.

The worthy commendation of the Great Maſter.

At the ſame time certain troups of horſmen ſent out to skirmiſh with the Turks that were burning the corn, were by a meſſenger ſent from the great Maſter commanded to retyre. For the prouident General ſought by all means to reſerue his ſoldiers for greater dangers, which he iuſtly feared in the expected ſiege; during which time he ſhewed himſelf a moſt politique captain & braue ſoldier: he many times by day eat his meat with his ſoldiers, as one of them; and moſt part of the night kept watch himſelf, walking vp and down, & reſting himſelf when I
he was weary, vpon ſome ſtone or piece of timber, or other homely ſeat as it chanced. In time of aſſault he was alwaies more forward and aduenturous than the graue Counſellors wiſhed, fearing neither ſhot nor enemy, yet did hee more commend diſcreet counſell, grounded vpon reaſon, than proſperous actions commended but by their euents. And which was moſt wonderful, amongſt ſo many cares, in midſt of ſuch diuers and dangerous chances, hee carried alwaies ſuch a grace and maieſty in his cheerful countenance, as made him to be of the ſoldiers both reuerenced & loued. Al the time he could ſpare from the neceſſary affairs of his weighty charge, from aſſaults, and the natural refreſhing of his body, he beſtowed in prayer & ſeruing of God; he oftentimes ſpent the greateſt part of the night in the church alone praying, his head-piece, gorget, and gantlets lying by him: ſo that it was often ſaid, That his deuout K
praiers and carefulnes would make the city inuincible.

The Turks fleet deſcried at ſea troubleth the Rhodians.

The 26 of Iune early in the morning, news was brought into the city from the watchtower ſtanding vpon S. *Stephens* hil almoſt a mile from the city, That a moſt huge fleet was deſcried at ſea, making thitherwards all alongſt the coaſt of Lycia. This bad news much troubled the city, although it was not of moſt men vnexpected: all places were filled with tumult & hurly-burly; euery man meaſured the greatnes of the danger by his own fear, and ſuch a pittiful cry was in euery place as is vſual in cities preſently to be beſieged. Herupon publick praiers were made throughout the city, and euery man with great deuotion beſought the God of heauen, That as it was his pleaſure, that the Rhodians ſhould at that time be the Champions of the Chriſtian religion, ſo he would giue them ſtrength and victory againſt their enemies, and to L
turn the calamities of War vpon the enemies of his Name. Their deuotion ended, the gates of the city were ſhut vp, and people from all places ran vnto the walls, great flocks of women, children, and aged men, not able to ſtand without a ſtaffe, going forth of their houſes to gaze vpon the dreadful fleet (wherein was aboue two hundred ſailes, as is reported) filled the ſtreets

The order of the Turks fleet.

and tops of the high towers and houſes. The formoſt of the fleet was the Admiral of Callipolis, to whom *Solyman* had committed the charge of all his Navy, and to aſſaile the City by ſea. The Rear-Admirall was *Cara-Mahometes* an arch pyrat, who was afterwards ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the city. The Vice-Admirall in the middle of the fleet with a great ſquadron of Gallies, hauing a faire Weſternly winde, ſtrook ſail directly before the mouth of the hauen (which was on both ſides defended with two ſtrong towers well furniſhed with ſtore M
of great artillery) and began to row toward the city: wherupon an alarm was raiſed, the trumpets ſounded, and many haſted into the bulwark which defended the left ſide of the hauen, which the enemy ſeemed to direct his courſe vnto, and was indeed more ſubiect vnto danger

than

A than the other. But the Turk seeing himself in danger to be sunk with shot from the bulwark, was glad to get himself farther off vnto the rest of the fleet: the Rhodians from the wals with loud outcries scornfully deriding him for his fooliſh attempt. This great fleet in exceeding brauery & triumph passing by the city in sight of the Rhodians (standing vpon the wals with ensignes displaied) did not more terrifie them, than they were themselues terrified to behold the strength of the city, and cheerfulnes of the defendants. But passing on, they came vnto the promontory which the inhabitants cal Bo, about three miles distant from the city Eastward: which smal hauen being not able to receiue so great a fleet, many of the gallies were inforced to ride it out at sea, where they were by shot out of the city oftentimes indangered, and inforced to get them further off. Whilst the enemy was there landing his great ordnance, & other
B instruments of war prepared for the siege, chusing a place for his camp, transporting his land-soldiers from the main into the Island, viewing the strength and scituation of the city, and in what place he might with most ease assault the same: the Rhodians in the mean time were not idle, but sunk diuers deep sounds in many places of the city neer to the walls, to discouer the enemies mines, and fortified their bulwarks with greater rampiers; in which work euery man put to his helping hand without respect of age or calling. The grand Master about that time sent *Lodovicus Andugus* one of the Knights of the Order, into Spain to *Charles* the Emperour; & *Claudius Ducenuillus* another of the Order also, to Rome to the Cardinals, & Italian knights of the Order; and from thence into France vnto the French King with letters, craving the aid of these Christian princes for relief of the city, by sea and land besieged. But all in vaine; for
C they caried away with the endles grudge of one against another, or respecting only their own estates, returned the Embassadors with good words, but no relief.

The great Master by embassadors craues aid of the Christian Princes.

At this time *Preianes* gouernor of Chios (of whom we haue before spoken) a man comparable with any of the captains of that age, an excellent soldier both by sea and land, valiant, and therto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhood; when he had by the space of two or three daies hid himselfe in the rocks at sea, for fear of the Turkes great fleet, came by night in a smal pinnace to the Rhodes, hauing deceiued the Turks watch: at whose comming the Rhodians wonderfully reioyced; for the soldiers reposed greater confidence in no man than in him; and if any great exploit were to be don, him the Master trusted aboue any other: he alwaies in arms during the siege incouraged the souldiers, searched the
D watch, surueyed the bulwarks, repaired the breaches, and such labors as others accounted extream miseries, he cheerfully indured, as if they had bin but his pleasures and recreations. At the same time also *Gabriel Martiningus* of Brixia, a most skilful enginier, came to the Rhodes out of Creta; by whose industry, 55 mines which the Turks did with infinit labor and charge make (by reason of the springing of the water, and hardnes of the rocks) during the siege, were all by countermines disappointed and defeated.

The commendation of Preianes.

The city of Rhodes is scituated on a plaine ground, on euery side to be besieged, onely Northward it is defended with a goodly hauen, from whence it lieth all Westward. Betwixt it and the hils round about it, lieth a stony plain ground, not very broad, but of greater length; these hils are full of springs, and orchards planted with oliues, fig trees, Vines, and such other
E fruits as such dry & sandy grounds wil bear. But what by nature wanted, was by the hand and industry of man supplied; for it was compassed about with a most strong double wal & deep trenches, threatning the enemy with thirteen stately towers, and sure against all assaults, with 5 mighty bulwarks, with diuers goodly fair gates: & that which was the greatest defence of of all, within the city was alwaies kept a most exact and streit form of War-like Discipline. The defence of the whole city was thus proportioned: From the French Tower (which with the greatnesse and height thereof seemed to mate the sky) stood the Frenchmen, with the French Lillies in their Ensignes, vnder their Commander *Ioannes Abbinus*, a noble Knight of the Order. From thence to Saint *Georges* Gate lay the stout Germanes with the Eagle in their Ensignes. In the third station were placed the French Avernois, with the Spaniards,
F for that the ditches in that place were neither so deep nor broad as elswhere. In the fift place lay the English garrison, ouer whom the grand Master himself commanded. After them succeeded they of Narbona: and last of all the Italians, in valor not inferior to any of the rest, vnder the leading of *Petrus Balinus* and *Gregorius Morgutas*. In euery of these stations were diuers valiant Knights of the Order, whose names (worthy of eternall memory) for breuity we

The description of the Rhodes.

passe ouer, all men of themselues sufficient to haue taken vpon them the whole charge. G

A Turkish woman slaue conspireth to fire the city.

The enemie was not as busie without the city in placing his battery, but traiterous minds were as busie within, to haue betraied the same. A Turkish woman, slaue to one of the rich citisens, had conspired with certain other her complices, at such time as the Turks should assault the town, at one instant to set on fire the houses wherin they dwelt, in diuers parts of the city, that the defendants drawn from the wals to quench the fire, the Turks in the mean time might the more easily enter. But this treason was in good time reuealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

The Turks had not as yet placed their battery, when as they took a certaine hill whereon stood a church dedicated to *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, directly ouer against the English station. From thence (as it seemed, rather for exercising of their soldiers, than for any great harm they H could do so far off) they began with smal battering pieces to shoot into the city; & afterward they began to dig mines, and to cast vp trenches: for the performing of which kinde of worke, and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them twenty thousand pioners, men better acquainted with country labor and keeping of cattel, than with wars; which being inforced vnto their labor day and night, somtime with stripes, and somtime with death,

The painfulnes of the Turkes pioners.

did with incredible celerity bring that to passe, which was before thought impossible. They cut waies through tthe hard stony rocks, raising the plains as high as mountaines, with earth brought two miles off, and laying the mountains euen with the plains, and yet they did neuer work in safety, but were miserably rent in sunder by the great ordnance out of the town: and that which most of all troubled them, the Rhodians sallying out vpon those ouer-laboured I people, hauing neither courage nor skil to defend themselues, but trusting only to their heels slew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others also appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians, taking courage of their fear, fiercely pursued and slew downright. And when many others issuing out of the camp in great companies, thought to haue relieued their fellows, the great ordnance before of purpose placed to most aduantage, so thundered from the wals among the thickest of them, that the ground lay couered with the bodies and weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the enemy, the Turkes for more safety wrought most vpon their mounts by night, keeping most strong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more assurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their Artillery against the places which the Rhodians vsed K to sally out at: which did not so much keep them in, as the feare of weakening themselues by often sallies; knowing that one man was vnto them more losse, than vnto the enemy an hundred. Among others which in the beginning of this great siege forced the vttermost of their

The Turkes deceiued by certain Christian Mariners.

deuices to the destruction of the Turks, were certain mariners, who hauing the Turkish Language perfectly, with leaue of the grand Master (disguising themselues in the habit of Turks) departed by night out of the hauen in a smal boat, loded with apples, plums, peares, mellons, grapes, and such other fruits as the time of the year afforded; and in the darknes came alongst the coast, vnto that part of the Island wherunto the passage was out of the maine. There, as if they had bin Turks come from the main, they landed their commodities, which the Turkish soldiers bought greedily. When they had thus sould their fruits, and in selling thereof dili- L gently noted the speech and talk of the soldiers and were now ready to depart; certain Turks which greatly disliked the hard beginning of this siege, seeing themselues if they did but stir in danger to be set off with shot out of the Towne, earnestly requested the mariners to take them into the main: which to do, at the first the mariners dissembling, refused as a thing dangerous; and besides that, their boat was too little to receiue so many as would willingly haue gon with them. Yet with much ado they suffered themselues to be intreated to take in seuen or eight, such a number as they could wel master: who in hope of passing ouer into the main, were (contrary to their expectation) brought prisoners to the Rhodes, where they were by *Prelanes* brought vp to the top of the highest tower of S. *Iohns* church, from whence they might see all about the country, and wel descry all the maner of the Turks camp, which they simply M discouered vnto the captain, and whatsoeuer els they were demanded; and among other things confessed, that the soldiers were greatly discontented with the siege, hauing in the beginning therof lost so many men, and that they were ready to rise in mutinie against their Captaines, and would hardly by them be commanded out of their trenches and cabbins; saying, That all

they

A they did was but loſt loſt labor;and that they ſhould find it another piece of work to win the Rhodes,than they had at Belgrade:wherfore if they were wiſe they ſhould in time depart,before they had receiued further harm both from the enemy,and for want of neceſſaries,wherewith the ſoldiers began already to be pinched. All which was then ſuppoſed to haue bin ſpoken by the captiues to pleaſe him in whoſe power they now were:yet it appeared afterward to be all true;for *Pyrrhus* Baſſa conſidering the troubled ſtate of the Camp,and the generall diſcontentment of the ſoldiers,whom he was gladder at that time to pleaſe than to puniſh,writ vnto *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, That if hee would the ſiege ſhould goe forward,hee ſhould without delay come in perſon himſelf to the Camp;for that the ſouldiers without regard of ſhame,were ready to riſe in mutiny,and to abandon the ſiege,refuſing to be commaunded by
B their captains.

In the mean time whilſt *Solyman* prepareth himſelf to ſet forward, the Turkiſh Captaines vnderſtood by certain Fugitiues (wherof in all wars ſome are to be found) that the high ſteeple of S.*Iohns* church ſerued them of the town for a watch-tower:for which cauſe,and for deſpight of the croſſe ſtanding vpon the top therof,they labored nothing more,than with continual ſhot to beat down that Tower; which whilſt they were doing with great diligence,*Solyman* himſelf came into the camp the 28 of Auguſt in the afternoon;where finding in his Army all the ſignes of cowardiſe and fear that could be ſpoken of or deuiſed, and nothing done according to the command of ſuch as he had appointed for that charge,but all things out of order,he took more griefe to ſee that great diſorder,than he did pleaſure & good hope of two
C hundred thouſand ſoldiers that were then in his army. Yet,for all that he was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation,both againſt his owne people and the Rhodians, he moderated himſelf betwixt his own rage and the offence of his ſoldiers;and calling them together,cauſed them to be diſarmed,not leauing among them ſo much as a ſword; and compaſſing them in with fifteen thouſand harquebuſiers whom he had brought with him wel appointed,he ſtept into his royal ſeat,there ſet on high for that purpoſe;where ſitting down, he pauſed a good while without any word ſpeaking, as if he had conſidered with himſelfe,whether he ſhould only puniſh the authors of the mutiny, or elſe with the puniſhment of many to reuenge ſo foul a ſedition, little differing from an open rebellion. But following of himſelf the milder reſolution,he thought it ſufficient to correct the multitude and common ſort
D of ſoldiers with ſharp and bitter words: and after generall ſilence made, brake out into this cholerick ſpeech;

Solyman comes into the Camp.

Slaues (quoth he) *for I cannot find in my heart to call you ſoldiers,What kind of men are you now become? are ye Turks? men wont to fight and ouercome. Verily I ſee the bodies,countenances, attyre, and habit of my ſoldiers; but the deeds, ſpeeches,countenances and denices of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceiued me? that Turkiſh force and courage is gon;the valor and ſtrength both of bodies and minds,wherwith the Arabians,Perſians,Syrians,Egyptians, Servians, Hungarians, Bulgarians,Epirots,Macedonians,and Thracians were ſubdued,is loſt: forgetting your countrey, your Oath, the command of your captains,your obedience, and all other warlike diſcipline,you haue againſt the Majeſtie*
E *of myne Empire refuſed to fight,like cowards betaken your ſelues to flight,for vain fear of death & danger,not beſeeming men of war. If any man ſhould at home but haue named the Rhodes,in your Feaſts, amongſt your pots,in your aſſemblies and great meetings, you could then with your tongues brag to pul it down, you had much ado to hold your hands: here,when I would make proof of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps,that the Rhodians ſo ſoon as they ſaw your enſigns before their gates, would ſtraitway yeeld themſelues and their city into your power. Let all men ceaſe ſo to ſay or thinke, and beleeue me that know the truth,This baſe and infamous den which you ſee,is ful of moſt cruel beaſts,whoſe madnes we ſhall neuer tame without much labor and bloudſhed. Yet ſhall we tame them; for why,nothing is ſo wild but at length it may be tamed: which vnles I bring to paſſe, I haue fully reſolued and vowed to*
F *my ſelf,either here to die,or ſpend my daies. And if euer I do or ſay otherwiſe, let this my head, my Fleet, myne army,and empire,be for euer accurſed and vnfortunat.*

Solymans cholericke Oration to his ſoldiers.

And ſo without further ſpeech,deſiring rather to be accounted of his ſoldiers gentle than ſeuere,he pardoned them all their former offences,and ſwore them al again to his obedience.

This

This mutiny ſo appeaſed, all things afterward were don with better ſucceſſe, and greater care G
both of the ſoldiers and commanders. Firſt they planted in diuers plac es twelue great Bombards, wherwith they threw vp ſtones of hugy weight into the air, which falling down into the city, might break down the houſes and whatſoeuer els they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of theſe the great Maſter was like to haue bin ſlain. Howbeit this prooued a deuice of more terrour than danger: for with 200 ſuch ſhot were but ten men ſlaine. Which thing amongſt others *Apella* a traiterous fugitiue declared vnto the Enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himſelf confeſſed, being taken vpon ſuſpition and examined: for which his treaſon he was iuſtly executed.

Apella a Traitor.

The force of the battery was more feared, wherin the Turks had planted forty great pieces
The Turks battery. of battery, and amongſt them twelue Baſilisks; ſo aptly named of the Serpent *Baſiliſcus*, who H
as *Pliny* writeth, killeth man or beaſt with his ſight. With theſe pieces the Turks battered the wals continually, but lying ſomwhat far off, did no great harm.

At the ſame time alſo *Solyman* cauſed battery to be laid againſt the tower of S. *Nicolas*, ſtanding vpon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the ſea, defending the hauen vpon the right hand, where ſometime ſtood the great Coloſſus of the Sunne, accounted the greateſt among the ſeuen wonders of the world. Which Caſtle was both ſtrongly and ſumptuouſly built at the charges of the dukes of Bourgondy, as appeared by their Arms there ingaruen in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a Frenchman, who had the charge therof with 200 ſoldiers, among whom were 30 Knights of the Order.

The Turks artillery planted againſt the tower was by the skilfulnes of the Chriſtian Can- I
noniers in ſhort time diſmounted with ſhot from the tower, and many of the Gunners ſlain; ſo that they were glad to ſurceaſe any more to batter the tower by day, but lying ſtill all the day, they began to batter the ſame by night, wherin they preuailed no more than they had before don in the day time: for the defendants warily obſeruing ſuch places as were likeſt for the enemy to place his battery in, did ſo aptly place their ordnance againſt the ſame, and to ſo good purpoſe, that the Turks ſwore their doings were by ſome means diſcouered vnto the Enemies. So when they had in vain beſtowed 500 ſhot, and made a ſmall breach which they durſt not once attempt to enter, they ſhamefully abandoned that place alſo.

All this while *Pyrrhus* was buſie in working of mines to vndermine the City; 32 of which
mines the defendants fruſtrated with countermines; in which kind of work many were loſt K
on both ſides. Yet for all the carefulnes of the Chriſtians, the Engliſh bulwark was vndermi-
The Engliſh Bulwarke blowne vp. ned by the enemy, & vpon the fourth of September part therof blown vp, with ſuch violence, that vnto them in the city it ſeemed at the firſt to be a generall earthquake; and diuers Engliſh men were therwith ouerwhelmed. The Turks attempting preſently to enter, were by the Grand Maſter and his followers with great ſlaughter repulſed.

But *Muſtapha* the Baſſa comming on with freſh ſupplies, and crying out of the cowardiſe of them that retyred, renued the aſſault; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharp and cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully incouraging their ſoldiers, & they likewiſe doing what was poſſible for men to do: all mens ears were filled with the thundring of the ſhot, noiſe of trumpets and drums, and cries of men. And vnto the Turkes it ſeemed that it rained ouer their heads L
deadly ſhot and ſtones of fire: for the townſmen and women mingled with the ſouldiers, caſt down vpon the Turks fire, ſtones, timber, and whatſoeuer els came to hand; ſo that they vnable longer to endure the courage and force of the Chriſtians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any ſign of retreit, euery man ſeeking to ſaue one: among whom as they fled, the great ordnance ſhot off from the wals made wonderful ſlaughter. At this aſſault of the Turks were ſlain, as ſome write, almoſt 2000, and amongſt them the maſter of the Turkes ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victory the Chriſtians gained not without ſome loſſe; for beſides ſome few others that were ſlain, fifty Knights of the Order (men worthy of eternal memory) ended their daies alſo.

The fift day after (which was the ninth of September) *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Muſta-* M
The Turkes aſſault the Engliſh Bulwarke the ſecond time and are againe repulſed. *pha* the great Baſſa, commanded a freſh aſſault to be giuen to the Engliſh bulwarke; which was attempted by the Turks with greater reſolution than the firſt. Seuen enſigns of the Turks were broken in by the ruines of the Bulwarke, and had inforced the Defendants, oppreſſed with

A with number to giue ground; when the graund Maſter comming in with the enſigne of the Order, garded with a company of moſt valiant Knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his men retyre, couragiouſly reſtored the battell, by bringing on of new ſupply; and other captains with threats, ſtrokes, and terror of death inforced the ſoldiers (who had before turned their backs) now again to fight. So that there began a more cruel fight than had before bin from the beginning of the ſiege: which was vnto the Chriſtians more dangerous, for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh ſhot. But in this extremity no man regarded either danger or life; only this they remembred, that thoſe were their barbarous enemies, whom they muſt either victoriouſly vanquiſh, or die therfore. With which fury the aſſault was continued by the ſpace of three hours, vntil
B at length *Muſtapha* with his Turks diſcouraged, with the loſſe of 2000 of their fellows, & of three great noblemen whom *Solyman* eſpecially fauored, and ſore beaten by the Spaniards out of their flankers, were inforced to retyre. Few of the Chriſtians, in reſpect of ſo many Enemies, were ſlain: yet had the enſigne of the Order been then loſt (*Ioachimus Cluys* the Enſigne-bearer hauing both his eies ſhot out) had not *Emericus Ruiaulx* an Avernois, and one of the Knights of the Order, with incredible courage reſcued the ſame.

After this ſecond aſſault, falling out ſo vnluckily vnto the Turks, *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*: and *Pyrrhus* to keep his credit by doing ſomething, with continual battery of 17 great pieces, did batter the mount neer vnto the Italian bulwark. *Muſtapha Baſſa falls into diſgrace with Solyman.*

At which time alſo *Caſſius* gouernor of Bythinia, another of the Turks great commanders, la-
C bored by vndermining to haue ouerthrown the French bulwark: ſo glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great lord and maſter. But the indeauors of *Caſſius* was by countermines, through the carefull diligence of *Gabriel Chierus* hauing charge of thoſe works, fruſtrated: and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after he had by hot aſſault ſlain them which were appointed for the defence therof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the city, was again with great loſſe ſhamefully repulſed, and by *Solymans* commandment cauſed to retyre. At this aſſault the gouernor of Eubœa, *Solymans* Lieutenant Generall, a man of great honor (if any of the Turks ſlaues are ſo to be accounted) was ſlain, for whoſe death *Solyman* was exceeding penſiue and heauy.

Muſtapha the Baſſa finding himſelf in diſgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat aſſaults *The Engliſh bulwarke the third time aſſaulted by Muſtapha.*
D by him giuen at the Engliſh ſtation, determined if it were poſſible, by a third to recouer his loſt credit: and for his better ſucces therin, agreed with *Achimetes* another great commander, at the ſame time to aſſault the Spaniſh bulwark. According to this reſolution, *Achimetes* hauing with a mine ſuddenly blowne vp a great part of the Wall of the Spaniſh ſtation, in the thick of the duſt and ſmoke preſently entred his men, who by the ruins of the wal recouered the top of the rampiers. *Muſtapha* alſo at the ſame time hardly charged the Engliſh; ſo that in both places was made a hard and doubtful fight. *Muſtapha* deſiring nothing more, than with better ſucces now to redeem his former diſhonor, did what he might to incourage the ſoldiers, calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodians on the other ſide mindfull of their former honor, with the greatnes of the pre-
E ſent danger, valiantly repulſed the enemy, and forced him with ſhame to retyre. In this aſſault many Engliſhmen were ſlain, and *Preianes* alſo ſore hurt, hauing before ſlain many of the Turks. *Muſtapha* beſide the loſſe of his men, had alſo two of his enſignes taken by *Chriſtophorus Vaulderick* Commendator of the German Knights. *Achimetes* hauing won the top of the walls, had there ſet vp the Turkiſh enſignes; but by the valor of the defendants, and by means of certain pieces of ordnance, by *Martiningus* aptly placed in the houſes before the new made breach, and by force of ſhot out of the flankers on both ſides the breach, whereof none fell in vain, he was again inforced to forſake the wals, and to retyre. *The Turks Enſigns aduanced to the top of the wals, are again caſt down.*

The 23 of September, the Turkiſh captains hoping by meanes of a mine which they had made againſt the Avergn bulwark, to enter and win the City; approching the wals with mul-
F titudes of ſoldiers, ready to haue entred vpon the blowing vp of the mine: it being met with a countermine out of the city, wrought not ſuch effect as was by them expected: ſo that hauing receiued ſome harm, ſtanding in a place of great diſaduantage, and don nothing, they returned again to the camp. Yet all the expert captains probably coniecturing that the Wall might

Another breach made in the walls.

might bee inwardly ſhaken by the mine, though it were not by them outwardly perceiued, G
cauſed that part of the wal to be moſt violently battered al the reſt of that day and night following, and by the fury of their artillery made a fair & large breach. Al that night was heard in the Turks camp an vnwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running to and fro, as had there bin ſome great matter a doing: which the Rhodians conie&tured (as the truth was) to be a ſign of ſome great aſſault to be ſhortly giuen.

Solyman reſoluing the next day with all his force to aſſault the new made breach, after hee had by himſelf in a melancholy mood walked vp & down in his tent a great part of the night, ſent for the chief commanders of his army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth.

Your valor and wiſdom (worthy Captains) needeth not any exhortation; yet the deſperat madneſſe of H
our enemies maketh me to ſpeak vnto you theſe few words: who whilſt they yet do, as from the beginning, as men without reaſon deſperately defend their City rent with our artillery, ſhaken with our mines, their Churches and houſes beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worne out with ſlaughter, labour, and wounds, which muſt needs befall men ſo often aſſaulted; they worthily ſeem vnto our ſoldiers men of inuincible force and courage: which opinion to haue remoued, much concerneth the happy and wiſhed ſucces of our aſſault. Wherfore I would haue you with effectual perſuaſions and bountiful promiſes to hearten on our men to the winning of this city. Beſides this, you ſhall open vnto them my purpoſe and entent, and that they ſhould not think that they are brought hither to beſiege one city, but that in taking this one, they ſhall vpon the matter make a way into all the dominions of the Chriſtians. Here be the kinſmen, allyance, and friends of all the Kings, Princes, and Potentats of Chriſtendom: here is all our enemies treaſure, the I
ſpoil wherof promiſed vnto our ſoldiers, may ſerue to great purpoſe to incourage them forward: here is the ſtore of ordnance, armor, and other warlike prouiſion, which ſhall both furniſh vs, and in time to come miſerably confound the reſt of the Chriſtians. We ſhall beſide this enioy a moſt goodly and rich city, with a hauen of all others moſt commodious, from whence all things neceſſary for war may at all times as occaſion ſhall require, by land and ſea be ſupplied: which as they ſhall be to vs things of great importance, ſo ſhall we deſpoil our enemies of far greater. This is their caſtle, ſtorehouſe, treaſury, and armory: this is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all ſuch as trouble the Turks by ſea: from hence ſhal wee haue free ſcope and paſſage into Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and many other Chriſtian countries. But as for your ſelues, valiant Captains, when as I conſider how that you haue within theſe few months by your valor and -
wiſdom ſubdued vnto my empire the ſtrong city of Belgrade, which my great graundfather Mahomet K
that mighty Emperor could not with all his power get; I reſt in great hope, that theſe fierce and obſtinat Chriſtians ſhall not long be able to defend themſelues in theſe their dens and lurking places.

Hauing ended this ſpeech, the captains euery one vnto his company made known what the great Emperors wil and pleaſure was; and open proclamation made thorow all the campe, by which the ſpoil of that rich city was all granted vnto the ſoldiers, as a prey and reward for the pains they were to take.

Solyman heauy with ſleep and care, lay down vpon a palat to take his reſt: but the great Maſter (to whom the vnaccuſtomed ſtir of the enemy portended ſome great matter) al that night in arms painfully viewed euery part of the city; cherfully incouraging his ſoldiers to remem- L
ber, That they did watch for the ſafety of their Country, their liues and liberty. It fortuned the ſame night, that a poor Chriſtian ſeruing a Turk in the camp, calling ſecretly to the watch vpon the wals, gaue them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to giue a generall aſſault vnto the city. Which thing when the great Maſter certainely vnderſtood, becauſe hee would haue nothing don raſhly or fearfully (as it commonly hapneth in things don vpon the ſudden) called together his Knights, and ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The Great Maſters oration to his Knights.

I am glad (ſacred Companions and Fellowes in Armes) that the time is come when in one bat-
tell, getting vnto your ſelues great honour, and defending your Countrey, you may be iuſtly accoun-
ted the worthy Defenders and Reuengers of the Chriſtian Commonweal and Name. The people againſt M
whom we are to fight tomorrow, aſſaile vs onely as preſuming vpon their multitude: But if we meaſure
Valour not by number, but by courage and proweſſe, vndoubtedly a few reſolute men will eaſily ouer-
come a great multitude of cowards. You know your enemy, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight

(moſt

A *(most worthy Knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquiſhed at ſea, and in iuſt battel ſomtimes ouercome by land, at ſuch time as with their whole power they aſſaulted your walls: omitting in the mean time many hot skirmiſhes, wherin you euer put them to the worſt. Wherfore you and they in the aſſault tomorrow ſhall haue ſuch courage, as conquerors and men conquered vſe to haue. Neither wil they fight becauſe they dare fight; but becauſe the great Tyrant and violent commaund of their Captaines inforceth them therunto. Wherfore remembring what you are by birth, what opinion the Chriſtian commonwealth hath conceiued of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you; take vp your arms with iuſt fury and indignation, and fight againſt them, following one frantick youth, as if you ſaw your ſlaues bearing arms againſt you. Wherunto you are inforced not only by the indignity of the wrong by them offered, but alſo by neceſsity, which of it ſelf is of power to make cowards valiant and hardy. For here wee are in an*
B *Iſland from whence we cannot eſcape, and in a city whoſe rent and battered walls do not ſo much protect and defend vs, as our weapons: wherfore tomorrow we muſt here either vanquiſh them, or die therfore: tomorrow ſhall giue vnto vs either ioyfull victory, or a moſt honorable death.*

As he was yet thus ſpeaking, news of the enemies approch cauſed him to make an end, and euery man haſted with ſpeed to the place of his charge. The enemy comming faſt on, with a moſt horrible cry, as their maner is, fiercely aſſailed the city in fiue places, where the Engliſh, Spaniards, Italians, Narbonenſes, and Avergnois had their ſtations. To the aſſault of euery of which places *Solyman* had appointed ten thouſand Turks. *Muſtapha* the Baſſa calling vpon the name of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, and promiſing vnto the ſouldiers the rich ſpoil of
C the City, fiercely aſſailed the Engliſh ſtation, from whence he had bin three times before ſhamefully repulſed. *Pyrrhus* the other great Baſſa with like fury aſſaulted the Italian ſtation. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight; the Turks fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and liberty. Neither was there any, of what degree or order ſoeuer, which did not that day fight for defence of the City. The prieſts and religious men were not then exempted, but fought among other ſoldiers: women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the ſtrength of their bodies, & courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, ſome ſtones which they had digged out of the ſtreets, ſome burning pitch barrels, ſome hoops with wild-fire, ſome ſcalding oil, ſome boyling pitch; which being caſt down vpon the enemies, troubled them ſo, as nothing was more feared: for vpon
D whomſoeuer it fel, it ſtuck faſt, and ſo ſcalded their bodies, that they were glad to caſt downe their weapons, to tear off their cloaths, wherwith many of them rent off the skin and fleſh alſo. All which things fel ſo thick vpon the Turks as if it had rained fire and ſtones: beſides the deadly ſhot, which among ſuch a multitude of enemies neuer fell in vain. The great Maſter hauing a careful eye ouer euery part of the city, after he had well relieued the Italian ſtation, which was the firſt hardly diſtreſſed by *Pyrrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus* a Knight of the Order, with ſuch company as hee thought conuenient for the ſafety of that place; and went himſelf with the reſt vnto the Engliſh ſtation, which was then hardly laid to by the Baſſa *Muſtapha*. But whilſt he was there buſied in repulſing the enemy, and had now well relieued the place, a ſudden cry ran along the wals, that the Spaniſh bulwark was already poſſeſſed by the
E enemy: with which heauy news he was not a little troubled; but leauing there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the Knights of the Order, with a choſen company of ſoldiers for defence of that place; he with his gard haſted to the Spaniſh ſtation, which he found by a wonderfull chance already taken by the enemy. In the beginning of the aſſault, certain Turks to ſhun the danger of the ſhot, had for fear hidden themſelues at the foot of this bulwarke, among the ſtones which had before bin beaten downe with the battery: in the mean time other Turkes of the ſame regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant Captain *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwark, not medling with the bulwark it ſelf, as a thing of greateſt ſtrength: and the valiant ſouldiers appointed for the defence of the bulwark, ſeeing their
F fellowes and Countreymen diſtreſſed faſt by them on the right hand, could not endure to ſtand ſtil as lookers on, but left the Bulwark, and went to the place ſo hardly aſſaulted: where whilſt they were valiantly incountring the enemy, the cowardly Turkes who had before for fear hid themſelues, hearing all ſtil ouer their heads, and therby gheſſing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawn thence to another place more diſtreſſed; to color their fear, &

The Turks aſſault the City in fiue places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the city.

The Spaniſh bulwark taken by the Turks.

proue

proue their good fortune, like tall fellows crept out of the holes wherein they had before for G
fear hid themselues, and secretly crauling vp the battered wals of the Bulwark, got into it be-
fore they were discouered: where finding none but a few soldiers (who busied in remouing of
a great piece to a place more conuenient for annoying the enemy, had laid downe their wea-
pons) they suddenly set vpon them, slew them, ouerthrew the Christian ensigns, and so became
masters of that strong fort. The Turks without, seeing that, wonderfully commended the va-
lor of these men, and blaming themselues of cowardise, made great hast through the midst of
the town ditch, to get vp into the bulwark to help their fellowes. But in going through the
ditch, they were so cut off with shot on both sides out of the flankiers, that few of them could
get vp into the desired bulwark: and the Great Master with a crew of valiant soldiers, nothing
fearing the armed enemy, now in possession of the bulwarke ouer their heads, with great reso- H
The Spanish bulwark again recouered. lution scaled the same. In the mean time *Hugo Caponus* a Spaniard, and *Menotius* a Frenchman,
both Knights of the Order, with a company of Cretensian soldiers brake into the bulwark by
a gate which the Turks had not as yet bolted, and being once got in, they quickly dispatched
the Turks, for whom they slew not with the sword, they inforced to mischief themselues for
hast back again ouer the wals. The bulwark thus again recouered (which had bin two houres
in possession of the enemy) & the city deliuered of a wonderful fear; the worthy great Master
leauing a sufficient number of soldiers for the keeping of that fort, went with the rest of his
company vnto the place where the Spaniards with the rest of the defendants sore charged by
Achimetes, and now wearied and almost spent, had much ado to hold out: who incouraged with
the sight of the grand Master, as if victory had attended vpon him, with great cries and signes I
of joy, valiantly & with great slaughter repulsed their enemies as if they had bin fresh men.
Long it were to recount the deadly fight & hard aduentures which befel at the assault of the
other two stations of the Avergnois and Narbonenses: but the Turks were in euery place put
The Turkes giue ouer the assault. to the worst, and lay by heaps slain in the ditches and breaches of the town. *Solyman* from his
standing (for that purpose made of high masts) beholding the miserable slaughter of his men,
and no hope of gaining the City, caused a retreit to be sounded, a thing welcome both to the
Rhodians and Turks. In this terrible assault, which indured by the space of six hours, diuers
of the Knights of the Order were slain, especially of the French and Spanish nations, with
150 common soldiers, all men worthy of eternal fame; and of the Turks (as they which write
most modestly report) 20000. The yong tyrant was so much offended with the shamefull re- K
pulse he had receiued at this last assault, that he fel into a rage against al them which had per-
suaded him to enter into that action; but especially against the great Bassa *Mustapha*, whom
he accused as an vnfaithful counsellor and chief persuader of that vnlucky war: who flattering
him in his vain humor, by extolling his forces aboue measure; and falsly extenuating the ene-
mies power, assuring him that vpon the first approch of his army they would yeeld themselues
without resistance, had drawn him into that dangerous expedition, like to sort to the great
Solyman in his fury commands the two great Bassa's, Mustapha & Pyrrhus to bee put to death. dishonor of himself and all the *Othoman* family: for which doing he adiudged him worthy of
death, and in great fury commaunded the executioner without further delay to put him to
death in his presence. Which dreadful doom, so suddenly and vpon so light an occasion gi-
uen vpon a man of so great mark and quality, strucke such a terror into the minds of all there L
present, that none of them durst speak a word against the rigor of that sentence, or so much as
fet a sigh in pittying his case. The executioner now ready to giue the fatal stroke, *Pyrrhus* the
most antient of all the Bassa's, moued with compassion, and presuming of his great fauor with
the tyrant, whom he had from his childhood had the charge and gouernment of, stept forth,
and appealing vnto his mercy, earnestly requested him to spare his life. Wherwith *Solyman*
was so filled with wrath and indignation, that for his presumption, and for sending for him
to Constantinople to come to that dangerous siege, he commanded him to be executed also.
The Bassas spared at the intercession of the other Counsellors. All the rest of the counsellors seeing the danger of these two great men, fell down at the feet
of the fuming tyrant, crauing pardon; saying, That the enemies ground had already drunk too
much of the Turkish bloud, and was not to be further moistned with the bloud of two such M
noble personages and worthy Counsellours. *Solyman* mooued with this general intercession
of his great men, pausing a little vpon the matter, the heat of his fury being somthing ouer,
suffered himself to be intreated, and granted vnto them their liues: To *Pyrrhus* for his great

age

A age and wisedome, and to *Mustapha* for his wiues sake, who was the tyrants naturall sister sometime the wife of *Bostanges*.

All the time of this siege, the Turks great fleet, furnished with men and all manner of warlike prouision, lay before the enterance of the hauen without doing any thing at all: for the Admirall being no man of war, seeing the mouth of the hauen chained, and the castles vpon the entrance full of ordnance, and strongly manned, durst not attempt either to enter the hauen, or besiege the castle: for which his cowardise, and for that he had negligently suffered prouision both of victuall and munition, to be conueied into the city during the time of the siege, to the great reliefe of the besieged, he was by *Solyman* adjudged to die a most cruell death: but by the mediation of *Achimetes*, one of his best men of war, the seuerity of that sen-
B tence was changed into a punishment, vnto any noble mind more grieuous than death it selfe: for he was by *Solymans* commandement, openly set vpon the poupe of the admirall gally, and there as a slaue receiued at the hands of the executioner a hundred stripes with a cudgell, and so with shame was thrust out of his office.

Solyman displaceth his Admirall and punisheth him as a slaue.

After that *Solyman* had in so many places with all his power so long time in vaine besieged the Rhodes, his haughty courage began to quaile, so that he was vpon point to haue raised his siege and left the Island, yea, the griefe he had conceiued, went so neere him, that he many times fainted and lay speechlesse, as if he had been a dead man. The remembrance of so many vnfortunat assaults, the death of so many worthy captains, the losse of so many valiant souldiers (sufficient to haue subdued a whole kingdome) so much grieued him, that a great while
C after he shunned the company of men, and would not suffer himselfe to be spoken withall: vntill at length he was againe by *Abraham* his minion, a man in whom he tooke singular pleasure, recomforted, and persuaded to continue the siege; for that Time (as he said) which worketh all things would at length tame the fiercenesse of his enemies, whom the sword could not vpon the sudden subdue. In the meane time *Solyman* for his pleasure, and to shew vnto the Rhodians, that he purposed not to depart, began to build a sumptuous castle vpon the top of the mount Philermus in the eie of the city. During which time diuers letters were shot into the city with Turkish arrowes out of the campe, wherein many of *Solymans* most secret counsels were reuealed, and the reuolt of a great man promised, which the Rhodians by many circumstances gathered to haue beene *Mustapha*, who could not easily forget the injury so lately
D offered vnto him by *Solyman*: needs it must be some of *Solymans* secret counsell, otherwise he could not haue reuealed so great secrets as it were out of the bosome of *Solyman*. But see the chance, at the very same time tidings came vnto *Solyman*, that *Cayerbeius* the Gouernour of Ægypt was dead: in whose place *Solyman* sent *Mustapha* to Caire as Gouernour of Ægypt, by that honourable preferment again to please his discontented mind, after which time no more letters came into the city.

Solyman exceedingly grieued with the repulse and losse receiued at the siege of the Rhodes, was vpon point to haue left the same.

Now the Turks began to make faire wars, their terrible battery began to grow calme, and for certaine daies it seemed by the manner of their proceedings, that they purposed rather by long siege than by assault to take the town. Neuertheless the enemies watching day and night in their trenches, vsed all the policy they could, sometimes offering vnto the souldiers vpon
E the wals great rewards, if they would yeeld vp the city, and somtimes threatning them as fast: and to breed a dislike among the defendants, they would oftentimes say, that *Solyman* desired only to be reuenged vpon the latines, without meaning any harme vnto the Greekes.

It was now the beginning of October, and Winter began to grow fast on, great rain, with terrible thunder and lightening, and mighty tempests, heauens threats, then fell so abundantly, that the Turks before wearied in body with labor and wounds, were now also in mind discouraged. And that more increased their feare, the sea was growne so rough, That the Admirall was not able in that open and dangerous sea longer to ride it out with his gallies: but was inforced to slip his ankers, and as he might to run his gallies on ground. In these troubles wherwith both *Solyman* himselfe and all his army were at furthest of their wits, and almost quite
F discouraged, *Achimetes* one of his most valiant and expert captains, came to comfort him and promised if he would continue the siege, in short time to make him an open way into the city: vpon confidence whereof, *Solyman* to encourage his fainting souldiers, now scarce able for cold and lacke of courage to hold their weapons in their hands, caused them to be assembled before his pauillion, where from a high place, he comforted them in this sort:

Achimetes promiseth to make away for Solyman into the city.

Solyman comforteth his souldiers and perswadeth them with patience to endure the siege.

I am not ignorant (most valiant souldiers) what great things you indure for mine honour, and the glory of mine Empire. This continuall threatning of the heauens, this immoderate raine, this terrible thunder and lightening, the coldnesse of the weather, the want of necessaries, with the manifold miseries of this long siege, doe much perswade me, to giue you leaue to lay downe armes and to take your rest. But first let vs consider if vnto men of courage it be not a dishonour, for the tediousnesse of raine and tempest, to leaue vnto our enemies the victory already in our hands, and shamefully to forsake our trenches, forts, mounts, ouertopping not only the wals of the city, but mating the heauens, with such other like workes made with my infinite charge, and your great trauell, all for the taking of this city. Truely this warre either should not haue beene taken in hand at all, or being once begun, is to be ended for the honour of the Othoman *Empire. Which forsomuch as it could not be accomplished in Summer; the reputation of mine Empire in common, and the regard of the commodity of euery one of you in priuate, enforceth me to performe it in Winter. For if we should from hence depart with our army, who doubts but the enemy, not only for desire of reuenge, but also strained by necessity, hauing lost all he had of his owne, will prey vpon your countries, houses, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children, into a farre more miserable slauery and bondage, than that wherin he himselfe now is? Wherefore I aduise you to continue the siege, and neuer to depart before you haue attained vnto the end of your desires. And admit there were no necessity in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to impose vpon you a resolution both of body and mind to indure the siege: For the eies and countenances of all nations, especially the Christians, are fixed vpon you; whom when they shall vnderstand not to be able to indure the field one Winter, they will of right call you Summer-birds, which so soone as any storme ariseth, looke after your houses, and places of repose. It is reported, that the Grecians for a strumpet besieged Troy ten yeares; and shall not the Turks, vexed and oppressed with slaughters, robberies, inuasions both by sea and land, and that more is, with the seruitude of two hundred and foureteen yeres, endure one Winters siege? They will say that the terrour if your name is but vaine, and that fame hath increased the same (as many other things moe) which not seen, are more feared in far countries amongst men of small experience: And that now euery man may safely enough abide your force, which make your inuasions rather vpon a fury and brauery than vpon any good resolution, which in all kinde of war (but especially in besieging of cities) is most necessary: whereof many being by naturall situation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her handmaids, Famine and Thirst, ouercome and vanquished, as it shall do this city of the Rhodes: against which (beloued in armes) there is a secret mischiefe prepared, which may not in this open audience be published; for it is as necessary that the vulgar sort should be ignorant of some things, as to know the same.*

Many thought, that this was spoken rather of policy than vpon any good ground: and although his hot perswasion had little moued the cold courage of his despairing souldiers, yet the regard of duty in that most loyall nation, with the greedy expectation of so great a secret, ouercame all other difficulties; so that they departed (at leastwise in shew) contented to indure whatsoeuer should befall.

Achimetes winneth the Vaumures of the Auergne bulwark, raiseth a strong penthouse against the wall, and so vndermineth the same.

Achimetes author of this great expectation, and the only hope of *Solymans* succesſe, came oftentimes and assailed the Vaumures of the Auergn station, which although they were not very high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike captaine dayly attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the same, and so possessed of the place he so much desired, desperatly kept it vntill greater helpe came running in, who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpose before prepared) clapt vp a strong and defensible couering in manner of a penthouse against the towne wall, betwixt the wall and the Vaumure, vnder which they shrouded themselues from the defendants; which was an easie matter for such a multitude to do, the ditches of the towne in that place being now filled vp so high, that the defendants could not out of the flankers scoure the ditch, nor yet without manifest danger come to cast any thing downe vpon them from the top of the wals: for the Turks harquebusiers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than the battered wals of the city, suffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erst thought themselues at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a sudden and an vnexpected mischiefe: which at the first filled the city with feare and heauy silence, which straitwaies after brake out into pittifull outcries and lamentations. The Turks lurking vnder their penthouse, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of the wall; and *Prejanes* forward and couragious to do what might be done, threw downe vpon

the

A the Turks, fire, ſcalding oyle, burning pitch, wild-fire and ſuch things. But when the miſerable men which ſhrunke from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their imperious commanders, and preſently ſlaine if they made any delay, and freſh men ſtill thruſt on in ſtead of ſuch as were hurt or ſlaine: the fatall worke began the ſeuenth day of October, went apace forward, with the great and continuall labour of theſe wretched ſlaues. A great number of the common ſouldiers whom the Turks call Aſapi were imploied in this worke: of whom *Solyman* in this ſiege of the Rhodes, and other his expeditions, made not much more account but as of pioners to worke in mines and to caſt vp trenches, and oftentimes with their bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Ianizaries to paſſe ouer vpon: they by the conſtraint of *Achimetes* vndermined the wall, and as they wrought, ſhoared vp the ſame againe
B with timber, whereunto they afterwards ſet fire, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wall; which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not far enough vndermined it, they aſſaied with great hooks and ſtrong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the Rhodians with their great ordnance from the Auergn bulwarke, quickly put them from that mad worke with great ſlaughter, and fruſtrated all their long labor. *Achimetes* thus diſappointed of his purpoſe, ſtood in great doubt whether he ſhould giue ouer the enterpriſe, for that he ſaw he laboured in vaine, or elſe in that dangerous place to expect ſome better hap, the only means to ſaue him from the tyrants heauy diſpleaſure; who as he knew meaſured all things by the euent. *Solyman* vnderſtanding by *Achimetes*, that the wall (although it was not ouerthrown as was expected) was yet ſore ſhaken and weakned with vndermining, cauſed his bat-
C tery to be planted againſt that part of the wall ſo vndermined: which ſo many waies weakned, and now ſore battered, fell downe dayly more and more. For remedy whereof, the Rhodians laboured day and night to raiſe a new wall, in ſtead of that which was beaten downe.

The miſerable ſtate of the common ſoldiers of the Turks, and the ſmall account is made of them.

At the ſame time, *Solyman* perſuaded by the generall opinion of all his great captains, that the city was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall aſſault, cauſed proclamation to be made thorow his campe: wherein he gaue the ſpoile of the city vnto his ſoldiers, and the more to encourage them, ſpake vnto them in few words, as followeth:

Solyman encourageth his ſouldiers to a freſh aſſault.

D *Fortune at length, valiant ſoldiers, hauing notably proued your courage and patience; now offereth vnto you the worthy rewards of your labour and paines. The victory and wealth of your enemies which you haue ſo much deſired is now in your hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of whom more are ſlain than left aliue; and they not men, but the ſhadows and ghoſts of men, feeble and ſpent with hunger, wounds, wants, and labour; who will I know reſiſt you, not becauſe they ſo dare, but becauſe of neceſſity they ſo muſt, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherefore now reuenge your ſelues of the falſhood, cruelty, and villanies of theſe Chriſtians, and make them a woefull example to all poſterity, that neuer man hereafter preſume to offer injury to a Turke, in whatſoeuer ſtate he be. The way is already open into the city, there is a faire breach made whereby thirty horſemen may at once enter: nothing wanteth but courage in you to aſſaile the ſame.*

The ſouldiers encouraged with this ſpeech of their Emperour, made great ſhew of cheere-
E fulneſſe, and promiſed to do their vttermoſt deuoire, threatning vnto the Chriſtians moſt horrible death and miſerable captiuity.

In the meane time the great ſhot flying continually through the breach, did beat downe many houſes in the city; but the countermure new built againſt the breach ſtanding vpon a lower ground, it ſeldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling houſes, the horrible noiſe of the enemy, with the thundering of the great artillery, wonderfully terrified the miſerable citiſens: in euery place was heard the lamentation of women and children, euery thing ſhewed the heauineſſe of the time, and ſeemed as altogether loſt and forlorne. The day thus troubleſomely ſpent, the night followed much more troubleſome; and after the night, the day of aſſault of all others moſt dreadfull: for with the dawning thereof,
F the gliſtering enſignes of the enemy were ſeene flying in the wind, and the Turks cheerefull with the hope of ſpoile and victory, haſted towards the breach with great outcries and ſongs, after their country manner: and there before one of the gates of the city called S. *Ambroſe* gate, ſet downe a great number of their enſignes deckt with garlands, in token of victory. The Turks great fleet alſo at the ſame time ſayling too and fro before the hauen, made ſhew as if

The distressed estate of the Rhodians and their couragious resolution therein.

it would haue assailed the city on that side: who had seene the city so beset, would haue said G
that it would at one instant haue bin besieged both by sea and land; and to most mens judgements, it seemed that the Rhodian state should that day haue taken end and bin destroied. Yet for all these extremities, the Rhodians were nothing discouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the only remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarme giuen came running out of their houses by heaps vnto the wals, like desperat men opposing their bodies in stead of their battered wals against their enemies in defence of their country. There needed neither exhortation nor command of captaine, euery man was vnto himselfe a persuader to fight valiantly in defence of the city; and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miserable seruitude, the mocks and taunts they should indure, if they should chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all which was to be auoided either by honora- H
ble victory or death. The Turks conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely assailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (standing vpon the ruins of their wals) valiantly defended. In the meane time the dismaied matrons and maidens, some in their houses, with heauy hearts expected the wofull destruction of the city and themselues, othersom in their churches with flouds of tears and lamentable cries, poured forth their praiers vnto the Almighty, crauing his helpe in that their hard distresse, and to protect them against their barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both sides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the city, if they did but a little more straine themselues: and therfore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gaue out most terrible outcries, and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquished, for they being so ma- I
ny in number, and in place of such indifferency, had not yet preuailed: beside that, they were greatly incouraged with the greatnesse of the common danger, and the sight one of anothers valor; so that by their inuincible courage the Turks were inforced shamefully to retire. The Rhodians seeing their enemies turne their backes, gaue a great shout in derision of them: the Turks disdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if they should with a little resolution maintain the assault they had begun) should be so derided of a handfull of men as good as already vanquished; with great indignation returned again to the breach, and more furiously assailed the Rhodians than at the first. At which time the city had vndoubtedly bin taken, had not they which defended the end of the wall, yet standing on both sides of the breach, out of their baricadoes with their shot ouerwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the breach; & others K
with murthring shot out of the flankers of the new built wall so cut them asunder, that a greater slaughter for the time was hardly in any place seen. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his soldiers, and that he fought with great disaduantage and losse, against desperat men, who resoluing to die, feared no danger, gaue ouer the assault and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and towne ditch, the carkasses of fiue thousand of his dead Turks, besides many more which afterwards died vpon the hurts there receiued

The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continuall alarmes, and by casting vp of trenches get into the city

This assault was giuen vnto the towne the last day of Nouember, a day dedicated to S. *Andrew*: after which time the captains of the Turkish army, although they despaired not of the victory, yet terrified with so great slaughter of their men, resolued with one accord no more to attempt the city with any notable assault; but by sundry great trenches to be made thorow L
the midst of the ruins of the wals, to get into the city; and with matoks and pickaxes to ouertrow the new made wall and another barricado which the the defendants had made within the same: and in the meane time whilest this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians still busied with continuall skirmishes and alarmes. This deuise put in execution by the wonderfull labour of such a multitude of people, serued the enemy to greater purpose than all that he had done before: who daily ouerthrowing or destroying the new fortifications which the Rhodians made in stead of them which were before ouerthrowne, and by little and little creeping on further, draue the defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pull downe many of their houses, therewith to make new fortifications, and to make their city lesse, by casting vp of new trenches: so that in short time they were brought to that point, that they could not M
well tell which place to fortifie first, the enemy was now so far crept within them: for the ground which the enemy had thus gained within the city, was almost 200 paces in breadth, and 150 paces in length.

Solyman, although he did now assure himselfe of the victory, and was by nature cruell and desirous

A desirous of reuenge; yet persuaded by *Achimetes* and *Cassius* (two of his most valiant captains) that for the inlarging of his empire nothing was better than the fame and clemency: commanded *Pyrrhus* the old Bassa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their city vpon reasonable conditions. Whereupon the Bassa sent one *Hieronimus Monelia*, a Genoway, vnto the wals, who crauing of the defendants safe conduct, said he had something to say tending to the common good of the distressed city. Al mens minds were presently filled with expectation of some great matter, and he commanded to speake. Who answered, that he might not deliuer his message openly, but would either by speech in secret, or by letters deliuer the same vnto one *Mathias de Via* his countryman, one of the citisens of the Rhodes. When *Fra. Farnouius*, one of the Knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a chollericke disposition, whose
B great courage was well seene in all that siege (hauing as it is reported, with shot out of Saint *Georges* tower himselfe slain 500 Turks during the time of that siege) being now present, and moued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conferance with the enemy: bent his piece vpon the messenger, and caused him forthwith to depart without doing his message. Many who in time of the assault feared not any danger, but were altogether become desperat and careles of themselues, after that they had vnderstood that the enemy had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue some hope of life: resorted vnto the Great Master requesting him, that he would prouide for the safety of his louing people, whose warlike forces was with many assaults sore weakned, the city beaten down about their eares, and most of them which were left, either wounded or sicke. They had (as they said) now sufficiently proued both their
C force and fortune: wherefore he should do well, to beware, lest while he were too long in consulting, the enemy should conceiue a further indignition in seeing his offers refused. With these and such speeches they inforced the Great Master to send Embassadors to *Solyman*. The men that were sent, were *Anthonius Groleus* a Frenchman, ensigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wisedome and experience, and with him *Robertus Barusius*, a man of great grauity, and skilfull in the Greeke tongue: for whom was receiued as pledges, a kinseman of the great captaine *Achimetes*, and a certaine Epirot which fled out of the city vnto the
D Turks, because one of the Grecian captaines had strucke him with his open hand; a man of a sharpe wit, and one that could perfectly speake the greeke, Turkish, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongst the enemies, being had of them in great regard although he was not knowne whilest he dwelt in the city, that he was any such man. After that came also *Solymans* interpreter, for he himselfe could speake no other longuage more than his own, accounting it a disgrace, and against the *Othoman* Empire to vse any other language. The Embassadors admitted into *Solymans* presence, told him, that they were sent to know, for what cause he had sent to require parly? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had knowne nothing thereof, said there was no such matter: and commanded them presently to auoid his campe, sent them away with letters to the Great Master and the citisens, to this effect:

Parley offered by the Turks to the Rhodians.

Secret parley rejected.

If I had not compassion of humane infirmity, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong mens ambitious and hauty minds, into most dangerous & vnnecessary mischiefs, truly I would not haue directed vnto you these
E *letters at this time; but as you haue well deserued, persecute you with death and most miserable seruitude: which how easie a thing were it for me to do, you your selues know. But hauing now sufficiently tried my force, if you be wise make proofe of my clemency. You haue already satisfied your owne fury, your owne mad humour: and now aduise your selues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your selues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth; and more than that, your choice to tarry there still, or to depart: Refuse not the grace frankely offered, which was of you to haue been most heartily desired. It shall not alwaies be lawfull for you (as at this present) to make choice of both. From our campe.*

Solymans letter sent to the great Master and the Rhodians, by their embassadors.

Vpon the returne of the embassadors, the poore of all sorts flockt together to the Great Ma-
F ster his house not far from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was dismissed, and the chiefe of the burgers sent for, the imperious letter of the Turkish tyrant was openly read before the Knights of the Order, and the better sort of the citisens. Whereunto the Great Master accounting it both honour enough, and sufficient reatme of life honorably todie, answered in this sort.

The great Master at the instance of his people sendeth embassadours to Solyman.

The Great Master his opinion concerning that Solyman demanded by his letters.

You heard (sacred fellowes in armes, and valiant citizens of the Rhodes) these imperious and sorrowfull letters: whereunto how we are to answer, requireth no great deliberation: we must as resolute men either yeeld or die; all hope of the victory is gone, except forraine aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my counsell, let vs with weapons in our hands, vntill the last gaspe and the spending of the last drop of our bloud, like valiant men defend our faith and nobility receiued from our ancestors, and the honour which we haue so long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be said, that our honour died but with our selues. G

This speech of the Great Master seemed vnto many, heauier than the imperious commandement of the Turkish tyrant: and a great while men stood silent, heauily looking one vpon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward gesture, more than by words expressing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke Priest, with great compassion of mind (as it seemed) and teares trickling downe his cheekes, brake forth into these words: H

A notable speech of a Greeke Priest, persuading the Great Master to yeeld.

And I would also hold my peace, if I were a priuat man; and not first of all in so great and troubled assembly broch mine owne opinion. But forasmuch as the regard of our common preseruation, can wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to speake and say what euery man thinketh best, which shall neither alwaies nor long be granted vnto vs; I will not let it now ouerpasse and slip away: Wherefore let vs suppose, that no commandof a most mighty Prince besieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I was reasoning as a priuat man with his neighbour, or one friend with another by the fire side, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either party, as men indifferent, not liking or hating (as men do oftentimes of Princes affaires which concerne them nothing) and then (as I hope) my speech shall be vnto you neither vnpleasing nor vnprofitable. We Greekes and Latines, with joyned armes, haue now these six moneths withstood our deadly enemies, not only abroad before our wals, but also in the very bowels of our city, without any forreine helpe: which as we haue of long time all vainely looked for, so are we now euery one of vs out of hope thereof. And yet our enemy, either moued with the secret goodnesse of God, or else ignorant of our strength and forces, spent with wounds, slaughter, sickenesse, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarily offer that vnto vs, which was of vs most of all desired and earnestly sued for. Your publike and priuate treasures, the bodies of your selues, your wiues and children, he keepeth inuiolated; he taketh from vs only the city, which he hath for most part already beaten downe and taken. Worthy Great Master, and you most valiant Knights, I haue knowne prowesse and valour in many battels at sea, but especially in this siege; whereof seeing there is no more vse in this our desperate estate, I doe appeale vnto your wisedome and discretion. Since all is now the conquerors, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues and goods, that is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the city and Iland no losse, which the victorious enemy already commandeth: which although it be a heauy matter and grieuous vnto the nobility, yet your fortune persuadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be moued with any compassion, I account it better to yeeld, than to be slaine your selues, or to see your wiues and children by law of armes to be led away before your faces into miserable captiuity and seruitude. If any Christian compassion remaine in your warlike minds, I beseech you seeke not the vtter destruction of this innocent people, who (I may with modesty say) hath not euill deserued of you, whom Christ Iesus, whom the enemy himselfe, would haue preserued. That I say this which I speake vnto you for Christian charity, & for no other cause, let this be a sufficient testimony, That so long as you were able to resist by your own power, or hoped for aid of forrein Princes, I neuer spake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now seeing the fatall ruin of all things about vs, our common estate brought vnto the vttermost extremity, our deadly enemy in the heart of our city, no hope, and that the war cannot longer be protracted; I wish you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choice of peace than war, and to proue the enemies fauour, than his fury. I K L

Most of them there present, were of the same mind with the Priest. But as nothing can be so reasonably spoken as to content all men, so this speech was not of them all liked: some there were (though not many) which considering the harmes they had done vnto the Turks, and doubting with what safety they might yeeld themselues, into the power of that faithlesse people, had rather to haue fought it out to the last man, and so to haue left vnto them a bloudy victory. Amongst these, one bold spoken fellow stept forth, and in presence of them all dissuaded the yeelding vp of the city, in this sort: M

I haue

A *I haue not beene with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before Princes, or in such great and publike assemblies, being alwaies more desirous modestly to heare other mens opinions, than impudently to thrust forth mine owne. But now, seeing extreame necessity will not longer suffer me to keepe my wonted course of silence, I will frankly speake my mind, and tell you what in my opinion is to be answered vnto the heauy message and imperious command of the most perfidious tyrant. This cruell enemy hath ouerthrown our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our city, and as a most troublesome guest liueth and conuerseth with vs as it were vnder the same roofe. Such as list not longer to indure such an vnwelcome guest and troublesome neighbour, persuade you because he is troublesome, to giue him all: but (worthy and sacred Knights) I am of far different opinion; neither do I thinke a possession of two hundred and foureteene yeares is so lightly to be deliuered vp, and the ground forsaken: but*

B *rather that this troublesom intrudor is in like manner to be himself troubled, and with deadly skirmishes continually vexed: whom after we had by force of armes and vndaunted courage, maugre his head, held out fiue moneths, at length he brake into our city, not by any valour in himselfe, but holpen by time, which tameth all things: and since his first entrance it is now almost forty daies, in which time for all his haste, he hath scarcely got forward a hundred and thirty paces, hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not cease continually to lay, if we be wise men and mindfull of our former valour. Destroy me you heauenly powers, before I see with these eies these sacred knights to yeeld vp this famous city of the Rhodes; the antient Bulwarke of Christian religion, vnto our mercilesse enemies, polluted with the infamous superstition of* Mahomet: *who besides the vnsatiable thirst they haue of our bloud, how faithlesse and mischieuous they are by nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our selues, but we may take example*

C *by the calamity of Constantinople, the late misery of Eubœa, and that which later was, of Methone, as also by the Mamalukes at Caire, miserably slaine contrary to the league, contrary to the faith and promise by the Turkish Emperour himselfe before giuen. What, do you not remember how the death of the most noble captaine at Belgrade was of late procured by the falshood, craft, and deceit of the same faithlesse miscreants? Let vs then, being men of wit and vnderstanding, trust these mad beasts, let vs giue our selues into their power, which haue no regard of right or reason, of religion, or any thing else: whose couetousnesse and cruelty it is hard to say which is greater, which for these many yeres haue plotted & laboured nothing more, than how by policy or force they may vtterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they so deadly hate. They keepe vs shut vp and besieged now the sixt moneth, feeling together with vs extreame dangers and endlesse labour, slaine by heapes before our wals and fortresses, and cannot be remoued hence*

D *with thunder, lightenings, stormes, tempests, and all the calamities of Winter, a time which giueth intermission of all warre, both by sea and land; so desirous they are of reuenge, and greedy of our bloud: and that not altogether without cause, for we haue also shed theirs, and gladly would still so do if it lay in our power. But seeing it seemeth good vnto God otherwise, and that we are surprised with ineuitable necessity, yet let vs whilest we are at liberty, and haue power our selues, by honourable death amongst the Christian ensignes, eschew the torments and reproches which our cruell enemies hope to inflict vpon vs: so shall we enjoy eternall fame and glory, prepared both in heauen and earth for such as honourably die in defence of their Prince and country: which honour it becommeth not them to enuy vnto thy most noble name and vertue, worthy Grand Master, which hauing for many yeares enjoyed the commodity and profit of peace, and greatly inriched by bounty of this sacred military Order, refuse now to beare this last bur-*

E *den of war.*

A most resolute speech of a common souldier, dissuading the yeelding vp of the Rhodes.

At these words an antient Greeke, for his wisedome and discretion of great reputation both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiuing his countrymen wrongfully touched, and the desperat holding out of the city vainely persuaded, tooke hold and interrupting this young gallant; in answer of that he had said, spake as followeth:

That griefe of minde and desperation can make men rather eloquent than wise as you haue many times heard before this, so you might this day perceiue also, most valiant gentlemen: for aduised modestly neuer falleth into obloquy, neither confoudeth falsehood with truth; it desireth not the slaughter of the citisens,

F *it persuadeth not fury, nor exhorteth men to madnesse: but it is by nature so engraffed in many, that when they cannot by their owne wisedome and policy deliuer themselues from their troubles, they yet seeke to draw others into the fellowship of the same danger: so greedy haue malice and misery alwaies beene of company. But if you (worthy Commander) will giue me leaue to speake, a man amongst his countrymen*

The former speech notably answered by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the City vrged.

not

not of meaneſt place and authority, which thing both the preſent calamity and vrgent neceſsity might of G
you eaſily obtaine, I would alledge ſuch reaſons, and lay downe ſuch matter, as ſhould not only refell the copi-
ous and glorious words ſo this ſharpe witted Orator, ſcrapt together of purpoſe to flouriſh out the matter,
but alſo ſuch as might ſtir your minde to that which is honeſt, profitable, and neceſſary; expulſing hatred,
feare, trouble, or deſpaire. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but ſome-
time a man moſt terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and ſo mild, that he neuer
had the heart to kill, nay, not ſo much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad,
cruell, whoſe perfidious dealing he deteſteth, whoſe cruelty he accurſeth, whoſe manner of liuing he exclai-
meth againſt, as altogether without law, without reaſon, without order, without regard: and now in
time of truce, and whileſt the ſhowres of arrowes, yron bullets, fire and ſtones doth ceaſe, creeping out of
his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great ſtir: and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now H
with glorious words call vpon death, whereof he hath hitherto ſhewed himſelfe too much affraid, and all
forſooth (as he ſaid) leſt he ſhould be inforced to endure the mocking and ſcorning of the enemy. But this
is meere pride, not Chriſtian fortitude or humility. But our enemy neither threateneth nor purpoſeth
any ſuch matter, nothing ſo perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing vp the ſlaughter at Caire,
Eubœa, Methone, and Conſtantinople, cities taken either by force or warlike policy, and not yeelded by
compoſition, vpon faith giuen betwixt the beſieger and the beſieged: who becauſe he would ſpare vs, will
not ſuffer vs to do that whereby we ſhould vndoubtedly periſh. But whereof proceedeth this new found
clemency? this vnwonted fauour toward the people of the Rhodes? I am not of the tyrants priuy counſell,
neither euer curiouſly ſought after the reaſon of another mans bounty, but am glad to receiue it when I
need it. Yet for all that, I will not diſſemble what I thinke in a matter ſo doubtfull: he is willing (as I I
ſuppoſe) in this ſiege and conqueſt of the Rhodes, to ſhew vnto other nations whom he purpoſeth to inuade,
both his power and his patience: leſt alwaies ſatisfying his cruell nature, he ſhould make deſolation in pla-
ces he would raigne ouer, and ſo for euer alienating the minds of men, be inforced to fight with all men
with fire and ſword: by which rigour he hath not ſo much hurt his enemy as himſelfe. For this cauſe (as
I ſuppoſe) he leaueth vnto vs life and goods, leſt whileſt he in going about to take them from vs by force,
and we ſeeking to keepe them by deſperatneſſe, we ſhould both fall into great deſtruction, no leſſe lamenta-
ble vnto the conqueror than to the vanquiſhed. Beſides that, if he ſhould kill all here, truly he might then
enter the breaches of the city on the bodies of the dead, no men now left aliue to reſiſt him. But Lerus is
ſhut vp, Arangia is ſtrongly fortified, Lyndus is by ſcituation impregnable: here he knoweth are wea-
pons, armour, and men; here he muſt begin a new war, except he will haue the remainder of your warre, K
the fatall plague of his Empire, to prey ſtill vpon his ſubjects: all which ſtrong places he ſhall haue
without ſlaughter, without bloudſhed (as reaſon is) if he ſhould let you and vs poore wretches depart
in ſafety with a little traſh. Except theſe worldly conſiderations haue moued him to mercy and compaſſi-
on: then out of doubt it is wrought by diuine power and the ſecret fauour of God towards vs, and of our
Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus crucified. Whereunto if you be men well aduiſed, if religious, if mindfull of the duty
of Chriſtians, it becommeth not you to impoſe any obſtacle, and with the ruine of your ſelues to deſtroy this
miſerable people, which for this halfe yeares ſiege, hath ſcarcely had ſo much reſt as might ſuffice the ne-
ceſsity of nature, ſtanding for you in battell, enduring both wounds and death for your honour and victory:
by whoſe faithfull labour and diligence you haue beene alwaies holpen both at home and abroad; whether
you inuaded the Turke by land in Mytilene, Naupactus, Methone, Patras, or other parts of Peloponeſus; L
or els by ſea thruſt him out of the poſſeſſion of the Ionian or Ægeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto
a blind man, how iniurious it is, and far from truth, to obiect vnto vs, That injoying the fruits of peace, we
refuſe the charges of wars; nay, we neuer refuſed wars. But now it is come to that point, that if we would
neuer ſo faine make wars, we are not able ſo to do, the floure of our youth being ſlain: and the ſmall remain-
der that is left, not only weakened in body with wounds, ſickneſſe, watching, and reſtleſſe labour; but alſo in
mind diſcouraged, whileſt all things fall out proſperouſly to our enemies, and to vs aduerſe: the greateſt
and beſt part of our great artillery being broken with continuall vſe, which if it were whole, we could haue
thereof ſmall vſe or profit, for want of pouder, which not only this city now wanteth, but alſo your ſtrong
holds, Lerus, Lyndus, Halicarnaſus, Arangia. I was neuer deſirous or curious to looke into other mens
doings, much leſſe into your manner of war: but yet (Great Maſter) you cannot deny but it is ſo; who haue M
cauſed ſoldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpoudder ſecretly: by which policy you haue
withſtood your forreine enemy theſe ſix moneths, and deceiued the trechery of one or two domeſticall trai-
tors. But I gladly admit we haue all theſe things, I ſtand vpon the truth, I ſay not what moſt men ſay, but

I ſpeake

A *I speake to please a few: and suppose we want neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether they would aduise you to vse them to your defence, or to your destruction? For vnto both it cannot be, no more than at once to be a freeman and a slaue. To vse them to your destruction, that were madnesse and senceless pride, hatefull to God and man; you should therefore vse them to defence: but how shall we defend a city (I do not say as the truth is) already lost and possessed by the enemy, wherein he reigneth, raungeth, and turneth all vpside downe? but hauing the wals battered downe, a great breach in the Spanish station, & another not like, but euen now as good as made in the Italion station, how shall we be able to keep this vnfortunate towne, battered and rent at the French, English, and Auergn stations, and the tower of S.*Nicolas? *Which if it were not so battered and bared of all warlike prouision, but sound and thorowly furnished with munition and victuall, yet necessity enforcing, and reason perswading, you ought to forsake*
B *it, forsomuch as all power of further resistance is taken from you. Doe you see how easily and almost without any trouble the enemy (by meanes of the castle he hath new built vpon the mount Philermo, not past two miles distant) can take from you all manner of prouision both by sea and land, and restraine you from going out or in? Truly notable Gentlemen, honourable for your martiall prowesse, you see and haue long agoe foreseene these things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether busied in the trade of merchandise, and caring for my family: yet suffer me to say the truth. All the powers whereby this kingdome stood, are departed and gone; against the force of our enemies no policy of force remaineth; and to expect armies of angels or souldiers from heauen, and other such like miracles, is in my judgment more and more to prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he be vnto vs mercifull. Wherefore being destitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our safety. I beseech thee (worthy*
C *Great Master) by these my aged teares, by the naturall piety ingrafted in thy noble nature, expose not this miserable city to the spoile of the enemy, or old and middle aged men to the sword, our wiues and daughters to be rauished, our boyes and youths to the vnnaturall filthinesse of our barbarous enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and grosse opinion of the vngodly Mahometane superstition. I would (noble Knights) you had seene with what teares, with what mourning our heauy families and children crying about their mothers, sent vs hither, and what praiers they made for vs at our departing: I would you knew with what minde and how great hope they expect their safety from your clemency and aduised resolution.*

The Great Master resolued that the city was not to be defended, calleth a common counsell of all his knights, and the Burgesses of the city.

D This speech of the aged Greeke might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great Master, who in his countenance shewed a greater courage than his present state required, commanding euery man to his charge: after the matter had bin thus most part of the night discoursed, gaue then no other answer, but, That he would be careful of all their well doing. The next morning he sent for *Preianes*, *Martiningus*, and a few other of the greatest judgement and experience; by whom he was fully resolued, that the city in so many places by the enemy laid open and shaken, was not possibly to be long defended: whereupon he caused a common counsell to be called of all the Knights of the Order together with the burgesses of the city: where after long debating, whether they should fight it out to the last man, or yeeld vpon such conditions as was to be obtained? it was by generall consent concluded, that the city should be yeelded, and thereupon a decree made which was by the Great Master pronounced. Whilest these

A truce taken with the Turks for foure daies.

E things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemy for foure daies, but full of feare and danger. During which time, diuers of the Turks presuming vpon the truce, came by great companies to behold the wals and rampiers of the city: wherewith *Fornouius* the Frenchman (of whom mention is made before) being sore moued, in his choler without further command discharged a tyre of great ordnance among the thickst of them, contrary to the truce taken. At which time also the Rhodians receiued into the city secretly by night a ship loded with wines out of Crete, and in her *Alphonsus* a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian gallies, and with him 100 voluntary soldiers all Latines, all which went out of Crete without the knowledge of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with *Solyman*. The Turks justly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new supplies, which

F they supposed to haue bin far greater than in truth they were; without command of any captaine or ensigne displaid, in great numbers thrust in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the city as farre as the rampiers and baricadoes new made, and furiously assailed the defendants: In which conflict many were slaine and wounded on both sides. But after the Turkes had to their cost againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement

they

A barbarous fact.

they began that skirmish, so of themselues they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turks fencers, a bloudy cruell fellow, hauing taken three Christians prisoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noses, and sent them so dismembred into the city with letters to the Great Master, charging him with the vnjust breach of the truce, barbarously threatning within three or foure daies to make like example of him to all posterity. Amongst others none was more troubled with this sudden and vnexpected breach of the truce, than *Robertus Perusinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three Knights of the Order, men of singular wisedome and grauity, Embassadours at that time in the Turkes campe: whom the barbarous people in their fury had vndoubtedly slaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like measure to haue been shewed to their hostages in the city. But after that *Nicholas Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandriticus*, two of the Burgesses of the city, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the city, all their fury and rage was quickly appeased. *Solyman* for his greater majesty and the more terror of these messengers, beset round about with his great army, and guarded about with his Ianizaries in their richest attire and glistering armour, gaue them audience: who admitted to his presence, with great humility offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the city. The chiefe points whereof were, That the Churches should remaine vnto the Christians inuiolated: That no children should be taken from their parents: That no Christian should be inforced to forsake his religion and turne Turke: That such Christians as would tarry still in the city, might so doe at liberty, without paying any tribute for the space of fiue yeares: That all they which would depart might go with bag and baggage, furnished with conuenient shipping and prouision as farre as Crete, and to carry with them so much great ordnance as they pleased; and that the Christians should appoint a reasonable day for the time of their departure. All which articles *Solyman* condescended vnto, and solemnly swore faithfully to performe the same. But how they were indeed performed the writers of that age do much vary: it should seem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken; but so performed as pleased the conqueror: certaine it is, that many great outrages were through military insolency committed by the proud Turks vpon the poore Christians, contrary to the mind of *Solyman*. *Iacobus Fontanus* a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the judges of the city (out of whose writings this history is for most part collected) reporteth, that the Turks not expecting the departure of the Christians, brake into the city vpon Christenmas day, by the gate called Cosquinium, polluted the Temples, shamefully abused the Christians, and made hauocke of all things: and that he himselfe falling into their hands, after he had with such mony as he had, redeemed himselfe, hauing not sufficient to content all their greedy desires, was by them hardly intreated and grieuously beaten. The Great Master by the counsell of *Achimetes*, putting on such simple attire as best beseemed a vanquished man that was to humble himselfe before the conqueror, went out of the city into the campe, attended vpon with a few Knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine most part of the day, before *Solymans* tent, at last he had a rich gowne cast vpon him, and so brought into the proud tyrants presence. Where after they had a while at the first, with piercing eies one earnestly beheld the other; the Great Master humbling himselfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kisse his hand, and welcommed by *Solyman* in this sort.

Solyman his speech vnto the Great Master.

Although (said he) *I might worthily and justly infringe the articles I haue prescribed concerning the yeelding of the City, with thy most wicked crossed compiers, the people of the Rhodes, and thee especially such a capitall enemy, from whose deserued punishment, neither faith nor oath ought to stay a most just conquerour: yet I haue determined to be not onely gratious and mercifull vnto thee so great an offender, deseruing exemplary punishment, but also liberall and bountifull: who if thou wilt by weldoing amend the grieuous transgressions of thy former life, I promise vnto thee most honourable entertainement, great preferment, and the highest places in my Empire, in my army in time of warre, and in counsell in time of peace. Not to refuse this mine offer, both thy present estate perswadeth thee, and the Christians (whose quarrell thou tookest vpon thee to defend aggainst me, with better beginning than successe) deserue at thy hands no better: for what should let thee, forsaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betraied and vanquished, to cast thy selfe into the perpetuall faith and protection*

of

A *of a moſt mighty and mercifull conquerour, of himſelfe offering thee this vndeſerued grace and fauour.*

Whereunto the Great Maſter anſwered:

Moſt Mighty and gratious Emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthy captaines, I deſerue not; neither is my preſent eſtate and deſert towards you ſuch, as that I dare or ought to refell the ſame: yet I will ſpeake freely in the middeſt of your victorious army, a man vanquiſhed in preſence of the conquerour, whoſe great mercy I neuer deſpaired of, and whoſe faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue loſt my ſoueraignty, forthwith to loſe my priuat and vnfortunate life; or elſe for euer hereafter to B *liue in obſcurity, than of my people to be accounted a fugitiue rather than a vanquiſhed man: For, to be vanquiſhed is but chance of warre, and of ſo great a conqueror, no ſhame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forſake his owne people and to turne to the enemy, I account it ſhamefull cowardiſe and treachery.*

The reſolute anſwere of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

Solyman maruelling at the courage and majeſty of the hoary old Prince, in his ſo great extremity, diſmiſſed him, and ſent him againe into the city, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his palace: and vnto euery one of the Knights attending vpon the Great Maſter, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauor. Within a few daies after, *Solyman* comming into the city, went to viſit the Great Maſter alſo: whom he found buſie in packing vp his things againſt his departure. Here when the Great Maſter falling downe vpon his knees would haue worſhipped him, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do: but with his hand putting aſide his vaile of majeſty (which manner of reuerence the Turkiſh Emperors giue only to God and their Great Prophet *Mahomet*) tooke him vp and ſaluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great Maſter for his wiſedome and diſcretion now to him no leſſe admirable, than he was before in time of war for his valour and courage, ſpake in this ſort:

Solyman commeth into the city vnto the Great Maſter.

If my fortune and ſucceſſe had beene anſwerable to my heart and courage, I ſhould here be in this city, rather as a victorious conquerour than a man conquered. But ſithence the fatall Deſtinies would needs D *ouerthrow the Rhodian eſtate, I am glad that you are the man before all other, by fortune aſſigned, of whom I ſhall receiue both forte and grace. And vnto you, amongſt many other your rare and worthy praiſes, this ſhall not be the leaſt, That you vanquiſhed the Rhodes and ſhewed mercy. By this means you haue joyned vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemency and courteſie: an honour not of the higheſt to be deſpiſed, by which alone we come neereſt vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not you will keepe the conuentions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemency perſuaded you to grant, and neceſſity inforced vs to take. I ſhall now be an eternall example of the Turkiſh Emperors clemency and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the firſt yeelded my ſelfe: Obſtinate wilfulneſſe hath made thy glory and mercy now famous through the whole World, and vnto the Worlds end.*

The ſpeech of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

E Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter anſwered:

It is to me a great pleaſure, that God at length hath put into thy minde to make choice of peace before warre, which I would thou couldeſt haue liked of from the begining: then truly thou ſhouldeſt at this time haue receiued of my great and mighty Majeſty, more good than thou haſt indured harme. Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but only for deſire of Soueraignty, thou mayſt gather by this, That I ſuffer thee and thine to depart hence at liberty, with all your wealth and ſubſtance: for I make not warre, thereby to heape vp wealth and riches; but for honour, fame, immortality, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the property of a King royally deſcended, by ſtrong hand to take from others, and to inuade others; not vpon a greedy and couetous minde, but for the honourable deſire of rule and ſoueraignty: which whileſt my neighbour withſtandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remoue him. F

The notable anſwere of Soman to the Great Maſter.

But the tyrant (as many ſuppoſed) ſpake all this by way of diſſimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ſhip, and certaine gallies, for the ſudden tranſporting of the Great Maſter and the Knights of the Order to Conſtantinople, which

which report seemeth to haue beene but feigned either of malice, or else by such as least knew *Solymans* minde: for if he had so purposed, who should haue let him, hauing them all in his power. *Iouius* in his little treatise *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the fifth, reporteth that he himselfe heard *Lilladamus* the Great Master say, That when *Solyman* entered into the Rhodes attended vpon with thirty thousand men, there was not any man heard to speake a word, but that the soldiers went as if they had bin obseruant Friers: and that when he came to aske leaue of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was so courteously vsed of him, that turning himselfe to *Abraham* the Bassa, whom hee aboue all men loued, said, Truely I cannot but grieue to see this vnfortunate old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence so heauily. G

The Great Master embarking himselfe with his Knights and such other as was willing to depart, in vessels and gallies prepared for that purpose, departed out of the Island on New-yeares day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by sea in that Winter weather, landed at last at Messana in Silicia, from whence he afterwards sailed into Italy, and so trauelled to Rome where he was honorable receiued by *Adrian* the sixt of that name then Bishop there, a Hollander borne, sometime schoolemaster to *Charles* the fifth, and his Vicegerent in Spaine; who if he had been as forward in the short time of the Papacy to haue relieued the Rhodes, as he was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell against the French King, it is not vnlike but that famous city had been relieued, and the Island in possession of the Christians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whilest the Christian Princes were at discord amongst themselues, to his great glory and no lesse griefe of all good Christians, entered the Rhodes the 52 day of December, a day dedicated vnto the Natiuity of our Sauiour Christ, in the yeare 1522, after it had bin by the Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended against the Infidels by the space of 214 yeares, since the time they by force tooke it from the Infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being so long holden as was possible, against all the power of the Turks, was yeelded vp when it had bin six moneths besieged. At this siege *Solyman* lost a great part of his army; for besides them that were slaine at the assaults, which were many, thirty thousand died of the flix. H I

Solyman entreth into the Rhodes on Christenmas day, in the yere 1522.

Solyman sends Ferhates Bassa against Alis-beg the mountaine Prince.

Whilest *Solyman* thus lay at the siege of the Rhodes, *Ferhates Bassa* Gouernor of the Marches of the Turkish Empire, alongst the riuer of Euphrates, by the commandement of *Solyman* went with a great army against *Alis-Beg*, whom the Turks call *Schach, Suar-Ogli*, that is to say, King *Suar* his son: which *P. Iouius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxouar-Oglis*. This *Alis* after he had betraied his vncle *Aladeules* the mountaine King, vnto *Sinan Bassa*, was by *Selymus* left chiefe Gouernor of that large and wild country alongst the borders of Armenia and Capadocia, wanting nothing of the honor of a king but the name only, as is before declared in the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his honour, and fearing lest he should take vpon him the absolute gouernment of that country (which indeed of right belonged vnto him, the children of *Aladeules* the late King, being now all dead) and so to make himselfe King; especially if he should joyne in friendship with the Persian King: after the manner of ambitious men, purposed by any means to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore sent *Ferhates* to ease him of that care. The Bassa without making any shew of hostility, marching with his army along the confines of his country, as if it had been but to looke to his charge, when he was come as neere as he could to *Alis*, without mistrust, thought good to assay if he could by policy bring that to passe which he was otherwise with great danger to attempt by force. Wherefore faining himselfe to be extream sicke, he sent Embassadors to *Alis*, requesting him as a friend to vouchsafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto whom he had many things of importance from the great Emperour to impart, and would if he should die, leaue with him all his charge vntill *Solyman* should otherwise dispose thereof. K L

Alis and his foure sonnes treacherously slaine.

Alis, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkish Emperours and faithfully serued them, mistrusting no harme came to the Bassa, accompanied with his foure sons; whom the faithlesse Bassa without regard of infamy, caused presently to be put to death with their father: and so reducing all that country into the manner of a Prouince, vnder *Solymans* obeisance, came to him with twenty thousand men, about the time that the city of the Rhodes was yeelded vp. This is the faithlesse dealing of the Turks, not with the Christians only, but with them of their owne superstition also: vsing it as no small policy, vtterly to extinguish the nobility of all countries subject to their seruile tyranny. M

Solyman

A *Solyman* after he had thus ſubdued the Rhodes, and diſpoſed of the Iſland as he liked beſt, returning to Conſtantinople, brake vp his army, and for the ſpace of three yeares after followed his pleaſure, not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many yeres after, the rich and flouriſhing countrey of Italy, ſomtime miſtreſſe of the world, was miſerably afflicted & rent in pieces by *Charles* the fift (then Emperor) and *Francis* the French king, the one enuying vnto the other the glory of the Empire: and he not content therewith, ſeeking with immoderat ambition to make himſelfe lord of all Italy: moſt of the other Chriſtian princes and ſtates being at the ſame time either by the one or by the other, drawne into the fellowſhip of that war, to the great trouble and ſore weakning of the Chriſtian commonweale. Wherupon *Solyman* waiting all occaſions that might ſerue for the inlarging of his em-

B pire, & annoying of the Chriſtians, thought it now a fit time for him to ſet his foot into Hungary, whereinto he had already laid open a way by the taking of Belgrade. He knew right well that *Lewis* then King of Hungary was but yong, altogether vnacquainted with the wars, commanding ouer his headſtrong ſubiects (eſpecially his rich prelates and nobility) no otherwiſe than pleaſed themſelues, being himſelfe rather by them altogether ouerruled: beſides that, he was in good hope, that the other Chriſtian Princes neer vnto him, either carried away with regard of their own eſtate, would not, or els before vnto himſelfe by league faſt bound, could not affourd vnto him any great aid or ſuccor: the Germanes he knew would make ſmall haſt vnto ſuch wars as ſhould yeeld them much danger, and but ſmall pay. As for the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, *Charles* the Emperor, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were ioyned

C vnto the yong king with the neereſt bonds of allyance (*Lewis* hauing married *Mary* their yongeſt ſiſter, and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewis* his ſiſter) yet was there as he thought ſmall help to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in Italy, and *Ferdinand* altogether carefull of himſelfe: and that *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia would for the yong kings ſake breake the antient league he had with the Turkiſh Emperors, he could hardly be perſuaded: as for other Chriſtian Princes farther off, he ſtood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing with himſelfe ſingled out this young Prince the Hungarian King, whom he had in his greedy mind already deuoured, he ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and was come on his way as far as Sophia in Seruia with a mighty army of two hundred thouſand men, before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his comming (ſo blind and fenceleſſe was that ſtate, which now ſleeping in ſe-

D curity, had long before loſt thoſe eies which euer watcht, and neuer ſpared coſt or paines to keep the ſame in ſafety) in ſtead of whom were others come in place, ſharp of ſight, and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement; but blind as beetles in foreſeeing this great and common danger (wherwith they were ſhortly after all quite ouerwhelmed (vntill it was now brought home vnto their owne dores. The yong king of himſelfe but weak, by reaſon of his youthfull yeares, and nothing ſtrengthned by them for whom he had moſt done, and ſhould haue bin his greateſt ſtay; was wonderfully diſmayd with the fame of the approch of ſo mighty an enemy: yet the better to withſtand him, he ſent Embaſſadours with all ſpeed to the Chriſtian Princes his neighbors, requeſting their aid againſt the common enemy: but all in vain. In the mean time, after the antient maner of his countrey he gaue out general ſum-

E mons for the aſſembly of his counſell for the wars: whither his great ſtipendarie Prelates (of duty bound to appeare) came with their troups of euill appointed horſmen, and not halfe full; who alſo deliuered in leſſe ſums of money by far, than of right they ſhould haue don, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common war. And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike diſcipline of their famous aunceſtors, as freſh water ſouldiers which had ſeen the Turkiſh Emperour in his ſtrength, and but little acquainted with ſome light skirmiſhes or ſmal inuaſions, in their vain brauery made light account of the Turks; proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would eaſily ouerthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handy ſtrokes. But aboue all the reſt, one *Paulus Tomoreus*, Archbi-

F ſhop of Coloſſa, ſometimes a Minorit, who had before bin in diuers light skirmiſhes againſt the Turks, with great inſolency did ſo confidently brag & boaſt of the victory he vainly dreamed of, that in his ſermons vnto the ſouldiers, and in open talke with the nobility (if he could haue done ſo much as he vaunted of) it ſhould ſeem that he himſelfe had bin enough to haue ouerthrowne the Turks whole army.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes & diſordered ſtate of Hungary, taketh occaſion to inuade that kingdome.

1526

Solyman commeth againſt Lewis king of Hungary.

The vanity of Tomoreus.

But when all the Kings army was aſſembled, and a generall muſter taken, there was hardly

found fiue and twenty thousand men in all, horse and foot. So that the foolish hardinesse of *Tomoreus*, and others so forward to giue the Turks battell, was of most wise men disliked. The old souldiers and men of great experience said plainly, That it was meere folly and madnesse with such a handfull of men to giue battell vnto the enemy, who would bring eight times so many moe into the field as they were. Wherefore some wished, that the yong king should be withdrawn from the eminent danger: among whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captain, of all the rest best acquainted with the Turkish wars, gaue counsel, that the person of the yong king should for the safety of the common state, whatsoeuer should happen, be kept out of danger in the strong castle of Buda. But the vnruly soldiers with open mouth impugned his wholsom counsell, and said plainly, That except the king himselfe did lead them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was also the rash prelat *Tomoreus*, persuading them with all speed to giue the enemy battell, and that the noble yong king vnder the protection of Almighty God should in person himselfe go & giue the signal of battell against his enemies. The king ouerruld by this vnlucky counsell, vpon a brauery without reason set forward with his army, and came to a place called Mohatchz or Mugace, which is a little countrey village not farre from Danubius, almost in the middle between Buda and Belgrade. And now *Balybeus* with 20000 horsemen (the forerunners of the Turkish army) was at hand, at which time the commanders and captains of the kings army, entred into counsell, Whether it were better to incamp their army within their waggons alongst the riuer of Danubius, and so to expect the comming of *Ioannes Sepusius*, County of Cilia, and Vayuod of Transiluania (who was then said to be comming towards the king with his Transyluanian horsemen) of all other fittest to haue incountred the Turks, or else to march on forward, and presently to giue them battell? But *Tomoreus*, who now commanded all, knowing that vpon the comming of the Vayuod, he was to giue place, and himselfe to be commanded (which vnto so proud a man was no small griefe) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carry away the glory of the victory he so vainly hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but hasting headlong to his own destruction, did with such vehemencie impugn the wholsom counsel of others, who would haue expected the comming of the Vayuod, that he by his franticke persuasions, drew on the vnaduised young King into most apparent and manifest danger. For *Balybeus* diuided his horsemen into foure battels, which by turns skirmished with the Kings army without intermission, and gaue the Hungarians no leisure to rest either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in so strait, that no man could without great danger goe to water his horse at the side of Danubius, which was fast by, or once to stir out of the camp, but were inforced to dig pits for water in places where they lay: with which necessity *Tomoreus* was inforced to put the army in order of battell, and there was now no remedy, but he must of necessity fight for the honour of his Prince and countrey. His battell was ranged all in length, and his horsmen not altogether (as it was thought) vnfitly placed here and there among his footmen; lest the Turks (being in number eight to one) should with their multitude compasse them round, and so inforce them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come also with his huge army. The Hungarian tents defended with a small garrison, were left a little from the army on the right hand, inclosed round about with wagons, one chained to another: neere vnto the which, *Tomoreus*, Generall of this vnluckie battell, had not altogether vndiscreetly placed a troup of chosen horsmen for the defence of the Kings person against all vncertaine euents of the battell. But this day (vnlucky to the Hungarian name, but vnto the King himselfe most fatall and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpose, deuised too late for the safety of the kings person: for at the first encounter, the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkish Artillery (being mounted too high, of purpose as it was thought, the gunners being for most part Christians) were easily beaten downe and ouerthrowne, oppressed by the multitude of their enemies, especially *Tomoreus* with the rest of the prelats and nobility, being almost all slaine together, and the Hungarian horsmen also either slain or put to flight. All things going thus to wrack, a company of Turks assailed the camp, which was hardly defended by the weak garrison. Which thing the troup of the chosen horsemen appointed for defence of the kings person, beholding, could not be staid, but that they would needs help them which defended the campe. The young King seeing all his army discomfited, and himselfe forsaken of the horsemen which he was in hope should haue guarded him, betooke himselfe to flight.

wholsom counsel not followed

The battell of Mohatchz.

Tomoreus slain.

But

A But as he was making shift for himself, thinking to haue passed ouer a fenny ditch, his horse in plunging out, fel backward vpon him into the ditch; where being heauy loden with armor, not able to help himself, he was in the middest of the filthy ditch in the mud most miserably drowned. Some few horsmen escaped out of the battel, the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. This woful battel, not sufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miseries of that worthy kingdom, was fought the 29 day of October, in the year 1526. *King Lewis drowned in a ditch.*

Solyman hauing obtained this victory, marched on directly to Buda the regall seat of the Hungarian Kings, which was deliuered to him with the castle, vpon condition that he should not violate any man either in person or goods, and at his departure to leaue the same again to the Hungarians: all which things he according to their request faithfully performed. Being
B entred into the castle, he wonderfully commended the same, but lodged not therin, because it is by their antient Law forbidden the Turkish Emperour to lodge within any walled place which is not his own. Wherfore he returned and lodged in his camp alongst the riuer of Danubius.

Whilst *Solyman* thus lay at Buda, seuen bloudy heads of the Bishops and greatest of the Nobility (slain in the late battel at Mohatchz) were presented to him, all set in order vpon a wooden step: wherat he smiled, to see his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their brests, and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeisance, to salute them by name, and in derision to welcom them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had more particularly inquired what euery one of them was, it is reported, that he most of al detested
C *Ladislaus Salcanius* the great Bishop of Strigonium, for his miserable couetousnesse, that being a man of infinit wealth, refused to spare part therof vnto his soueraigne, requesting the same at his great need. *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconsiderat rashnes, for that he being a Clergy man, would busie himself so far in matters not belonging to his vocation. On the contrary part, he commended *Franciscus Perenus* Bishop of Veradium, a man honorably descended, for his wise counsel (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported that hee as a true prophet, fortelling the common slaughter insuing, had sharpely said in the Councell, at such time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, and was not by any means to bee remoued from that his fatal opinion, That hee did foresee what that their Frier-like Generall would the next day do; and that he would with so great an enterprise effect no more, but to
D make one holyday the more in the Christian Calenders, in remembrance of 30000 Hungarian Martyrs, most miserably slain of the Turks in an vnequal battell, for defence of the Christian faith and religion: for at that time, they which willingly exposed themselues to death in defence of the Christian faith, were all accounted for Martyrs. *Georgius Sepusius* and others, he called rash fools, that would aduenture with so small strength to incounter so strong an Enemy. At such time as the counterfeits of King *Lewis* and *Mary* his wife were shewed to him, he honourably said, that he was sorry for the young King, that it was his hard hap to haue so vnaduised counsellors in a matter of so great importance, as to persuade him against all reason to fight at so great disaduantage: And that hee came not into Hungary to take his kingdom from him, but only to reuenge the wrongs don vnto him by the Hungarians: and that if
E he had escaped the danger of the battel, he would assuredly haue again restored vnto him the Kingdom of Hungary, contenting himself with some small tribute: and that it should haue bin vnto him honor enough to haue saued the nephew of *Sigismund* King of Polonia, his confederat, so strongly allyed with the honorable house of Austria. All which he commanded to be told to *Mary* the Queen, who was for fear fled from Buda to Possonium. Which might perhaps all seem to haue bin either dissemblingly spoken, or falsly reported of the equity and courtesie of the barbarous King, if he had not shortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his bounty and liberality, without any desert, giuen the same kingdom of Hungary to *Ioannes Sepusius*, not born of any Royall bloud, and then retaining the minde of a very enemy. After that, he took away three goodly images of brasse of antient workmanship, which were placed
F in the entrance into the Kings Palace, by that renowned King *Matthias Corvinus* the great fauourer of rare qualities and vertues. These images represented the forms of *Hercules* with his club, of *Apollo* with his harp, and *Diana* with her bow and quiuer. All which hee placed in the Tilt-yard at Constantinople, as a trophey of the Hungarian victorie. Neuertheless these images were since taken down by the persuasion of the Mufti, and molten (as contrary

The beads of the slain Christian Bishops and Captains presented to Solyman.

The Bishop of Veradium too true a prophet.

The honorable speech of Solyman cõcerning his comming into Hungary.

to their superstition) and great ordnance made of them. He caried also away with him three pieces of Artillery of most excellent and curious work, and certain brasen pillars of chamfered work, which supported the chapiters of the gates. He taried at Buda about twenty dayes, in which time to satisfie the cruel nature and greedy desires of his soldiers, he sent out diuers troops of horsmen into the countries therabouts; by whom all the country betwixt Rab and the riuer of Tibyscus was by that sudden and vnexpected incursion so destroyed, that as it is reported, aboue an hundred and fifty thousand people of al sorts were either slain or led away into most miserable captiuitie. All which don, he returned again by the same way hee came, to Constantinople. G

Ioannes Sepusius, Vayuod of Transiluania, aspireth to the kingdome of Hungary.

About the same time, *Ioannes Sepusius* Vayuod of Transylvania, with a great power came now too late into Hungary to haue aided the King: but glad (as was thought) of his death, as tending to his own aduancement; forasmuch as he was now (the King being dead without issue) a man of greatest account among the Nobility of Hungary. Wherfore as one of a deep and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtain the kingdom, he began cunningly to labour diuers Noblemen one by one, and instantly to request them, that at the next parliament they would not betray the honor of their Countrey, in suffering the royall dignity of that antient kingdom to be transferred vnto a stranger, of such a nation as haply loued them not. For why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in former times, in chusing forrein kings and strangers to rule ouer them, and in following their vnfortunat ensignes against the Turks; which thing the woful misery of times past might notably proue, which either *Sigismundus* of Bohemia, or *Ladislaus* the first of Polonia, by their vnfortunat battels, once at Nicopolis, again at Culumbarium, and last of all at Varna, had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to speak, nay once to remember the harmes receiued by the long cowardise of *Vladislaus*, or this late rashnes of his son King *Lewis*, would make any noble mind to blush and be ashamed: vnder whose gouernment all military discipline, and the glory of Hungary, might wel be thought to be vtterly lost. And he said there remained of the nobility of Hungary men honourably descended of most antient Houses, worthy of the kingdome, who bare noble minds, and were of sufficient conrage, discretion and power, in this time of common heauines, to restore the honor of the Estate, and worthily to defend the Kingdome. Amongst whom (said he) I would not be accounted so base minded, or so heauy headed, (although there be many which for the honor of their houses and wealth may seem to go before me) that I will therfore confesse, that there is any of them for valour, prowesse, or fortune, better than my self, either for conducting an army, or gouernment of a Kingdom. For I shall be a King of courage and valour sufficient, if by your fauourable good will I shall bee thought worthy of your consent and suffrages. The Vayuod taking this course, by his ernest suit and labor had won the good wils of many; and so much the easier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greatest nobility among the Hungarians) was a little before gon into Bohemia vnto King *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly busied, by reason of a parliament there summoned, in procuring the fauour of the Nobility and commons of that Realme, against the time of the Parliament; wherein hee was in good hope to be chosen King, as hee was in short time after. H I K L

King Lewis buried.

At the same time the Hungarians were with great solemnity celebrating the funerall of their late King: whose dead body after the departure of *Solyman* from Buda, was found whole, by the demonstration of one *Cotriscus* a squire of his body, who was present when he was drowned; and so was brought out of the fens of Mohatcz, to Alba Regalis, where it was with great pomp buried among the Sepulchres of the other kings of Hungary his predecessors. Which solemne funerall once ended, the generall military Parliament (by the authority and voyce wherof the Kings of Hungary were by their antient Lawes and Customes to be chosen) was called: in the shutting vp whereof, *Iohn* the Vayuod hauing in that common heauines no competitor, nor any of the greatest nobility which durst stand against him, was with the great applause, and a generall consent of all there present, chosen King. Vnto whom forthwith *Petrus Perennus* came and presented the antient Crown of the Kingdome of Hungary, which was in his keeping, made after an homely fashion of pure gold; with which the lawfull Kings of Hungary vsed alwaies to be solemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the Crowne of *Stephanus* the first King of Hungary, and was by an antient Custom alwaies kept in the castle M

of

A of Vicegrade. And ſo *Iohn* the Vayuod was orderly crowned, and conſecrated by the hands of *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium, lately choſe in ſtead of *Ladiſlaus Salcanius*, ſlaine in the battell at Mugace, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* Biſhop of Vacia, whom he choſe for his Secretary. And vnto *Americus Cibacus* he gaue the honour of the Vayuod of Tranſyluania, being but a little before choſen Biſhop of Veradium. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen vnto the kingdome by the nobility which followed him out of Tranſyluania, men of great account both in peace and warre: among whom deſcended of the Hungarian bloud, were chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Autandrus*, *Gregorius Peſchenius*, *Nicholaus Gleſſa*, and *Ianus Docia*. But whileſt this new King is in this ſort buſied in rewarding his friends and ſtrengthening himſelfe in his kingdome, he was aduertiſed that *Ferdinand* his competitor of the Hun- *Iohn Sepuſius the Vayuod choſen and crowned King of Hunga ry.*

B garian kingdome was choſen King of Bohemia: who out of the old courteſie betwixt *Matthias Corninus* and *Fredericus* the Emperours great grandfather, alledged great claime vnto that kingdome, deriued from the time of *Ladiſlaus*, who was reported to haue beene poiſoned at the time of the ſolemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pogibracius*; who affecting the kingdome of Bohemia, ſhortly after obtained the ſame. And now it ſeemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdome of Bohemia, and ſtrengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the Emperour, not forgetting his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdome of Hungary, vnto him (as he pretended) of right belonging euer ſince the time of *Albertus* the Emperour. Neither did *Ferdinand* beſide the ſtrength of Auſtria and Bohemia, want the furtherance of di- *Ferdinand king of Bohemia layeth claime to the kingdome of Hungary.*

C uers of the Princes of Hungary: hauing in his court many of vnquiet ſpirits, halfe fugitiues, deſirous of change, which enuied at the Vayuods royall preferment (as if it had beene taken from them ſelues, more worthy thereof than he) by the raſh and tumultuous fauour of the vulgar people. For beſides *Bator*, who in moſt mens judgement might moſt worthily haue required and obtained the kingdome, there were others alſo almoſt of like nobility and valour, as *Valentinus Turaccus*, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gaſper Scredius*, *Baltaſor Pamphilus*, and *Ferentius Gnarius*; to whom alſo was joyned *Paulus Bachitius* borne in Seruia, a valiant Gentleman, who being entered into the Mahometan religion to auoid the Turkiſh ſlauery, got away vnto the Chriſtians, and hardly eſcaped from the battell of Mohatchz. By the perſuaſion of theſe noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his own diſpoſition ready enough to claime his right, eſpecial-

D ly a kingdome, and truſting vnto his ſtrength in Auſtria, Bohemia, Rhetia, Stiria, and Carynthia, marched directly towards Buda. With whoſe comming, *Iohn* the new King being wonderfully troubled, as a man beſet with want of all things, hauing neither ſufficient ſtrength whereupon to reſt in his new got kingdome, neither any great aſſurance of the fidelity of his ſubjects, like enough either for feare, or of their naturall inconſtancy, to fall from him, determined not to abide the comming of his enemy to Buda: but exhorting his captaines to follow him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with ſuch power as he had brought with him out of Tranſyluania, and ſuch other as he could otherwiſe leuy, he paſſed ouer the riuer to Peſtum: and not daring any where thereabouts to reſt, by long marches paſſed ouer the riuer Tibiſcus, and there incamped at Tocai, which was a

E ſtrong caſtle vpon the further ſide of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained Buda without reſiſtance: where he ſtaied a while, and conſulted with his captaines, Whether he ſhould purſue his flying enemy, or not. But it was quickly reſolued, That the diſcouraged enemy was to be ſpeedily purſued, before he ſhould gather greater ſtrength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his army vnto the nobility of Hungary, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all ſpeed poſſible, came to the riuer Tibiſcus: where paſſing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats which they brought with them in waggons for that purpoſe, they came with enſignes diſplaied vnto the caſtle of Tocai, where the King lay with his army in order of battell. But terrified with the ſudden comming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the greatneſſe of the *King Ferdinand taketh Buda.*

F danger, tooke a courſe vnto himſelfe rather ſafe than honourable: for his captaines deſiring nothing more than to joyne battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, perſuaded him to withdraw himſelfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if things fell out otherwiſe than well, to reſerue himſelfe vnto his better fortunes: as for themſelues they would moſt reſolutely fight againſt thoſe traiterous fugitiues, foraſmuch as it were great

diſhonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuſe battell being offe- G
red by the enemy. Amongſt the chieftains of the Kings army, *Ferentius Budo* an old captaine of great experience and courage was chiefe, to whom the King deliuered his enſigne with his own hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his ſouldiers: he himſelfe ſtood in the main battell with the Hungarians, placing the Tranſyluanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* army, *Valentinus Turaccus* led the maine battell with the Hungarians, vnder *Ferdinands* Enſigne; ſtrengthened on the one ſide with troups of horſemen out of Styria, and on the other with the horſemen of Auſtria. But *Paulus Bachitius* (according to the manner of the Turkiſh wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a company of light horſemen lay cloſe in ambuſh in a conuenient place for that purpoſe, a good diſtance off, againſt the left wing of the enemies army, ready as occaſion ſhould ſerue, to take his moſt aduantage. It was not H
greatly needful for the captaines to vſe any perſuaſions to encourage their ſouldiers, ready enough of themſelues to fight. The great ordnance once diſcharged, the armies came faſt on and joyned battell, where the wings of both battels fought with diuers fortune. The Styrian horſemen were not able to endure the force of the Tranſyluanians, but were put to the worſe. And on the other ſide, the left wing of *Bodo* his army, conſiſting for moſt part of raw and vnexpert ſouldiers, was by the horſemen of Auſtria ouerthrown. At the ſame time both the main battels (being almoſt all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that ſo eagerly, as ſeldome had bin ſeene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a freſh charge giuen by *Ferdinands* horſemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of *Bodo* his battell, all *Bodo* his army fighting moſt valiantly, was diſordred and put to flight: *Bodo* the Generall laboring to reſtore the I
battell, and to ſaue the enſigne to him before by the King deliuered, was by the comming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his light horſemen, taken. The other captaines ſeeing all loſt, and paſt hope of recouery, betooke themſelues to flight: all the Kings Artillery and Enſignes were taken by the enemy. The King ſeeing the ouerthrow of his army, for ſafegard of his life fled into Polonia. *Ferdinands* captaines following the courſe of the victory, entred into Tranſyluania; where the people yeelding themſelues at the firſt, all the whole prouince ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto the authority of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the reſt of the noblemen that were taken priſoners, with the enſignes taken from the enemies, were ſent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* hauing his liberty promiſed, could not be perſuaded to renounce his oath giuen to King *Iohn*, and to beare armes againſt him, he was by *Ferdinands* commandement caſt into a darke dungeon, K
where ſhortly after conſumed with ſorrow and griefe, he miſerably ended his life.

The battell of Tocai between the Armies of King Iohn and K. Ferdinand.

K. John flies into Polonia.

Ferdinand crowned K. of Hungary at Alba Regalis.

Shortly after, *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally ſubmitting themſelues vnto him) was by their common conſent ſaluted King, and crowned with the ſame old Crowne wherewith King *Iohn* had bin crowned, which the ſame *Perenus* (a man of little conſtancy) brought vnto him; and with him was alſo crowned *Anne* his wife, the only ſiſter of the late King *Lewis*. All which ſolemne ceremonies were celebrated at Alba-Regalis, the vſuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicity thus poſſeſſed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into Bohemia, and left his deputies for the gouernement of the kingdome of Hungary: theſe were *Stephanus Bator*, whom he appointed Viceroy, with whom he joined *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium, who had alſo reuolted from K. *Iohn*; and L
made *Berethſaxtus* Secretary, and *Alexius Turſonus* a Moravian, Treaſurer.

King *Iohn* thus miſerably diſtreſſed, and thruſt out of his kingdome by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronymus Laſcus*, a man for his honorable deſcent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongſt the Polonians: who glad of ſo honourable a gheſt, was more carefull of nothing, than with all poſſible kindneſſe and curteſie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in ſo many calamities for the loſſe of his kingdom: he frankely promiſed vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not ſmall) for the recouery of his former eſtate; and that which more was, for the renuing of his former felicitie, the vttermoſt of his wit and deuice, which in the compaſſing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. This bountiful entertainment of this poore King by *Laſcus*, was not altogether vpleaſant to *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, although (becauſe M
he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joined in friendſhip and allyance) hee ſeemed to moſt men plainly to forget himſelf, in ſhewing ſo ſmall kindneſſe to K. *Iohn*, whoſe ſiſter *Barbara* he had ſomtime maried: which was the cauſe that *Laſcus* forgat no point of curteſie in entertaining his gheſt, and yet *Sigiſmunds* credit with King *Ferdinand* not toucht. But

when

A when they had ſpent almoſt a month in conſultation and debating of matters too & fro, *Laſcus* accuſtomed with his deep wit ſharply to reaſon,& aduiſedly to determine of moſt weighty cauſes,at laſt reſted vpon this one point,That ready help in ſo hard and deſperat a caſe was only to be hoped for of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*:being of opinion, that he being a moſt mighty Prince,and of an honorable diſpoſition anſwerable to his greatnes, would not reiect the humble prayers of an oppreſſed and exiled king:eſpecially,if that being by his mercy and power reſtored,he could be content for ſo great a benefit to hold his kingdom,as of the bounty of the *Othoman* kings. For *Laſcus* ſaw that *Solyman* (ſo great and proud an Emperor)was not ſo deſirous of kingdomes(whereof he had ſo many as could not eaſily be reckoned, then commanding ouer a great part of the world)as of glory and renown,wherewith he vnderſtood him
B to be wonderfully delighted aboue all other Kings of the Eaſt, naturally carried away with that windy vanity.This counſell(as in effect it prooued)was to king *Iohn* wholeſome and reaſonable,if a man do but reſpect the poore eſtate of a king, ſo greatly wronged,liuing in exile; but reſpecting the Chriſtian common weale,it was vndoubtedly moſt dangerous and lamentable, for one mans particular profit to bring the whole ſtate into moſt horrible and dreadfull danger:but the ſick minds of worldly men,liuing in ſmal hope of doing well,and at the point of deſperation,refuſe no worldly remedies,be they neuer ſo doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after,vpon this reſolution with the king,*Laſcus* deſirous by noble actions to increaſe the honour of his name,took the matter vpon him, and went as Embaſſador from the exiled King to *Solyman* to Conſtantinople. The report was,that *Sigiſmund* did not only not ſtay him, but
C ſecretly gaue him his ſafe conduct with letters of credence, wherin he commended him vnto the Baſſa's & other great men in *Solymans* court,deſcended of the Polonian bloud,as his faithfull and louing ſubiect, ſent thither vpon an extraordinary and ſpeciall embaſſage. *Laſcus* as ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople, with wonderfull dexterity had in ſhort time won the fauor,not of the Baſſaes only,but of the other courtiers alſo;preſenting them with ſuch gifts as might for the fineneſſe and rarenes thereof,rather than for the value(as he thought)be moſt acceptable and pleaſing to their wiues : for amongſt that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts,whither they proceed of ſimple good wil,or other reſpect, is no great difference. Amongſt the great Baſſa's at that time of greateſt power and authority, was *Luſtebeius*,or rather *Lutzis*, who had married *Solymans* ſiſter;and *Abraham* borne at Parga,
D a baſe village in Acarnania, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman* : he was then viſier or chiefe of the Baſſaes, and keeper of the Emperors ſeale,and was by his office to ſubſcribe all ſuch grants or letters as paſſed from the Emperor:by which his great place, and the ſpeciall fauor he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence,power,and authority, far exceeded all the reſt of the Baſſaes,doing what ſoeuer pleaſed himſelfe; and that with ſuch ſoueraigntie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly ſaid, he was the commander of his thoughts. *Laſcus* thus inſinuated into the court,and oftentimes talking with the Baſſa's without an interpreter, for that he could well ſpeake the Sclauonian tongue (the familiar ſpeech of the Turkiſh courtiers)earneſtly ſolicited the Kings cauſe,wonderfully commending him: for at his firſt comming,after he had ſaluted *Solyman*,and was about to haue declared the cauſe
E of his comming,he was after the manner of the Turkiſh Court referred to the Baſſaes:for *Solyman* vſed not to admit any Chriſtian to talke with him in his Court. *Laſcus* requeſted of *Solyman*,by the Baſſa's,That king *Iohn* wrongfully thruſt out of his kingdom by *Ferdinand* Duke of Auſtria, and the treaſon of certaine of the Hungarians, might by the Turkiſh power be againe reſtored vnto the Kingdome of Hungary, which he would hold by homage of the Turkiſh Emperor,as of right belonging to him, ſince the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs and ſubduing his enemies,had by law of arms (fortune ſo iudging) gained the ſame.Promiſing that King *Iohn*, who for his worthineſſe,was by the generall good liking of the Hungarians lawfully choſen to be their King, and ſo after the antient manner of that Kingdome crowned;if he were now receiued into *Solymans* protection, and by him reſto-
F red,ſhould neuer forget ſo great a benefit,but alwaies moſt faithfully and thankfully to honor the maieſty of *Solyman*,paying him ſuch yerely tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe,and to make it knowne to all men,that he was his vaſſall. Which thing if it would pleaſe him to grant, it ſhould be no leſſe honour and glory to *Solyman* himſelfe, than profitable and comfortable vnto the diſtreſſed King. For beſide, that heroicall Kings are compared vnto gods,
rather

Laſcus counſels King Iohn to craue ayd of Solyman.

Laſcus goeth Embaſſador for K. Iohn to Solyman.

Abraham Baſſa

Laſcus his requeſt of Solyman in the behalf of K. Iohn

rather for giuing than receiuing: it was easie to be seen, how greatly it did concern the profit of the *Othoman* Kings to be neighboured with a weak and tributary King, rather than with *Ferdinand* a Prince of great power, lately chosen King of Bohemia, supported by the strength of his brother *Charles* the Emperor, commanding ouer the warlike Nation of the Germanes: which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continual heauy war vpon his borders, and the safe injoying of a most assured peace. Besides, it concerned the Turkes to beware, that such things as they had gotten by the sword, they should also by the sword defend, and not to suffer any one to grow greater than the rest in riches and power. For it might so fal out that *Charls*, grown to be a Prince of mighty power, might draw the rest of the Christian princes to join with him in the common cause of the Christian religion, & in that quarel, as the Christian Kings of Europ had formerly done, with vnited forces to seek to recouer again what they had before lost; whose force it would be hard to withstand. These things being sharply deliuered, and by the Bassa's again reported to *Solyman*, who standing at a secret window had before heard them, as they were by *Lascus* to the Bassa's declared; it was no great labor to persuade the Turkish Emperor, of himself desirous of glory and soueraignty, againe to vndertake the Hungarian war, and to grant King *Iohn* his request; promising according to the succes of the victory, to giue him that he desired, so that hee would faithfully performe what he had promised, and not shew himself therfore vnthankful.

Solyman granteth Lascus his request.

In the mean time, *Ferdinand* vpon great reason thinking it necessarie by all means possible to confirm his possession of the Kingdom of Hungary, and fearing no force but the Turks, determined to proue *Solymans* disposition, and to seek for his friendship; hoping by reasonable means to compasse it, by shewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of justice) his antient title and claim, and that he was by the antient laws of the country right heir thereof: thinking that *Solyman*, hauing obtained so many victories, and ruling ouer so many kingdoms, would now at length giue himself to peace, as a man contented with his glory already gotten. His desire was to be receiued into his friendship, and to join with him in league vpon the same conditions which *Ladislaus* and his son *Lewis* had for certain years before obtained of the *Othoman* Kings, and *Sigismund* King of Polonia then also with like quietnes enjoied. Wherfore hauing found out a fit man whom he might send vpon this embassage to Constantinople (one *Ioannes Oberdanscus* an Hungarian) he furnished him accordingly, and gaue him gifts, such as he thought good to bestow vpon the great Bassa's. But when *Oberdanscus* was come vnto Constantinople, he found *Solyman* harder to be intreated than he had before hoped, and the Bassa's altogether vnwilling to hear of any league: for although he was courteously receiued of *Solyman*, and most patiently heard, whilest hee both eloquently and discreetly before the great Bassa's deliuered his embassage; yet in the shutting vp of all, he receiued nothing but a proud and insolent answer. For *Solyman* said, it was far from the manner of his Aunces tors, to receiue them into grace and fauour, which had don injury vnto the *Othoman* name: wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to inuade another mans kingdom, and to thinke to hold it vnto himselfe; forsomuch as his old title and claim which he stood so much vpon, was altogether extinguished and lost by the Law of Armes, by his late victory against King *Lewis*. For which causes he adiudged him vnworthy of his friendship and fauor; purposing sharply to reuenge the wrong he had receiued, & proclaiming War, to come again into Hungary with such a power as should be sufficient to inuade King *Ferdinand* either in Austria or Germany. Wherefore in stead of friendship and League, he denounced vnto him all the calamities of War: and so commaunded the Embassador with speed to depart from Constantinople. But *Oberdanscus* when he was come backe again as far as Vienna, and had there told the Kings Lieutenants of the threatening words of *Solyman*, and that he would shortly come thither with his army; he was not of any of them beleeued, but reputed for a vaine man. Wherfore to shun the hatred of them which mistooke truth for falshood, he made hast to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at Spires laboring for voices to further his suit; for that at the next assembly of the States of the Empire, which was then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himself as he wel hoped, was to be chosen King of the Romanes. The newes brought by *Oberdanscus* did not a little trouble King *Ferdinand*, foreseeing as it were what would happen; for that the Turkish Tyrant vsed not lightly to break such promises, but to performe them to the vttermost. And that more

Ferdinand sendeth an embassador to Solyman.

Solymans answer to Ferdinands Embassador.

increased

A increaſed his care, he knew he ſhould come in euill time to craue help of the Germans, for the defence of his Kingdome in Hungary, againſt ſo mighty an enemy, eſpecially his brother *Charles* the Emperor being buſied in his warres in Italy, and he himſelfe wanting money, the only meanes to raiſe an army to withſtand the Turke. The Spring now come, and all things freſh and green, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an army of an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, ſet forward from Hadrianople, his Europeian horſemen going before him, conducted by *Abraham* the great Baſſa, and *Achomates Michael Ogli*, Generall of the Acanzij or voluntary horſemen: and his Aſian ſouldiers led by *Becrambeius Baſſa* following after him: he himſelfe with his Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court keeping in the middle. And marching on in this ſort, came in fifteene dayes to Belgrade, where King

B *Iohn* accompanied with *Laſcus* and ſuch of the Hungarian nobility as tooke his part, came vnto him, of purpoſe to make himſelfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he poſſibly could, to requeſt him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with graue and yet friendly countenance, raiſing himſelfe a little from the cuſhion wherein he ſat, gaue him his right hand, proteſting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more deſired of God, than to be able to relieue diſtreſſed Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were wrongfully oppreſſed by his enemies: wherefore he willed him to be of good comfort, promiſing of his bounty frankly to beſtow vpon him whatſoeuer he ſhould in that warre win with the ſword from the enemy. King *Iohn* obtained this rare fauor of *Solyman* by the earneſt mediation of *Abraham* the commanding Baſſa; whom he had before at Conſtantinople by

C his Embaſſador *Laſcus* ſo woon with gifts and requeſts, that he throughly tooke vpon him the defence of the kings cauſe: wherein *Laſcus* was eſpecially holpen by *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of Venice his ſonne, who then followed the Turks campe, and was for his fathers ſake and the great ſufficiencie he held himſelfe, had in great reputation amongſt the Turks; and in ſuch fauor with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could perſuade him to any thing he would. For this *Aloyſius Grittus*, borne and brought vp in Conſtantinople, and wonderfull eloquent in the Turkiſh tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himſelfe, and the great port he kept in his houſe, ſo throughly poſſeſſed *Abraham* (that al commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himſelfe ouer the hauen to Pera, to ſolace himſelfe in *Grittus* his pleaſant gardens and banquetting houſes, which he had there moſt ſumptuouſly made after

D the Italian manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the Turks cuſtomes.

1529

Solyman commeth into Hungary with a great army.

King Iohn commeth to Solyman at Belgrade.

The fame of *Solymans* comming directly from Belgrade to Buda, ſo terrified the Citiſens of Buda, that they almoſt all forſooke the city and fled vnto other places further off, ſome to Strigonium, ſome to Alba Regalis, ſome to Poſſonium: ſo that at his firſt comming he entred the city (almoſt deſolate) without any reſiſtance: the caſtle holden by a garriſon of Germans, he commanded to be beſieged. The captaine of the caſtle was one *Thomas Nadaſtus*, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honour of his houſe, and his qualities anſwerable to the ſame, graced with ſingular learning: he perceiuing his ſoldiers diſmayed with the ſight of ſo great an army, and willing to ſurrender vp the caſtle, as beſeemed a valiant cap-

E tain, forbad his ſouldiers to haue any talke with the enemy, commanding the great artillery to be bent and diſcharged vpon the Turks: and ſeeing his ſoldiers ſlack and timorous rep, rooued them of cowardiſe & treaſon, threatning them with ſhamefull death if they did not hold out the ſiege to the vttermoſt, and ſhew themſelues valiant men both for the honor of their country, and of king *Ferdinand*, whoſe pay they receiued, and of whoſe bounty they were to expect rewards & preferments anſwerable to their deſerts. But they miſdoubting by the running too and fro of the Turks, that the caſtle was vndermined; and ſmelling, or at leaſtwiſe imagining themſelues to ſmell the ſent of the gunpowder, which they ſuppoſed to be in the mine, and doubting to be preſently blown vp; were ſtruck with ſuch a ſudden feare, that neither the feare of future puniſhment, neither the ſhame of ſo foule a fact, nor the reuerence of ſo worthy a

F captaine could ſtay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the caſtle: which when they could by no means perſuade the reſolute captain to conſent to, but that he ſtil with ſtern countenance exclaimed againſt their cowardiſe and treaſon, they layd hands on him, and bound him hand and foot, and ſo preſently concluded with the enemy to yeeld to him the caſtle, ſo that they might in ſafety depart thence with bag and baggage: which their

Solyman enters Buda without reſiſtance, and beſiegeth the Caſtle.

requeſt

requeſt *Solyman* granted. But when the gariſon ſoldiers (in number about 700) were about to depart with their baggage toward Poſſonium, as was before agreed; and the Ianizaries comming into the caſtle, hauing looſed the captain, were about to let him go alſo; *Solyman* aduertiſed of the trechery of the garriſon ſoldiers, and of the fidelity of the captain; changing his mind, iudged ſuch villanous minded men vnworthy of his mercy, and in deteſtation of their perfidious dealing with their captain, gaue them all to his Ianizaries to be ſlain: but vnto the captain himſelf he offered honorable entertainment; which when he refuſed, *Solyman* curteouſly ſent him away: holpen therin by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his ſiſter was maried to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemy. Which bloudy execution don by the commandement of the bloudy tyrant, the Turkes ſaid was not only lawfully done, but alſo to the immortal glory of his name in the execution of juſtice. Which might peraduenture ſeeme reaſonable, if the perpetual hatred of that barbarous nation againſt the Chriſtians, gaue not iuſt occaſion to ſuſpect, that it proceeded rather of their antient malice, than of any regard of juſtice. For why ſhould the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his ſafe conduct, be thought worthy of ſo cruel death? when as *Solyman* himſelf in puniſhing the perjury of another, ran into wilful perjury himſelf, peruerting the commendation of juſtice which he ſo much deſired, by his moſt bloudy and vniuſt ſentence.

Solyman contrary vnto his promiſe, cauſes the gariſon ſoldiers after they had deliuered the caſtle, to be ſlain.

Buda the chief city of Hungary thus taken by *Solyman*, he reſolued forthwith to beſiege Vienna the chief city of Auſtria; in good hope, that by the cariage away of that, the other Cities of leſſe ſtrength both of Hungary and Auſtria would without any reſiſtance yeeld vnto him. Wherfore he ſent before, *Achomates* with the voluntary horſmen, who according to the manner of the Turkiſh wars, running thorow the heart of Hungary, and entring into Auſtria, with fire and ſword, paſſed by Vienna, miſerably burning and deſtroying the Country before him, euen as far as Lyntz. The poor people not knowing where to hide themſelues from the fury of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women diſmaied, carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what els they could, as things ſaued out of the midſt of the fire. For whatſoeuer fel into the enemies hand, was loſt without recure: the old men were ſlain, the young men led away into captiuity, women rauiſhed before their husbands faces, and afterwards ſlain with their children, young infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and others taken from their breſts were cut in pieces, or els thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes, yeelding vp againe that breath which they had but a little before receiued; with many other incredible cruelties which were then by the mercileſſe Enemie committed. *Solyman* himſelfe ſhortly after followed theſe fore-runners, and ſetting forward with all his army from Buda towards Vienna, by the way took the Caſtle of Altenburg, whether by force or compoſition is diuerſly reported. Of the garriſon ſouldiers there placed by King *Ferdinand*, he reſerued 300 Bohemians, whom he commanded to follow his camp. Hee alſo aſſaulted the little city of Neapolis ſeuen times in one day, & was as often repulſed: but being loth to ſpend any longer time about a town of ſo ſmall importance, hee forſooke that, and held on his way to Vienna, whither he came about the ſix and twentieth day of September, and incamped in fiue places round about the City, with ſuch a world of people, that vnto them which viewed his Camp from the higheſt tower in Vienna, it ſeemed that all the ground for the ſpace of eight miles was couered with the multitude of his Tents and people. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his Embaſſadour *Oberdanſcus* receiued the hard anſwer from *Solyman*, alwaies ſtood in doubt of his comming; and beſide his own forces (which were no way great enough to oppoſe againſt ſo mighty an enemie) craued aid of the other Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, eſpecially of the Princes of the Empire. Who granting him aid againſt the Common Enemy, appointed *Fredericke* County Palatine of the Rhyne and Duke of Bavaria, Generall of their Forces. But whileſt the Germans after their manner, ſlowly ſet forward, and made leſſe haſt than the greatneſſe of the preſent danger required; *Solyman* comming in the mean time, had ſo belayd the City, that it was not poſſible for the Duke *Frederick* by any means to get into it, but was glad to ſtay with his Army at Chremſe, about twelue miles from Vienna. A few dayes before, by good hap, vpon the report of the loſſe of Buda, twenty thouſand ſouldiers, horſmen and footmen out of diuers countries, were in good time come to Vienna. Amongſt theſe, the chiefe Commanders were *Philip* the Paltzgraue Duke *Fredericks* Nephew (a yong Gentleman of great courage & hope,

Auſtria ſpoiled by the Turks.

Altenburg taken.

Solyman comes to Vienna.

ſent

A sent thither but a little before with a few companies of horsemen and footmen by *Fredericke* his vncle, who was comming after with a greater power himselfe, but was now shut out of the city by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* County of Salma, the L. *William Rogendorff*, steward of the Kings houshold, *Ioannes Cazzianer*, a noble man of Croatia, and afterwards Gouernor of Vienna: and next vnto them, *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardecus*, *Leonardus Velsius*, *Hector Ramsacke*, men both for their birth and valour of great account amongst the Germans. The city of Vienna as it was of some good strength toward the North, by reason of Danubius, so in other places it was at that time neither by art nor nature strong. The ditches, such as they were, were altogether drie, and easie to be passed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers, and neither high nor thicke, but after the antient simple manner of fortification of cities: for be-

Vienna badly fortified.

B fore that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemy, neither they of Vienna, who had not of many yeares seen an enemy, had any care to fortifie the city: but as men altogether buried in security, and nothing fearing the comming of so mighty an enemy (although they were therof before admonished by *Oberdanscus*) had not so much as cast vp any rampire or bulwark, more than at the gate of Carinthia, whereon they might conueniently place their great ordnance: so that of a 100 great peeces, and 300 others of lesse charge, which might haue wonderfully annoyed the enemy, a great part serued to no vse, for want of conuenient place to mount them vpon. Yet as the sudden comming of the enemy, and the shortnesse of the time gaue leaue, such bulwarkes as they could vpon the sudden, they cast vp, and planted their ordnance thereon. The city was diuided into diuers quarters, and to euery part a strong garrison

C appointed for the defence thereof, all the gates of the city were mured vp, except such as were of purpose reserued to sallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Bassa incamped himselfe vpon a high hill, where stood a ruinous castle, from whence he might ouerlooke all the City; yet so, as that he lay out of the danger of gun shot. *Becrambeius*, *Solymans* great commander in Asia, lay at the gate called Purgatoria, neer the Church of S. *Vlderich*. In the third campe towards the rising of the hils, lay *Michael Ogli*, towards the Church of S. *Vitus*. At the Scottish gate towards Danubius, lay the Asapi, with diuers companies of the Ianizaries: which with shot out of their trenches, suffered no man to appeare vpon the wals in that quarter without most manifest danger, and poured such showrs of arrows ouer the wals into the city, as if they had fallen out of the clouds; that hardly could any man stir in the city vnarmed, but hee was

D forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himselfe lay neer vnto S. *Markes* Church, compassed about with the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the Court, defended also with the bricke wals of the gardens thereabouts. Whilest the Turks were thus incamping themselues, the Christian defendants oftentimes fortunatly sallyed out vpon them, and slew many of them. In one of which sallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant captain, with certain old soldiers of the Spaniards was slain fighting most valiantly at the gates of the castle: and in another skirmish *Christophorus Setlitz* a man of great courage, sallying out of the city with fiue hundred horsemen, euen vnto the enemies trenches, was intercepted and taken with six others of his company; who were al compelled by the Turks to carry so many heads of their slain fellows vpon poles, and so presented vnto *Solyman*: of whom he inquired many things as well concerning *Ferdinand* himselfe, and

E where he was, as concerning the Princes which had the charge of the city, whether they were in hope to defend the same against his mighty power or not. Whereunto *Christophorus* aptly and wisely answered, although not altogether so truly, That King *Ferdinand* lay not farre off at the city of Lintz, expecting the assembling of a great army: and that the Princes of Germany, Bohemia, Morauia, and of diuers other places were comming to him, with great aid; so that if he would but stay a little vntill his forces were come together, hee should then see whether of them were of greater strength and power: forasmuch as it would not be long before the King would come and giue him battell: as for the Princes in the City, he said hee knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the soldiers from the highest to the lowest, had solemnly sworne to defend the city, and not to giue it ouer, vnto the last man, re-

F posing their hope not in the wals and fortresses thereof, but in their weapons and valor, being men of great resolution, and not easily to be vanquished or discouraged. With which answer although *Solyman* was a little mooued, yet dissembling his present heat, said, he had hitherto made war against diuers nations, and alwaies had the victory, whereof he doubted not now also: but as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to

saue

Solyman releaseth the Christian Princes without ransome.

saue or kill at his pleasure: yet to make them know that he could shew mercy vnto his vanquished enemies, he frankly granted them their liues and liberty: charging them, that after they were again returned into the city, they should in his name wish the defendants of themselues to yeeld vp the city, which it was impossible for them long to defend against his mighty power, which neither the strong city of Belgrade, nor the famous city of the Rhodes were able to withstand; and to accept of such reasonable conditions as he should grant vnto them; promising, that amongst other things proceeding of his infinit bounty, he would take order, that they should in safety depart thence with bag and baggage: in which doing, they should well prouide for the safety of themselues and of their goods, by flying to his mercy in time, before the fury of the war was grown to further extremitie: all which it would be too late to expect after the victory, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murther, and miserable destruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to consider of the matter, and not foolishly to refuse that was now frankly offred them of mercy, which they should not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or teares: for why, he was resolutely set down (as he said) not to depart thence before he had taken the city. When he had thus schooled them, he gaue to euery one of them three Hungarian duckats, and so sent them away. They being receiued into the city with great ioy, made relation vnto the Princes and great Captaines, of all the threatning and proud speeches of the Turkish tyrant: which they took in such disdaine, that they would not vouchsafe to returne him any answer. *Solyman* not a little displeased, that his great words were so lightly regarded, by way of derision sent word to the City, That if they wanted helpe, he would send them the 300 Bohemians, whom he took in the castle of Altenburg: to whom answer was returned by them of the city, that they needed no help from him, wherfore he might dispose of his prisoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceiued, that Vienna was not to be woon with words, nor the defendants to be discouraged with great looks; wherefore he began to vse his force, and with such ordnance as he had brought with him, to batter the wals: which because it was not great, but fitter for seruice in field than for battery, did not much more harme than to beat downe the battlements and such like standings, made of timber and boords in manner of galleries, hanging here and there ouer the wall, for the small shot to play out of, a simple deuise in stead of flankers. His great artillery prouided for battery was comming vp the riuer of Danubius, which he daily looked for; but by good hap *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward Captain, hearing of the Turks comming vp the riuer, went out of Possonium with certain smal vessels well appointed, and meeting with the Turks, set vpon them with such courage and resolution that he slew many of them, and sunke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongst whom were they which were bringing vp *Solymans* great pieces for battery to Vienna: which was there all sunke in the riuer, with the boats that brought it. By this good seruice, *Solyman* was disappointed of his great artillery, and the city deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great spoile amongst the Turks, and lost some few men, returned with victory to Possonium. Yet another part of the Turks fleet comming vp to Vienna, at the first comming brake downe all the bridges: for a little aboue the city, the riuer of Danubius diuiding his channell, maketh diuers Islands, which by sundry bridges are ioyned together, ouer which lieth the way from Austria vnto the city. This fleet so kept the passage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land go in or out of the city. *Solyman* hauing lost all his pieces for battery, and seeing how little he preuailed with his field pieces, fell to vndermining of the city, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wals, and to make a way for his men to enter. This worke, as the Turks chiefe hope, was with wonderfull labour and diligence attempted in fifteene sundry places: which was not so secretly done, but that it was by drums laid vpon the ground, by basons filled with water, and sounds made into the earth perceiued by the defendants; and so with countermines met withal, that most part of those works were vtterly frustrated, and in them 8000 of his Turks either slaine or buried quicke.

Eight thousand Turks lost in the Mines.

Solyman to busie the defendants, that they should not so perfectly discouer his mines, diuided his army into foure parts, appointing them orderly to succeed one after another in giuing alarums in the town, that filling their ears with continuall noise, he might keep them alwaies occupied. In the midst of which hurly burly his mine-workes went forward with all speed possible, neither was he in that his expectation deceiued: for one of the mines brought to perfection vnperceiued by the defendants, and suddenly blown vp, shooke and ouerthrew a great

The wals of Vienna blown vp.

part

A part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards Carinthia, whereat the Turkes gaue a great shout, as if the city had now bin taken, and withal couragiously stepping forward, pressed in on all sides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entered the breach, charging the defendants with their small shot and Turky arrowes as thicke as haile. Who on the contrary part like resolute men stood in the face of the breach, with more assurance than the wall it selfe, receiuing them with deadly shot and push of pike, in such furious manner, that the Turks for all their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the assault, began to retyre. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, sent in new supplies, and so renewed the assault before giuen ouer, but with no better successe than before: for hauing receiued a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both duty and martiall discipline, they retired, not expecting any signe of retreat. At this assault so ma- *The Turkes repulsed from the breach.*

B ny of the Turks were slaine, that the ground neere vnto the towne lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Not long after the wall was blowne vp in two places more, ouer against S. *Clares* Church; by which breach being not very great, the Turks seeking to haue entred, made a bloudy fight with the Germans which defended that place; which they sought so desperatly to haue entred, that without regard they thrust one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons; who glistering in good armour, readily receiued them being for most part naked men, and slew them without number, and so inforced them againe disorderly to re- *A most terrible assault.*

tyre, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carkases. Three daies after ensued a most cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of Carinthia, and not far from the first breach) was so suddenly ouerthrowne, that the Turkes thorow the new

C made breach seeing the Christians as they stood ready to come to the defence thereof; and likewise the Christians them, now approching; for eagernesse and hast on both sides threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handy blowes in the middle of the breach; the Turks with their scimiters, and the Germans with their long swords. At which time, as the Christian captaines encouraged their souldiers with cheerefull persuasions; so the Turkish commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The assault began so terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and cruell fight was neuer seene from the beginning of the World: which was with great resolution maintained by the Turks, for that many of their most valiant horsemen forsaking their horses, thrust in with their targuets and scimiters, or else with the launces amongst the Ianizaries and other footmen, and there fought most despe-

D ratly. At last, after this furious fight had endured by the space of three houres, and many of the Turks best captains and souldiers lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the Turks seeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the assault, and retyred to their campe. *The Turks the third time repulsed.*

Long and tedious it were to recount euery assault giuen during the time of that dreadfull siege, with euery particular accident not vnworthy the remembrance, which for breuity wittingly I passe ouer. Yet amongst the rest, the most valiant leader (though afterward vnfortunat) the Lord *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiuing many of the *The Lo. william Rogendorffe.*

Turks stragling disorderly abroad in the country, one day vpon the sudden sallied out vpon them with certain troups of horsemen, with such violence, that at the first onset he ouerthrew them, and hauing them in chase, did such speedy execution, that of 5300 scarce 140 escaped

E his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the Turks. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieued with the often and bloudy assaults by him in vaine giuen to the city; but purposing now to proue the last and vtmost of all his forces, he called to him the chiefe Commanders of his army, whom at the first he sharpely reproued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as possessed of the victory, had most cowardly, contrary to the manner of that victorious nation, turned their backes vpon their enemies, in the breaches already halfe woon: wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts, and to make all things ready for a new assault, wherein he expected that they should with couragious forwardnesse and resolution, recompence their late cowardise: for why, he accounted it a great dishonor to forsake the siege begun; wherefore they should resolue the next day as victorious conquerors to take the city,

F or else there as faint hearted cowards to end their daies. The next day after this heauy charge *Vienna againe assaulted.*

giuen, which was the fifteenth of October, the great commanders of the Turks army with all their forces assailed the city, thrusting their men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if no way else, yet with very multitude (if it had been possible) haue discouraged or ouerborne the Christians: they were come to handy blowes, and the fight was in euery place most terri-

ble, the Christian defendants still repulsing them with greater courage than they were able to assaile them. Besides that, to the great aduantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordnance skilfully mounted in places most conuenient, and continually discharged among the thickest of their enemies as they pressed on, made of them such slaughter, and so cut them off, that being thorowly discouraged they shrunk backe, and could not by any threats or command of their captaines be thrust forward; chusing rather to be slaine of their owne captains (as some of them were) than to be rent in sunder with the murthering shot of the Christians. So that the captaines seeing now no other remedy, gaue ouer the assault and retired, leauing behind them many thousands of their dead Turks in the towne ditches. G

The Turks repulsed.

The next day after this assault, *Solyman* despairing to win the city, and fearing the comming of King *Ferdinand* and the County Palatine with a strong army, as it had been to him reported, considering also that Winter was now comming fast on, determined to raise his siege: and to colour the dishonour thereof, he sent certaine of the chiefe prisoners which he had taken, richly apparelled, with their purses full of money, into the city, to tell the captaines, that he came not with purpose either to besiege or take the city, but to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by his enemy King *Ferdinand*, and to haue fought a battell with him for the kingdome of Hungary: whom forasmuch as he could not draw vnto Vienna, he would remoue thence to seeke for him, as his capitall enemy; wherefore they should doe well to yeeld themselues; which if they would, he promised not to enter their city, but to receiue both the citisens and soldiers into his protection, reseruing vnto them their liues and goods, with perpetuall freedome. Which his offer the defendants scornfully refused, as proceeding of meere desparation. H

The next night following, *Solyman* with more than barbarous cruelty caused all the prisoners in his army to be slaine; which pittifull outcries was of the souldiers heard into the city, not knowing what the matter should be, vntill that the next day after the departure of the enemy, they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their owne bloud, a most lamentable spectacle to behold. *Solyman* purposing to forsake the siege, caused *Abraham* the great Bassa to shew himselfe in order of battell, as if he would haue giuen a fresh assault: in the meane time he himselfe rose vpon the sudden with the rest of his army, and returned towards Buda in such hast, that he neither put any garrison into such places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any tribute. After whom the Bassa followed, keeping himselfe a daies journy behind him: and so in fiue daies he arriued with all his army at Buda, 32 Germane miles from Vienna. I K

Solyman raiseth his siege.

This siege was giuen ouer by *Solyman* about the sixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to haue lost eighty thousand men, amongst whom was his great Lieutenant of Asia, with many other of his forward Captains and best soldiers. Of the defendants few or none of name were lost; but of the country people it is supposed that there was aboue sixty thousand slaine and carried away into captiuity: all the country about Vienna was miserably spoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turks cut downe to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promise restored Buda to King *Iohn*; who by solemne writing acknowledged himselfe his vassal, and to hold the kingdome of Hungary of him as his Lord and Soueraigne. Vnto him *Solyman* joyned *Aloysius Grittus* as his Legat, to help him to prouide for such things as should be needfull for the defence of that kingdome. L

80000 Turkes lost at the siege of Vienna.

Solyman restoreth the kingdome of Hungary to K. Iohn.

It hapned one day whilest *Solyman* lay at Buda, and had giuen King *Iohn* with diuers of the nobility of Hungary accesse into his pauilion, that he fell earnestly in hand with King *Iohn*, to pardon *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium, and *Petrus Perenus* (who had taken part with king *Ferdinand*) and to receiue them into his fauor again: which men king *Iohn* in no case liked of, because that they as traitors vnto their Prince and country, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like duty to *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherein he shewed himselfe vnwilling to be intreated, said, That their mutable minds fraught with infidelity, would neuer containe themselues within the bounds of loyalty, but find occasion to commit some fouler treason than they had before. Whereunto *Solyman* straining his voice a little, as one somewhat moued, most honourably replied, *Can any thing* (said he) *happen vnto thee in this life better or more honourable, than if by thy kindenesse thine enemies shall be of all men accounted ingratefull, that is to say, men noted with eternall infamy: when as in thy selfe the commendation of a good and courteous Prince shall for euer remaine?* And so not M

The honourable saying of Solyman to K. Iohn.

long

A long after, fearing the cold of Winter then approching, dangerous for his beasts for carriage, especially his camels, bred and brought vp in the hot countries of Asia; he set forward to Belgrade, and so trauelling through Thracia, returned to Constantinople.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in Hungary and Austria, *Charles* the Emperor lately reconciled to *Clement* the seuenth of that name, then Bishop of Rome, with a strong army besieged Florence, by his lieutenant *Daualus*, (who might haue done much against the Turkes, if he had been so well imploied) labouring by all means to represse the liberty of the citisens, whereunto they had but a little before aspired, and to bring them againe vnder the subjection of the family of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoe he brought to passe, inuesting *Alexander* the Bishops nephew in the Dukedome of Florence,
B and afterward giuing him his base daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thrust out of the Kingdome of Hungary by *Solyman*, and the Dukedome of Austria wasted by the Turks, with the city of Vienna in danger to haue beene lost. Which common calamities might well haue moued both the Emperour and the Bishop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppressing the liberty of one free city, to seeke how to serue their own priuat respects.

The yeare following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great solemnity and triumph, after the Turkish manner, circumcised three of his sonnes, *Mustapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at Constantinople. 1530 *Solyman circumciseth his three sonnes.*

Solyman hardly disgesting the dishonour he had before receiued at Vienna, and oftentimes
C solicited by King *Iohn*, for aid against *Ferdinand*, who with greater stomacke than power ceased not continually to molest him: but most of all prickt forward with the insatiable desire of inlarging his Empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings, accounting his neighbor princes alwaies his enemies, and their dominions the obiects of his victories, and spoile for his souldiers; raised such an army, as for the greatnesse thereof might worthily haue bin a terror vnto the World: not so much purposing the protection of king *Iohn*, which he in shew most pretended; neither the siege of Vienna, as was commonly bruted, as the conquering of Austria, Carinthia, Croatia, Styria, and the rest of King *Ferdinands* dominions, and so afterwards of all Germany. For the accomplishment whereof, he had in his immoderate desire prefined vnto himselfe the space of three yeares, which the great Monarchs of Rome could not performe in
D more than so many hundreds. It was commonly reported, That the proud tyrant would many times say, That whatsoeuer belonged vnto the Empire of Rome, was of right his, forasmuch as he was rightfully possessed both of the Imperiall seat and scepter of *Constantine* the Great, commander of the World, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of Armes won from *Constantine* the late Christian Emperour, whom he slew at Constantinople. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as he had occasion to make any mention of *Charles* the Emperour, he would proudly, and as it were in disdaine terme him by the name of the King of Spaine, but neuer by the name of Emperour.

The discord of the Christian Princes, and the great troubles euen then arising in Germany about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this
E great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertised, that *Solyman* was in person himselfe setting forward with his huge army, sent vnto him three Embassadors; whereof *Leonardus Negarola*, a noble Gentleman well learned, and skilfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich Presents, and reasonable offers to intreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of Seruia, were by him courteously receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other answer, but that they should follow his campe, and attend his further pleasure. The report whereof brought a generall feare vpon all Germany, but especially them of Austria, in whose fresh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their country, their brethren and friends slain, their wiues and children led away into captiuity, their goods and cattell lost, their houses and fields burnt, and thousands of other grieuous calamities which they had
F endured in the late inuasion of the Turks. *Charles* the Emperor had in very good time a little before, for a while well appeased the dissention then arising in Germany about matters of religion; putting them in hope of a free and generall Counsell to be holden for the deciding of all such matters: and in a great assembly of the States of the empire to be holden at Ratisbon, shewing the greatnesse of the imminent danger, so puissant an enemy threatning vnto them all

King Ferdinand sends Embassadors to Solyman

the calamities of war, with the manifold mischiefs like to ensue, if they should in so vnfit time G
fall at variance amongst themselues: offering with great resolution, to go in person himselfe
with all his old expert soldiers, in defence of the common Christian cause; so much preuai-
led with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embassadors of the free States, that they highly
commended his forwardnesse, and all other matters for that time set apart, agreed all with one
consent, at a prefixed day to send vnto Vienna such warlike forces as they had in any time be-
The preparation of Charles the emperor against Solyman. fore set forth for the defence of the Christian religion, and the majesty of the Empire. Wher-
upon he wrote vnto *Alphonsus Vastius* (his lieutenant Generall in Italy, and one of the greatest
captains of that age) that he should without delay call together the old captains, and to leuy
so many companies of harquebusiers as they possibly could; and with them and the Spanish
soldiers to repaire forthwith vnto him into Austria. He also enjoyned *Andreas Auria* his Ad- H
mirall, that he should with like diligence rig vp a strong fleet of gallies and merchants ships,
and to go against the Turks Nauy into Grecia. At the same time he sent for his choise horse-
men out of Burgondy and the Low-Countries, and many noble Gentlemen and old souldiers
out of Spaine: for the guard of his owne person he entertained twelue thousand Germanes,
such as had longest serued in his wars in Italy, ouer whom commanded *Maximilian Herber-
stene* and *Tamisius*, both famous captaines. At the same time *Clement* the seuenth then Bishop
of Rome, although his coffers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine wars, which had
cost him ten hundred thousand ducats; yet to make some shew of his deuotion in so dange-
rous a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the Emperour; after he had with grieuous
exaction extorted from the clergy a great masse of mony (whereunto his rich Cardinals con- I
tributed nothing, as if it had bin a thing vtterly vnlawfull for them, in so good a cause to haue
abated any jot of their pontificall shew in the court of Rome) sent the young Cardinall *Hip-
politus Medices* his nephew, being then about twenty yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the
wars than for the Church, as his Legat vnto the Emperour; accompanied with moe good cap-
taines than clergy men, and his coffers well stuffed with treasure: whose comming to Ratis-
bone was vnto the Emperour and the Germanes very welcome; for besides that he was a yong
Gentleman of very comely personage, and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for those
wars (besides the company he brought with him) eight thousand Hungarian horsemen, of all
others best acquainted with the Turkish wars.

*Strigonium be-
sieged by King
John.* King *Iohn* vnderstanding, that the formost of *Solymans* great army were come as far as Sa- K
mandria in Seruia, thought it now a fit time to wring from King *Ferdinand* such townes as he
yet held in Hungary; wherefore he sent *Aloysius Grittus* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper
for his estate) to besiege Strigonium, which is a city of Hungary scituat vpon the side of Da-
nubius, about thirty miles from Buda, the castle thereof was at that time holden with a strong
garrison of King *Ferdinands*: wherunto for all that *Grittus* laied such hard siege both by the
riuer and by land, that the defendants doubting how they should be able to hold out, especi-
ally if *Solyman* should take that in his way, as it was most like he would; sent for relife to *Caz-
zianer*, a warlike captaine then Gouernor of Vienna, and General of all King *Ferdinands* forces:
by whose appointment certaine small frigots were sent downe the riuer of Danubius, from
Possonium, well manned; who suddenly setting vpon the Turks fleet (which so kept the riuer, L
that nothing could that way possibly be conueied either in or out of the castle) should by their
vnexpected comming open that way. But *Grittus* hauing intelligence thereof by certain Hun-
garians, which though they serued King *Ferdinand*, made no great account to fly sometime to
the one part, sometime to the other, as best fitted their purpose; presently resolued to send his
fleet vp the riuer and by his sudden comming to oppresse his enemies, in like sort as they had
thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his soldiers, he promised great rewards
to all such as should performe any extraordinary piece of seruice in that action: and so hauing
thorowly furnished all his fleet with good soldiers, but especially with Turkish archers, sent
them vp the riuer to seeke their enemies: who fearing no such matter, as men surprised with
the same mischiefe they had prepared for others, were at the first exceedingly dismaied; yet M
considering that they were reasonably well prouided for their cumming (although they yet
wanted such helpe as *Cazzianer* had appointed to send them) they thought it a great shame to
fly, and therfore putting themselues in order of battell, came downe the riuer, and with great
courage encountred their enemy. There began a sharpe and cruell fight, many being slaine

and

A and wounded on both ſides: but at laſt they of Poſſonium not able longer to endure the deadly ſhot of their enemies, and eſpecially of the Turkiſh archers, (who with their arrowes ſore gauled both the ſoldiers and the mariners) they turned their backs and fled: in which fight of ſixty frigots which came from Poſſonium, only thirteene eſcaped, with *Corporanus* the Generall, all the reſt being either ſunke in the fight, or els taken by the enemy, being run aſhore and forſaken by the Poſſonians, truſting more vnto their legs by land, than their oares by water. Beſides this loſſe of the Frigots, there was ſlaine of the Poſſonians almoſt fiue hundred. After this victory, *Grittus* hoping that they in the caſtle of Strigonium, diſpairing now of reliefe, and fearing the comming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off to batter or vndermine the caſtle (wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed) purpoſing by lying ſtill, and keeping
B them of the caſtle from all reliefe, to inforce them in time to forſake the place. Thus whileſt the diuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconſideratly fought one anothers deſtruction, with the ruine of their country; *Solyman* the great enemy of all Chriſtians was ready at their backs to deuoure both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spaniſh ſoldiers in Italy, drawne together by *Vaſtius*, as the Emperor had before commanded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one ſort of men and other, was aboue 20000, whereof almoſt the third part was not ſeruiceable: for the old ſoldiers enriched with the long wars in Italy, and the ſpoile of the rich country of Lumbardy, wherein they had of late bin billited, brought with them all their old gotten ſpoiles and ſubſtance, not forgetting ſo much as their women, and whatſoeuer elſe ſerued their pleaſure:
C for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vnneceſſary people, all which ſerued for no other vſe but for the ſoldiers pleaſure, and to conſume victuals. Which their licentious wantonneſſe *Vaſtius* deſiring to reforme, gaue ſtreit commandement through all the campe, That they ſhould leaue behind them all ſuch vnneceſſary baggage, and appointed what carriages ſhould ſuffiae for euery company. Whereat the ſouldiers began at the firſt to murmure, and preſently after to riſe vp in mutiny: for many of the captains being rich, and diſliking of that long and dangerous expedition, couertly incited the common ſouldiers to cry out vpon *Vaſtius* the Generall, for their pay already due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter ſet on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice ſaid flatly, That they would go no foot further before they had receiued their pay. *Vaſtius*, although he well perceiued that tumult to be raiſed by ſome of his enemies, which
D ſought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the preſent to diſſemble the matter, & yeelding to the neceſſity of the time, to content the mutinous ſoldiers with one months pay, promiſing them their full contentment, at ſuch time as they ſhould come vnto the Emperor: and ſo when he had with much ado appeaſed that tumult, he ſet forward into Germany.

Mutiny among the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

Immediatly after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with ſuch cheerfulneſſe offered themſelues to that ſeruice, that euery captain brought with him twice ſo many in his company as was expected: ſo that *Vaſtius* (who before doubtfull of their forwardneſſe in ſo dangerous a war, eſpecially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late wars receiued great harmes, had by great and earneſt perſuaſions induced diuers of the nobility, and others
E of the better ſort, to enter into that honourable action, in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their friends and tenants, as indeed they did) was now glad to ſend backe againe many of the common ſoldiers, by reaſon of the multitude; and alſo to his great diſcredit, and the offence of many, full ſore againſt his will to diſplace moſt part of thoſe forward gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made captains; who to their no ſmall charge had gallantly furniſhed themſelues according to their degrees and places: for the Emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he ſhould bring; and alſo giuen commandement, That rejecting the reſt, he ſhould commit the leading of them only to thoſe old expert captains, of whoſe valour and diſcretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martius Columna, Petrus Maria Rubeus, Philippus Torniellus, Ioannes Baptiſta Caſtalius, Fabritius Maramaldus, Pyrrhus Stipcianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all men of great worth, and approued
F faith towards the Emperor.

In theſe Italian companies were fourteen thouſand ſelect footmen, beſide many other braue men who voluntarily reſorted from diuers places to Vienna. After theſe footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thouſand horſemen, and certaine troups of Grecians and Spani-

ards, and with them came many noble gentlemen out of all parts of Italy, who had before bin great commanders, but now serued as priuat gentlemen voluntarily without charge or pay; accounting it a great shame to tarry at home as cowards, and not to be present in that religious war. G

The Emperour also about the same time hauing taken view of his horsemen come out of the Low-countries most excellently appointed, and shipping his great ordnance, whereof he had bought great store at Nurembergh, departed downe the riuer from Ratisbone to Lyntz. The riuer of Danubius neuer carried so many vessels and souldiers since the time of the great Roman Emperors, as it did at that present: and yet besides them which went downe the riuer by shipping, the pleasant banks on both sides were filled with great companies of horsemen and footmen passing all alongst the riuer vnder their colours, with their drums and trumpets sounding, which altogether made the most glorious shew that a man could well behold vpon earth. H

1532 *Solyman commeth into Hungary.*

In the meane while, *Solyman* in six and fifty daies march come to Belgrade, thrust ouer the great riuer Savus by bridges made in diuers places, an infinit number of his horsmen into Hungary; and leauing Danubius on the right hand, turning a little vpon the left, marched directly towards the rich country of Stiria, called in antient time Valeria, and now Stiermarke. By the way as he went he came to the little towne of Gunza, which one *Nicholas Iurischitz* (a man of an inuincible courage) kept with a small garrison of his owne. This town standeth in a Plaine not far from the city of Sabaria, built square, and but of a small compasse, not very strongly walled, a poore obscure thing, neuer famous till now by the great dishonour that the Turkish Emperor *Solyman* there receiued. *Abraham* the chiefe Bassa (who so absolutely commanded among the Turks, as if *Solyman* had receiued him into the fellowship of his Empire with himselfe) was very desirous to saue this captain *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a man of great courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at such time as he lay Embassador at Constantinople: wherefore he attempted first by gentle persuasions and large offers, and afterwards by most terrible threats, to induce him to yeeld the town to *Solyman*. But finding him so resolutely set downe, that he was neither by faire nor foule means, but only by force to be remoued out of the towne: he inclosed the same round about with the huge army of the Turks, and by mines ouerthrew the wals in three places. Which sudden breach whilest the garrison souldiers most valiantly defended against the furious assault of the Ianizaries on the South side of the towne, the Bassa planting his field pieces vpon the hils on the North side, did from thence grieuously annoy the defendants: who fiercely assailed by their enemies before, and beaten with the great ordnance behind, were grieuously distressed. Wherwith the worthy gouernor somwhat troubled, though not much discouraged, suddenly of timber and boords raised vp a curtain twelue foot high, at the backs of his soldiers, wherewith they were so couered from the sight of their enemies, that they could not make any certain shot at them, but only at that curtain at all aduentures, not doing any thing so great harme as before: and with desperat and restlesse labour, in despighr of all the Turks great power repaired the breaches, in as strong manner as at the first. In the meane time 200 of the Turks horsmen straggling from the campe, and seeking after booty in the country as farre as Neostat, were by the Hungarian horsemen intercepted, and all slaine or taken; whose heads the Hungarians brought to Vienna, and the more to encourage the souldiers which dayly repaired thither, in token of good lucke set them vp vpon stakes vpon the wals of the city. Then was it certainly knowne of the prisoners, that *Solyman* had in his campe fiue hundred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces, which were not of greater bignesse but that a camell might well carry one of them, being taken from the carriage: for why, *Solyman* purposing by destroying the country before him, to draw the Emperour vnto battell; had (as they said) brought no greater pieces of battery with him. Which report of the prisoners was also confirmed by the Embassadours of King *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gaue leaue to depart at Gunza, giuing to euery one of them a gowne of veluet and a piece of plate, with letters vnto the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his brother; wherein proudly vsurping the title of many kingdomes, he most insolently wrote himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of almost all countries and nations. But the effect thereof was, That he was come into Hungary, to reuenge the wrongs which they had done vnto King *Iohn* his friend and vassall; and would with fire and sword enter their countries, and by the power of God I K L M

Gunza besieged by the Turks.

The huge army of Solyman.

Solymans proud letters vnto the emperor Charles and king Ferdinand.

A God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the fauourers of juſt quarrels, giue them battell, if they durſt meet him: wherfore if they would as valiant and couragious princes meet him in the field, he would in one battell end that quarrell with them; and in reward of the victory either win or loſe the Empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while lien at the ſiege of Gunza, and thereto giuen diuers ſharpe aſſaults, being ſtill with great loſſe and diſhonor repulſed, he in the ſpace of foure daies caſt vp neere vnto the towne ditch two great mounts of faggots and earth, as if they had bin two great mountains, of ſuch height, that they ouertopped not the wals only, but euen the higheſt towers in the towne (by which wonderfull worke the greatneſſe of the Turks army might eaſily be conjectured:) on of theſe great mounts he caſt vp di-
B rectly againſt the face of the towne; and the other at a corner of the ſame, to flankier along the wall; from whence he did with his ſhot not only beat them which appeared vpon the wals for the defence thereof, but them alſo which vpon occaſion went too and fro in the ſtreets. Theſe mounts being with incredible celerity brought to perfection, the town ditch filled vp, & many of the defendants either ſlain or wounded vpon the wals, the Turks gaue a moſt furious aſſault at the place which was before ſhaken with the mine: againſt whom the valiant captaine as need was in that extreme danger, oppoſed all the ſtrength he had left. But the Turks ſtill preſſing on with their infinit multitude, were got vp to the top of the wals with eight enſignes, from whence they had repulſed the defendants: which being all either wounded or wearied, ſhrouded themſelues vnder the defence of their penthouſes, being neither able nor of courage to make further reſiſtance, ſo that the wals were now abandoned, and the towne there
C left without defendants: when ſuddenly ſuch a great clamor was made by the loud outcries and lamentation of the women and children and other fearefull people, that the Turks which had recouered the top of the wals, ſtrucken with a ſudden feare, thinking the towne to haue bin full of ſoldiers, ſtood as men aſtonied and diſmaid, wherupon the defendants began againe to take courage, and to ſhew themſelues: at whoſe ſight the Turks poſſeſſed of a needleſſe feare, forſooke the wal, and could not by any perſuaſions or threats of their captains be brought on againe to the aſſault. The towne was that day in all mens judgement defended by the mighty power of God, and not by the ſtrength of man. It grieued the proud tyrant aboue measure that ſo baſe a towne ſhould ſo long hold out againſt all his power, ſo that oftentimes in his rage he would threaten to raſe it downe to the ground, and not to leaue any ſigne thereof re-
D maining: which he would vndoubtedly haue in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great Baſſa (by whoſe counſell he was altogether directed) otherwiſe perſuaded him: who waiting a fit time, when his choler was paſt, told him, that it was not worth his name and greatneſſe, to ſpend his time and forces vpon ſo ſmall a towne of no importance, by raſing wherof he ſhould neither get honor nor profit: for why, no man would maruell, if he with ſo puiſſant an army ſhould take ſo ſmall a thing, eſpecially by long ſiege, wherby the ſtrongeſt places are inforced to yeeld: and when he had ſo taken it, it would be accounted a greater honor for ſo little a town to haue holden out ſo long, than for him to haue with ſo great forces in long time conſtrained it: but if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as the chances of war are vncertaine, that he ſhould by any occaſion be conſtrained to leaue it, he ſhould thereby get no ſmall diſhonor: wherfore it
E were more wiſedome to ſpare his ſoldiers labor in ſo ſmall a matter, wherof he was not to expect either honour or profit, and for to reſerue him for his greater deſignes, and not vainely to ſpend his forces and time in beſieging of ſo baſe a village, from whence he might now depart with leſſe diſhonor than he could afterwards, when he had proued the vttermoſt of his forces, and yet in the end glad peraduenture to forſake it: wherefore it were more for his honour to raiſe his ſiege, and calling the Gouernor of the town vnto him, to giue him the town as it were of bounty, than to ſpend ſo many good men as he muſt needs caſt away in the winning of it by force: with theſe and like reaſons the Baſſa preuailed ſo much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the worthy Gouernor of the town was by a herauld at arms ſent for to come to the great Baſſa, *Solyman* diſdaining (as it ſhould ſeem) to ſpeak with him himſelf. The Gouernor being ſent for,
F though he was grieuouſly wounded, & in ſmall hope of life, yet ſtoutly refuſed to come to any parly, except he were firſt well aſſured both by ſafe conduct & good hoſtages for the ſafety of his perſon, and that nothing ſhould be exacted of him, not befitting his religion & honor: which ſtout anſwer cauſed *Solyman* & the Baſſa to think, that his ſtrength was not yet ſo weakned, but that he was ſtill able to hold out the ſiege: and thereupon, that he required for his ſafety was forth-

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to leaue the ſiege of Gunza.

forthwith granted, and two men of great acount sent for hostages for him into the city with G
The Gouernour commeth to the Bassa. *Solymans* safe conduct. Which being receiued, the Gouernor went forth, and was by *Abraham* the great Bassa honourably receiued into the campe, and commanded to sit downe by him in his tent: where he was of him first by the way of courtesie demanded, whether he had recouered his old infirmity wherewith he was troubled at such time as he was sent Embassador vnto *Solyman* at Constantinople? After that, whether the wounds he had receiued in the last assault, were dangerous or not? But last of all, and that which most concerned the matter, vpon what hope he alone had so long and so obstinatly withstood the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, when as all his neighbours round about him had so willingly submitted themselues? saying further, that
His answer to the Bassa. he maruelled much why he reposed any confidence in the lingring King *Ferdinand*. Where- H
unto the Gouernor modestly answered, That he was (thanks be to God) well deliuered of his old disease, and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his holding out, he said, that he for his great wisedome knew, that it was the duty of a good souldier valiantly to withstand his enemies, and not to be troubled for any euill hap, or discouraged with any chance of war: as for himselfe, he said, when mans helpe failed, he had reposed his full trust in God, by whose power he had beene hitherto preserued, which as he well hoped should neuer faile him at his need: and that King *Ferdinand* was not so far off, but that he would before it were long be there present with a great army: wherefore he did not greatly maruell, that he was not relieued before that time, forasmuch as many lets and occasion might chance which might hinder the Kings purpose, considering that fortune alwaies by nature vnconstant, was in
I nothing more like vnto her selfe in her inconstancy, than in martiall affaires. The Bassa wondering at the inuincible courage of the Gouernor, said, That although the great Emperor *Solyman* might now at his pleasure vtterly destroy the towne, with all that therein was, yet being by nature of a most honourable and milde disposition, and a great louer of valiant and couragious men, had commanded him in his name to giue him that towne, and the liues of all them that were in it, as a reward of his valour shewed in the defence thereof: yet so, that he should sweare obedience vnto him, and receiue some few Turks into the towne, in token that he had yeelded the same. The politicke Gouernour knowing that of 800 valiant souldiers, he had scarcely a third part left, and them also sore weakned with wounds and want of rest, thought it necessary to make his peace in best sort he could: for what could haue hapned vnto him more
K wishedly, than with his great honour to keepe the towne still, and with the losse of a few pleasing words to diliuer himselfe, with so many of his friends, from extream feare and perill? and so in all his talke shewing no signe of feare, and with great words setting forth the strength of his garrison (which was indeed brought to an extream weakenesse) said he was ready at the first to haue yeelded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at Constantinople, but was alwaies letted by the Germans and Spaniards, which were there in garrison, fierce and cruell soldiers, whose hard hearts were (as he said) hardly entreated to suffer him at that time to come out of the city into the campe: wherefore he could promise to be a friend to all such Turks as should passe that way, and to relieue him with such things as his wasted country could affoord; and further in token of his submission, to set vp one of *Solymans* ensignes in the
L chiefe tower of the city: but as for receiuing any Turks into garison, in token that he had yeelded vp the towne, he was willing so to do, but that he was greatly affraid they should be euill intreated by the Germans and Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks: whereof it was to be thought, that new wars would eftsoone arise. In conclusion he so cunningly vsed the matter, that the great Bassa was contented with this small token of submission, that he should receiue in at one of gates of the city, one of *Solymans* captains with ten Ianizaries: which being done accordingly, and they courteously for a while entertained and again dismissed, the great Bassa held himselfe with that simple submission well contented: when as the Gouernor had neither German nor Spaniard as then in garrison. So when *Solyman* had with his great army lien at the
Solyman departeth from the siege of Gunza. siege of Gunza by the space of 28 daies, and in that time to his great losse assaulted the same thirteene times, he rose with his army, glad of a little fained submission for the safegard of his
M honor: and leauing Vienna on the right hand, whither most part of the Christian army was assembled, tooke the way on the left hand into Carinthia, and so came to the riuer Mura, and from thence to the city Gratia. This turning of *Solymans* out of the way from Vienna, where he knew his enemies lay, put all feare out of the minds of the Christians, which they had

before

A before not without cauſe conceiued, inſomuch that he but a little before feared as a Prince of great pride and power, ſhamefully repulſed at the little town of Gunza, and now ſhunning his enemies at Vienna, began to grow into contempt as if he had beene running away for feare. Which diſgrace the Turks ſought by diuers excuſes to couer, as that the ſtrong city of Neoſtat lay betwixt him and Vienna, which could neither without much difficulty be taken, nor danger left enemy behind him: beſides that, Winter began to approch, which cauſed him (as the Turks gaue it out) to content himſelfe with the ſpoile of the rich countries betwixt the riuers of Savus and Dranus, and ſo in good time to returne againe to Belgrade. But they which ſeemed to ſee further into the matter, were of opinion, That *Solyman* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, and ſecret aduertiſement from his friends, That the Princes of Germany had with one
B conſent joined their forces with the emperors, brought out of Italy, Spain, and the Low-countries, which at his ſetting forth he leaſt feared; and that the Chriſtian army in number great, conſiſted not of raw ſouldiers, but for the moſt part ſuch as had been trained vp in wars, men both for courage and skill nothing inferiour to his Ianizaries and beſt men of war; choſe rather to take the ſpoile of the country, as he might with ſafety, than to aduenture his perſon and ſtate to the hazard of a moſt doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Caſon ſent with 15000 horſmen to ſpoile Auſtria.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Michael-Ogli* by the commandement of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſon* with 15000 of his voluntary horſemen (who in *Solymans* expedition againſt Vienna, had run through the country of Auſtria as farre as Lyntz) charging him without ſtay to ſpoile all the country far and neere which lyeth betweene Danubius and the Alpes, thereby to learne
C what he could of the ſtate and ſtrength of the Emperors campe; and by doing all the harmes he could poſſibly, to leaue a moſt lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in Auſtria. *Caſon* was of himſelfe forward enough, and deſirous of the ſpoile: but ſo much the more, for that he was by the former road into that country become both famous and rich: wherefore diuiding his horſemen into three companies not far diſtant one from another, he ſuddenly oppreſſed an infinit multitude of all ſorts of people in the fields and country villages as he went; all which he either ſlew without mercy, or carried away as miſerable priſoners. Thouſands of men and women tied together in chaines and ropes, were by the cruell Turks enforced to run as faſt as their horſes; the country villages were all burnt downe to the ground, and in them the poore children of the Chriſtians, whoſe parents were either ſlaine or carried away cap-
D tiues: ſo that all the country euery way almoſt for the ſpace of a 150 miles, was couered with ſmoke and fire, within three miles of Lyntz, where King *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get himſelfe further off to Strabinga, where his brother *Charles* the Emperour lay. This cruell Turke according to his charge, hauing with fire and ſword without compaſſion wrought all the woe he could poſſible vpon the poore Chriſtians, and now loded with the ſpoile of the country and multitude of priſoners, began to returne the ſame way he came, thinking to finde *Solyman* either at the ſiege of Gunza, where he left him, or neerer hand at Neoſtat comming towards Vienna. But he as is aforeſaid, riſing with ſmall honour from Gunza, and fearing the power of the Chriſtians, was quite gone another way as far as Gratia, the Metropoliticall city of Stiria, ſtanding vpon the riuer of Mura; which turned to the vtter deſtruction of *Caſon* and
E all his followers: for as ſoone as it was perceiued by the burning of the countrey all about, that the Turks were come neere to Lyntz, the Chriſtian captaines with their companies went out of the campe, ſome one way ſome another, as was thought moſt conuenient for the meeting with of theſe miſchieuous Turks, which neuer reſted in one place: wherin they vſed ſuch diligence in taking the paſſages, that it was not poſſible they ſhould eſcape vnfought withall. Foure companies of Spaniſh and Italian horſemen vnder the leading of *Lewis Coue* a valiant captaine, firſt lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto Neoſtat, and deſperatly charging them, were by the Turks for moſt part ſlaine: But *Caſon* perceiuing how he was one euery ſide laied by the Chriſtians in the vallies betwixt Neoſtat, Sabaria, and Veſprinium, the night following with more than barbarous cruelty ſlew foure thouſand of the Chriſtians he had be-
F fore taken priſoners, becauſe he ſhould not be hindered by them in his flight; and diuiding his army into two parts, about midnight began to ſet forward, vſing the benefit of the night to haue eſcaped from his enemies out of theſe vallies wherein he was incloſed. One part of this army led by *Feriſes* taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut away thorow the thicke and ouergrown woods (a thing thought altogether impoſſible), and ſo with lit-

4000 Chriſtian captiues murdred by Caſon.

tle

tle or no loſſe came to *Solyman* into Styria. *Caſon* with the other part of the army breaking out of the valley of Storamberg, chanced vpon the Palatine (Generall of the forces ſent from the German Princes) who with ten thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſemen, and certaine field pieces brake the battell of the Turks, and ſlew of them a great number: in which conflict *Caſon* his chiefe enſigne was taken. He fighting moſt valiantly in the rereward, to giue others time to eſcape, was himſelfe there ſlaine: whoſe gallant head-piece preſented afterwards to the Emperour, confirmed the report of his death. They which eſcaped from the *Palatine*, in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*, and the Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, by whom they were ſlaine like beaſts. The Hungarian horſemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, lighting vpon them which fled from *Lewis* and the Marqueſſe, had the killing of them for the ſpace of ſeuen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruelleſt execution, following them hard at the heels with their freſh horſes, and fiercely inſulting vpon them in their owne language. Thoſe few diſperſed Turks which eſcaped the fury of the Hungarians, fell into the hands of the country people about Veſprinium and the lake of Balaron, which came out on euery ſide in hope of ſpoile, who ſhewed them ſmall fauour: ſo that of 8000 which were with *Caſon*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

Caſon diſcomfited by the Palatine, and ſlaine.

The ſlaughter of the Turks.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as Gracia in Stiria, called his chiefe captains together into the caſtle of Lyntz, to know their opinions, whether it were beſt to follow the enemy into Stiria or not. The cities of Lyntz, Gracia, and Vienna, are ſcituat almoſt in forme of a triangle: but from Lyntz to Gratia is three good daies journey of bad rough way by horſe. Some ſaid it was beſt to fight with the Turks in that vneuen mountaine country, where the Turks chiefe ſtrength conſiſting in the multitude of his horſemen, ſhould ſtand him in ſmall ſtead, but ſhould be inforced to try his battell with his footmen, wherein he was inferiour to the Chriſtians. This counſell although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the moſt approued captains, ſo moued the Emperour, that he preſently ſent *Apontius* a Spaniard (the moſt famous captaine *Antonius Leua* his lieutenant) to take view of that paſſage: who ſhortly after returned againe to Lyntz, bringing word that all the country as he went was deſolate and for feare forſaken of the inhabitants: but concerning the place of the enemies abode, he could learne no certainty. Whereupon it was by generall conſent concluded, that they ſhould all goe to Vienna, whither all the ſtrength of the Germans was already aſſembled, there to take a generall view of the army, and to giue the enemy battell if he ſhould againe returne. Some there were of great courage which openly diſliked of that going to Vienna; ſaying, that the Emperour ſhould rather in that diſtreſſe of the prouinces of Stiria and Carinthia purſue his enemy, than turne out of the way to Vienna. But others of greater judgement, whoſe opinion preuailed, ſaid, it was one thing to inuade and another thing to defend: ſo that the Emperour might with honor enough encampe himſelfe in the fields of Vienna, and from thence to expect and deride the baſe expedition and vaine brags of his proud enemie, who a far off challenged him into the field, and then like a coward durſt not come neere him.

charles the emperour his power at Vienna.

The Emperor comming to Vienna, and taking a generall view of the army, found therein two hundred and ſixty thouſand men, whereof 90000 footmen, and 30000 horſemen were accounted old expert ſoldiers, and of them many whole companies and bands, of ſuch as had before bin Generals, Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, or other officers and men of marke in other armies, and now were content to ſerue as priuat men. It was thought that ſo many worthy captains and valiant ſouldiers, were neuer before in the memory of man aſſembled together into one camp: for the Princes and free cities had not ſent thither common ſoldiers, but their choſen and approued men; ſtriuing as it were amongſt themſelues, who ſhould ſend the beſt. All the flowre and ſtrength of Germany from the riuer of Viſtula to the Rhene, and from the Ocean to the Alpes, was by the Princes of the Empire and free cities either ſent thither, or of themſelues voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all Germany ſhould as it were with one conſent, be glad to take vp arms for their common ſafety, in defence of their honor and liberty; eſpecially againſt people brought out of the furtheſt parts of Aſia, Syria, and Ægypt. Beſide the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the Bohemian campe lay not farre off, ſtrengthened with them of Silicia and Morauia. There were alſo ſome troupes of Polonian horſemen, not ſent thither by publike authority, but ſeruing

as

A as voluntary men: King *Sigiſmund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not raſhly to breake the league he had made with *Solyman*; ſo leſt he ſhould ſeeme careleſſe of the Chriſtian common cauſe, by notable diſſimulation left place for ſuch of his ſubjects as would (as if it had been without his knowledge) to ſhew their valour in the moſt honourable war.

The Chriſtian army ready to receiue the enemy, lay in a great field neere vnto Vienna, in this order: three great ſquadrons of pikemen, ſtanding one ſquadron a great way diſtant from another, were ſo placed againſt the enemy with like and equall front, that all the horſemen diuided into two parts, might well be receiued into the great ſpaces betwixt the three ſquadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppoſe ſo ſmall a number of horſemen in open field without the footmen, againſt almoſt 300000 of the Turks horſemen. The right wing of *The order of the Chriſtian army.*

B the horſemen was led by the Emperour himſelfe, and the left by King *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euery ſide of the three ſquadrons of pikes, ſauing in thoſe places which were left open for the horſemen, about thirty paces off, were placed twenty thouſand nimble harquebuſiers ranged in length, and but fiue in a ranke; ſo that whileſt the firſt diſcharged, the ſecond, and after them the third, and ſo the reſt readily and orderly comming on, might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any diſaduantage to place them ſo thin, for that if they found themſelues by the enemies oppreſſed, they might eaſily retire amongſt the pikes, ſtanding faſt at hand. Before the harquebuſiers was planted the great ordnance, whereof the Emperour had ſuch ſtore, and ſo well placed, that he could therewith (as with a moſt ſure trench) haue compaſſed in his whole army. Only the Hungarians, men

C well acquainted with the manner of the Turkiſh fight, choſe to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captaines *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly army, wept for joy, conceiuing a moſt aſſured hope of victory, if the proud enemy durſt with all his forces joyne in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all means ſought with his great number of horſemen to keepe the wide and open fields, certainly aduertiſed both of the Emperors ſtrength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the riuer of Mura, and at Marpurge by bridges which he made on the ſudden, paſſed ouer the great riuer Dranus. And ſo he which that Summer held almoſt all the World in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of the ſucceſſe of that war; hauing with all that his huge power wherewith he threatned the World, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euery *Solyman returneth.*

D place either ouercome, or els ſhamefully repulſed; left Stiria, and returned the ſame way he came, directly betwixt the riuers of Savus and Dranus, to Belgrade and ſo to Conſtantinople; leauing here and there ſome remembrance of his barbarous cruelty, and ſtill looking behind him if the Emperour were not at his heeles: at ſuch time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian horſemen did ſtill purſue the taile of his army. It is reported, that he carried away with him 30000 Chriſtians into Captiuity, beſides many thouſands of poore country people ſlaine by the mercileſſe Turks; but eſpecially by *Caſon* and his followers: and ſo to his eternall infamy was twice in the ſpace of a few yeares driuen out of Germany. The Emperor vnderſtanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all ſpeed to returne into Italy; although King *Ferdinand* his brother moſt earneſtly intreated him before his departure, in ſo fit a time to imploy thoſe

E great forces againſt King *Iohn*, who now as it were forſaken of *Solyman*, might eaſily with ſo puiſſant an army haue bin thruſt not only out of Buda, but alſo quite out of the Kingdome of Hungary, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vaſſall placed. But the Emperour, for that Winter began now to approch, and the plague was got into the camp, yea, euen into his court, continued in his former purpoſe of departing into Italy: yet yeelding ſo far vnto his brothers requeſt, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who joyned with King *Ferdinands* owne forces, were thought ſufficient for the accompliſhment of the Hungarian war.

Ouer theſe Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the meanes of *Alphonſus Victius* appointed Generall: but no order taken for the paiment of their wages, whereby the ſouldiers might be the more incouraged to take in hand that war, and alſo kept in obedience. Which

F thing at the firſt much offended the minds of the other captains, thinking themſelues diſgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account than themſelues: but as ſoon as it was known abroad, the vnder captains & officers of the bands, led with the credit and fauor of their old captains; ſaid plainly, That they would not go into Hungary, except either King Ferdinand would in perſon goe himſelfe, or elſe one of the great Commanders, *Vaſtius* *The Italians left for the aid of King Ferdinand, ariſe in muting.*

or

or *Leua* were appointed for their Generall: and the common ſouldiers ſaid flatly, that they G
would aske leaue to depart, except they had three moneths pay, which they knew well they
ſhould neuer get of that poore King, already brought vnto great wants. *Vaſtius* to appeaſe this
mutiny, trauelled greatly with his ſoldiers, perſuading them to remember the faith of ſouldi-
ers, and by their conſtant perſeuerance to maintaine the honour they had got by their cheer-
full cumming: telling them, That valiant ſouldiers neuer wanted pay, furniſhing themſelues
by their victories with all things neceſſary from the enemy. And as for *Maramaldus* their Ge-
nerall, they had no juſt cauſe to miſlike him, being an old captain of great experience, for cou-
rage and policy not inferior to any the greateſt Commanders, and placed by the Emperours
owne appointment as a man moſt ſufficient, whoſe judgement they ought not in any caſe to
diſlike. When *Vaſtius* had with theſe and ſuch like reaſons well appeaſed the tumultuous H
ſouldiers, and was gone out of the camp into Vienna, to take further order for the remedying
of all difficulties; night the nurſe of ſedition came on, whoſe darkneſſe excluding all modeſty
and feare, gaue further ſcope and place vnto the mutinous ſoldiers inſolency. By chance there
was at that time brought out of the city into the campe, very courſe, hoary, mouldy bread;
which ſome of the ſoldiers hauing brought, and thruſting it vpon the points of their ſpeares,
ſhewed it vnto their fellowes in great choler, railing againſt King *Ferdinand*, which in his own
kingdome in the beginning of the war had made no better prouiſion, but with ſuch corrupt
and peſtilent bread to feed them being ſtrangers, which were only for his defence and quarrell
to aduenture their liues. And but a little before, a certaine Spaniard, being but a common
ſouldier, comming into the Generals tent, and caſting the like bread downe at the feet of *Va-* I
ſtius, bitterly curſing the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, had raiſed a wonderfull tumult: where-
fore the Italian ſoldiers flocking together out of their tents, gaue many hard ſpeeches con-
cerning their pay, their victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian war. There one *Titus*
Marconius of Volaterra, a man of a troubleſome ſpirit, but reaſonably well ſpoken, was by the
other ſouldiers ſet vp vpon a great heap of ſaddles, that he might be the better heard, and by
diuers ſeditious captains requeſted frankly to ſpeake his mind, ſo far as he thought concerned
the ſafety and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he ſpake vnto them in this ſedi-
tious manner as followeth:

K

The ſeditious oration of Titus Marconius, to the mutinous Italians;

And ſhall the Spaniards (ſaid he) *beloued companions and fellowes in armes, as you haue heard, go into Italy? and to our great hurt againe returne into their old Wintering places? and that which I am aſhamed to ſay, as notable gueſts lie with our wiues? and we Italians as baniſhed men fight this Winter with yce and ſnow in Hungary? and that forſooth for a moſt beggerly King, and him alſo to the Hungarians a forrener and meere ſtranger, againſt a naturall borne Prince, of his ſubjects well beloued and ſtrongly backt with the power and wealth of the Turkiſh Emperor? And that which might juſtly grieue any courageous mind, vnder the conduct of* Maramaldus, *who oftentimes blinded with anger and haſty cruelty, hath ſo furiouſly thruſt vs thorow with his ſword, that he ſeemeth not more to deſire the name of a captaine for any thing, than for the killing and murthering of vs now his ſouldiers. Neither can I beleeue that you, who haue oftentimes beene captaines and antients your ſelues, will be ſo mad, as to ſerue vnder a common* L
captaine, without hope of any pay, of any prouiſion, of victory, or returne. Truely it delighteth me not ſo much to haue come hither for the honour of the Italian name (no more reckoned of than a ruſh) although I haue eleuen times ſerued; as it doth this day aſhame me to ſee this ſhamefull end of the warre, ended before it was well begun. But in Regall dignity is no ſhame, nor equity in rewarding the ſouldier: for Kings now adaies make account of ſouldiers onely according to their neceſſity; this is it alone that gi-ueth vs pay, this is that getteth vs loue, this is it that maintaineth our reputatation: all which, peace once by victory obtained, leeſe their grace. So fareth it with vs at this preſent (fellow ſouldiers) the Emperour and his brother King Ferdinand, *deliuered from the feare of a moſt dangerous warre, to eaſe themſelues of this multitude of vs, ſeeke to thruſt vs into Hungary as beaſts to the ſlaughter, by the ſpending of our bloud hoping to purchaſe vnto themſelues victory; and by the loſſe of vs to take no harme themſelues,* M
though the Turks and Hungarians ſhould with ſword and famine vtterly deſtroy vs, ſhut vp with the yce of Danubius, and the ſnow of the Alpes. But peraduenture you vnderſtand not theſe deuiſes, no more than you vnderſtand what this terrible and bloudy * *comet, ſhooting his beames towards Italy, por-tendeth. Verily it is not fatall either to* Solyman *or* Cæſar, *but rather threatneth vnto vs death and*

deſtru-

* *At this very time a great blazing ſtar was ſeene in the firmament at Vienna.*

A *deſtruction: for they with like counſell full of ſafety and diſcretion, would not open any way vnto their own*
deſtinies, but warily withdrew themſelues one from another, & ſhunned all the dangers of the field. Wher-
fore if it were lawfull for them, without any blemiſh of their Maieſties, ſo notably to prouide to keep them-
ſelues out of danger, when as on each ſide half the world lay as a reward of the victory; ſhall not wee look
to our ſelues, that we be not thruſt thither, from whence appeareth no hope of return, but with vtter de-
ſtruction; when as we may do it without offence and by good right, eſpecially ſeeing no pay is offered vs.
Thus you ſee what a goodly end is made of this notable war, wherin only we the Italians, in ſtead of com-
mendation and reward, reap iniury and diſgrace; and are peraduenture of purpoſe exiled into Hungary,
that this flour of Chiualry being drawn out of Italy, and placed far out of the way, Colonies of Spaniards
and Germans may be placed in our ſteads. Truly it ſeemeth hard dealing, to be ſent out of the way into a
B *barbarous country, where we ſhall find all hoſtility, and no place of refuge to receiue vs beeing diſtreſſed.*
Beſides this, we ſhall alſo whether we will or no, feel how heauy and intolerable it will be both to our bodies
and minds, to endure the miſeries of this Winter and dangerous war: and in the mean time, with no ſmall
hearts grief, imagin what things our children, our brethren, our kinſmen, yea our wiues, ſuffer at home of
the Spaniards and Germans. Wherfore, worthy companions, it concerneth vs more at this time to haue a
good foreſight, than valiantly to fight. The occaſion preſented vnto vs for our ſafety and welfare, ſtands
vpon a tickle point, it muſt be don without delay, and we muſt hye vs hence before the Spaniards truſſe vp
their baggage; and ſo preuenting the Emperors formoſt companies come firſt our ſelues into Italy: for if
we ſhall ſtay but a little to conſult vpon the matter, Vaſtius and our other proud Commaunders will pre-
ſently be here, the very betraiers of the Italian bloud, who for their own gain & our miſchief haue brought
C *vs into theſe ſtreits; who I know will moſt erneſtly intreat vs, and with many ſubtilties ſeek to ſeduce vs,*
by offering vs great pay, with whatſoeuer els we ſhall require; which will all proue but words. But you, if
you be men, refuſe to talk with them, as with your common enemies, or rather in reuenge of their old inju-
ries kill them. Here wanteth not in this aſſembly valiant men, for courage and integrity of life their bet-
ters far; who can lead you forth, order your battell, and fortunatly vſe this your courage and forwardnes.
Wherfore if you be wiſe, ſet forward reſolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your haſt: for
the full accompliſhment of your deſire conſiſteth in your haſt only.

Marconius had no ſooner made an end of this mutinous ſpeech, but the tumultuous ſoldiers in euery band began highly to commend and approoue the ſame, and by and by ſuch a confu-
D ſed noiſe was heard thorow all the aſſembly, as vſeth to riſe amongſt the diſcontented vulgar people, ready to riſe in arms. But the drums preſently ſtriking vp a march, they made no lon-
ger ſtay, but without delay pluckt vp their enſignes, and forward they go directly toward Ne-
oſtat. In this tumult, in ſtead of their old captains, which either were not preſent, or refuſed to
go with them, they choſe others to be their leaders; who once named by the ſeditious multi-
tude, might in no caſe without danger refuſe to take the charge vpon them, were they neuer ſo
vnwilling. Theſe were *Montebellius, Nerius, Melcarius, Sanctius*, and the two twins of Millan, cal-
led *Gluſſani*; who drew after them eight thouſand ſoldiers: the reſt partly for ſhame, & part-
ly for fear, ſtayd ſtill with *Maramaldus* the new appointed Generall. When they were thus
gon, *Vaſtius* and diuers other great Captaines hearing thereof in the City, poſted after them
E ſix miles, and at length ouertaking them, requeſted them to ſtay, and not to diſhonour them-
ſelues with ſo foul a fact; telling them that their pay was ready for them: and omitting no-
thing wherewith they might haue bin mooued to ſtay, mingled their prayers with grieuous
threats. But they reſolutely ſet down, would neither hear nor ſtay; but as men inraged with
fury and their own guilty conſcience, with ſtern looks diſcharged ſome ſmal ſhot vpon them.
Whileſt *Vaſtius* would there haue ſtayd the company, and did what hee poſſibly could by
threatning and otherwiſe, to haue terrified their leaders, and to haue brought them backe, hee
was oftentimes in danger to haue bin ſlain. In the end he was glad to forſake them, and to re-
turn as he came. King *Ferdinand* by this ſudden departure of the Italians, for that time diſap-
pointed of all his hope of recouering the kingdom of Hungary from King *Iohn*; in great cho-
F ler wrot to his ſubiects of Styria and Carinthia, wherby the Italians were to paſſe, That they
ſhould ſhew them no maner of curteſie in their paſſage: wherupon inſued great hurt on both
ſides. Yet for all that, theſe Italians in deſpight of what could be don, at length recouered Ti-
liaventum in the borders of Italy, where they disbanded themſelues, and returned euery man

8000 Italians in mutiny, forſake their Captaines and return into Italy

to his own dwelling, leauing King *Ferdinand* vnto his own forces. The Emperor also breaking vp his army at Vienna, and purposing now as before to return into Italy, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go formost with the light horsmen, with whom also he went himselfe. After him followed *Vastius* with the Spaniards: two daies after came the Cardinall, whose traine was of all the greatest: last of all followed the mercinary Germanes: in which order he returned in safety into Italy.

Charles the emperor returnes into Italy.

This was the end of those wonderful preparations made by the two great Monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the fifth, in the yeare 1532: which held the world in great suspence with the fearfull expectation of some maruellous alteration; and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great blazing star by the space of 15 daies. All which for all that, God so appointing, sorted to far lesse harm than was of most men feared.

Auria goeth against the Turks.

Now whilst *Charles* the Emperor was thus in arms against *Solyman* in Austria, *Andreas Auria* by his appointment, with a fleet of 35 tall ships, and 48 gallies, wherein he had imbarked 25000 souldiers well appointed, did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turkes in Peloponesus. With this fleet *Auria* departing from Messana in Sicilia, and passing alongst the coast of Italy into the Ionian, neer to the Isle of Zacynthus met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admiral, with a fleet of sixty gallies set forth by the Venetians in defence of their territory: who offered vnto *Auria* all possible kindnes, but excused himself that he could not join with him in that war against the common enemy, by reason of an old league betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, which *Solyman* had but a little before renued. So that at that time the Venetians stood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the emperor and *Solyman*, offering like kindnes to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readines to fall out with either, if they should by sea or land offer any injury to their State: wherin they bare themselues so indifferent, that it was thought that they at one and the selfe same instant aduertised *Auria*, that *Hymerales* the Turks Admiral lay with his fleet of 60 gallies euill appointed in the Bay of Ambracia, where he might easily be surprised; and gaue likewise warning to him of the comming of *Auria* with a strong fleet, wishing him in time to prouide for his better safety, by retyring his fleet into some other place of more assurance; which he presently did: for knowing himself too weak, he departed from Ambracia to the strong hauen of Calcide. Which thing with other like wel considered, might giue iust cause to any Christian heart to bewail the state of that time, wherin the Christian Princes being either in mortal wars amongst themselues, or intangled by *Solyman* with leagus of no assurance, omitted the faire st opportunitie that could haue bin wished for the abating of the Turks greatnes: for if the Venetians joining their forces with *Auria*, had in time pursued the Turkish Admiral, it was like that not only all *Solymans* power at sea had bin vtterly discomfited, but also most part of Grecia, mindful of their antient empire and liberty, and then ready to haue rebelled, and joined hands with the Christians, might haue bin recouered out of the Turkish thraldom; yea and the Imperial city of Constantinople greatly indangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beside yong Ianizaries and effeminat Eunuchs, the heartlesse keepers of the Turks concubines; *Solyman* himself being then far off in Hungary, and hauing drawne with him the greatest strength of his empire.

Auria taking his leaue of the Venetian Admirall, with much honour done at sea on both sides; was shortly after aduertised that the Turks Admiral was fled to Calcide. Wherfore now out of hope to do any good against him, hee directed his course to Corone, which is a strong city vpon the coast of Peloponesus, about twelue miles distant from Modon, with purpose to besiege it: which when he had wel viewed, and considered of the strength therof, hee laid siege thereto both by sea and land, battering it most terribly at one time with 14 great pieces of artillery by land, and 150 by sea, so that a more terrible battery had not been lightly heard of. For all that, the Turks valiantly stood vpon their defence, and manfully repulsed the Italians, which vnder the leading of the County of Sarne assaulted the city by land. The Turks garrisons lying about in the country of Peloponesus, did what they might to haue relieued the city; who by the valor of the County were discomfited, and *Zadares* their chief leader slain: whose head with others of the slain Turks were set vpon stakes, to the terror of the defendants.

Corone besieged by Auria.

At

A At length the Turks wearied with assaults, and terrified with the thundring shot which neuer ceased, and driuen also from their greatest strength towards sea, by the desperat assault of certain resolute Christians, whom they had now full sore against their wils receiued as it were into their bosomes; fearing also to want victuall and pouder, if they should longer hold out without any hope of reliefe, yeelded the City and Castle to *Auria*, vpon condition that they might in safety depart thence with bag and baggage. Corone thus taken, and a strong garrison of Spaniards there placed, and the Christian Greeks which dwelt in the city sworn vnto them, *Auria* put to sea with his fleet, and sayling againe by Zacinthus, came to Patras another antient city of Peloponesus, which he easily took and ransacked: for the Turks distrusting the strength of the City, had strongly intrenched themselues neere vnto the Castle; which place
B also, together with the Castle, they in short time yeelded to *Auria*; couenanting, that they, and especially their wiues, might with their garments onely depart in safety into Ætolia: which was by *Auria* so precisely performed, that when three thousand of them passed along through the army of the Christians, ranged on both sides, and some of the souldiers began rudely to handle some of the women, and to take from them some of their jewels, he caused them presently, to the terror of others, to be hanged. *Auria* leauing his army at Patras, with commandment to follow him by land, sailed along the coast of Peloponesus, vntill he came to the streit of Naupactum, now called Lepanto, which is the entrance into the gulfe of Corinthia, parting Peloponesus from Ætolia, with a streit somwhat narrower then the streit of Hellespont. Vpon this streit stood two Castles, the one called Rhium, vpon the coast of Peloponesus, and
C the other Molicreum in Ætolia, which *Bajazet* had wonderfully fortified, and stored with ordnance for the keeping of that streit. *Auria* threatning all extremity to the Captaine of the Castle on Peloponesus side, if he did inforce him to plant his battery, so terrified him, that he without delay yeelded vnto him the castle; couenanting only, That he and his soldiers might in safety depart thence: which granted, and the Turks departed, *Auria* gaue the spoyle of the Castle vnto his soldiers which came with him by sea: wherby he so offended the minds of the other souldiers which came by land from Patras, that they were about to haue forsaken him. The other Castle vpon Ætolia side was not so easily taken, being valiantly defended by a garrison of old Ianizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by fury of the Ordnance a breach was made, whereby the Christians forcibly entring, slew three hundred of the
D old garrison souldiers, not taking any one to mercy: the rest fled into a strong tower into the midst of the Castle, where seeing no remedy but that they must needs fall into the hands of their enemies, they desperatly blew vp themselues, and the tower, with a great part of the Castle, with gunpouder, in such sort, that it seemed all the sea coast to haue been shaken with an earthquake; and the gallies which lay a bow shoot off, were almost ouerwhelmed with stones blown out so far off. The great Ordnance taken in this Castle was valued at 70000 duckats; whereof certaine pieces of a wonderfull greatnesse, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to Genoa; & in remembrance of the victory, mounted vpon the bulwark at the mouth of the hauen. All these things thus happily atchieued, *Auria* strongly fortified the city of Corone, storing it both with munition and plenty of victuall, commit-
E ting the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a valiant Spaniard, with a strong garrison of Spaniards; promising of his owne charge to relieue him whensoeuer he should need, if the Emperour should defer to do it. The streit of Naupactum laid open, *Saluiatus* with the gallies of Malta scoured all alongst the gulfe of Corinth, doing great harm to the Turks which dwelt on both sides of the gulfe, spoiling and terrifying them euen as far as Corinth. Not long after, Winter now approaching, *Auria* receiuing letters from the Emperour, of *Solymans* departure out of Hungary, returned with his fleet loaded with the spoyle of the Turks, to Naples, and so from thence home to Genoa.

Corone yeelded to Auria by the Turks.

Patras taken and ransacke by Auria.

Auria returnes into Italy.

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was the yere 1533) it was rifely reported that the Turks were comming with a great fleet toward Peloponesus: and not long after, *Men-*
F *doza* Gouernour of Corone, by letters aduertised *Peter* of Toledo, Vizroy of Naples, That he was both by sea and land hardly besieged by the Turks; and that he would to the vttermost of his power valiantly defend the city, so long as he had any prouision of victuall: Wherefore he most earnestly requested, That if the Emperour would haue the towne kept, he should in time send him reliefe, whereupon the oppressed Græcians taking heart, were like enough

1533.

The Turkes besiege Corone.

to rebel,and to help to expulſe the Turks quite out of Peloponeſus. But aboue all things he forgot not to craue ſpeedy aid of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithfull promiſe he had made,to relieue him at his need. Vpon this news, *Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admiral to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that ſeruice, promiſing forthwith to ſend vnto him twelue Gallies which he had new built in Spain. He alſo requeſted the Knights of Malta to aid him with their Gallies againſt that Common enemy. Wherfore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirty tall ſhips, and as many gallies, came to Naples to take in his ſouldiers. There the old Garriſons of the Spaniards,which for want of pay were riſen in mutiny againſt the great commander and General *Vaſtius* & the Viceroy,and had ranſackt the city of Averſa, and don no little harm all about in the country of Campania,were againe pacified by a pay giuen vnto them,and preſently imbarked for Corone,vnder the commaund of *Rodericus Macicaus* their Generall: at which time alſo *Frederick* of Toledo the Viceroyes ſon with a company of braue Gentlemen went abord, vowing their ſeruice to the ſacred war. The Knights of Malta came thither alſo with their gallies. Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Auria* to incourage them of Corone,for fear leſt they diſpairing of help,ſhould fall to ſome hard Compoſition with the Turks, ſent *Chriſtopher Palavicine* (a reſolute young Gentleman of an inuincible courage) with a moſt ſwift Gally to Corone: who by day light paſſing thorow the middeſt of the Turkes fleet, ſafely recouered the hauen, to the great ioy of the beſieged Chriſtians: and ſhortly after,when he had well viewed all things, with the ſtrength and manner of the Enemies lying, and filled the minds of the Defendants with aſſured hope of ſpeedy reſcue, about noon time of the day he ſuddenly brake out again through the middeſt of his enemies,and as it were miraculouſly eſcaped in ſafety, for all that they could doe, although they ceaſed not to giue him chaſe ſo long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from Naples, came to Meſſana, where beeing certainly informed of the Enemies force both by ſea and land,with the number of their Gallies,and ſeeing that the chief hope of relieuing of the City conſiſted in celerity,ſtayed not for the Gallies which he expected out of Spain, but held on his courſe towards Grecia. For it was told him, that the Enemies fleet dayly encreaſed, by the comming in of the Turkiſh Pyrats; and that *Aſſam-Beg* (otherwiſe called the Moor of Alexandria) an arch Pyrat was ſtill looked for, in whoſe good directions the Turkiſh Captains repoſed the greateſt hope of their victory. When he was come as far as Zacynthus, he was informed by the Venetians,that *Luſtibeius Baſſa* (or rather *Lutzis Baſſa*) the Turks great Admiral,and *Solymans* brother in law,with *Solyman* of Acarnania,and the Moore (men for their skil at ſea of great fame and reputation) lay before Corone, with eighty gallies manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries: ſo that it was thought a matter of exceeding peril for him to aduenture to relieue the town,except he took the aduantage of ſome proſperous gale of wind. Wherfore *Auria* to haue yet more certaine knowledge of the enemies fleet, ſent before him *Chriſtopher Palavicine* with one Gally,againe to view the manner of the enemies lying: Who paſſing the promontorie of Acrytes,ſaw al the Turks great fleet lying in very good order before the City;and ſo returned to *Auria*, confirming that which the Venetians had before reported; and that the Turks fleet was greatly encreaſed,and lay ready as it ſhould ſeem to giue him battel ſo ſoon as he ſhould approch the City. For all that, *Auria* nothing diſmaid with the greatnes of the Turks fleet,made no ſtay, but ſtil kept on his courſ,& with a fair gale of wind paſſing the promontory Acrites,came directly towards Corone. Two great Gallions,of all the fleet the moſt warlike ſhips,came formoſt;wherof the one was *Auria's* own,which he had built with a wonderfull charge; and the other was of Sicilia. Theſe two great ſhips were appointed by *Auria* to turn a little vpon the left hand; and at ſuch time as the Enemie ſhould ſet forward from the ſhore,to caſt anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occaſion ſhould ſerue, they might as out of two ſtrong Caſtles beat the Turks gallies with their great Ordnance,wherewith they were for that purpoſe wonderfully ſtored. Next vnto theſe great Gallions followed the other warlike ſhips with ful ſails: after whom came the gallies in three ſquadrons,wherof *Salviatus* had the leading of the right wing,which conſiſted of the Biſhop of Romes gallies,& them of Malta. In the left wing and neer to the enemy commanded *Antonius Auria:* and in the midſt was *Auria* himſelf. At the firſt ſight of the Chriſtian fleet the Turks moued not from the ſhore, but diſcharged their ordnance at them afar off, and then began to ſet forward and to draw neerer; eſpecially the

Auria ſent to relieue Corona.

The order of Auria's fleet before Corona.

G H I K L M

A the Moor, who with greater courage than the reſt aſſailed the ſide and rereward of the fleet: for the Chriſtians keeping their courſe right forth to Corone, & turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, ſeemed as if they fled; and ſo much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for fear of the Turks great ordnance, did fet a great compaſſe farther off into the ſea, and many of the middle ſquadron and of the left wing alſo, had diſorderly thruſt themſelues in among the ſhips, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great ſhot. *The Chriſtians fleet diſordred.*

In this confuſion of the Chriſtian Navy, the Moor requeſted *Lutzis* the Admiral not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion, wherein the Chriſtian fleet might eaſily haue bin ouerthrowne. But whilſt *Lutzis* doth ſlowly and conſideratly ſet forward, *Auria* in the mean time had put his
B fleet again in order, and with a fair wind was come to Corone. Two of the ſhips by the way falling one foul on another, ſtaid behind, being not able to keep way with the reſt: about which all the Turks gallies preſently flockt, and took the leſſer of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therin. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloudy fight had woon the forecaſtle and waſt of the ſhip: when *Auria*, accounting it no ſmal diſhonour to haue his ſhips ſo ſurpriſed at his heels, cauſed all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enemy to reſcue thoſe ſhips. The Turks ſeeing that, & with the Weſterly wind by little and little fallen down ſo far with the ſhips, that they were come within the danger of the ſhot of the Towne, began with great ſtir to forſake the ſhips, and to betake them to their oars, and ſo in maner of flight withdrew themſelues: whom *Auria* purſued a great way to Modon, thundring in their poups
C with his great ſhot, which he liberally beſtowed among them: whilſt in the mean time *Antonius Auria* came to reſcue the two diſtreſſed ſhips. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their cloſe fights, began now as men reuiued, to ſhew themſelues, & couragiouſly to make reſiſtance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their reſcue, entring with wonderfull celerity on euery ſide, ſlew and tooke 300 Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred thoſe ſhips, & were there left by the ſudden departure of their fellows. Amongſt whom was taken one *Ioſuphus* an old captain of 1000 Ianizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to Corone, gaue a fair ſuit of apparel and a chain of gold, and ſo ſet him at liberty without any ranſom: therby to prouoke the Turks to the like kind of curteous dealing toward the Chriſtians. *Aſſam-Beg* the pyrat, and the other captains of the Turks fleet,
D wonderfully blamed *Lutzis* the Admirall, for that hee would not then fight with the Chriſtians, when he was therto earneſtly requeſted, both by the captains and ſoldiers in general; and had a fair opportunitie of victory offered, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians fleet was diſordred. But he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That it was giuen him in ſpeciall charge by *Solyman* the Emperor, That he ſhould in any caſe reſpect the ſafety of his navy, and not to come vnto the hazard of a battel. The Turks which beſieged the city by land, vpon the approch of the Chriſtian fleet forſook their trenches and fled. At which time *Mendoza* the gouernour ſallying out, took great ſtore of victuall and warlike prouiſion, which the Turkes had for haſt left behinde them. So *Auria* to his great honor hauing driuen the Turks from Corone both by ſea & land, furniſhed the city with ſtore of corn, wine, victual, pouder & ſhot; and commited the defence
E therof to *Macicaus* & the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from Naples. Comforting the Greeks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure thoſe calamities of war: ſaying, that the Emperor would the next year make war againſt the Turks both by ſea and land in Peloponeſus, and free them from their bondage. And ſo imbarking the old garriſon of the Spaniards, departed from Corone, and came before Modon, where he lay as it were brauing the Turks great Admiral, hoping therby to draw him out of that ſtrong harbor to battel. But when he ſaw that the enemie could by no meanes be allured out of his ſtrength, or aſſailed as he lay, he departed from thence to Corcyra, and ſo back again to Meſſana in Sicilia. *Corone relieued by Auria.* *Auria returns, & before Modon braues the Turks fleet.*

Within a few dayes after, *Aſſam-Beg* the Moore of Alexandria, and moſt famous Pyrat,
F lying in wait for the merchants ſhips of Venice comming out of Syria with merchandiſe, by chance met with *Hieronymus Canalis* vpon the coaſt of Creet: Where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell; wherein of the Moores thirteene Gallies, foure were ſunke, three taken, and the reſt hauing loſt moſt part of their Rowers, fled to Alexandria. In this fight was ſlaine three hundred Ianizaries which were going to Caire, and a thou- *The Moore of Alexandria wel beaten and taken by Canalis the Venetiã.*

thousand other Turks. Of all that were taken, there was scarsly one saued but the Moor himself, who grieuously wounded in the face, for safegard of his life was glad to discouer himself: for the Venetians maintaining their state by trade and traffique, do of all others shew least fauor to pyrats. When the Moor had made himself known vnto *Canalis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds, and either of them began with notable dissimulation to excuse the matter to other; saying, That they were both deceiued by the likenes of their gallies, and mistaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that, they knew one another right well. For the Moor said, That he took those Venetian Gallies to haue bin part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excused himself, by saying that he mistook him for *Barbarussa*, who a few years before had surprised three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their embassador sought to excuse what was don, as a thing hapning by error and mischance. Of which excuse *Solyman* accepted, and said moreouer, That *Canalis* had don wel and soldier-like, to repulse by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the Emperors gallies staying behind the rest of the fleet, were neer vnto the promontory of Palinurus, vpon the coast of Apulia, intercepted and caried away by *Sinan*, syrnamed the Iew, a notable pyrat of that time also.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greeks in Corone began to want victuals, especially wine and flesh, for the Turks had so blocked vp the city, that nothing was to be had out of the country: wherfore the soldiers requested *Macicaus* their gouernor and Generall, to lead them forth to some piece of seruice against the enemy, forsomuch as they were not to expect any relieue elswhere before Aprill; wishing rather valiantly to die like men in fight against the Turks, than to languish within those dead walls for want of victuall. But *Macicaus* mindfull of his chnrge, sought by reasons to dissuade them from that purpose; shewing them what an offence it were, rashly to depart out of the city committed to their charge, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they should speed neuer so well, and that those wants, which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be ouercome by sparing and patience; and therfore told them plainly, that he was resolutely set downe to keep the city for the Emperour, and to endure all hardnes, rather than to incurre the infamy, That he had forsaken the City, and betrayed his Garrison. Yet for all this, the matter was so vrged by *Didacus Tovarres* and *Hermosilla*, both great Captains, and by the general importunity of the souldiers, that *Macicus* was inforced to yeeld to their desire, and to promise them to go: yet protesting withall, That he did it altogether against his will, rather inforced that persuaded vnto that, wherof he had no great hope of succes. Amongst other that were so forward in that action, was one *Barbatius* a most valiant Greek, who could perfectly speak the Turks language, and of all others best knew the by-waies and secret passages of the country: he vndertooke to bee their guid, and by priuat waies to bring them to the enemies vndiscouered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no such matter. So *Macicaus* commending the custody of the city to *Liscanius* and *Mendesius*, with charge that they should suffer no man to go out of the City after his departure, for fear of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemy, set forward about ten a clock at night toward Andrussa, *Barbatius* being his guid; who shunning the common beaten waies, brought them by secret and vncouth paths that night halfe the way to Andrussa. But vpon the rising of the Sunne, he brought them into a secret wooddy Vally, where they rested and refreshed themselues all that day, and setting forward again that night, came to Andrussa before day. In this town, which was of no great strength, lay one *Caranus* a warlike Captain, with three thousand footmen, wherof the one half was of the Ianizaries; and in the suburbs lay *Achomates* with a thousand chosen horsmen, with which garrison the Turks kept all that side of Peloponesus in awe. *Macicaus* brought by his guid vnto the place where his enemies lay, went directly to the town to haue surprised it: *Hermosilla* in the mean time standing stil with certain troups of Spaniards ouer against the place where the horsmen lay. But this could not be done with so great silence, but that some of the horse-boyes beeing awak, discouered them by the fire in their matches; who first awaked the negligent watchmen, & afterwards raised an alarm in the suburbs. Wherupon *Hermosilla* couragiously set vpon the horsmen, being altogether vnready, and slew many of them before they could arme themselues, and set fire also vpon the stables wherin the Turks horses stood, with the extraordinarie rage wherof many of the Turks perished, with their horses and armor. Great and terrible was the noise

The garrison soldiers of Corone desire of their Generall to be brought to some seruice.

Macicaus Gouernour of Corone goeth out to surprise Andrussa.

A noiſe raiſed vpon the ſudden in the ſuburbs; but eſpecially of the horſes, which burnt as they ſtood faſt tied in the ſtables, or by chance breaking looſe, ranne vp and down with their tailes and mains of a light fire: by occaſion wherof an alarm was raiſed in the town, and the Turkes got to the wals before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicaus* himſelf laboring to breake in at a poſtern, was ſhot in the head with a ſmall ſhot and ſlain: diuers others neer him were there alſo ſlain. The Turks perceiuing the ſmall number of their enemies, ſallied out vpon them and inforced them to retyre to *Hermoſilla*, who had already made great ſpoil among the horſmen; by whoſe skilfull direction the Spaniards retired in ſo good order, making many ſtands, with their harquebuſiers all drawn into the rereward, that ſuch of the Turkes as were moſt forward to purſue them, did by their death cauſe the reſt to make leſſe haſt. *Achomates* with ſuch of
B his horſmen as had eſcaped the fire, haſted thither alſo, bringing with him 200 harquebuſiers which he had cauſed his horſemen for haſt to take vp behinde them vpon their horſes: but whilſt he ſought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies, and with too much heat preſſed on with the formoſt, he was ſhot into the body with a bullet and ſlain. So the horſmen hauing before receiued a great loſſe as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good haps that they were not there al ſlain, and hauing now loſt their captain, ceaſed any further to purſue their enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greeks although they were wearied both with their long march and euill ſucces, retired ſtil as reſolute men ready to fight, and ſo returned to Corone. Preſently after, the Turkiſh gariſon remoued from Andruſſa to Megalopolis, now called Londarium. After whoſe departure the Chriſtian ſoldiers of Corone came
C thither and buried the dead bodies of their ſlain fellows (which til then lay vnburied) and brought back with them the head of *Macicaus* their late General, which the Turkes had there ſet vp vpon a long pole, which they honorably buried at Corone. Not long after, the plague began to grow hot in Corone, ſo much the more grieuous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which cauſes, the Spaniards as men at once inforced with many extremities, imbarked themſelues with all the great Ordnance, and ſuch Greekes as would go with them, in certain ſhips which came with corn out of Sicily, and ſo departed, leauing the town empty for the Turks to come vnto.

Macicaus ſlain

Corone forſaken by the Spaniards.

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left Corone not without ſecret conſent of the Emperor; which was the rather thought to be ſo, for that they which forſook the place re-
D ceiued therby no diſgrace; and the Emperor himſelf had offered to giue the Town to *Clement* Biſhop of Rome, the Venetians, and the Knights of Malta, who all refuſed to receiue it, as loth to be at ſo great a charge in keeping a place ſeruing to no greater purpoſe; the very cauſe why the emperor was ſo willing to part with it. Now *Clement* the great Biſhop had by means of *Aloyſius Grittus* made a motion of peace, to haue bin concluded for ten years betwixt *Solyman* and the Chriſtian Princes, and therupon the Town to haue again bin deliuered vnto the Turks. Which peace *Solyman* was not altogether vnwilling to grant, being then wholly bent to inuade the Perſian. *Ferdinand* was alſo in good hope, that his brother *Charles* the Emperor would for the yeelding vp of that towne, haue couenanted with the Turke ſome great matter for his benefit in Hungary; which was thought would alſo eaſily haue bin granted. But whilſt
E the Emperor drawn diuerſly with the conſideration of his honor in keeping it, and of his profit in giuing it vp, ſtood too long in reſoluing; the town in the meane time was by the Spaniards (their neceſſities daily increaſing) abandoned, and ſo left vnto the Turks for nothing.

Solyman now purpoſing to turn his forces againſt the Perſians, of whom he had in the frontiers of his dominion receiued great hurt, eſpecially in Comagene, renued the league he had with the Venetians and ſome other Chriſtian princes: but of all other his affairs with the Chriſtians, he was moſt carefull of the intereſt he had already gotten in Hungary: for it was reported, That King *Iohn* his Vaſſall, induced by the continuall ſolicitations of his ſubjects, was deſirous of peace with King *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that he might quietly enioy the kingdom during his life: and after his deceaſe, it to remaine vnto King *Ferdinand* and his
F heirs. Wherfore *Solyman*, that nothing ſhould be there done in his abſence without his knowledge, ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* the duke of Venice his ſon (of whom we haue before ſpoken) a man both for the honor of his houſe, the good cariage of himſelfe, and the ſpeciall commendation of *Abraham* the chief Baſſa, in great credit with him; with commiſſion as his lieutenant to be

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Aloyſius Grittus the duke of Venice his ſon, Solymans lieutenant in Hungary to ouerſee King Iohn.

aſſiſtant

assistant vnto king *Iohn*, in such magnifical sort, as that without him the king might conclude G
nothing in matters of state, concerning either peace or wars, with other the Christian princes. With this proud Commission of the grand Seigniour *Grittus* entred into Transylvania, then a part of the Hungarian kingdom (much about the same time that *Solyman* set forward from Constantinople against the Persian) attended vpon with seuen thousand persons of one sort and other, amongst whom were *Vrbanus Batianus*, and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian captains with their companies, and many of the Turks Ianizaries also. At his first comming, to make his authority the more known, he sent out his proud Commaund vnto the great men and gouernors of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to repair vnto him as great *Solymans* Deputy, authorised by him to hear and determine all the controuersies
Americus the Vayuod contemneth Grittus. and matters of state concerning the Kingdom of Hungary. At that time *Americus Sihachus* H
Bishop of Veradium, a man of great nobility and power, withall singularly wel qualified, was Vayuod or gouernor of Transylvania, an honor next vnto the King. Hee vnderstanding that *Grittus* was come into his prouince, and making small hast to welcome him, as one not greatly mooued at his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Grittus*; who desired nothing more than at his first entrance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authority in the minds of the vulgar people, by the prest and ready attendance of the Vayuod. But it was reported, that the stout Bishop vpon a Christian zeal detested the friendship of the Turks, and could not wel brooke that they should be too much acquainted in his prouince, for fear lest that fruitful country abounding with men and horses, should by one means or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to Baxovia, when he vnderstood I
that the Vayuod was comming with a great train, and lay about ten miles off, incamped with diuers gallant troups of horsemen, in warlike maner appointed: for the Bishops of Hungary being wonderfull rich, were by old custom bound to keep great numbers of horsmen, which as occasion serued, they vsed to bring into the field against the Turks; accounting it great honor, with their religious hands to defend the cause of Religion. But then especially the Nobility of the country wel appointed resorted on euery side, in curtesie to honour and countenance their great Bishop and gouernor, at whose commandement they were: insomuch as the Bishops retinue made shew of a good army. Which thing mooued *Grittus* exceedingly, that he should be inforced contrary to his expectation, to parly with the Bishop in the open fields as with an enemy in the sight of all their followers. Herof rose envy, a deadly mischief always K
repining at another mans honour; when as the one swelling with Turkish pride could abide no equall; and the other jealous of his honor, could by no means indure any superior in such place as he had the soueraignty of. When these two great men had met together in the open field, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any shew of friendship or good will; *Grittus* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, couertly threatned to be reuenged vpon all such as should make so light account of his authority: and immediatly as he departed from the banquet, taking his Turkish cap from his head (which was after the Turkish maner made of a high fashion, of rich sables) and opening it with both his hands, said, This Cap will not hold two heads, and therfore it must be fitted to one, and so put it on again. *Ianus Docia*, one of the Hungarian captains his followers (who deadly hated the Vayuod, for that hee L
long time before, for a malapert speech in a great assembly, gaue him a blow with his fist) took hold of that speech of *Grittus*, as a fit occasion for him to worke his reuenge, and sayd;
Docia inflames Grittus against the Vayuod. *Your Honour maketh a fit comparison; neither can this prouince contain two equall Gouernors or Commanders, nor you euer enjoy your power and authority, except you do this day with speedy and manly resolution defend both* Solymans *credit and your own. You know not this proud beast* Americus, *whose pride and insolency if you but say the word, I will quickly pull down: for he hateth* Solyman, *he regardeth not the King, and of you he maketh no account at all; for why, he aspireth vnto the majesty of a king, and saith that the Vayuodship of Transyluania well beseemeth a King; for that in this countrey* Decebaldus *the Dacian somtime reigned, whom the warlike Emperour* Trajan *with all the force of the Roman Empire hardly subdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly set himself forth than he, neither more craftily* M
or cunningly dissemble to serue his own turn. Indeed he hath for fashion sake presented your Honor with a few simple presents, and giuen you his hand also, better known for his falshood than his faith; to the entent that when you are once past his country, he may scof and jeast at your Decrees. Verily he deadly enuies

your

A *your honor and felicity, and grudgeth in his heart that you should set down the laws of peace and warre in Hungary: and whereas he doth manifestly aspire vnto a kingdom, he feareth you aboue all others, lest you should trouble his designes, abate his credit, and chastise his insolencie. Verily, he that thus malignes your happines, and contemneth your authority, is not to be suffered, but by good reason to be taken away: thereby at this your first entrance to defend the credit of your Commission, and honor of your name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithlesse Companion and a secret enemy, especially when you shall leaue him at your back behind you: for when he shall as occasion serues shew forth his hidden malice, he shall so much the more slily and desperatly indanger your person.* *Grittus* inraged with this speech more than before, thought it best to make hast, and to vse his authority to the full: hee commended *Docia*, and promised in short time to requite his good will towards him, especially if he would by
B some notable attempt abate the Bishops pride. It is reported, That *Grittus* gaue him no other charge but to take the Bishop, that so he might after the Turkish manner haue sent him in chains to Constantinople, and bestowed the honor of the Vayuod vpon *Hieronymus Lascus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honorable preferment vnto him promised by King *Iohn*, had don him great and faithful seruice, as his embassador both to *Solyman*, and to the French king. But when King *Iohn* perceiued that hee could not conueniently without manifest danger place him (being a Polonian, who could scarse speake the Hungarian language) Gouernour ouer such a warlike people; he as it were inforced by necessity, preferred this *Americus* the bi-
shop of Veradium, a man of them both reuerenced and feared. Which so grieued *Lascus*, (a man of great stomack and experience, and therunto excellently learned) that he would neuer
C admit any excuse of the Kings, but euer after complained that he was by the King deluded. Neuertheles he kept himself within the bounds of loyaltie, and enioied certain lands & towns which the King had giuen him in the borders of Polonia: but estranged from him in minde, he was now becom one of *Grittus* his followers, hoping of his better preferment by his means vnto *Solyman*; and for that cause was not so forward to do the King such seruice as he had in times past. Now by the commandement of *Grittus*, a strong company of Turkish horsemen, and certain troups of Hungarians, were deliuered to *Docia*; who secretly departing that night from Baxovia, came suddenly to the Vayuods camp; hauing a little before by his Hungarian spies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reason of the great heat, without any Watch or gard, attended on only by his pages and houshold seruants, as a man without fear;
D and that all the rest of his retinue lay dispersed in the Countrey Villages round about. All which serued so well for *Docia* his purpose, that the Vayuod ignorant of his death so nigh at hand (who rather contemned than feared his enemies) was suddenly oppressed by *Docia* his souldiers: so that whilst he was yet lying in his bed, and scarcely wel awaked by his Chamberlains and the noise of the enemy; *Docia* suddenly breaking into his tent, cut off his head as he lay. All they which lay neere, amased at the suddennes of the matter, fled away for fear, and left their horses and other things for a prey vnto the Turks and other of *Docia* his followers. *Docia* hauing don so great an outrage, returned to *Grittus*, presenting vnto him the Vayuods head, which he brought in his hand by the ear. *Lascus* was then present, but altogether ignorant of the murther, who as a man mooued with natural compassion in so sudden and hor-
E rible a fact, and forgetting all former grudges (as in like case it oftentimes chanceth) stood as one dismayed, nothing reioycing at the vnworthy death of his enemy. To whom *Grittus* turning himselfe, said, *Lascus*, Doest thou not know this shauen pate? truely it is a great mans head, but of such a one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Lascus* replied, Truly though I loued him not, yet I thought it not so whilst it stood vpon his shoulders; disallowing therin the cruelty of the fact. Which thing *Grittus* perceiuing, began to repent him of that was done, and said openly, That although he was worthily slain, yet he could haue wished rather to haue had him taken prisoner. The report of this horrible murther once bruted abroad, the Bishops kinsmen and friends, yea almost all the people of that prouince, rose vp in arms against *Grittus* to reuenge the death of that reuerend Bishop, whom liuing they had
F both loued & feared. Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong rise, in arms with greater desire, more heat, or quicker speed: so that in few days there were assembled together 40000 horse and foot; vnder the leading of *Stephanus Maylat* a valiant Gentleman, who of all other most honored the Bishop, and in that common grief took vpon him as Chiefe, the persecuting of the authours of such inhumane cruelty. *Grittus* perceiuing how grieuously the matter

The cause why Lascus fel from King Iohn.

The Vayuod murdred in his Tent by Docia, and his head presented vnto Grittus.

The Transilua-nians rise vp in Armes against Grittus, to reuenge the Vayuods death.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himselfe what course were G
best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the same was present death; and to return and leaue the honour of the deputation he had with so great expectation of al men taken vpon him, was vnto his aspiring mind no lesse torment than death it self. Thus perplexed, he with all speed got himself with his followers to the strong towne of Mege, in hope to shroud himself vntil the rage of the country people were either of it self appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in sudden tumults) or els til he should be relieued by King *Iohn*, or the Turkes Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the Turkish Empire. The townsmen of Mege seeing *Grittus* accompanied with so many Turks, shut the gates against him: yet at length by the persuasion of the two Hungarian Captains *Docia* and *Batiana*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the base Towne, hauing before retyred themselues and H
all their substance vnto the higher town, which in maner of a strong Castle commaunded the lower. Here whilst *Grittus* with all carefulnes fortifieth the place, and dispatcheth trusty messengers vnto his friends abroad for aid; his enemies with hideous noise and outcries approching the town, at their first comming attempted to haue scaled the Walls and rampiers
Grittus besieged. therof. Which thing whilst they disorderly did, with greater fury than discretion, they were easily repulsed, and many of them slaine by the Turkes Ianizaries and harquebusiers. After which losse, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall they withdrew themselues out of the danger of the shot, and incamped on euery side of the town; hoping, as the truth was, that the enemy vnprouided of victual, could not long hold the place, but must of necessity starue with famin, or yeeld it vp. In the mean time *Grittus* resolutely induring all the calamities of a man I
besieged, fel sick, and so much the more, for that he could hear nothing of any aid he expected from his friends. For King *Iohn* glad in his minde of the distresse of the Ouerseer, or rather competitor of his kingdome; and also knowing that he could not without great discontentment of his subjects oppose himself against such a multitude, risen vpon so iust a cause; yet for fashion sake sent certain troups of horsmen to his relief: who not altogether ignorant of the Kings minde, made such hast as men that purposed not to come in time to doe him good. As for the Turks Sanzacks of Belgrade and Samandria, they enuying at his honor, flatly refused to depart from their charge to relieue him, without expres command from *Solyman* himself: and *Lascus* (before one of *Grittus* his chief followers, but now a beholder of his distresse) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some reliefe, as hee promised, K
did now in his extremity forsake him also. The citisens of the vpper town (who a great while had stood looking on from aboue as men indifferent) perceiuing the full resolution of their countrymen to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherwith the Turkes were incloſed, assailed them also from the high town. *Grittus* thus beset on euery side, offered vnto the Transylvanians a great masse of mony to suffer him to passe farther into Hungary: but their furious minds more desirous of reuenge than mony, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine, hee sent rich jewels to the gouernor of Moldavia his friend, to be ready at a certain hour when he purposed to sally out of the town, to receiue him with certaine troups of horsemen; so if it were possible to saue himself and his children. *Grittus* (whether it were vpon a doubtful hope, or vrged by inevitable destiny) sallying out of the town at the appointed time, with *Solymans* com- L
Grittus taken and brought to Maylat. missiõ in his hand, and missing of the Moldavian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late Bishops nigh kinsman, and *Maylats* familiar friend; who furiously running in vpon him with tumultuous speech, violently caught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horsemen took him, being weak with sicknes, and making no resistance. His followers, especially the Turks, incloſed on euery side, were either slain or taken. But *Grittus* himself being brought to the Generals Tent, beset round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why he had commanded the Vayuod to be slain; ernestly protested that he neuer commaunded any such thing, and that it was don without his knowledge. Which his answer serued not his turne, all the people crying out against him with one voice, that he should as a sacrifice be offered vnto
Grittus beheaded. the Vayuods ghost. Wherupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered again to *Francis Schenden* to be ex- M
ecuted, who without delay caused his head to be struck off. The Nobilitie and the Vayuods kinsmen (after the maner of that people) dipped some part of their garments in his bloud, the longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the shamefull end of *Aloysius Grittus* the Duke of Venice his son, *Solymans* Deputy in Hungary, with whom hee was

in

A in ſuch credit as neuer was any Chriſtian abounding in wealth and worldly felicity: but cli-
ming too faſt vp the euil ſtaued ladder of ambition, ſuddenly fel and neuer roſe more. The ex-
ecutioner ſtripping his dead body, found about him ſo many pretious ſtones and jewels as
were valued at forty millions of ducats. And not long after, *Laſcus* ſent for by the King to Bu- *The richbes foūd about Grittus.*
da, was ſtreitly examined vpon torture, concerning *Grittus* his Commiſſion and purpoſes, and
was in great danger of his life: but at laſt by the interceſſion of *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, he
was ſet at liberty, and ſo fled out of Hungary vnto *Sigiſmunds* court in Polonia: after he had
long time wearied himſelf, and aduentured his life in the Hungarian ſtate. *Docia* the author
of this tragedy was by the furious people afterwards rent in pieces and ſo periſhed.

The ſame time that *Grittus* went from Conſtantinople into Hungary, *Solyman* the Turkiſh *Soliman purpo-*
B Emperor dreading no danger out of Europ, took in hand two great expeditions both at one *ſeth to inuade*
time; the one by land into Aſia againſt the Perſians, and the other by ſea into Africke againſt *Perſia and Af-*
the Moors: promiſing to himſelf in his inordinat deſires, the monarchy of the whole world in *frick at once.*
ſhort time, if he might ſubdue theſe two great Nations, whom he had already in hope deuou-
red. But foraſmuch as all canot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places ſo far
diſtant don, omitting for a while the expedition made in perſon himſelf againſt the Perſians,
we wil firſt declare what he did by his lieutenants againſt the Moors. *Hariadenus*, ſyrnamed
of the Chriſtians *Barbaruſſa* (who ſucceeding his elder brother *Horruccius* in the kingdome of
Algiers in Africk, had by many victories ſo inlarged the kingdom before gotten by his bro-
ther, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Chriſtians & wild Moors,
C and his fame grown great in the Turkiſh court) was the chief author and perſuader of *Solyman*
to inuade Africk. But it ſhal not (as I think) be far from our purpoſe, briefly to relate by what
means thoſe two Mytilene brethren, baſely born, crept out of a ſmal galliot vnto the majeſty
of great Kings; that herin they which come afterward may alſo admire the wonderfull chan-
ges and chances of theſe worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of
much more certainty than a ſtage play.

Theſe two brethren *Horruccius* and *Hariadenus*, born at Mytilene in the Iſland of Lesbos, *The poore be-*
weary of the poor and baſe eſtate they led at home with their father a renegat Grecian; ſtea- *ginning of Hor-*
ling a little galliot, committed themſelues & all the hope of their good fortune to ſea, where *ruccius & Ha-*
by chance they conſorted themſelues with *Camales* a moſt famous pyrat of that time; vnder *riadenus, who*
D whom *Horruccius* the elder brother for his forwardnes became a captain: and growing rich by *of baſe Pyrats*
many purchaſes, and alſo ſtrong with gallies and ſlaues which he had at ſundry times taken; *aſpired to the*
and at laſt conſorting himſelf with *Haidin*, *Sinan* the Iew, *Salec*, and other leſſe pyrats (who af- *kingdom of Al-*
terward became men of great fame and account) ouer whom he commanded as an arch pirat, *giers.*
came ſeeking after purchaſe as far as Mauritania. At which time *Selymes* King of Iulia Cæ-
ſarea, now called Algiers, was in arms againſt his brother *Mechemetes* competitor of the king-
dom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great
doubt of his eſtate. *Selymes* glad of the comming of *Horruccius* and the other pyrats his fol-
lowers, with a great maſſe of mony paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the reſt to take
vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom againſt his brother. Which thing *Horrucci-*
E *us* ſo happily performed (eſpecially by the means of his harquebuſiers, as then no ſmal terror
to the wild Moors and Numidians) that in ſhort time he repulſed that ſauage people, and ſet
Selymes at peace in his kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a ſharp wit, and by nature ambi-
tious, noting in the time of his ſeruice the Kings milde and ſimple diſpoſition void of all di-
ſtruſt; and that the naked Moors were no ſoldiers, but a light and vnconſtant people, alwayes
at variance among themſelues; and that the wandring Numidians liuing barely, diuided into
many factions, were eaſily by reward to be won, or by force conſtrained; ſuddenly falſified his
faith, and villanouſly ſlew *Selymes* the King, as hee was bathing himſelfe, miſtruſting nothing
leſſe than the falſhood of the pyrat: & in the ſame hurle, murdring ſuch as he thought would
withſtand his deſire, and with bounty and cruelty ouercomming the reſt, ſo wrought the mat-
F ter, that he was by general conſent choſen king of Algiers. Thus of a pyrat become a king, he
ſhortly after by policie ſurpriſed Circello (a famous city about 60 miles diſtant from Al-
giers) by his ſoldiers ſent thither in the habit of Merchants. After that, he by his brother *Ha-*
riadenus, no les valiant than himſelfe, troubled all the Mediteranian ſea from Algiers with his *Horruccius his*
gallies, & al his neighbors: himſelf by land with daily incurſions leauing nothing vntoucht, *ſucceſſe.*

which

which might by force or policy be had; ſo that his power daily increaſed, men of ſeruice continually reſorting vnto him, as the chiefe man in all thoſe parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of Bugea, a city famous both for the great trade thither, and for the Mahometan ſchoole ſometime their kept: at the taking whereof he loſt his right hand with a ſhot, and in ſtead thereof euer after vſed a hand of yron, wherewith he obtained many worthy victories againſt his enemies: for neere to Algiers he ouerthrew an army of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vara* their Generall. And ſhortly after, at ſuch time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of Italy with the old Spaniſh ſouldiers, landed in his country, he enforced him againe to ſea; where he with all his expert ſouldiers either periſhed by ſhipwrack, or driuen on ſhore, were ſlain or taken priſoners by *Horruccius*, and thruſt into his gallies. At laſt hauing in ſundry battels ouercome the King of Tremiſſa, *Charles* the Emperour his confederat, and thruſt him out of his kingdome, he ſtirred vp both the Chriſtians and Numidians againſt him: ſo that comming to take Ora and Portus (two ſtrong holds kept by garriſons of Spaniards ſent thither to aid the King of Tremiſſa) he was by them and the Moors at the firſt repulſed, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where moſt part of his army being ſlaine or taken priſoners, he with a few of his friends ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight ouer the deſart ſands; and ſeeing himſelfe hardly purſued by his enemies, ſcattered many pieces of gold vpon the ſands as he fled, thereby to haue ſtaied their haſty purſuit: but they more deſirous of him than of his gold, followed ſo faſt, that at laſt they ouertooke him, and without further delay ſtrucke off his head, which was afterwards ſent into Spaine, and carried vpon a lance through all the townes and cities along the ſea coaſt; to the wonderfull rejoycing of the people, vnto whom he had in former time done great harme.

Horruccius ſlaine, and his head carried about in Spain.

Hariadenus ſyrnamed Barbaruſſa, ſucceedeth his brother Horruccius in the kingdome of Algiers.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Hariadenus* inferiour to his brother neither in courage nor martiall proweſſe, by the generall conſent of the ſouldiers tooke vpon him the kingdome of Algiers. He, made heire not only of his brothers kingdome, but of his vertues and haughty thoughts, and of the ſyrname alſo of *Barbaruſſa*, began forthwith to aſpire vnto the Empire of all that part of Affricke; accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too baſe to anſwer his deſires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terrour both to the Mooores and Numidians; holding peace with ſome, and wars with others, as beſt ſerued his purpoſe: and with his gallies robbed and ſpoiled the coaſts of Spaine, Sardinia, and the Iſlands Baleares; fortune ſo fauoring him in all his enterpriſes, that he became both famous & fearful to all his enemies. He ſlew *Hamet*, a great commander among the Numidians, and chaſed *Benchades* and *Amida*, two of their greateſt Princes, out of the country: and with like fortune at ſea, ouercame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who ſore wounded, had much ado to ſaue himſelfe by flight, when he had loſt diuers of his gallies. He alſo in battell at ſea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, Admirall of Spaine: in which fight the Admirall and his ſon were both ſlaine, and ſeuen of his gallies taken: in token of which victory, he ſent part of the rich ſpoile there taken, with the Admirals enſigne, as a preſent vnto *Solyman*; whereby he became famous in the Turks court; but much more, after he had repulſed *Auria* from Cercenna, and taken two great Genoway ſhips which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition; the loſſe whereof filled the city of Genoa with much ſorrow. All things ſorting thus according to his deſire, and his name become no leſſe terrible in Spaine, Italy, Sicily, and the Iſlands of the Mediterranian, than it was in the greateſt part of Affricke; *Solyman* grieued with the loſſe of Corone, Patras, and the caſtles vpon the ſtreits of Lepanto, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his Admirall being ſhamefully put to flight: by the counſell of his Baſſaes, but eſpecially of *Abraham* the chiefe Baſſa, ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to Algiers; offering him the greateſt honours of his court, and to make him Admirall of all his fleet, if he would forthwith repaire vnto Conſtantinople: for why, he was the only man in all mens judgements, who for his yeres and great experience at ſea, as well as for his inuincible courage, and glory of his late atchieued kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to be oppoſed againſt the Chriſtian fleet. *Sinas* a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embaſſage ſent, and ſpeedily tranſported to Algiers by *Mangalis*, a famous pyrat, then Gouernour of the Rhodes; who at his landing, was honourably receiued by *Barbaruſſa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbaruſſa* vnderſtanding the cauſe of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, preſently conceiuing no ſmall hope of obtaining the Monarchy of Affricke, if hee might once come to *Solymans* preſence,

His wonderfull ſucceſſe.

Solyman ſends for Barbaruſſa.

and

A and at large ſhew vnto him the ſtate of Affricke, and power of the Chriſtians, with their continuall diſcord amongſt themſelues. Wherefore without further delay committing the protection of his ſon *Aſanes* (then about eighteene yeares old) and the gouernment of the new gotten kingdome to *Ramada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh kinſemen and aſſured friends, of whoſe fidelity he doubted not: he with forty of his owne gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed, ſet forward with *Solymans* Embaſſadour towards Conſtantinople: where by the way he met with a fleet of Gonoway ſhips bound for Sicily for corne, which after a ſharpe a cruell fight he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Countrey of Elba, not farre from Naples, hee ſuddenly ſurpriſed Rhium a rich city; where loading his gallies with the wealth thereof, and carrying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuity, he arriued at Conſtan-

Barbaruſſa cõmeth to Conſtantinople.

B tinople in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he was joyfully receiued, if it were but for the preſents which he gaue him: which were faire boyes and young maidens ſumptuouſly apparelled, eunuchs, and wild beaſts of Lybia, as Lyons, Leopards and ſuch like. But after he had certaine daies diſcourſed at large with his great Baſſa's, of the ſtate of Affricke, the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and how the wars were to be managed, he was afterwards by them ſeldomer ſent for, and offering himſelfe into their com-

Barbaruſſa enuied in the Turks court.

pany, was hardly admitted: for enuy (the inſeparable companion of growing honour) had quickely ouertaken him in the Court, ſo that many men letted not openly to ſay, It had not bin the faſhion of the *Othoman* Kings, to prefer pyrats (the worſt kind of theeues) to the honor of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both ver-

C tuous and valiant in the Turks court, which could with great honour maintaine and augment the glory of the Turkiſh Empire both by ſea and land; whereas he had againſt all right and conſcience, by ſhameful treachery intruded himſelfe into another mans kingdom in Affricke, and there perſecuted the Mahometan Princes and people, being of no religion himſelfe, as one that was borne of a renegate Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercileſſe pyrat, and common enemy of mankinde. By which ſpeeches *Barbaruſſa* perceiued in how euill time *Abraham Baſſa* his beſt friend, and by whoſe meanes he was ſent for, was abſent from Court; who at that time was gone into Comagena, and Wintred at Aleppo, with purpoſe (as *Solymans* forerunner) with the firſt of the next Spring, to paſſe ouer Euphrates againſt the Perſian. After

Barbaruſſa reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa.

long ſuit and much expectation, *Solyman* anſwered *Barbaruſſa* by *Ajax* and *Caſſimes* two of the

D great Baſſa's, That all the matter concerning him ſhould be referred to the diſcretion of *Abraham* the chiefe Baſſa, for that he was by his counſell eſpecially ſent for out of Affricke: wherefore if he did expect any thing, he ſhould repaire vnto him in Syria, that according to his graue judgement all things might be ordered. *Barbaruſſa* thus rejected into Syria, although he well perceiued that it tended to his no ſmall diſgrace; yet in hope by ſufferance to obtaine another kingdome, ſeemed contented with the anſwer, and reſolued forthwith to take vpon

He trauelleth into Syria to the Baſſa, and is by him cõmended to Solyman

him that long and painefull journy: which the old king luſtily performed, and ſo poſting by land thorow Aſia the leſſe, and trauelling ouer the mountain Amanus, then couered with deep ſnow, came in the dead time of Winter to Aleppo in Syria, where he was honourably receiued by the great Baſſa, and heard at large, to his ſo good contentation and liking, that he dee-

E med him of all others the fitteſt to command the Turks power at ſea; and to that purpoſe writ commendatory letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*: wiſhing him for his ſufficience to place him as the fourth with the other three Baſſa's of his counſell. After *Barbaruſſa* was againe arriued

His returne to Conſtantinople.

at Conſtantinople with theſe letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the chiefe Baſſa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to ſee how on the ſudden the face of the court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendſhip or flattery began now to ſpeake of his praiſes, and to extoll his worthineſſe: who was now in all mens mouthes but *Barbaruſſa*? ſo great was the power and authority of the chiefe Baſſa, that being abſent, yet was his approbation of all men accounted ſufficient to prefer whom he pleaſed; and his letters lawes to the reſt of the court. *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him from Algiers, one *Roſcetes* the elder brother

Roſcetes.

F of *Muleaſſes* king of Tunes, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his yonger brother, had liued certain yeres at Algiers, but now by the perſuaſion of *Barbaruſſa* was come with him to Conſtantinople, to craue aid of *Solyman* againſt the oppreſſion of his brother. Him *Barbaruſſa* oftentimes ſhewed vnto the great Baſſa's, and in his diſcourſes with them concerning the conqueſt of Affricke, ſet him out as a moſt fit inſtrument for ſubduing of the kingdom of Tunes,

as a man whom the people more affected than they did *Muleasses* the vsurper. After long deliberation and consultation had with the Bassaes concerning the inuasion of Affricke, *Barbarussa* now admitted vnto the presence of *Solyman*, in these or like words persuaded him to that war, for the entrance whereunto we haue thus far digressed.

Barbarussa his speech to Solyman to persuade him to inuade Tunes.

What thing the Priests with loud voice vse to pray for, at such time as the Othoman *Emperors enter into the Temple to pray, the same thing do I also wish vnto thee most mighty* Solyman; *which is, That thou shouldest remember, thy progenitors by Iustice and Religion to haue got for thee this Empire, than which, more magnificent and richer the gods haue not giuen to any: Fortune hath neuer deceiued them that troad that way, and thou hitherto hast so traced their steps, that thou hast easily surmounted their fame and glory, administring Iustice to thy subjects; and inflamed with the hope of eternall praise, making continuall war against the enemies of our religion, the true office of a zealous Prince. By this meanes is Belgrade taken, Rhodes won, the King of Hungary slaine in battell, Germany twice harried and burnt: so that* Charles, *whom the Christians would make equall to thy selfe in power and valour, with the great aid almost of all the Christian Nations, terrified with the noise of thy army, shunned battell. But forasmuch as Empires, be they neuer so large, or victories be they neuer so glorious, can neither satisfie the greatnesse of an heroicall mind, or glut the same with glory; thou hast therefore sent before thee thy victorious ensignes against the Persians and Parthians, that those Nations who haue wickedly fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy sacred armes, may be again reclaimed to the antient rites of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatnesse, most honourable to attept, and glorious to performe: let it only be lawfull for me now grown an old man in the middest of arms & dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefely to open such things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the augmenting of thy fame and Empire elsewhere. Neither would I haue you to take this as presumptuously spoken of me: for Fortune hath enough, yea, and more than enough fauoured my designes, whom from a poore cottage and bare hope, shee hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches, yea, vnto the title and majesty of a King. But vnto these things the gods could giue me nothing better, than to be called for of thee, and sent for, in Counsell to discourse of matters of greatest importance: wherefore my aduice shall be vnto thee faithfull, and with experience confirmed: which although it be all that it seemeth old men can do, yet in my sound body remaineth such strength, that I dare both promise and performe vnto thee my good seruice at all assaies both by sea and land. For vnto this only course haue I bent my selfe day and night from my youth, following the purpose and counsell of my valiant brother* Horruccius, *(who to extend the bounds of our religion, persecuted the Christians both by sea and land) desiring nothing more, than that thy fleet and power might once be joyned with my forces and direction, and so vnder thy good hap, to be either a commander, or else commanded: forasmuch as it grieueth me not to be commanded by my betters. Of which my desires if the gods shall make me partaker, the Spaniards shall shortly be driuen quite out of Affricke, thou shalt heare that the Moores are gone ouer into Spaine, to repossesse the kingdome of Granado; That Tunes and Numidia are at thy command; and not to speake of Sardinia, and Corcyra, that Sicilia is ours: which once taken, we shall serue vp Italy, and on euery side distresse it with our fleet, being now weake and brought low by the discord of the Princes, and that part thereof both toward Sicilia and Macedonia ready to submit it selfe vpon any condition, so it might cast off the Spanish yoke. Thinke not, that either that strength or vnity is now in Italy, which was when thy great grandfather* Mahomet *hauing taken Hydruntum, brought a great feare, not vpon Italy on, but vpon other the Christian nations also: for by the good successe of that war, which all the Christian Princes could hardly withstand, he had vndoubtedly taken the city of Rome, and so according to right and reason, againe vnited the Empire of the East and of the West, as they were before in their antient glory. But he suddenly left the World, rapt to Heauen, that hee might leaue to thee (according to the appointment of the fatall Destinies, & reuolutions of the heauens) this work of absolute perfection. And yet my purpose is not, by putting thee in hope of so great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the East, against thy old and irreligious enemies, deseruing all extremities: for thy nauy shall be sufficient for me, whereof thou shalt haue no need in thy wars so far within land; that whilest thou art conquering Asia, Affrica the third part of the World may in the meane time be brought vnder thy subjection also. Where before all other things,* Muleasses *is to be driuen out of Tunes; a man of insatiable couetousnesse, vnstaied lust, horrible cruelty, hated both of God and man; who hauing by trechery slaine eighteene of his brethen, or that which worse is, cruelly burnt out their eies, doth so raigne alone, that he left him neither kinseman nor friend. For being as vnthankefull as perfideous, he hath murthered all his fathers friends, who with great trauell had preferred him to the kingdome*

A *kingdome, so to make short payment for so great desert. With this beast we must haue to do, whom whilest no man loueth, all men wish to perish. The Numidians trouble him with dayly inuasions, whose injuries the infamous coward endureth with such shame and reproach, that it should seeme he had rather to suffer them, than reuenge them. And yet this effœminate dastard holdeth in chaines many valiant Turks, and acknowledgeth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euery side sue for grace: and which is not to be suffered, exceedingly fauoureth the Spaniards of Tripolis, to the intent that* Agis *and* Moses, *two valiant Turkish captaines, may be driuen out of the city. This wilde beast disarmed of his clawes and teeth, we shall easily destroy, if it be but for that we haue with vs* Roscetes *his brother, whom the Numidians wish and long for: him must we vse, if it be but for a shew, so shall the thing we desire, be without bloud effected, as soone as we shall but present our selues before the gates of Tunes. Then shall it be at your*
B *pleasure, to appoint whom you will haue to gouerne the Numidian kingdome: it shall be vnto me glory enough, when the greatest part of Affricke conquered, shall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your returne with the triumphs of Persia. But by the way as I returne, I assure you vpon mine own priuat, so to vse the matter, that the Christians shall also haue good cause to bewaile their calamities: and if I hap to meet with* Auria, *he shall haue small cause to rejoyce of the mischiefe he hath done: for him alone I challenge to persecute, as my proper and peculiar enemy, both for the remembrance of the harmes we haue receiued at his hands, and for the despight I haue at his fame; who once taken out of the way, the seas shall be open onely to you and your fleets. And beleeue me, he that shall be able to command the seas, shall easily also subdue the kingdomes by land.*

C But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wise Princes, vsed well to consider, and afterwards with ripe judgement to resolue of such matters as he had with attentiue eare hearkened vnto; commending *Barbarussa* for his forwardnesse in his seruice, for that time brake vp the counsell. Not long after, a decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great Bassa's aduice, That *Barbarussa* should be joyned as fourth with the other three chiefe Bassa's of *Solymans* counsell, and be made great Admirall; so that all the Islands, ports, and people all alongst the sea coast thorowout *Solymans* Empire should be at his command, and that it should be lawfull for him to take vp such mariners and soldiers for seruice at sea, as pleased him in what place soeuer. This being solemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his owne hand deliuered him a scepter and a sword, willing him by worthy deeds to performe what he had promised. After which, *Ajax* and *Cas-*
D *simes* the two great Bassa's, with the Captaine of the Ianizaries, brought him with exceeding pompe, from the Court to the Nauy: at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that warre at sea, he had deliuered vnto him out of *Solymans* treasures, eight hundred thousand duckets, and eight hundred Ianizaries.

Barbarussa is made Solymans great Admirall.

But forasmuch as much it was that he did in the seruice of *Solyman*, and more is of him hereafter to be spoken; it shall not be amisse here to present vnto the view of the World the sterne, but liuely countenance of this so famous a man (who liuing kept all the Mediterranian in feare) as it is by *Boisardus* expressed, together with the Elogium following.

Littora te Heſperiæ timuere vtriuſque, Lybeſque
Oppreſſi dextra ſubcubuere tua.
Nunquam te Lypare, Corcyraue diligit, harum
Cum ſis immeritos depopulatus agros.

The coaſts of Italy and Spaine, of thee were ſore afraid,
And ſo the Moores did ſtoupe to thee, by thy right hand diſmaid.
Lyparos will thee neuer loue, ne yet Corcyra ſtrong;
For that thou cauſeleſſe did'ſt to them ſo great and open wrong.

Barbaruſſa ſped of that he deſired, ſtaied not long after at Conſtantinople, but departing out of Helleſpontus with eighty gallies and certain galliots, ſhaped his courſe towards Italy, leauing *Amurathes* (a ſea captaine) with twelue gallies to tranſport *Solyman* and his army, ready to ſet forward againſt the Perſian, ouer that narrow ſea into Aſia. Who after he had ſo done, ouertooke *Barbaruſſa* at Methone, who holding on his courſe to Affricke, and ſuddenly passing the ſtreit betwixt Italy and Sicily, brought a great feare vpon both the Countries; but paſſing by the Bay of Hippona alongſt the coaſt of the lower Calabria, he ſet vpon the towne of Saint *Lucidius*, called in antient time Tempſa: which although it ſtood vpon a rocke and was reaſonable well walled; yet ſuch was the violence of the Turkes aſſault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with ſo much more hurt to the inhabitants, for that the

He ſpoileth the coaſt of Italy. M

Major

A Major of the towne, to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other ſide of the city, from the enemy. From thence he with rich ſpoile and many priſoners went to Citrarium, where he had learned of his priſoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This town forſaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without reſiſtance, ranſacked it, and burnt it, where he alſo fired ſeuen gallies not yet altogether finiſhed. But after he was come with his fleet as far as the Iſland Capri, within the ſight of Naples, ſuch a terror was ſtrucke into the minds of all that dwelt alongſt that coaſt, That it was thought, if he had landed and gone directly to Naples, the Neapolitans would for feare haue abandoned the city. But holding on his courſe, he came to Prochita, which he tooke and rifled: ſo paſſing by the port of Caieta, (which he might eaſily haue taken) he came to Spelunca, a town in the hithermoſt part of the
B Kingdome of Naples. They of the Towne diſmaied with the ſudden arriuall of ſo great a fleet, yeelded the ſame without reſiſtance. The enemy entring the towne, tooke twelue hundred priſoners. *Pelegrinus* a chiefe man amongſt them of Spelunca, was fled into the Caſtle: him *Barbaruſſa* commanded to yeeld, which if he would preſently do, he promiſed to let him go free; but if he ſhould ſtand vpon his defence, he threatned in ſhort time to make him repent his fooliſh hardineſſe, with the vtter deſtruction both of himſelfe and the towne. The fearefull gentleman without delay came out of the caſtle, and fell downe at his feet; who according to his promiſe gaue him his liberty, and with rare curteſie reſtored to him his wife, his ſonne, and niece, whom he had taken priſoners; who receiued them with many teares falling from their eies for joy.

C The ſame night alſo 2000 Turks came from the fleet, through the rough and buſhy mountaines, to the city Fundi, ten miles diſtant from Spelunca, in the vttermoſt borders of the kingdome of Naples, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that country; who a few yeares before taken at ſea, and ouerwearied with the heauy burthen of the Turkiſh ſlauery, had reuolted to the Mahometan religion. But ſuch was the ſuddenneſſe of their comming, and their celerity in entring the city, that *Iulia Gonzaga* the Paragon of Italy, and the chiefe priſe which they ſought after, had ſcarce time to get to horſe halfe naked, and ſo with much difficulty to eſcape into the mountaines. It is reported that *Barbaruſſa* (which thing he himſelfe afterwards ſeemed not to deny) moued with the fame of her incomparable beauty, and wonderfull perfection, deſired exceedingly to haue taken her as a Preſent for *Solyman*. The

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Lady hardly eſcaped by Barbaruſſa.

D citiſens were for moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners by the Turks, who loaded with the ſpoile of the city, returned againe to the fleet. Another part of *Barbaruſſaes* fleet came to Tarracina, which the Turks tooke forſaken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the mountains, except ſome which for age or ſickeneſſe could not ſhift for themſelues, whom the Turks ſlew, and ſpoyled the churches. *Barbaruſſa* thus ſcouring along the coaſt of Italy, and newes thereof daily brought to the city of Rome, ſtrucke ſuch an exceeding terrour into the minds of the citiſens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to Oſtia, they would generally haue forſaken the city. But he hauing well performed his promiſe made to *Solyman* for vexing the Chriſtians, and before reſolued of a greater matter he had to do; when he had watred at Pontia, paſſed ouer into Affrick with ſuch celerity, that he was arriued there

The Romans afraid of Barbaruſſa.

E before it was thought that he was departed from the coaſt of Italy. For *Barbaruſſa* to deceiue *Muleaſſes* king of Tunes, and to take him vnprouided, had giuen it out, that he would burn and ſpoyle the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries, eſpecially of Italy, Liguria, and Spain, in reuenge of the harme done by *Auria* at Corone and Patras. Which thing *Muleaſſes* the rather beleiued, vnderſtanding his proceedings vpon the coaſt of Italy. The Venetians hauing alſo at the ſame time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in ſome part leſſen *Muleaſſes* feare, That *Barbaruſſa* would imploy his forces for Affricke: for then what ſhould the Venetians haue needed to haue had ſo great and chargeable a preparation. But that which aboue all other things brought him into ſecurity, was for that he had by his ſecret eſpials certainly learned, that his brother *Roſcetes* was kept at Conſtantinople, as a priſoner at large, vnder ſafe keeping: which

F made him to thinke, that *Barbaruſſa's* forces were not prepared againſt him; for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his ſtate more indangered by any other means, than by producing the competitor of his kingdome, to whom his guilty conſcience doubted, that both the citiſens of Tunes and the Numidians were for moſt part well affected.

This *Muleaſſes* of whom we now ſpeake, and whom afterward we ſhall by occaſion often re-

Muleaſſes King of Tunes.

member, was lineally deſcended of the antient Kings of Tunes; who without interruption of G
diſcent, or mixture of forreine bloud, had by the ſpace of 954 yeares mightily ruled the great kingdome of Tunes, from Tripolis to Bugia, almoſt 800 miles alongſt the Mediterranean, and into the Main as far as the mount Atlas: and for the long continuance of their ſtate, and largeneſſe of their kingdome, were worthily accounted the moſt reuerend and mighty amongſt the Mahometan Kings of Affricke. His father *Mahomethes*, when he had with much glory, and more pleaſure, reigned 32 yeares, perceiuing the end of his life to approch, had purpoſed to haue appointed *Maimo* his eldeſt ſonne (whom for his haſty aſpiring he then held in durance) to ſucceed him in his kingdome: but ouercome with the importunity of *Lentigeſia* his wife, a woman of a haughty ſpirit, who had by reward made a ſtrong faction in the Court for her ſonne *Muleaſſes*, he altered his former purpoſe, and appointed him his ſucceſſor: by whom H
(as it was thought) the ſmall remainder of his owne old yeares was ſhortened; *Maimo* the right heire of the kingdome in priſon, preſently murthered; ſeuenteene of his other brethren vnmercifully executed; and three other, *Barcha*, *Beleth*, and *Saeth*, with more than barbarous cruelty with a hot yron of their ſight depriued; only *Roſcetes* the ſecond brother, and *Abdemelech*, eſcaping the hands of their vnnatural brother, fled to *Morhabitus* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians: whither alſo their brothers malice perſecuted them, ſeeking by many practiſes to haue taken them away, and at laſt for a great ſumme of mony to haue had them deliuered into his hands. Which mony the Numidian receiued, but ſuffered the diſtreſſed Princes, as if they had eſcaped againſt his will, to fly further to another Numidian Prince a friend of his, called *Benticſes*: where *Muleaſſes* by like practiſes as before, ſought to haue deſtroyed I
them, or to haue got them into his owne power. Thus chaſed by their brothers endleſſe malice, from Prince to Prince, and from place to place, they for their more ſafety fled at laſt to the city of Biſcaris, farre into the maine land: where *Abdemelech* as one weary of the World gaue ouer all, and betooke himſelfe to a ſolitary life, and became a melancholy Mahometan Monke. But *Roſcetes* curteouſly entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that city, found ſuch fauour in his ſight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and long time honourably maintained him as his ſonne in law, with ſuch carefulneſſe, that for feare of *Muleaſſes* practiſes, he was ſeldome permitted to eat any other meat but ſuch as the Prince or his wife had before taſted of. *Muleaſſes* thus reigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of ſo many of his brethren, proceeded further, and murthered diuers of their children alſo. He cauſed alſo K
The ingratitude of Muleaſſes. the Manifet and Meſuar, men of greateſt authority in all the kingdom, his fathers graue counſellors, and his chiefe friends, by whoſe meanes eſpecially he had aſpired vnto the kingdome, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their greatneſſe; or rather as ſome thought grieuing to ſee them liue, to whom he was ſo much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with ſuch ſharpe payment. And by the inſtigation of *Lentigeſia* his mother, cauſed diuers of his fathers other wiues and concubines to be ſhamefully murthered, enueighing oftentimes againſt his father, that as an effœminat Prince, had for his pleaſure maintained 200 wiues and concubins in his houſes of delight, by whom he had begot ſo many ſons competitors of the kingdome, that he had left him (as he ſaid) a laborious and endleſſe piece of worke, to deſtroy ſo great a
Roſcetes viſeth againſt his brother Muleaſſes. brood. *Roſcetes* aided by his father in law and the other Numidian Princes, to whom the L
name of *Muleaſſes*, both for his cruelty againſt his owne bloud, and injurious dealing againſt his neighbors was become odious; paſſing ouer the riuer Bragada, with a great army, neere vnto Tunes met with *Muleaſſes* his army, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant captaine, brother to *Lentigeſia*: where in a ſharpe conflict he ouerthrew his brothers Army, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were eſcaped out of the battell, for ſafegard of their liues to fly into Tunes. *Roſcetes* purſuing the victory, came and preſented his army before the gates of the city, in hope that the citiſens (whom he knew for the moſt part to hate the vſurping tyrant) would vpon the ſight of him, in right their King, with ſo great an army, raiſe ſome tumult in the city, and let him in. There he lay by the ſpace of twenty daies, ſtill expecting ſome innouation; in which time the more to alienate the minds of the people from *Muleaſſes*, and to ſhew how vnable he M
was to protect them, he burnt and deſtroied all the Oliue and fruit trees, which grew moſt plentifully and pleaſantly all alongſt the country, from the ruines of old Carthage, to the walls of Tunes: which was vnto the citiſens, whoſe greateſt poſſeſſions lay there, a moſt heauy and lamentable ſpectacle. But *Muleaſſes* had ſo attempered their minds with faire ſpeeches,

and

A and large promiſes of recompenſing euery man to the full; for all ſuch harme as they ſhould ſuſtaine for his brothers fury in the country: and beſide that, had the city in ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion by reaſon of his ſoldiers, that the citiſens either would not or could not reuolt to *Roſcetes*. The Numidian Princes weary of that long and vaine expectation, according to the leuity of that nation, accounting it no ſhame after victory once gotten to depart, began one after another to ſhrinke away to their owne dwellings, perſuading *Roſcetes* alſo to prouide for himſelfe whilſt he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore he fearing to be betraied by the Numidians, or circumuented by his cruell brother, fled to *Barbaruſſa*, then reigning at Algiers in great glory, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained vntill ſuch time as by his perſuaſion he went with him as is aforeſaid to Conſtantinople, to craue helpe
B of *Solyman*, by whom he was detained in ſafe cuſtody: although it was in policy giuen out by *Barbaruſſa*, that he was in the fleet, and that he ſhould by *Solymans* power be reſtored to his fathers kingdome at Tunes.

Roſcetes forſaken of the Numidian Princes, he flyeth to Barbaruſſa.

This was the ſtate of the kingdom of Tunes, at ſuch time as *Barbaruſſa* with *Solymans* great fleet, contrary to all mens expectation, ſuddenly departing from the coaſt of Italy, landed in Affricke at Biſerta, a famous port of the kingdome of Tunes. They of Biſerta weary of the gouernment of *Muleaſſes*, and of themſelues deſirous of change, as ſoone as they heard the name of *Roſcetes*, forthwith draue out their Gouernor, and receiued the Turks into the towne. For *Barbaruſſa* had before ſent certaine of *Roſcetes* his familiar friends aſhore, which bare the people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able to come yet on ſhore, for that he was (as
C they ſaid) ſea-ſick, and troubled with an ague. Biſerta thus poſſeſſed by *Barbaruſſa*, he preſently departed thence, and ſailing by Vtica, thirty miles diſtant from Biſerta, and ſo keeping alongſt the coaſt, and paſſing the promontory of Carthage, came before Guletta, a ſtrong caſtle within the Bay of Tunes, ſo placed vpon a ſtreit, that it commandeth all the paſſage by ſea vnto the city Tunes. Before this caſtle, *Barbaruſſa* in token of friendſhip, diſcharged all his great ordnance, which they of the caſtle anſwered with like: but being required to deliuer it vp to *Roſcetes*, they ſaid it ſhould be alwaies at his command that ruled in the city of Tunes. The newes of *Roſcetes* his ſuppoſed comming, flying ſwiftly by land from Biſerta to Tunes, and the great fleet once diſcouered, ſet all the city on an vprore: for the citiſens were in great expectation of their new King, both for the loue of *Roſcetes*, who had alwaies ſhewed himſelfe
D to be of a mild and bountifull nature; and alſo for the hatred of *Muleaſſes*, whoſe tyrannous and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long indured. Neither was he ignorant what report ran of himſelfe, and how he had loſt the hearts of his ſubjects; which was euidently to be ſeene in the eies and countenances of the chiefe men of the city. And that which more increaſed their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promiſe to them in time of his diſtreſſe, made them any recompence for their goodly houſes and Oliue gardens, deſtroied in the country by *Roſcetes* in the former wars: wherefore at ſuch time as he came now out of the caſtle, and in the greateſt aſſembly of his people, began to perſuade them to play the men, and to continue conſtant in their obedience, promiſing vnto them ſuch reward as they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed and left him alone: yea, ſome of
E them vnder the colour of friendſhip, and amongſt them *Abdahar*, then Meſuar (which was chiefe officer next vnto the King) perſuaded him to giue place to his hard fortune, and forthwith to fly, for by chance it was at the ſame inſtance in euery mans mouth, that the Turks were euen at hand: which thing cauſed *Muleaſſes*, forſaken of his ſubjects, of himſelfe fearefull, and worthily doubting to be betraied, to fly in ſuch haſt out of the city, that he left behind him both his treaſure and jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The firſt that reuolted was *Abezes*, a man of great authority; and *Fetuches*, captain of the caſtle; both renegate Spaniards. *Fetuches* preſently after the flight of *Muleaſſes*, brought out *Roſcetes* wife and children, whom *Muleaſſes* had long time kept in priſon, & to welcom their father, placed them in the Kings royall ſeat. *Abezes* alſo forthwith aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa* of *Muleaſſes* departure,
F and with what longing the people expected their deſired King, wiſhing him without delay to repaire vnto the city: and for a preſent ſent him a goodly Barbarian horſe, richly furniſhed, and diuers others for his other chiefe captains. Hereupon *Barbaruſſa* without longer ſtay ſet forward with fiue thouſand Turks, which he had already landed, and comming to the city, was of the citiſens joifully receiued. But after long looking, when they could no where deſcry *Roſcetes*

Barbaruſſa lan-deth at Biſerta.

Biſerta yeelded.

Barbaruſſus tō-meth to Guletta

Muleaſſes flieth out of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa enters into Tunes.

cetes their ſuppoſed king, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turks in their military acclamations, as they marched thorow the city towards the caſtle; they began to diſtruſt as the truth was, that in ſtead of their new King whom they ſo much deſired, they had receiued the Turkiſh gouernment, which they vtterly deteſted. Which ſuſpition once confirmed by certaine of *Roſcetes* friends (whom *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him of purpoſe to delude the people) who grieued to ſee the ruine of their natiue country, ſpared not for feare of the preſent danger to tel their friends and acquaintance as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Roſcetes*, whom they had left in bonds at Conſtantinople: it was a wonder to ſee, how ſuddenly the minds of the people were changed, how ſpeedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiouſly they aſſailed the Turks, now fearing no ſuch matter, and were not as yet all got into the caſtle. The chiefe leader of the citiſens in this tumult, was *Abdahar* the Meſuar, who but a little before vpon the comming of the Turks, by augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulneſſe of his ſubjects, had perſuaded *Muleaſſes* to fly; but now perceiuing himſelfe deceiued of his expectation for the comming of *Roſcetes*, and repenting of that he had done, ſought by all meanes to driue out the Turks, and to recall *Muleaſſes*. And the more to animate the people, as he ſtood on high, from whence he might beſt be heard, he cried vnto them with a loud voice:

The citiſens deceiued of their expectation, riſe againſt the Turks.

We are moſt villanouſly betraied (worthy Citiſens) for Roſcetes, *whom we expected for our lawfull King, lamenteth his miſery in chains, in priſon at Conſtantinople: and we except we preſently play the men, and valiantly fight for our liberty, ſhall for euer ſerue as ſlaues to theſe forreine and mercileſſe pyrats. The preſent danger of our eſtate telleth vs, that we muſt preſently and without delay take the occaſion offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to ſerue as ſlaues, and to be bought and ſold as beaſts, take vp armes againſt the faithleſſe Turks. I my ſelfe will be your leader: let vs therefore all with one conſent, with heart and hand reuenge this ſhamefull trechery, defend our country and liberty with the antient honour and liberty of the Numidians.*

There was now no time to ſtay, euery man had betaken himſelfe to his weapons; *Muleaſſes* was againe ſent for, who yet ſtaied in the ſuburbs, expecting what ſhould happen; many of the Turks were ſlain before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the city was filled with outcries and clattering of weapons; the number of the citiſens was ſuch, as might eaſily haue expulſed the Turks, had they been but reaſonably armed, or well conducted, which in a matter ſo ſudden, and with men altogether ignorant of ſeruice, was not poſſible. Yet they, armed with fury, and encouraged with the multitude of themſelues, ſwarmed vp as thicke as was poſſible, one of the bulwarks of the caſtle, which they knew was eaſieſt to be gained, where the Turks had ſet vp one of their enſignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes ſo ouerwhelmed the Turks, that they were glad to forſake the place, and to retire further into the caſtle to a place of more ſtrength: from whence and all alongſt the curtaine of the wall, they without intermiſſion diſcharged their great artillery and ſmall ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. *Barbaruſſa*, although he was a man of an inuincible courage and great experience, all his life time well acquainted with deſperat dangers (the dreadfull ſteps of aſpiring minds) yet ſurpriſed with the ſuddenneſſe of the aſſault, ſhut vp in a place whereof he yet knew not the ſtrength, and not prouided of victuall for three daies, was with the due conſideration of theſe difficulties, not a little troubled: which his care was by the diſordered fury of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne ſouldiers greatly diminiſhed; eſpecially when he ſaw his owne men ſtill fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moores as men halfe diſmaied with the wounds and ſlaughter of their friends, ready to retire. Howbeit by the comming in of *Muleaſſes* and *Dorax*, the aſſault twice before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no leſſe deſperat fury than at the firſt, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous aſſault *Halis* of Maliga, a renegat Spaniard, but a moſt expert ſouldier, turning himſelfe to *Barbaruſſa*, ſaid,

Muleaſſes returned into the city.

If thou wilt ſaue thine honour, and hold this fort, we muſt ſally out vpon this enemy; which hauing neuer ſeene a ſet battell, but only acquainted with light skirmiſhes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand but ſhall in a moment know the price of their fooliſh hardineſſe; who as braine ſicke men could neither indure the gouernment of their cruell King, ne yet thankefully receiue the authors of their deliuerance and liberty.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the chiefeſt captaines,

A taines, *Barbaruſſa* commanded *Halis* the author of that counſell, with certaine other captaines and their companions, at one inſtant to ſally out at two ports of the caſtle: which they ſo reſolutely performed, that in ſhort time a wonderfull number of the naked Moores lay dead vpon the ground.

Abdahar the Meſuar himſelfe, was there ſhot thorow with a bullet and ſlaine: whereupon the aſſault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retiring by companies backe into the city, and the Turks ſtill purſuing them: where in the ſtreets for certaine houres, was fought a moſt cruell and bloudy battell. At laſt the citizens ouercome, forſooke the open ſtreets, and betooke them to the refuge of their houſes; not ſo carefull of their king, as of themſelues, their wiues, and children. And *Halis* with the reſt, wearied with the ſlaughter of his enemies, and ouercome
B with labour, heat, and thirſt, returned with victory vnto the caſtle. It is reported that there was aboue three thouſand of the citizens ſlaine that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Muleaſſes* thus diſcouraged, & vtterly deſpairing to recouer the city, hardly eſcaped his enemies hands, by the good helpe of his vncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuer Bagrada, and came in ſafety to Conſtantina (called of old time Cyrtha) the antient ſeat of the Numidian Kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was honourably maintained and protected vntill the comming of *Charles* the Emperour into Affricke. The night enſuing this battell, and the flight of their King, was reſtleſſe both to the citiſens and the Turks, each of them for feare of other ſtanding vpon their ſtrongeſt guard.

The citiſens of Tunes diſcomfited by the Turks.

Muleaſſes flieth

The next day, the citizens diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo many of their kinſemen and
C friends, and hauing no King now for whom they ſhould fight, craued pardon of *Barbaruſſa* for their raſh attempt, excuſing it by the name of loyalty to their antient Kings; offering to ſubmit themſelues vnto him with all faithfulneſſe. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his ſouldiers three daies, for lacke of victuall: ſo that all his hope and victory gotten, might eaſily be ouerthrowne and brought to nought, if the citiſens moued either with deſperation or deſire of reuenge, ſhould joyne with the other Numidian Princes, and beſiege him in the caſtle. Whereupon a generall peace was granted, and by ſolemne oath on both ſides confirmed, whereby the citiſens expreſly bound themſelues to the obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbaruſſa* as his lieutenant. All things thus ſet in order in the city of Tunes, and new magiſtrates and officers by him made, he laboured by
D all means to win vnto him the Numidian Princes: which when he had eaſily brought to paſſe by gifts and rewards with thoſe needy Princes, of themſelues prone enough vpon light occaſions to make or break the bonds of friendſhip, he ſent *Aſan-aga* an eunuch, and *Halis* the Spaniard, with the Ianizaries, and certaine pieces of great ordnance, to take in the other cities of the kingdome of Tunes: which they in ſhort time performed, being in all places peaceably receiued, only the city of Caruenna held out a while, yet afterwards for feare of further harme receiued the Turks garriſon. But to leaue *Barbaruſſa* King of Algiers and *Solymans* great Admirall, thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Tunes; and *Muleaſſes* in exile at Conſtantina, vntill he be again reſtored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the Emperor, as ſhall be hereafter declared: let vs againe returne to the wars at the ſelfe ſame time vndertaken by *Solyman* in perſon himſelfe in Perſia, perſuaded thereunto (as we haue before ſaid) by *Abraham* the great Baſſa. Of
E whom a few words, that they which ſhall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, ſee in what ſlippery place they ſtand, and what ſmall aſſurance they haue, which forſaking God, run headlong after theſe worldly vanities; and ſwelling with the fauours of great Princes, are in a moment when they leaſt feare any ſuch fall, ſuddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miſerable ſpectacles of of mans fragility, in the height of their ſuppoſed bliſſe.

The citiſens of Tunes yeeld themſelues to Barbaruſſa.

This great Baſſa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore country village neere vnto Perga, a towne in that part of Epirus which was called Buthrotia: who in his childhood was taken from his Chriſtian parents, by ſuch as by authority did take vp the tribute children of the Chriſtians for the Turkiſh Emperour. A tribute of all tributes moſt
F grieuous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, actiue of body, wel ſpoken, pleaſantly conceited, and ſharpe of wit; ſo that he in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, to the admiration of many, learned both to ſpeake and write the Arabian tongue, and other languages vſed in the Turks court, and could skilfully play vpon ſundry kindes of inſtruments. And being yet a boy, ſerued *Scanderbaſſa*, a man of great authority and power, in the time of

The deſcription of Abraham the Baſſa.

Selymus

Selymus the Emperor, in whoſe ſeruice he was inſtructed in the Mahometan religion: but giuing himſelfe to all manner of curioſity and neatneſſe, he was wonderfully fauoured by the great Lady his miſtreſſe, and by her commended to her husband *Scanderbaſſa*, as a fit page to temper his melancholy and wayward diſpoſition, with his pleaſant conceits and deuices: wherein the Tetricall Baſſa finding him to excell, gaue him as a rare gift to *Solyman* the ſon of *Selymus*, his grandfather *Bajazet* yet liuing: who tooke in him ſuch pleaſure, that the old Emperour cauſed him to be brought vp in the Court, in all Princely qualities with *Solyman* (who was of like yeares vnto him) as his companion and playfellow. Where he ſo framed himſelfe vnto the young Princes diſpoſition in all points, that he was of him alwaies exceedingly beloued, and afterwards promoted to all the honours of the court, and made one of the Baſſaes; giuing vnto him in marriage the only daughter and heire of *Scanderbaſſa* his maſter, then dead, with an exceeding great dowry. And after that made him Gouernor of Caire: where he had not long remained, but he was againe ſent for to the Court, as the man which gaue thereunto life, without whoſe company *Solyman* was as one halfe dead. At length he made him Viſier, which is the chiefe of all the Baſſaes, and Preſident of his Councell, the greateſt honour in the Turkiſh Empire next vnto the Emperor himſelfe. And to honour him yet more, he deliuered him his priuat ſignet, wherewith the Turkiſh Emperours neuer vſed to truſt any but themſelues: he might at his pleaſure grace and diſgrace whom he would, in Court or elſewhere. What he commanded was done, and whatſoeuer he did was taken for well done. He might without the Emperours knowledge giue any office, yea, the gouernment of whole Countries and Prouinces vnto his fauorits: his credit with the Emperor was ſo great, that he did what he liſt, and no man durſt preſume to aske any reaſon why. And to ſay all at once, he wanted nothing of the majeſty of an Emperor, but the name only; in ſtead whereof, he was commonly called, The Great Commander of all the Emperors forces. His houſe in Conſtantinople was of all other moſt ſtately, wherein was daily to be ſeene ſuch a multitude of his gallant followers, and ſuch a World of wealth and royall furniture, as that it might worthily be compared with the palace of a great Prince. Neither was he partakers of *Solymans* counſels in his weighty matters of ſtate onely, but of his ſecret delights and pleaſures alſo: if he were preſent, all was well; if he were away, nothing pleaſed: to be ſhort, he ſo poſſeſſed this great Emperor, that men commonly ſaid, The ſoule of *Solyman* liued in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great men of the court ſecretly repined; but eſpecially *Solymans* mother, and *Roxolana* his faire Concubine whom of all women hee held deereſt. His liuely and majeſticall countenance thou maiſt here behold.

His bringing vp in the Court.

His great credit with Solyman.

G H I K

ABRA-

Magnus es & Getici gratia prona tyranni
Seruit at ex alto magna ruina venit:
Te proceres odere, parensque & regia conjux
Horum ne pereas proditione caue.

Right great thou art, and do'ſt command the fauour of thy King:
But ſuch great fauours oftentimes a greater fall doth bring.
The great Kings mother, wife, and all the Nobles hate thee ſore:
Beware that by their wyly drifts thou periſh not therefore.

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to make warre vpon the Perſians.

This great commander, which might at all times be bold to ſpeake what he thought, vnto *Solyman*, ſought many times in his priuat diſcourſes betwixt them two, to perſuade him to forbeare to vſe his forces any further againſt the Chriſtians, ouer whom he had ſufficiently already triumphed, and to turne them vpon the Perſians, by whom he was daily injured. Alledging to him, that the Germans were a ſtrong and warlike people; who as they both in language and manners differed from the Hungarians, ſo were they alwaies at variance with them, and
F therefore much cared not though they were by him ſubdued: but if he ſhould begin to inuade any part of their country, he ſhould then ſoon ſee that inuincible nation with their vnited forces vp in armes, ready to make ſtrong reſiſtance. And to prouoke *Charles* the Emperor (of all the Chriſtian Princes the mightieſt) were not good, who of himſelf was able to bring into the field

field moſt puiſſant armies of valiant ſouldiers out of his owne dominions: beſides the wonderfull concourſe of moſt reſolute men out of all parts of Chriſtendome, which would not ſpare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that war; which was of them accounted moſt religious. *Yea what ſtrength both of horſe and foot might be raiſed and brought to the battell by the two brethren* Charles *and* Ferdinand, *onely might* (as he ſaid) *euen then be plainely perceiued, when as they valiantly defended Vienna, beſieged by vs with great power. Neither did* Charles *afterward, as it ſeemed, and as the Chriſtians commonly vaunt, feare to haue aduenturcd the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not but he ſhould haue beene ouercome by you ſo great a monarch with ſo puiſſant an army, a thing peculiar to your owne good fortune; yet I cannot deny, but that the victory againſt ſuch expert and reſolute ſouldiers, ſo ſtrongly armed as their manner is, muſt haue beene bought with a great deale of our bloud. Theſe things in my opinion may reaſonably perſuade you to let the Chriſtians alone, by ciuile wars to weaken one another, that ſo afterwards they may become a prey vnto vs without any danger of ours. So that in my judgement the Perſian war is to be taken in hand, rather than the wars in Germany, and eſpecially for that you haue ſufficiently enlarged the bounds of your Empire Weſtward, which you haue extended euen vnto Nations very far diſtant. So that it is now a great matter to defend ſo much as you haue already gotten; and therefore partly for the difficulty of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bounty of your heroicall inclination, haue thought good to beſtow whole kingdomes vpon ſtrangers, yea, halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious ſhould it be now vpon juſt occaſion to ſeeke for that which joyneth vnto your owne confines; and may therefore eaſily be vnited vnto your owne Empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father ſhall force your ſelfe to driue that accurſed and abhominable race of* Hyſmael *out of Aſia. For it ſhall be a great glory vnto the name of the* Othoman *Kings for euer, if you ſhall after your wonted manner zealouſly reſpect the cauſe of religion: a worke of incomparable fame, if the authors of a moſt deteſtible ſuperſtition ſhall by you be chaſed quite out of Aſia. For what more juſt or honourable cauſe can there be to make war, than to profeſſe your ſelfe the defender of the diuine precepts of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *againſt the wicked and irreligious impugners thereof? And by the way to reuenge and vtterly to deſtroy the capitall enemies of your anceſtors; which was the laſt prayer of your father* Selymus. *Can you endure them which rule ſo inſolently, that they account euery one that is neere them their enemies and prey, and dare alſo with their pilfering inuaſions prouoke your ſelfe, liuing contented within the bounds of your owne Empire, in peace both in Europe and Aſia? and they (forſooth) ſuch as haue by moſt horrible wrong crept into the royall ſeat of the moſt lawfull and noble Kings deſcended of the bloud of* Vſun-Caſſanes? *Who after their wonted maner ſtill liue by rapine and robbery? Beleeue me, Noble Emperour, if you ſhall vpon a zeale to your religion, with your victorious hand take away this ſtaine and plague of Aſia, there ſhall vndoubtedly be erected vnto you ſo glorious and magnificent a trophy in the middeſt of Perſia, as may be compared, yea, preferred before the Triumphs of your victorious father* Selymus. *For it is not ſo much to haue deſtroied the Mamalukes (by condition ſlaues) and the proud Sultans of Ægypt and Syria, as to haue ſubdued the Perſians, famous in antient time for their martiall proweſſe, who ſo oftentimes vanquiſhed by* Alexander *of Macedon, gaue vnto him the name of Great. Solyman* prickt forward with many ſuch diſcourſes, daily ſounded in his eares by the Baſſa, began to yeeld to his perſuaſion. Whereof *Abraham* himſelfe greatly rejoyced: for it was thought by many, that hee did neuer in heart renounce the Chriſtian religion, but was onely in outward ſhew a Turke, and in heart a Chriſtian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he maruellouſly fauoured and protected the Chriſtian Merchants, furthered by all meanes the leagues of the Chriſtian Princes with *Solyman*, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Perſians. And the more to whet him forward, the Baſſa had cunningly inſinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulearbe* of Damaſco, a man in that time famous in Conſtantinople, for the opinion the people had generally conceiued of his holineſſe and profound knowledge in the ſecret cauſes of things, and the art of Magicke; vſing him as a Prophet to fill the ambitious minde of *Solyman*, with aſſured hope of proſperous ſucceſſe: which thing the hypocriticall wiſard, after the manner of ſuch deceiuers, ſlily performed, propheſying vnto him all happineſſe in ſo religious a war, and ſo much (as he ſaid) pleaſing God. This the Baſſaes purpoſe was much furthered alſo by *Vltmus* a noble and valiant Perſian, who hauing married the great Perſian King *Tamas* his ſiſter, was reuolted from him to *Solyman*, fearing to be called to account for the extortion wherewith he had grieuouſly

oppreſſed

A oppreſſed the countries whereof he had the gouernment; and being wonderfully countenanced in *Solymans* court by the great Baſſa, did after the maner of diſloyall fugitiues perſuade *Solyman* by all means he could to take that war in hand, diſcouering vnto him the power, ſtate, and ſtrength of the Perſian kingdom (which he could wel do) and plotting vnto him the eaſieſt way for the conquering therof; offering alſo vnto him the vttermoſt of his deuoir. So *Solyman* filled with the vain hope of the conqueſt of Perſia, yeelded fully vnto the perſuaſions of the great Baſſa, and gaue out his commiſſions into all parts of his empire, for the raiſing of a mighty army for the performance of ſo great an enterpriſe; commanding all his captaines and men of War to be ready at the City of Nice in Bithynia, at a certaine day appointed. Which his purpoſe, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and the fair *Roxolana*

Solyman reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians.

Abrahams credit maligned by Solymans mother and Roxolana.

B his beſt beloued, as that which altogether proceeded from the Baſſa (the one alledging, with what euil ſucces his grandfather and father before him had attempted that ſame Warre; the other aſſailing him with her paſſionat affections: but both of them indeed repining at the honor of the Baſſa, and in their hearts diſdaining, that ſo great a monarch ſhould at the pleaſure of his ſeruant be led vp and down the world ſo far from their company. For which cauſe they did what in them lay to haue ouerthrown the purpoſe of *Abraham*, and to haue altered *Solymans* former determination) yet ſo ſtrong was the Baſſa's credit with his great Lord & Maſter, that all theſe great ladies deuices and prayers were as womens affectionate paſſions rejected, and the Baſſa's counſell (to their no ſmall griefe) in all things regarded.

Abraham Baſſa ſent before with an army into Syria.

C The time appointed being come, and all things in readines, *Solyman* ſent *Abraham* the Baſſa, and *Vlemas* the Perſian before him into Syria with a ſtrong army, to be ready with the firſt of the Spring to inuade the Perſian King. Which thing the Baſſa gladly took vpon him, and comming into Syria, wintred with his army at Aleppo: whither *Barbaruſſa* came vnto him for his letters of credence to *Solyman*, as is before declared. The Spring now approching, *Abraham* ſent *Vlemas* the fugitiue Perſian Prince before him with the light horſmen, the fore-runners of his army, into Meſopotamia as his guid, becauſe the country was to him beſt known; following not far after himſelf with his Army. And marching ſtill forward in that manner, came at length without reſiſtance vnto the famous city of Tauris in Armenia the greater, called in antient time Ecbathana, as is probably by ſome conjectured; a great and rich City, but vnwalled, and of no ſtrength: where the Perſian Kings for the pleaſantneſſe of the place and

The city of Tauris yeelded vnto the Baſſa.

D freſhnes of the air vſed commonly to be reſiant in the heat of the year. From whence *Tamas* the Perſian King was as then abſent, buſied in wars againſt *Kezlen-Baſſa* a Prince of the Coraſine Hyrcanians. So that the Citiſens of Tauris deſtitute of all helpe, yeelded themſelues and the City vnto the Baſſa at his firſt comming. *Tamas* the Perſian King vnderſtanding what had hapned at Tauris, drew neer with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turks at ſome aduantage, and ſo by policy to haue defeated his enemies, whom he was too weake to meet with in plain battel. Which thing the wary Baſſa well perceiuing, for more aſſurance, by ſpeedy Currours aduertiſed *Solyman* of the taking of Tauris, and of the enemies purpoſe; requeſting him with all ſpeed to repair with his army to Tauris. *Solyman* was then come far on his way with a very great Army, not by the way of Ancyra, Sebaſtia, Amaſia, the bor-

E ders of Trapezond, and ſo ouer Euphrates at Arſenga, into Armenia, as his father *Selymus* had done before him, becauſe that way was thought longer and more troubleſome: but quite another way, on the right hand from Nyce in Bithynia, to Iconium, and by Cæſaria to Malathia, where is the notable paſſage ouer the riuer Euphrates, burſting out by the vallies of the mountaine Antitaurus, from whence the plaines of Meſopotamia (then part of the Perſian Kingdome, begin to open themſelues: through which countrey *Solyman* marched peaceably with his army, paying the poore countrey people for whatſoeuer he tooke; and ſo in foure and fiftie dayes march, came from Nice in Bithynia, to the city of Coim in Armenia the greater, which is ſuppoſed to be built in the ruines of the famous and antient city Artaxata. But hearing ſuch newes as is aforeſaid from the Baſſa, he doubled his march, and ſo in ſhort

Solyman commeth to Tauris.

F time after came and ioyned his forces with the Baſſa at Tauris. *Tamas* (who yet dayly expected the comming of the Georgian light horſmen) vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was comming againſt him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemy, but with delay to weary him out, that drew ſuch a multitude of people after him; and by taking him at all aduantages, to cut off his people, ſpent with long trauell, wanting

 victuall,

victuall, and falling into diuers diſeaſes; as it commonly chanceth to populous armies in ſtrange countries, where the change of the aire, with the ineuitable neceſſity alwaies attending vpon a great army, moſt times cauſeth grieuous and contagious diſeaſes. Wherefore *Tamas* to ſhun the comming of *Solyman*, retyred further off into Sultania, about ſix daies journey from Tauris. Whereof *Solyman* hauing knowledge, departed from that rich City without doing any harme therein, following after *Tamas* into Sultania, to joyne battell with him if he could poſſible: leauing behind him for haſt, a great part of his carriages and baggage, with fiue hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their companies. The city of Sultania was in antient time one of the royall ſeats of the Perſian Kings, but ruinated by the Scythian *Tamerlane*, retained no ſhew of the antient majeſty, but only in the churches by him ſpared. Neere vnto this city *Solyman* lay incamped many daies, expecting that the Perſian King (in reuenge of the injuries to him done, and for the ſafegard of his honour) ſhould at length come out of the mountaines, and ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, and giue him battell. Which was a thing ſo far from *Tamas* his reſolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne ſtrength with his enemies, that he retired in ſuch ſort, that *Solyman* could by no means learne what was become of him, or which way to follow him.

Solyman followeth Tamas the Perſian King into Sultania.

Solymans army diſtreſſed with tempeſt.

The country neere vnto the city of Sultania, wherein *Solyman* lay incamped at large, is on euery ſide inuironed with hugy mountains, whoſe tops are to be ſeene a far off, alwaies couered with deepe ſnow: theſe mountaines were in antient time called Nyphates, Caſpius, Coathras, and Zagrus, taking their beginning no doubt from Caucaſus the father of mountaines; and joyning one to another, ſome one way, ſome another, do diuide moſt large and wide countries. Whileſt *Solyman* in thoſe vaſt and plaine fields moſt fit to fight a battell in, expected the comming of *Tamas*, ſuch a horrible and cruell tempeſt (as the like whereof the Perſians had neuer before ſeene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from thoſe mountains (which was ſo much the more ſtrange, for that it fell in the begining of September) with ſuch abundance of raine, which froſe ſo eagerly as it fell, that it ſeemed the depth of Winter had euen then of a ſudden been come in: for ſuch was the rage of the bluſtring winds, ſtriuing with themſelues as if it had bin for victory, that they ſwept the ſnow from off the tops of thoſe high mountains, and caſt it into the plaines in ſuch abundance, that the Turks lay as men buried aliue in the deep ſnow, moſt part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe to the ground with the violence of the tempeſt, and weight of the ſnow; wherein a wonderfull number of ſicke ſouldiers and others of the baſer ſort which followed the campe, periſhed; and many others were ſore benummed, ſome their hands, ſome their feet, that they loſt the vſe of them for euer: moſt part of their beaſts which they vſed for carriage, but eſpecially their camels, were frozen to death. Yea, *Solyman* himſelfe was in great danger to haue beene ouerwhelmed in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of the tempeſt. Neither was there any remedy to be found for ſo great miſchiefes, by reaſon of the helliſh darkeneſſe of that tempeſtuous night, moſt of their fires being put out by the extremity of the ſtorme: which did not a little terrifie the ſuperſtitious Turks, as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that which troubled them no leſſe than the miſeries of the tempeſt, was the feare of the enemy, whoſe ſudden comming they deadly feared: vntill that after ſo tedious a night the ſun breaking out the next morning, with his cheerefull beams reuiued many, before ready to giue vp the ghoſt for cold, and gaue comfort vnto them all in generall, by diſcouering the open fields cleere of their feared enemies. It was a dreadfull thing to haue ſeene what miſery that one night had brought into the Turks camp: the ground lay almoſt couered with bodies of the dead; and many liued but ſo, as that they accounted the dead more happy than themſelues. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible tempeſt was brought vpon them by the charmes and inchantments of the Perſian Magicians: whereas it was vndoubtedly by the hand of him who bringeth the proud deuices of Princes to nought.

Solyman troubled as well with the ſtrangeneſſe of the accident, as the loſſe he had receiued, after he had a little refreſhed his diſcouraged ſouldiers, roſe with his army, and tooke his way on the left hand into Aſſyria: *Vlemas* the Perſian perſuading him thereunto for many cauſes, but eſpecially by putting him in hope of the taking of Babylon; for that *Mahometts* a friend of his was Gouernour thereof. But he when the matter came to proofe, was not to be woon either by promiſe or reward, to betray the City. Wherefore *Solyman* reſolued to take

it

A it by force: neither did his fortune fail him therin: for as soone as *Mahometes* vnderstood that *Vlemas* was at hand with the fore-runners of the Turkes army, and that *Solyman* with all his power was comming after, (who as he thought would neuer haue come so far) hee not prouided to withstand so mighty an enemy, and not beloued of the Citisens, fled out of the City. *Solyman* comming, in short time after was receiued without resistance. The City of Babylon, commonly called Bagdat, rise out of the ruins of the old city of Babylon, so much spoken of in holy Writ: from whence it is not far distant, standing vpon the riuer of Tygris, which not far beneath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous city is the seat of the great Calyph, the chief Mahometan Priest, whom all the Mahometan Princes haue in great reuerence, and hath an old prerogatiue in the choice and confirmation of the Kings of Assyria
B and the Sultans of Egypt: of which Calyph *Solyman* according to the old superstitious maner, receiued at his hands the Ensignes and Ornaments of the Assyrian Kings, and with great bounty won the hearts of the people, and therupon resolued to spend that Winter there, billiting his army in diuers places of that fertil country. The other cities of Assyria and Mesopotamia also, namely Caraemida, Meredinum, Orsa, and Asanceſa, hearing that *Solyman* had without resistance taken Babylon, yeelded themselues and receiued his Garrisons. Yea the fame therof was so great, that Embassadors came to him as far as Ormus (a city in the mouth of Euphrates where it falleth into the Persian gulf, famous for the great traffique out of India thither) suing vnto him for peace. Thus the antient city of Babylon, with the great countries of Assyria and Mesopotamia, somtimes famous kingdoms of themselues, and lately part of
C the Persian kingdom, fel into the hands of the Turks, and became prouinces vnto the Turkish Empire in the yeare 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had spent that Winter in great joy and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkish gouernment, placed a great Commaunder (which they by a proud name call the Beglerbeg, which is as much as to say, Lord of Lords) and vnder him diuers others for the gouernment of these Countries by parts, which they call Sanzacks, who are euer at the command of the Beglerbeg. Whilst he thus wintred at Babylon, he caused *Asbender Zelibi* (which is to say, *Alexander* the Noble) his great Treasurer for the Wars, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his office; and confiscated all his goods.

Babylon, with the Countries of Assyria and Mesopotamia yeelded to Soliman.

Tamas hearing that *Solyman* was come to Babylon, returned to Tauris: Of whose speedy
D comming the Ianizaries and other captains there left by *Solyman* vnderstanding, fled in haste out of the City, leauing all such things as were committed to their custody, for a prey to the Persian soldiers.

Tamas comes to Tauris.

Solymans army being mightily increased by the comming of the great Bassa of Caire vnto him, with the Sanzacks of Alexandria, Iudæa, Syria, and Comagena; by the persuasion of *Abraham* and *Vlemas*, the Spring now wel come on, departed from Babylon again toward Tauris, with purpose either to draw *Tamas* to battel, or els to his eternal infamy, to sacke that his Regal city before his face. But *Tamas* aduertised of his comming, and knowing himselfe too
E weake to giue him battel, forsook the City, and fled into the mountains of Hyrcania, destroying all the Country before him as he went, and carrying away the inhabitants, leauing nothing to relieue the Turks souldiers, if they should pursue him. *Solyman* vnderstanding that *Tamas* was again fled, sent *Vlemas* with all the choice horsmen of his Army to ouertake him if it were possible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three dayes journy, and still found the Country desolate as he went, yeelding neither forrage for his horses, nor relief for his men, and saw no hope to ouertake the King; he began as a prouident Generall to forecast the extremities like to befall in his return thorow those desolat Countries with the Enemy at his heels; and therupon in time retyred backe again to *Solyman*, declaring vnto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the Persian King was not to be drawn to battell, marched forthwith to Tauris, entering it without resistance, the Citisens submitting themselues vnto him: whose liues spared, he gaue that rich city as a prey vnto his
F soldiers, who left neither house nor corner therof vnransacked, abusing the poor citisens with all maner of insolencie; euery common souldier without controlment fitting himselfe with whatsoeuer best pleased his greedy desire or filthy lust. *Tamas* had in this city a most stately and royal palace; so had also most part of the nobility their sumptuous & rich houses, which by the commandment of *Solyman* were all rased down to the ground, and the greatest part of

1535.

Tamas hearing of Solyman his comming vnto Tauris, flieth into Hyrcania.

Solyman ransacks Tauris.

the beſt citiſens and beautiful perſonages of all ſorts and conditions, at his departure thence carried away captiues. *Solyman* contenting himſelf to haue don the the Perſian King this diſgrace, in ſpoiling this his rich and royal City, returned againe toward Meſopotamia, deſtroying all the countries as he went, killing the very beaſts and cattell, therby the more to impouerish the Perſians, wiſhing to leaue nothing to them but penury and miſerie. He was ſcarce paſt Coim and the Calderan fields (famous for his fathers victory againſt *Hyſmael*) but that certain troups of Perſian horſemen were in the tail of his Army, and had taken away ſome of his baggage, and ſlain diuers of the ſick and ſtragling ſouldiers, and with their often skirmiſhes did not a little trouble his whole army. Beſides that, it was noiſed thorow all his camp, That *Tamas* himſelf was comming after him with a greater power of horſemen, taken vp in Iberia, Albania, Parthia, Media, and Armenia, and would be at their backes before they could get out of Armenia. For which cauſe he appointed the two great Baſſa's of Cair and Syria (for ſo they were called) and *Vlemas* the Perſian, with 18000 good ſouldiers to follow him in the rereward of his Army, to receiue and repreſſe the ſudden aſſaults of the Perſians, if need ſhould require: and ſo ſtil kept on his march vntil he was come to Amida, now called Caraemida, an antient city of Meſopotamia. In the mean time *Tamas* the Perſian King was returned to Tauris with a mighty Army, in hope there ſuddenly to haue ſurpriſed his enemy, ſurcharged with the pleaſures of ſo rich a city: but finding him gon, and beholding the miſerable deſolation and ſpoil he had made in the city; mooued with indignation, hee reſolued to purſue him whitherſoeuer he was gon, and was now on his way as far as Coim. Where vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gon ſo far before that he was hardly to bee ouertaken, and finding the noble gentlemen in his army vnwilling in their heauy armor to vndertake ſuch a purſuit, as could not be performed without the wonderful toil of themſelues, and moſt aſſured loſſe of their goodly horſes; alledging, that they were prouided to fight a battel, and not to trauel ſo long a journy (all which *Tamas* now that his choler was ouer, knew to ſtand with good reaſon) he changed his former determination, thinking it beſt there to ſtay, and not to follow the purſuit of his enemies any further: vntil that *Delimenthes* one of his noblemen (alwaies more forward than the reſt) offered with fiue thouſand choſen horſemen to ouertake ſome part of the Turks army, and to do on them ſome good ſeruice. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commending him greatly for the ſame, promiſing him moſt honorable reward, and ſo in haſt ſent him away.

Delimenthes with 5000 Perſians purſues the Turks.

He forthwith taking the wel known and neereſt way, vſed ſuch expedition, that hee was in hope to ouertake the rereward of the Turks Army (marching not far now before him) about the foot of the mountain Taurus, as indeed it fel out at a place called Bethlis. This Bethlis is a famous town in the confines of the Perſian kingdome where it bordereth vpon Meſopotamia, ſtanding in a pleaſant vally, by which runneth a little riuer falling out of the mountaine Antitaurus; and had a caſtle kept with a garriſon of Perſians. In this vally the two Baſſa's of Cair and Syria (conducted by *Vlemas*) thinking they had now bin paſt all danger of the enemies purſuit, ſtaid with the rereward of the army to refreſh their wearied ſouldiers; vpon certain knowledge that *Solyman* with the reſt of his Army was already come in ſafety to Amida in Meſopotamia. And therfore lay as men ſecure, without any ſuſpition of the comming of the Perſians, whom they had not ſo much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenthes* vſing moſt faithfull and diligent eſpials of that country people, by that time hee was come within one daies journy of Bethlis, vnderſtood certainly where the Turks lay, weary of their long trauell, as men without fear, keeping little or no watch in their camp. Wherupon he determined in the dead time of the night following to aſſail them in their Campe; and by ſecret meſſengers gaue knowledge both of his comming, and of this his purpoſe, to the Captain of the caſtle of Bethlis; requeſting him at an appointed houre vpon ſigne giuen, readily to ſally out with his garriſon vpon that ſide of the Turks Camp which was towards the Caſtle. Which his venturous deſignement was ſo furthered both by the darkenes of the night, and the aboundance of rain which fell at the ſame time, as if it had been wiſhed for, that hee was got with all his reſolute followers within the Turks Campe, before they were aware of his comming. Where the inraged Perſian ſouldiers, as Wolues amongſt Sheepe, did ſuch ſpeedy execution amongſt the ſleepy Turkes, that the two great Baſſa's, with *Vlemas*, had much ado to get to horſe and ſaue themſelues by flight. And ſuch was the fury of the Perſians

Delimenthes aſſaileth the Turks camp by night, and maketh a great ſlaughter.

A sians,and the greatnes of the ſudden fear increaſed by the darknes of the night,that the Turks not knowing which way to turn themſelues,or what to do,were ſlain by thouſands,ſome ſleeping, ſome half waking, ſome making themſelues ready to fight,and ſome to fly: few of all that great army eſcaped the ſword of the Perſians. Of the fiue great Sanzacks that were in the army,three were ſlain,and one taken. Eight hundred Ianizaries ſeeing themſelues forſaken of their chieftains,laid down their harquebuſes and other weapons,and yeelded themſelues vpon *Delimenthes* his word. The fierce mountain people alſo, who formerly had ſuffered great iniuries of the Turks,after the death of *Aladeules* their King, had now ioyned themſelues to the Perſians,and notably reuenged their wrongs:to whoſe ſhare all the baggage of the Turks camp fel for a prey. It might then wel haue bin ſaid of the Turks,which the Poet ſpeaketh of
B the night wherin Troy was ſackt:

Quis cladem illius noctis qui funera fando
explicet? ——

That nights ſlaughter was ſo great, that it is of the Turks vntill this day accounted amongſt their greateſt loſſes:and the victory ſo welcome to the Perſians,that in memorial therof they kept that day(being the thirteenth of October)as one of their ſolemne holy-daies for many years after. *Delimenthes* returning all bloudy with the ſlaughter of the Turks, and loded with their ſpoils,was of *Tamas* ioyfully receiued,and honorably rewarded.

Solyman diſcouraged.

This ouerthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Baſſa's and *Vlemas*, as men that had hardly eſcaped the ſhipwracke,ſo daunted his proud conceits, that he reſolued in himſelfe to
C return home,and no further to proſecute that vnfortunat war; the euill euent wherof his mother(as he ſaid)had more truly preſaged than had the cold Prophet *Mulearbe*: but ſecretly in mind diſpleaſed with *Abraham* the great Baſſa; by whoſe perſuaſion hee had taken in hand that dangerous expedition. By the way as he went he was met at Iconium by *Barbaruſſa* & *Sinan Baſſa*, ſyrnamed the Iew, a man for his skil at ſea in reputation next to *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe two great perſonages,lately come from Algiers to Conſtantinople with the remainder of his fleet, met him ſo far by land, to ſhew their ioyfulnes for the conqueſt he had made of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria: & to excuſe them for the loſſe of the kingdom of Tunes,which won by *Barbaruſſa* in the beginning of the Perſian war, was before the end therof again wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the emperor,and reſtored to *Muleaſſes*,as ſhal be herafter declared. They
D with great humility declared vnto him the whole proces of that War,and with what ſucceſſe they had indured the force of *Charles* the Emperor himſelf in perſon; ſhewing him plainely, that there wanted neither valor in the ſoldiers, nor direction in them the Commanders, but only fortune, which as it mightily reigneth in all mens actions, ſo eſpecially in matters of war. *Solyman* gratiouſly accepted of their excuſe,and curteouſly took them vp proſtrat at his feet,commending them for their valor in their euil haps, in a plot ſo well by them laid, more than he did the victory of others,got by good fortune, not grounded vpon any good reaſon: willing them to be of good cheer,ſaying that he would in ſhort time find occaſion for them to recompence that diſgrace,and again to ſhew their approued valor. After long trauell hee came to the ſtreit of Boſphorus,where *Abraham* the Baſſa going before him, had in token of
E triumph cauſed the ſhore all along the place where he ſhould go aboord the gally prouided for his tranſportation,to be couered with Perſian ſilk for him to tread vpon:from whence hee paſſed with much triumph ouer to his palace at Conſtantinople.

Abraham the great Baſſa in diſgrace with Solyman.

Enuy,the fatal and cruel companion of Princes immoderat fauours, had with her prying eies ſuddenly diſcouered in court *Solymans* changed countenance vpon the great Baſſa, & began to ſhew her ghaſtly face. They which before were moſt ready to do him all honour poſſible,yea and to haue laid their hands vnder his feet,ſought now by all ſecret means to work his diſgrace and confuſion. But of all others,the two great ladies, *Solymans* mother and the faire *Roxolana*,ceaſed not by daily complaints to inſence *Solyman* againſt him; the mother,for that he had by his perſuaſions,contrary to her mind and her ſuperſtitious obſeruations, drawn her
F ſon into the dangers of the Perſian war. And *Roxolana*,for that he moſt honoured and ſought the preferment of *Muſtapha*,*Solymans* eldeſt ſon by another woman:wheras ſhe aboue al things laboured by all ſubtill means to prefer *Bajazet* her own ſon vnto the empire after the death of *Solyman* his father. Which her deſignement ſhe perceiued to be much croſſed by the great credit which the Baſſa had with her *Solyman*; and therfore did what ſhe might both to bring

him out of fauor, and to work his deſtruction. But that which moſt impaired his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raiſed of him by his enemies, that he being in heart a Chriſtian, did in all things fauor the Chriſtians (a thing moſt odious among the Turks, and had for that cauſe craftily perſuaded *Solyman* to take in hand the vnfortunat Perſian war. And that which moſt increaſed the ſuſpition, was, that he about that time had cauſed one *Mark Nicolas* a Venetian merchant (who had not without the ſuſpition of ſome, oftentimes come vnto him with letters and ſecret meſſages whilſt he lay at Babylon) to be taken in the night and murdered in Conſtantinople, and caſt into the ſea, becauſe he ſhould not diſcouer any thing that might be hurtful vnto him. *Abraham* thus brought in diſgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the maner of the Turkiſh tyrannie) bid to a ſolemn ſupper in the Court about the 14 of March, after which time he was neuer more ſeen. It is reported, That after ſupper *Solyman* fel inio a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had miſgouerned the ſtate, inuerted his Treaſures to his own priuat, and as a traitor had ſecret intelligence with the Chriſtian princes his enemies: for proofe whereof *Solyman* with ſterne countenance ſhewed him his owne letters, which had by chance bin intercepted; oftentimes asking him in furious maner, if hee knew not that hand, if he knew not that ſeal. All which the Baſſa, lying proſtrat at his feet, humbly confeſſed, & with many tears craued of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any tears to be mooued: for the ſame night as he was ſlumbring vpon a palat in the Court, ouercome with heauines, an eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which *Solyman* for that purpoſe had deliuered vnto him with his own hand. He was murthered ſleeping, becauſe *Solyman* had in former time of his fauor ſworn vnto him, that he would neuer kil him whilſt he liued. By which oath the great Mahometan prieſt ſaid he was not ſo bound, but that he might kill him ſleeping, foraſmuch as men by ſleep depriued of ſence, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing, but as dead; mans life (as he ſaid) conſiſting altogether in liuely actions. It is reported, That after *Solyman* had looked vpon the dead body, and bitterly curſed the ſame, hee cauſed a great weight to bee tied vnto it, and ſo caſt it into the ſea. His treaſure and goods (which were almoſt infinite) were the next day all ſeiſed vpon for the Emperour, and a ſmall portion therof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no ſooner knowne, but that the vulgar people deuiſed of him infamous ſongs, and ſlanderous reports, as a Traitor moſt iuſtly condemned: and in further deſpight, with mire and ſtones defaced the Trophies of the Hungarian victory, which hee had in a ſtately maner erected before his houſe in Conſtantinople. This was the woſull end of *Abraham* the great Baſſa, who whilſt he ſtood in fauor with his prince, was of all others accounted moſt fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but afterwards falling into diſgrace, became the ſcorn of fortune, and the lamentable ſpectacle of mans fragility. He was murthered the fifteenth of March, in the year 1536.

Abraham Baſſa murdred in the Court by Solymans commaundement.

How the kingdom of Tunes was by *Barbaruſſa* the Turks great Admiral taken from *Muleaſſes*, we haue already told: but how the ſame was again taken from him by *Charles* the emperor a little before the returne of *Solyman* out of Perſia, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without iuſt cauſe feared, that *Barbaruſſa* poſſeſſed of the Kingdome of Tunes, and ſupported by the power of *Solyman*, would the next ſummer not content himſelfe with the ſpoil of the coaſts of Spain, Sardinia, and Italy, as hee had in former times, but with all his forces inuade Sicilia, the garnary and ſtore-houſe of Italy, and from thence attempt to conquer the kingdome of Naples, which it was thought hee in his immoderat deſires had longed much after. To repreſſe this his barbarous inſolencie, and to worke the ſafety of the frontiers of the Chriſtian kingdomes (much ſubiect to the rapines of Turkiſh pyrats) *Charles* the Emperour reſolued in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant army to paſſe ouer into Africk, whilſt *Solyman* was yet buſied in the Perſian wars, and by force of armes to diſpoſſeſſe the tyrant of his new gotten kingdom in Tunes. For accompliſhment wherof, he cauſed ſoldiers to be leuied in all parts of Spaine, and came down to Barcelona with eight thouſand footmen and ſeuen hundred horſemen, far ſooner than was by any man expected: amongſt whom were many of the nobility of Spaine, with their followers moſt gallantly appointed: but eſpecially *Ferdinand* of Toledo Duke of Alva; whoſe forwardneſſe in that honourable action, with the deſire he had to reuenge the death of his father *Garzias*, ſlaine before by the Moores at Girapolis, gaue great hope euen then vnto his Countrymen, That hee would

The cauſes that moued Charles the Emperor to inuade Tunes.

The Emperours great preparations for inuading of Tunes.

A would in time proue a worthy Chieftaine,as indeed he afterward did.

In the meane time *Andrew Auria* the great Admirall, vnto whom only for his approued fi- *Andrew Auria the Emperours Admirall.*
delitie and long experience the Emperour had fully communicated what he had with him-
ſelfe before purpoſed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of
ſhips and gallies ſo furniſhed with all manner of warlike prouiſion, as might well haue ſuffi-
ced a great army: whereunto he ioyned alſo his owne fleet of 17 gallies and three galeaſſes,
wherein he had imbarked the floure of Genoa and Liguria, who with exceeding cheerfulnes
had voluntarily offred themſelues to follow him their old General in that great expedition.
With this great preparation *Auria* came to the Emperor at Barcelona. Thither came alſo
Lewis the King of Portingals brother(whoſe ſiſter *Iſabel*, *Charles* the Emperour had married)
B with twenty fiue Carauels,ſhips which the Portingals vſed in their Indian voyages, amongſt
whom was alſo one huge Galeon;all ſhips well appointed and fit for ſeruice,wherin were im-
barked 2000 Portingals,beſide mariners: there alſo arriued ſixty ſaile of tall ſhips, ſent out
of Flanders and the low-countries;wherin were a great number of condemned perſons, whoſe
liues were ſpared that they might ſerue in the gallies. Vnto this war *Paulus* the third of that
name,then Biſhop of Rome,ſent ten gallies vnder the conduct of *Virginius Vrſinus*: the great
Maſter of Malta ſent thither his fleet alſo. At the ſame time that all this preparation was in
making in other places,that worthy Chieftaine *Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius*,whom the Empe- *Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius Generall of the land forces.*
ror had appointed Generall of all his forces at land, had by the Emperours commandement
C taken vp fiue thouſand new ſouldiers in Italy, which were led by *Hieronimus Tutauilla*, Coun-
tie of Sarne,*Fredericke*,*Caracte*,and *Auguſtine Spinula*, all famous Captaines. The old Spaniſh
garriſons which lay in Lombardie,the Emperour commanded to be ſtreitly looked vnto, that
none of them ſhould leaue their places to go into this new expedition, but to remaine there
ſtill vnder their Generall *Antonius Leua*: which worthy Captaine although hee would faine
haue had him with him, as of all his great Commanders the beſt; yet he thought it good to
ſpare him,both for that he was much troubled with the gout, and alſo for that it was neceſſa-
rie (as he thought) to leaue ſuch a valiant captaine with his garriſons in the countrey, ſo neer
vnto the French and Swiſſers,whom he durſt not ſo well truſt as to diſ-furniſh that countrey
either of ſo great a Commander, or of the wonted garriſons. At the ſame time *Maximilian*
Eberſtein,an old Commander,came to *Vaſtius* with eight thouſand Germans,ouer the Triden-
D tine Alpes to Millaine,and ſo to Genoa; amongſt whom were diuers noble Gentlemen,who
then as voluntary men ſerued of their owne charges. With theſe Germans and the fiue thou-
ſand Italians,*Vaſtius* imbarked himſelfe at the port called Portus Veneris, in Liguria:hauing
before perſuaded them, with patience to endure the tediouſneſſe of the ſea, and to comfort
themſelues with the hope of the victory in Africke; where they ſhould fight in the quar-
rell of God,and for the Emperor,who did neuer forget his religious and valiant ſouldiers. So
ſailing along ſt the coaſt of Italy,he came to Naples, where the Viceroy and diuers others of
the Nobilitie had of their owne charges, euery man acccording to his deuotion or abilitie,
built or furniſhed ſome one gallie, ſome moe, for that ſeruice. It was a wonder to ſee with
what cheerfulneſſe the Gallants and luſty youths of Naples and all that part of Italy, came
E and offred themſelues to *Vaſtius*; ſo that it ſeemed there was none left behind in Naples: for
he had with ſingular courteſie ſo won the hearts of the old ſouldiers and luſty youths of that
Kingdome,that both the one and the other thought it a moſt honourable thing to adorn, the
one their before deſerued penſions,and the other their firſt entrance into martial affairs,with
the participation of ſo notable a victorie. But whileſt euery man was thus buſied in ſetting
forward, certaine mutinous ſouldiers (weary of the ſea, and fearing the dangers of ſo long a
voyage)began to caſt many perils,to find fault with their ſmall wages,and to diſcourage the
multitude, perſuading them with ſeditious ſpeeches to forſake their colours, and to run a-
way: for redreſſe whereof, *Vaſtius* cauſed the authours of that mutinie to be taken and thruſt
into ſacks,and in the ſight of the whole fleet to be caſt into the ſea. So *Vaſtius* departing with
F his fleet from Naples, came in few dayes to Palermo in Sicilie. The Emperour alſo looſing
from Barcelona, came to the port of Mago in the Iſland of Minorca, and from thence to
Caralis in Sardinia, whither *Alphonſus Vaſtius* was a little before come with all his fleet out
of Sicilie. Not long after, the Emperour, now that all his forces were come together, paſ-
ſed ouer from Sardinia into Africke, and with a faire Weſterly winde put into the Port
of

The Emperour passeth ouer into Affick.

of Vtica,which is of the ſeafaring men called Farina. In the entring whereof,the Admirall Galley,wherin the Emperour himſelf was,by great miſchance ſtrook vpon a ſand, and there ſtuck faſt: which ſo much the more troubled the Emperour, for that his father *Philip* by like miſhap had like to haue bin caſt away vpon the coaſt of England, as he was ſailing out of the Low countries into Spain. Howbeit by the good direction of *Auria* ſhe was quickly got off the ſand again,and entred with the reſt,to the great rejoicing of the whole fleet. So preſently departing again from Vtica,and ſailing alongſt the coaſt,he doubled the promontory of Carthage,yet famous for the ruins of that proud city,and came to anchor before a Caſtle, which of a Wel beneath it,is called by the name of Aquaria,or the Water Caſtle. The Moors,who from the hils of Vtica and their Watch-towers had taken view of the Chriſtian fleet, and of the courſe it held; aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa*, That the Chriſtians were comming againſt him with an innumerable fleet:for there was of one ſort and other almoſt 700 ſail,wherof 82 were great gallies,which gallantly garniſhed with flags and ſtreamers,made ſhew of moe than indeed they were,and wonderfully terrified the enemy. But that troubled *Barbaruſſa* moſt, that he was by meſſenger vpon meſſenger certainly informed, That the moſt mighty Chriſtian Emperor *Charles* was in perſon himſelf in the fleet,with ſuch a world of people,that it ſhould ſeem he had left none in Spain and Italy that were able to bear Armes. Which newes was brought by certain Mahometan ſlaues,who getting looſe in the Gallies, had by night ſwam aſhore, and reported the certaintiy of the Emperors comming. For the proud Turk, a great contemner of the Chriſtian forces, neuer thought that the Emperor would haue aduentured his perſon to the dangers of the ſea,and chances of war,eſpecially in an vnknown, barren and ſcorching country,but would rather haue attempted to do ſomething by his Lieutenants, or by *Auria* his Admiral ſeek to ſurpriſe ſome baſe places alongſt the ſea coaſt,but not to come directly for the regal city of Tunes. In which opinion hee was chiefly confirmed by *Aloyſius Præſenda* a Gentleman of Genoa,who being taken at ſea, was kept as a priſoner at large in Tunes. Of whom *Barbaruſſa* had learned many things concerning the ſtate of Italy,the manners of the Chriſtians, and ſtrength of the Emperour: craftily feeding him with the hope of liberty,if he would truly declare vnto him ſuch things as he deſired to know. Wherfore now in his rage he cauſed him to be brought before him,charging him bitterly,that he had craftily and perfideouſly told him ſies for truth, concerning the Emperour; and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When hee had thus with the vnworthy death of a guiltleſſe Chriſtian, ſomewhat mitigated the griefe of his light beleefe, he forthwith began to caſt with himſelfe, how he might beſt withſtand his puiſſant Enemy. And firſt of all calling to Counſell his ſea Captaines (in whom for their approued valour he repoſed the moſt confidence) he ſhewed vnto them, That they as valiant men,acquainted with the dangers attending vpon honourable actions,were not to doubt of the victory,foraſmuch as hee ſaw it as good as already gained; for the ſame reaſons for which he had before perſuaded himſelf,that the Emperor(if he had not bin half mad)would not haue vndertaken ſo doubtfull and deſperat a war.

Barbaruſſa bearing of the emperors cõming, is much diſcouraged.

In his rage hee executes Aloyſius Præſenda.

Barbaruſſa encourageth his ſoldiers.

For who is there (ſaid he) *that knows the country (not to ſpeak of our own forces) which would not reaſonably think our enemies ſhould in ſhort time know the price of their ambitious deſire and raſh attempt? which in a moſt vnſeaſonable time of the year, the days being now at the longeſt, and the ſun in his greateſt ſtrength, are come to fight in a country ſcorched with heat, and altogether without water; where the very ſand riſing with euery blaſt of wind, flying into their eies and faces, ſhall no leſſe trouble them than their enemies? Shall we think that they, which as I hear for the moſt part are freſh water ſoldiers, and ſurcharged with heauy armor, can eaſily march forward, or retyre, or yet keep their ground, as the diuers occaſions of battell ſhall require: when as the deep and hollow burning ſands vp to the mid leg, will not ſuffer them to keep any order of array? How ſhall they be able by any meanes to abide the force of our Turkiſh footmen, or the often charging of the nimble Numidian horſemen? And if there be ſo many of them as they ſay there is, where can they get victuall to feed ſuch a multitude, if we do but protract the war. Aſſuredly (moſt valiant and couragious Chieftaines) wee ſhall erect a moſt rare and incomparable trophy in this country of Africk: when as* Charles *the rich and great Emperor of the Chriſtians, ſhall either be here ſlain in battell, or elſe fall into our hands as a rich prey. For myne owne part I will notably prouide, that you ſhall want neither weapons, victuall, nor ayd, during the time of this Warre. I will open the*

A *the old armories, broch my ſtore, and bring forth my treaſures. The Numidian princes now our friends, I will without delay entertain with great pay, and ſuch preſents as ſhall be to them moſt welcome. As for the citiſens of Tunes, you know how eaſily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought on againſt the enemy for ſmall pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I moſt earneſtly require of your approued valor, That you moſt valiantly defend the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta, as the ſureſt defence not of this city only, but of the whole kingdom; and eſpecially our navy, which there lieth in ſafe harbor: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces firſt aſſail. Wherfore as worthy men neuer to be vanquiſhed, keepe that for* Solyman *and me: ſo that it being vainly attempted by our enemies, and reſolutely defended by you, the Chriſtian Emperor therefailing of his purpoſe, and ſhamefully foiled, ſhall now begin to diſpaire, not of the taking of the city of Tunes, but of his own return and ſafety.*

B When he had thus ſaid, the ſea captains anſwered with one conſent, that they would moſt willingly and cheerfully perform what ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him to command: And in confirmation therof, promiſed him not to do any thing which beſeemed not moſt valiant & reſolute men. Among theſe ſea captains, *Sinan* of Smyrna a Iew, who had loſt his right eye, was both for his age and long experience in military affaires, of greateſt account: next vnto him was *Haidinus* of Cilicia, for his furiouſnes in fight ſyrnamed of the Italians *Cacciadiabolo*; and *Salec* of Ionia; which two had before in a great battel at ſea ſlain *Rodericus Portendus* great admirall of Spain, and taken his ſon *Iohn* priſoner, and ſeuen great Gallies: after theſe was *Tabacches* of Laodicea, and *Giaffer* a valiant Captaine of the Ianizaries; all which were notable

Barbaruſſa his chief captains.

C pyrats, and then men of great fame. The ſtrong caſtle of Guletta ſtandeth in the bottome of the Bay of Carthage, vpon a point of the land, where the ſea by a narrow ſtreit runneth on the Eaſt ſide of the caſtle into the lake of Tunes: which being in a maner round, is about twelue Italian miles ouer; but now that Caſtle is parted from the Maine on the Weſt ſide alſo, by the ſea that way let in. Which chargeable work was by *Barbaruſſa* begun, but giuen ouer again by him; perſuaded by ſome, that the ſea comming in that way, would in ſhort time fill vp the lake with ſand. But was afterwards for all that perfected by others: ſo that now it ſtandeth in maner of an Iſland, in the mouth of the lake, diuided from the firm land by two narrow ſtreit paſſages; the one on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt; yet ſo that it commandeth both. This caſtle *Barbaruſſa* had before ſtrongly fortified both with men and munition, as the

The ſituation of Guletta.

D key of that kingdom: but now vpon the comming of the emperor he put into it his moſt expert and reſolute captains before named; wel foreſeeing, that in defence therof lay the ſafety of his Navy, which then lay within the lake, as in a moſt ſure harbor; and alſo the greateſt hope he had for the holding of the city of Tunes, whereon depended the whole ſtate of that kingdom. The Emperor lying at anchor with all his fleet vnder the ſhore, gaue generall commandement, that his ſoldiers ſhould with as much ſpeed as was poſſible be landed with the long boats: which was ſo orderly done, that the Moors terrified with the hideous cry of the ſoldiers making toward land, and not able to abide the ſhoures of ſmall ſhot, were eaſily beaten from the ſhore, whither they were come downe in great multitudes; and ſo ſuffered the Chriſtian ſoldiers to land quietly. The firſt that landed were the Spaniſh companies, after

The chriſtian army landeth at Guletta.

E them the Italians, and laſt of all the Germans; whom *Vaſtius* Generall of the army cauſed preſently to incamp themſelues, ſtreitly commaunding, That no man ſhould ſtraggle from the camp further into the land, vntil the horſmen and great artillery were all landed. The Emperor himſelf bearing victory in the cheerfulnes of his countenance, landed alſo. In the meane time certain Companies were ſent out by the Generall to view the places nigh hand, and to ſeek out the ciſterns and fountains of freſh water thereabout, which ſometime ſerued the famous city of Carthage: with whom the Moores, but eſpecially the Numidian horſemen, a ſwift, ſubtle, and painfull kind of ſouldiers, oftentimes and in many places ſuddenly skirmiſhed: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the aduantages they could of the places to them wel known, with their arrows and darts furiouſly aſſailed them vnawares, and

F ouerloded with Armour; ſparing no mans life which fell into their hands. Amongſt whom was *Hieronymus Spinnula* a Ligurian Captain, who ouerthrown by a Numidian horſman, had his head cut off and carried away by the ſame nimble horſman, before hee could bee reſcued. The like miſhap befell *Fredericus Carectus* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vaſtius*

to

to view the places therabouts, was fast by his side suddenly slain with a small shot. All which nimblenes and fiercenes of the enemy could not for all that stay the Emperour, but that hee would needs with a small troup of horsmen, in person himself take view of the places therabouts, euen in the sight of the Numidian horsmen, which were in euery place to be seen pricking vp and down the country in troups; although he was many times requested by his graue counsellors, to leaue that seruice for his inferior captains, and not to expose himselfe vnto so great danger both of his person and of the common safety. *Vastius* had now brought vp the army neer to the castle of Guletta, still casting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer therunto; therby to keep his men out of the danger of the enemies shot: which work was not don only by the pioners and gally slaues, but by soldiers of all sorts; yea many of the captains also layd their hands to the spade and mattock: for why, the Emperor was there a continual beholder, and a cheerful commender of euery mans labour and forwardnesse: and the busie enemy was euer ready to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes sallying out euen vnto the very tents of the Christians, there giuing vnto them proud words of defiance. When the army was to be marshalled, and euery commander to be appointed to the place of his charge in this siege of Guletta; the County of Sarne (a man famous both for the honor of his house, and for the good seruice he had lately done against the Turks at Corone) requested of *Vastius* the General, to haue the charge of the mount neerest to the castle; which as it was a place of most danger, so was it also of greatest honor. Whereat the old Spaniards (after the maner of their proud nature) much repined. Vpon the top of this mount the County set vp his rich tent in the enemies eie, and there lay with the Italian companies ouer whom he commanded. He had not there lien long, but *Salec* one of the Turks famous captains, with a companie of the garison soldiers sallied out of the castle directly vpon the mount whereon the Count lay; and by making shew as if he would desperatly haue assailed the same, raised a great alarme against the Italians; yet so, as after certaine vollies of shot discharged on both sides, he began to retyre as if he had bin therto constrained. Which thing the County perceiuing, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great rage with bitter words reproued certain captains who were not so forward in the pursuit of the Enemy as hee would haue had them; and in his fury ran down from the mount, the rest for shame following him, and ouertaking the enemies, slew diuers of them. The crafty pyrat now seeing the County drawn out of his strength into the plain ground, and perceiuing himselfe strong enough to incounter him, suddenly turning himself about, said to his soldiers, *The aduantage you wished to haue of your Enemies is now offered, they are now in your danger; wherfore shew your selues valiant men, and suffer not one of these proud fresh-water soldiers to escape aliue or vnwounded.* Which he had no sooner sayd, but they presently made a stand, and so hardly charged them from whom they but euen now seemd to fly, that the Italians not able longer to indure the fight, betook themselues to flight. The County himselfe (with *Belingerus* his kinsman) fighting valiantly in the formost of his companies was slain: many others indured the like fortune: others flying backe again to the mount, were there slain by the Turkes; who resolutely entred into the trenches with them so far, that they caried away with them the plate and riches of the Counties tent. Neither was there any of the Spaniards which lay neerest vnto them, and might easily haue rescued them, that would once stir out of their places to help them. For it is reported, that they were nothing sorry for the ouerthrow of the Italians, forasmuch as the county had so arrogantly craued of the General the most honorable place, which he so euil held. His head and right hand were cut off, and sent by *Salec* to *Barbarussa*. This ouerthrow much grieued the Italians, whom *Vastius* comforted with cheerful speeches; imputing all that losse neither to the valour of the enemy, or cowardise of the Italians, but only to the rashnes of the County, whom he said worthily to haue paid the price of his inconsiderat forwardnes. But the Spaniards he sharply reproued as mercilesse men, who vpon so light an occasion had giuen cause for the Italians to haue them in distrust. The Turks in the mean time by the often shooting off of their great ordnance, shewed the ioy they conceiued of this victory.

It oftentimes so falleth out, that whilst men laugh at their neighbors harms, their owne is not far off: and so it fel out with the Spaniards. For *Tabacches* another of the pyratical captains, shortly after sallying suddenly out of the castle in the dawning of the day, was got vp to the

Salec sallieth out vpon the County & the Italians.

The Countie slain, and his head & right hand sent to Barbarussa.

The Spaniards reioicing at the Italians ouerthrow, are thẽselues foiled by Tabacches.

A the top of the trenches wherin the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming, and there slew some as they were asleep, some idlely sitting fearing no harme, others as they were arming themselues; and with their sudden cry caused the rest which lay neer vnto that place, shamefully for fear to fly out of their trenches: where the Turkes taking such trash as they there found, and hauing slain and wounded many, amongst whom was one *Mendoza* a captain; and carying away with them the ensigne of *Sarmentus* which stood vpon the top of the trench, returned with victory. The alarm raised in the army was such, as that the Emperor himselfe came running to the place in his Armor, seuerely reproouing them of cowardise which had forsaken the place, and grieuously offended with them which had kept such negligent watch against such an enemy, as was not for wylines, agility, and courage, to be slightly regarded of
B the best and most expert soldiers. This disgrace of the Spaniards wel comforted the Italians, to see the old soldiers no lesse ouertaken in their negligence, than they had bin in their vnaduised forwardnes.

This tumult appeased, *Vastius* called into his tent the Colonels and chief Captains of the Spaniards, to whom he spake in this maner:

Vastius speech to the Spanish Captains.

Friends (said he) *elswhere alwaies valiant, who together with mee, haue by your inuincible prowesse*
gained vnto our Emperor many most glorious victories; you seem vnto me at this time to haue need to be
called vpon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approoued valour; for as far as I can see,
the remembrance of your antient fame is in you growne altogether cold, your hands are become faint for
C *fear, and that which I am sory and ashamed to say, you are grown I know not how, altogether out of order,*
and heartlesse, shewing no courage for the subduing of these naked Pyrats. Yesterday (as many say) you
smiled at the vnskilfull and vnfortunat forwardnesse of your friends, which they bought dear; but to day
they worthily laugh at your degenerat careless negligence: so that it concerneth you in honor, to blot out
this so foul and publique a disgrace, by some notable and worthy exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and I
streitly charge and command you, that with all speed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the at-
chieuement of some new honor; that if the proud enemy shall again presume to come forth and assail your
trenches, you shall forthwith break out vpon him and beat him backe againe euen to the gates of Guletta.
Perhaps good fortune will so attend your valiant and resolute pursuit, that you may together with their
D *disordred men enter some of their rampiers, wherin we see their whole hope consisteth. Which if it shall*
otherwise fall out than is hoped for, you shall by this your notable deuoir wonderfully content the Em-
peror your Soueraign, and me your General, and withall couer your late dishonor.

The Turkes sally against out of Guletta.

Wherunto they all answered, That they would so bear themselues against the Enemy, as that he should not desire greater courage or contempt of danger, in men desirous of honour and commendation.

It was not long, but that the Turks incouraged with their former sueces, after their woonted maner sallyed out again, conducted by *Giaffer* Captaine of the Ianizaries, a man of great courage and strength of body: who with the Ianizaries and certain companies of Moorish ar-
E chers, about noon time of the day issuing out of the castle, assailed the vttermost trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Christians in their stations negligent and vnprepared: wherin he was nothing deceiued: for the Spaniards that burning hot time of the day kept such negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers was got vp to the top of the rampiers, and discharged their shot and arrows vpon the Christians in their trenches, before they were wel aware of his comming. But vpon the striking vp of the drum, certain Companies of harquebusiers brake out vpon them in two places at once, as *Vastius* had before commanded; whom he seconded with a company of halberdiers, keeping in readinesse his squadrons to rescue his harquebusiers, if they should be inforced by the enemy to retyre; and in that order expected the euent of the skirmish, which was most valiantly maintained on both
F sides. For the Ianizaries, although they were inforced to giue ground, yet as men not vsed to fly, and standing vpon the honor of their order, withstood the Christians with no lesse resolution than they were by them charged; vntill that *Giaffer* their leader, desperately fighting amongst the formost of the Ianizaries, was at once shot in with two bullets and slaine. Whose dead body the Ianizaries laboring to carry away, endured a most cruell fight, many being on both

Giaffer Captain of the Ianizaries slain.

both ſides ſlaine vpon his dead carkaſſe: yet at length they were inforced to flie, and ſo fiercely followed by the Spaniards, that they of Guletta, when they had receiued in the foremoſt ſhut out almoſt a fourth part of their own men, for feare the Chriſtians ſhould together with them haue entred the caſtle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spaniſh enſigne-bearers, aduanced his enſigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers, and was there ſlaine, but his enſigne ſaued by one of the ſouldiers of the ſame band. The Chriſtians receiued more loſſe in their retreat, then they had in all the fight; for the Turks from their rampiers then diſcharged their ſhot as faſt as they could vpon them, which they could not before doe without the like danger to their own mingled amongſt them. This days work well abated the pride of the Turks, and gaue good hope to the Chriſtians, that the Caſtle would without any great loſſe be gained: for being neer vnto it, they perceiued it not to be ſo ſtrong as they had ſuppoſed. G H

The Emperor hauing ſpent a few dayes in conſultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the ſiege, reſolued without further delay with all his forces to aſſault the caſtle, perſuaded thereunto by many reaſons: firſt, by the cheerfulnes of his owne ſoldiers, & the courage of his enemies ſore danted in the laſt skirmiſh, which he was loth they ſhould againe recouer by the comming of new ſupplies; beſides that, hee was informed that diuers companies of the Numidians were comming to Tunes, entertained by *Barbaruſſa*, whoſe ſtrength was like daily to increaſe: but that which moued him moſt to haſten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow ſickly in his camp, being all the day time ſcortched as it were with the feruent heat of the Sun, and well neere ſtarued in the night with cold and exceeding dewes wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water, I or freſh victuall by any meanes to be had in that ſandie and barren ſoile, for the relife of the ſicke, other than that was brought out of the fleet; for all the water thereabout was moſt vnpleaſant and exceeding brackiſh, ſo that both ſicke and whole were glad when they could get a crab to quench their extreme thirſt: although the Emperour did what he might to remedy theſe extremities, and much reliefe was in good time ſent both from Sicilia and Naples: the bisket alſo in the ſhips, eſpecially in the Spaniſh gallies, was growne hoary and vnwholſome. Wherefore he began to place his battery about the fifteenth of Iuly, which was defended all alongſt with Gabions, and cask filled with ſand, for that the countrey ſoile in that place yeelded neither earth nor turfe to do it. *Auria* appointed to batter the Caſtle by ſea, diuided his gallies into three ſquadrons, which orderly ſucceeding one another, ſhould by turns beat the K ſame: his great ſhips rid at anker, and out of their forecaſtles thundred with their great Ordnance. And *Vaſtius* at land had diuided his army into three battels; Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, euery ſtation by themſelues, in ſuch ſort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the aſſault, and of the glory of the victory. There was neuer ſtrong place in the memory of man (ſince guns, that fatall engine were firſt inuented for the deſtruction of mankind) aſſailed with greater force, greater preparation, or induſtry. The great ordnance in manner of a great earthquake, ſo terribly roared and thundred, that the earth ſeemed not only to tremble and quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in ſunder and ſwallow them vp, and the ſea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to riſe aloft, and to rage & ſome as if it had bin in a great ſtorm: at which time the air became thick & the skie darkned with the ſmoke of the great artillery: from the breake of the day vntil noon, roaring cannon and culuering neuer ceaſed: ſo that the Vamures were beaten down, the caſtle made ſaultable, & the wals ſo ſhaken, that in many places the Turks canoniers, together with their cannons lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed to giue the firſt aſſault, vpon ſignall giuen by the Emperor, preſently vpon the ceaſing of the great Artillery, aſſailed the breach, and others with their ſcaling ladders ſcaled the wals: which was done with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the Turks when they had done what they poſſibly could for the defence of the place, by caſting down darts, wild fire, and ſuch like things vpon the Chriſtians as they were climbing vp; at length as men deſpairing longer to hold the place, & ouercome with a greater fortune, turned their backs & fled. *Sinan* & the reſt M of the captains by a wooden bridge, fled out at the further ſide of the caſtle, into the main, and ſo alongſt the left ſide of the lake by land to Tunes, not looking behind them for haſt: which way moſt part of his men followed him alſo. The reſt were either ſlain or driuen into the lake, where ſeeking to haue their liues by ſwimming, they were either ſlain in comming to land, by

Guletta furiouſly battered.

Guletta aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

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the

A the Spaniſh horſemen, or elſe in their ſwimming ſhot at pleaſure by the harquebuſiers, ſo that all the lake was as it were couered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moores. The Emperor with ſmall ſhot thus gained the caſtle of Guletta, with all the warlike prouiſion therein, and with it all *Barbaruſſa* his great fleet and ſtrength at ſea, which he for the more ſafety had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the Emperor a thing moſt pleaſant, ſo was it vnto *Barbaruſſa* and his pyrats the greateſt griefe and loſſe poſſible, hauing at once loſt all their power at ſea, which but a little before was no ſmall terror to all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries and Iſlands in the Mediterranean.

Guletta woon, and Barbaruſſa his fleet taken.

Barbaruſſa troubled and terrified with ſo great a loſſe, with a ſterne and ſcornefull countenance receiued the Iew and the reſt of the captains fled from Guletta, reuiling them bitterly
B in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in ſo ſhort a time giuen ouer ſo ſtrong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* anſwered for them all, in this ſort:

Barbaruſſa rageth.

Hairadin (ſaid he) *ſo long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knoweſt, and our enemies cannot deny, what well beſeemed vs and thy magnificent fortune. But when we were to withſtand the Diuell and his infernall furies, which came againſt vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreame terrour and danger; it ought not to ſeeme ſtrange vnto thee, if we ſought to eſcape the vncouth fury of the immortall enemies of mankinde, to do thee ſeruice in thy better fortune, in defence of this thy city and king dome. Neither do we account it any diſgrace to haue eſcaped that danger, as men that minde againe to fight: out of which thou, a moſt antient and expert Commander (if I may frankely ſpeake vnto*
C *thee the truth) if thou hadſt been there preſent, wouldſt haue accounted it no diſhonor, but very good diſcretion to haue eſcaped in ſafety.*

The ſhort anſwer of Sinan the Iew vnto Barbaruſſa.

Barbaruſſa repreſſing his fury, began in a more temperat manner to requeſt them euery one particularly, as valiant and couragious men to ſtand faſt vnto him in that war againſt their enemies the Chriſtians: telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great ſupplie of the Mooriſh footmen and Numidian horſemen were once come (which were now at hand) the enemy ſhould not long rejoyce of the taking of Guletta. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his ſtudy and endeauour, to prepare ſuch things as were needfull for the war, bringing forth his treaſures, and bountifully beſtowing the ſame amongſt the Moors and Numidians, thereby to
D confirme the friendſhip of ſuch as well affected him, and with his new bounty to win the hearts of ſuch as yet ſtood doubtfull.

In the mean time *Muleaſſes* the exiled king, with a ſmal retinue of his friends and followers came from the furtheſt part of Numidia, into the Emperors campe; the Emperor ſitting in a royall ſeat in the midſt of his pauillion, whereinto *Muleaſſes* was admitted, with a myter vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable ſilke: he was of a tall and manly ſtature, of colour tawny, but ſo ſqint-eyed, that he ſeemed ſpitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: whom after he had kiſſed the Emperors right hand, and had ſet himſelfe downe with his legs gathered cloſe vnder him, vpon a carpet ſpred vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his country, he by an interpreter ſpake vnto the Emperor as followeth.

Muleaſſes commeth to the emperour.

E

Thou art come in armes into this country, and art now almoſt conquerour of the ſame, (thrice mighty Emperour) prouoked thereunto not by any deſert of mine, for that our different religion ſo required; yet as I verily thinke, not without the appointment of the moſt high God, whom both thou and I do with like deuotion worſhip, to take reuenge of the moſt perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortall enemy of mankinde; whom I foreſee as good as already vanquiſhed, now that Guletta is taken and his nauy ſurpriſed. So that I hope he ſhall in ſhort time by thy reuenging hand, at once receiue the juſt guardon of all his former villanies: which ſhall be ſo much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicity and glorious victory will redound in great part to me, being reſtored by thee into my fathers king-
F *dome: which I as a poore exiled Prince moſt humbly requeſt of thy juſtice and bounty. For it ſhall be vnto thee a thing moſt honourable and profitable, if thou ſhalt receiue into thy protection me, a King royally diſcended of a moſt antient progeny, ſtrengthned with the great alliance of Numidians and Moores. Neither do I refuſe either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my ſelfe vaſſall vnto thee the Chriſtian Emperor. Of which my fidelity there can be no greater aſſurance, than the thankefull remembrance of ſo great a benefit receiued; which ſhall for euer remaine vnforgotten of me and my poſterity,*

The Oration of Muleaſſes vnto charles the emperour.

euen for that especially, that I detest and abhorre the name of an vnthankefull man; and do well by experi- G
ence finde, how much my state may be confirmed, and the minds of my people to me assured, by the garrisons so neere at hand in Sicilia and Sardinia.

The Emperours answer to Muleasses.

Wherunto the Emperor answered, That he was come ouer into Affricke to be reuenged of the injuries which *Barbarussa* had many times done vpon the frontiers of his dominions, and to root out the pyrats, of all others most mischieuous: which his good purpose had by the goodnesse of Christ his Sauior taken so good effect, that he doubted not in short time by the taking of Tunes to obtaine a perfect victory; which once gained, he would then kindly grant him all things which should stand with the conuenience of his affaires, and the vse of his victory: so that he would not falsifie his faith, which he might justly suspect, if he reposed not H
a speciall trust, that the remembrance of such a benefit would for euer remaine in his heroicall mind: and was further assured, that the same power which should restore him his kingdome of curtesie, could also take it from him againe, if his vnthankefulnesse should so deserue.

The behauior of Muleasses.

Muleasses in the presence of the Emperor vsed such a grauity and grace in his speech & gesture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former estate: but towards the Generall and the other great Captaines he vsed all manner of curtesie, so that he rid vp and down with them gallantly mounted, mannaging his horse, and charging and discharged his launce with such agility and skill, as shewed him to be a very good horseman, and of great actiuity. At other vacant times he would subtilly reason with learned men, after the manner of *Auerrois*, of the nature of things, of the motion of heauen, and power of the starres. By the Empe- I
rours commandement he had a Tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his diet. *Vastius* and the rest of the chiefe Commanders of the army vsed him with all honor, and at such time as he was desirous to see the campe, curteously brought him into all places of it, that he might himselfe see what mounts they had in short time cast, what abundance there was of great artillery, what strong watch and ward was kept, what a number there was of braue and warlike souldiers of diuers nations, differing much one from another in language, countenance, and manner of furniture: and further demanded, Whether that puissant army which the Emperour had brought ouer to his great good, were in his judgement sufficient to subdue the enemy? Where aboue all things *Muleasses* wondered at the number and order of the great ordnance: and next vnto that, at the wonderfull plenty of things to be bought and sould in K
the market place, and at the modest quietnesse of the souldiers in buying the same. Not long after, the expert Captaines by diligent enquiry learned of him many things well seruing for their better proceeding in that war, especially of the disposition and strength of them of Tunes, of the scituation of the city, of the nature of the walls, and fortification of the Castle, of the Wels and Cisternes in the suburbes, and what strength the Moores and Numidians were of, which *Barbarussa* had entertained. In conclusion, he assured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbarussa* would neuer trust to the strength of the wals, which would easily be ouerthrowne with the great artillery; but would in a great brauery with ensignes displaied bring all his forces into the field, of purpose to terrifie the Christians with the sight of the multitude of his rascall soldiers, and to breake their array with his Numidian horsemen, who with L
hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would not faile to assaile them: and yet for all that would neuer bring into the battell his Turkish footmen (in whom he reposed his greatest confidence, and whom he desired most to spare) but would as a crafty and subtill Turke, by opposing of the Moores, whom he held in small regard, try by their bloud what might be done without the danger of his owne men. But as he told them, nothing could be more strange vnto the Moores his countrymen, or that they were more affraid of, than in a set battell to fight with that enemy whose squadrons comming orderly on in glistring armour, with long pikes, might scorne and easily ouerthrow the naked archers of the Moores, and the vnarmed Numidian horsmen: and that our men should find nothing more grieuous or troublesome, than the scorching heat of the Sun, and the thirst rising thereof; which might easily be M
remedied by plenty of water, which by slaues and smal boats might easily be brought in casks and bottles from the fleet alongst the lake, and so distributed amongst the army: although not far from the walls of the city were certaine old conduit heads which would yeeld them great plenty of water, if the malicious enemy did not to his owne hurt and others, poyson the

His opinion and counsell concerning the present warre.

A the ſame. Theſe things orderly reported to the Emperour, confirmed the hope he had before conceiued of the deſired victory: ſo that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecaſting all things, he reſolued forthwith to depart from Guletta, and with all his power to beſiege Tunes.

But whileſt he was preparing things neceſſary, ordering his ſouldiers, and diſcouering the enemies purpoſes, his ſouldiers had dayly diuers skirmiſhes with the Numidians; ſo that once the skirmiſh was like to haue come to a juſt battell: which began in this ſort; The Moors had planted certain field-pieces amongſt the Oliue gardens, wherewith they ſhot continually into the campe: for remouing whereof, the Emperor leauing the Italians, with certain companies of the old Germans and Spaniſh ſoldiers, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went
B forth with his horſemen and the reſt of his army: ſending before him *Montegius*, Generall of the Spaniſh horſemen, who for moſt part were but raw ſouldiers, ſuch as were of the Noblemens ordinary ſeruants and followers, not before acquainted with the wars. Theſe light horſemen with diuers fortune skirmiſhed a while with the enemy; but when they ſaw themſelues to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their Generall grieuouſly wounded, they turned their backs, and in the ſight of the Emperor ſhamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the firſt a fierce and deſperat charge, and vpon the encounter giuen, of purpoſe to retyre, auoiding thereby the ſudden force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a freſh charge. The Emperour ſeeing the flight of his light horſemen, came on couragiouſly with his men at armes;
C by whoſe comming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moores were put to flight, and the field pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the campe, taken. In this skirmiſh the Emperour in perſon, as he ſtood formoſt in his armed troups, gaue the ſignall of battell himſelfe, by crying with a loud voice, Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iames*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron; and ſo charging the enemy, performed the part not only of a couragious Chiefetaine, but of a reſolute and valiant ſouldier alſo; reſcuing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius* a noble gentleman of Granado, whom vnhorſed and ſore wounded, the enemy was ready preſently to haue ſlaine, had not the Emperor by his comming in ſaued him: deſeruing thereby the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Ciuica Corona*, gaue as an honour to ſuch as had in battell ſaued a citiſen.

The Spaniſh light horſmen put to flight.

The Emperour reſtoreth the battell, & with his owne hand reſcueth Andreas Pontius of Granado.

D About the ſame time it fortuned, that thirty thouſand Moores came vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed a little tower ſtanding vpon a hill neere vnto the ruines of old Carthage: wherin the Emperor had placed certaine ſoldiers for the keeping thereof, becauſe it was neere vnto his campe. Before theſe Moores went a Numidian Prieſt, who bellowing out certain ſuperſtitious charmes, caſt diuers ſcroles of paper on each ſide the way, wherein he curſed and banned the Chriſtians: and now they had with fire and ſmoake brought the Chriſtians in that tower to great extremity, when the Emperour himſelfe comming to their reſcue with certaine companies of horſemen and footmen, ſlew the conjuring Prieſt, with others, and put the reſt to flight. The diſcomfiture of the Spaniſh horſemen cauſed many men to thinke, that if the Emperor ſhould come to a ſet battell with the enemy, he ſhould finde his horſemen too weake,
E both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For which cauſe, and diuers others, certaine of the Emperours graue counſellors, but none of the beſt ſoldiers, wiſhed him not to proceed further in that dangerous war, but with ſpeed to returne out of Affricke, for as much as he had won honour enough by the taking of Guletta, and ſurpriſing the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortall praiſe, and the common good of Chriſtendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries in the Mediterranean, from the danger and feare of thoſe moſt cruell pyrats: beſides that, the flix began to rage in his campe, whereof many of his ſouldiers fell ſicke and died daily. Whereas on the contrary part, the mighty Numidian Princes, ſuch as were *Muleaſſes* old enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe vnſeaſonable ſpeeches the Emperour thought
F good to repreſſe betime; reaſoning againſt the authors thereof with great grauity, as againſt men who with more feare doubted of the ſucceſſe of things, and the euent of the victory, than beſeemed them, whom for their conſtant reſolution, and good opinion conceiued of their diſcretion, he had choſen to be of his moſt ſecret counſell.

The Emperour aduiſed by his Counſellors to returne home.

Saying, *That he deſired not of them that their needleſſe and diſhonourable labour, wherein they ſhould* *The reſolute anſwere of the Emperour.*

ſhew themſelues more carefull of his perſon than of his honour: for as much as thoſe things which they now alledged, ſhould haue bin ſaid before the war was taken in hand, now by good hap halfe ended: before he euer paſſed ouer into Affricke. For he might (as he ſaid) haue reſted quietly in Spaine, and haue eaſily neglected and rejected the injuries done vpon the ſea coaſts, and the complaints of his ſubiects; but he was (as they well knew) for moſt vrgent cauſes come thither: whereas he was reſolued to ſatisfie the expectation of the World with a notable victory; or if God ſhould otherwiſe appoint, there to end his daies with honour. Wherefore he willed them to ceaſe further to flatter him that was no way diſmaid, or to poſſeſſe the minds of his valiant ſouldiers with a vaine forboding feare, and with reſolute minds, together with him their chiefetaine, againſt the next day to expect what the fortune of the field ſhould appoint for the full accompliſhment of that war. For he was (as he ſaid) ſet downe to giue the enemy battell; or if he refuſed the ſame, to batter the walls of Tunes, not doubting but that God would ſtand on his ſide in ſo good and ſo godly a quarrell.

The Emperor marcheth toward Tunes.

The Emperour leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the caſtle of Guletta, commanded the breaches to be repaired, and the great ordnance there taken to be laid vpon carriages, which before after the old rude ſea faſhion lay bound in great vnweldy pieces of timber, with yron rings faſtned thereunto, and could not handſomely be handled or remoued to and fro. After that, when he had cauſed the country to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right ſide of the lake giueth a direct paſſage vnto the City of Tunes; he ſet forward with his army in ſo good order, that he ſtill marched as ready to fight, for feare of the policies and ſudden aſſaults of the enemy. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake; on the right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a great wood ran all alongſt the country, from the ruines of Carthage, almoſt to the wals of Tunes: in the midſt betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordnance; and after it the carriages of all the army. In the vauntgard was *Vaſtius*, whom the Emperour had made Generall of the army, and eſpecially for that day: in the rereward was the Duke of Alba with certaine troups of choſen horſemen: in the middle of the main battell was the Emperor, and by his ſide *Lewis* his brother in law the King of Portugals brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of Salarne, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an antient captain, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberſtein*. But the Emperor in his armor ceaſed not to ride from ſquadron to ſquadron, with cheerefull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the former victories which they had gotten for him: and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a moſt honourable daies ſeruice, foraſmuch as they were to fight againſt the naked enemies of the Chriſtian religion: wherefore they ſhould with reſolute minds ſet downe themſelues to endure the weight of their armor, the painfulneſſe of their march, the heat of the Sun and ſand, and the tediouſneſſe of the thirſt ariſing thereof; vntill they might joyne battel with their enemies, where they ſhould vndoubtedly by the goodneſſe of God (in whoſe quarrell they fought) obtaine the victory: in the meane time they ſhould with patience ouercome all difficulties, comforting themſelues with the vndoubted hope of a moſt rich prey, which they were to expect of the ſpoile of a rich city. Whereunto euery ſquadron anſwered with a great ſhout, that he ſhould not trouble himſelfe with thoſe matters which he had before rehearſed, but to aſſure himſelfe, that they his ſouldiers would moſt patiently endure all extremities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him Emperor, not of Affricke but of Aſia alſo.

Now *Vaſtius* had withdrawn two companies of harquebuſiers out of the Spaniſh ſquadron, to skirmiſh with the Moores who continually followed in the taile of the army: whom, by thoſe harquebuſiers and certaine troups of horſemen deputed to that purpoſe, the duke of Alba notably repulſed in the rereward.

The ſoldiers for greedineſſe of water diſordered their march

The army was now come vnto the Ciſternes of freſh water, which *Muleaſſes* and others which well knew the country, had before told them of; which as ſoon as the ſouldiers almoſt fainting vnder the weight of their armor, with the ſcorching heat of the Sun, and extremity of thirſt, deſcried afar off; they for deſire they had to quench their thirſt, forthwith forſooke their colours, and diſorderly ran as faſt as they could to thoſe ciſternes: *Vaſtius* the Generall, to the vttermoſt of his power laboring in vaine both by faire meanes and foule to haue ſtaied them; who ſaw by that diſordernes of the ſouldiers, a great aduantage offred vnto the enemy, which

then

A then was not far off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blowes preuaile any thing with them, the Emperour himselfe was glad to haſt thither, with his preſence and authority to haue kept them in order: yet ſuch was the force of their intollerable thirſt, that neither the ſight of the Emperour, nor all that he could do, could remedy the diſorder; ſome fainting in the ſand for lacke of drinke, and ſome other for greedineſſe ready to burſt their bellies at the fountains; ſo that the Emperor was faine with his truncheon to beat them away. Amongſt the reſt, one *Sullius Cicero* of Arpinus, a famous captain, died at the ciſterne ſide with drinking too much. This extremity for want of water ſeemed juſtly to haue happened vnto them, foraſmuch as *Vaſtius* the day before had by generall proclamation thorow the campe, commanded that euery ſoldier ſhould carry with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle:
B although he cauſed ſo much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great caskes for the common reliefe of the army, whereof the Germanes had the greateſt part; ſome almoſt ready to giue ouer for thirſt, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellowes which had it, for two duckets. *A draught of water ſold for two duckets.*

This diſorder being with as much ſpeed as was poſſible reformed, and the Army againe brought into order, the Emperor held on his march towards the enemy: for *Barbaruſſa* with a wonderfull multitude of horſemen and footmen, and a number of enſignes (the inſtruments of vaine feare and fooliſh brauery) gallantly diſplaied after the manner of the Moores, was come about three miles from the city, and with certaine field-pieces (as *Muleaſſes* had foretold) went about to haue broken the battell of the Chriſtians: which Pieces although they were oftentimes diſcharged, yet did they little or no harme by reaſon of the vnskilfulneſſe of the Canoniers. *Vaſtius* in like manner, and for like purpoſe had commanded the great ordnance to be brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what time and toile it required to haue it done (for that it was drawne but by ſtrength of men, and the wheels of the carriages ſunk deep in the deuouring ſand, and the ſhot and pouder which the Mariners and gally-ſlanes caried altogether vpon their ſhoulders, came but ſoftly on) he ſuddenly changed his purpoſe, and told the Emperor, That he thought it not beſt to ſtay for the great artillery in that cheerfulneſſe of his army when euery man deſired battell, but to commit all to the valour of his reſolute men, and his own good fortune, which euer fauored his noble attempts: leſt whilſt we ſtay (ſaid he) too long vpon our great ordnance (which doth not alwaies ſerue to great purpoſe in ſudden
D battels) our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnneceſſary delay; and this exceeding cheerfulneſſe of our ſoldiers (the moſt ſure token of vndoubted victory) by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the Emperor, deſirous of battell, and filled with good hope, joyfully anſwered; *Vaſtius*, if thou ſo think it good (which I alſo like well of) in Gods name giue the ſignall. That ſhall I by and by do (ſaid he) but firſt it is reaſon that you which ſway & command a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and ſhame, you, laying aſide the imperiall majeſty of your ſelfe, haue for this day made Generall and commander of ſo mighty an army: wherefore (ſaid *Vaſtius*) I will now vſe my authority, and command you, ſith I may not ſo requeſt you, to depart from this place, and to get you into the midſt of the battell neere vnto the enſignes; leſt by ſome vnlucky ſhot, the whole eſtate of *Vaſtius cõmandeth the Emperour.*
E the army be brought into extreame perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperor ſmiling, willed him to feare no ſuch thing; ſaying moreouer, That neuer Emperour was yet ſlain with a gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, and went into the middle of the battell. Wherupon the ſignall of battell was by the ſound of the trumpet, and ſtriking vp of the drum, preſently giuen, and the enemy (with more haſte than the extream heat of the day required) furiouſly charged by the Emperors horſemen, who to auoid the danger of the great artillery, made all the haſte they could to come to handy blowes. In the formoſt of theſe horſemen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a moſt valiant noble man, who then ſerued the emperor without charge: he being ſomwhat before the reſt, at the firſt onſet ſlew with his lance a great captain of the Moors, & preſently with his ſword ſo troubled them that were
F next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to break into the enemies battell. The harquebuſiers alſo diſcharged ſo faſt vpon the enemy, that 300 of them lay dead vpon the ground before the joyning of the battell: which the reſt of the footmen ſeeing, forſooke their great ordnance, and fled backe to *Barbaruſſa*. Who long endured not the force or ſight of the Chriſtians; but grinding his teeth for ſorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horſe, and with

Barbaruſſa in field againſt the Emperour.

Barbaruſſa flyeth to Tunes.

his Turks retired into Tunes. For now that his deſignes had in the beginning taken ſo euill G
ſucceſſe, he thought it not beſt to aduenture all in one battel; knowing right well, that the emperours army could not long endure the inconueniences of the intollerable heat, and want of many things, eſpecially of freſh water: which fed him with hope, that he ſhould out of theſe his enemies diſtreſſes picke ſome fit occaſion of aduantage, if he could but a while defend the city of Tunes. The Numidians and Moores, who in great troups and companies had alwaies houered about the Emperors army, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themſelues into the ſuburbes, gardens, and other places neere vnto the city.

The Emperor glad of the flight of his enemies, which were thought to haue bin in number 100000, incamped with his army that night in the ſame place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the wals of Tunes. In the meane time *Barbaruſſa*, ſurpriſed H
with an exceeding feare, and diſtracted with many cares, and now become more cruell than himſelfe, had in his mind purpoſed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman cruelty; which was, at once to haue killed all the Chriſtian captiues in the caſtle of Tunes: fully reſolued to put the ſame in execution, had not *Sinan* the Iew diſſuaded him from that moſt execrable fact; proteſting ſuch a practiſe to be vnſeemely for a man of valour, famous for his many victories, and carrying with him the majeſty of a King; whereas he would ſhortly after wonderfully repent him for doing ſo ſhamefull a fact: the acting wherof, What was it elſe (as the Iew ſaid) but a manifeſt demonſtration of his extreame feare and deſperation? which two things were moſt dangerous to him, that was to maintaine ſo doubtfull a war, and would much deface the glory of his former life: wherefore he ſhould doe well to beware, that by the fame of ſuch a I
moſt horrible fact, he did not prouoke *Solymans* heauy diſpleaſure againſt him: who deuoid of all humane cruelty, had vſed both to deteſt and reuenge ſuch outrages. Wherfore he ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian captiues to liue bound in their fatall chaines, ſo long as it were their fortunes; who being well kept, and vnarmed, might ſhortly after ſerue him to good purpoſe, and could no way without moſt certain danger moue themſelues, if they ſhould vnaduiſedly luſt after their vnlucky liberty: for by them, the expected victory could neither be giuen to the enemy, nor taken from him, or yet ſo much as hindered. At which ſpeech the tyrant was aſhamed, and ſo ſparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the Caſtle, into the greateſt church of Tunes, whither he had cauſed to be aſſembled all the chiefe men of the city, to tell them what he would haue done for the defence of the city, and now by perſuaſion to encou- K
rage them to fight: from whom, as men by him holden in diſtruſt, he had but a little before the comming of the Chriſtians, taken all manner of armor and weapons.

Barbaruſſa in mind to kil all the Chriſtian captiues, is diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew.

Whileſt *Barbaruſſa* was thus buſied, the moſt joyfull and happy day appeared to thoſe miſerable captiues; by fortunes change, no leſſe blacke and diſmall to the Turks and Moores. For that hainous purpoſe of the cruell tyrant could not long be couered or kept ſecret: ſo that a conſtant report of a danger ſo imminent, was run thorow the whole caſtle, euen into deep dungeons; by the compaſſion of certaine manumiſed ſlaues, who deteſting the ſauage cruelty of *Barbaruſſa* their maſter, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true Chriſtian religion; incouraging by ſecret ſpeeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their liberty. Amongſt theſe well minded men was L
one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruſſa* had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing him alwaies in great eſteeme by the name of *Memis*; and another called *Vincentius Caterinus* of Dalmatia, an eunuch. Theſe two venturing a moſt memorable and godly attempt, ſet open the priſon doores, and gaue inſtruments vnto the poore priſoners, ready to take the occaſion offered; who boldly ſtarting vp, brake off their chains and gyues, and ſo by the great goodneſſe and mercy of God, about 6000 poore naked Chriſtians, armed with that came firſt in hand, but eſpecially with ſtones, brake forth ſuddenly vpon the Turks that were in the caſtle. *Ramadus* a renegate Spaniard captain of the caſtle, ſtirred vp with the vnexpected and terrible noiſe of ſo many priſoners breaking their yrons, with a few ſoldiers whom he had ſuddenly called vnto him run to the caſtle gate, where one of the priſoners (a luſty young man of Sicilia) had M
with one of the bars of the gate ſtrucke downe one or two of the Warders, and hauing bolted the gate, was become maſter thereof: him *Ramadus* ſlew, and opening the gate, made way for himſelfe and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruſſa*, to carry him the newes of that his hard miſchance. But the Chriſtians now looſed from their bands, and hauing ſud-

The Chriſtian captiues breake priſon, & driue the Turkes out of the caſtle of Tunes.

denly

A denly ſlaine diuers of the Turks, poſſeſſed themſelues of all the caſtle, brake open the armory, and ſo ſeizing vpon the kings treaſure, armor, and prouiſion, from a high turret gaue ſignes of victory to the Chriſtian army by ſmoake and falſe fires made with gunpouder; and laſtly by diſplaying of *Sarmentus* his enſigne, which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabaccches* taken from the top of the trenches at the ſiege of Guletta. Theſe ſignes although the Chriſtians in the army could not well perceiue, as being too far off, yet by the fugitiues which came oftentimes out of Tunes to the Emperor and *Muleaſſes*, they were both perſuaded, that ſome great tumult wts riſen amongſt the enemies. Wherefore the Emperor ſent two of his captains with their companies, who going as neere as they could to the city and the caſtle, ſhould diſcouer what the matter was. In the meane time, *Barbaruſſa* almoſt mad for anger, in his fury
B blaſpheming his vain gods, and bitterly curſing and banning the Iew, for diſſuading him from killing the captiues, came to the caſtle gate, with tears ſtanding in his eys pittifully requeſting the late Chriſtian captiues (which then ſtood vpon the top of the wals and the gate, with weapons in their hands) that they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promiſing them their liberty, with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of their former and preſent fortune, and moued with juſt hatred, caſt ſtones at him, and with many opprobrious words rejected his requeſt: ſo that he inraged with ſorrow and madneſſe, ſhot at them with his owne hand, and ſeeing all paſt remedy, and the city not poſſible now to be kept, ſhamefully betooke himſelfe to flight. After him followed the Turks, in number ſeuen thouſand, with purpoſe to fly to the city Hippona, now called Bona, famous with the Biſho-
C pricke of that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Auguſtine*. For there (as in a moſt ſure harbor) had *Barbaruſſa* left fourteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the city, to ſerue his turne whatſoeuer miſchance ſhould happen: but the tacklings, ſailes, oares, and ordnance, he had laied vp in the caſtle faſt by, which was kept with a garriſon of his owne.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Barbaruſſa* with his Turks was fled, came with all his ar- *Tunes yeelded to the Emperor.*
my vnto the gates of Tunes, where the magiſtrates of the city were ready to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and to deliuer him the kies of the city; only requeſting of him, that he would keep his ſoldiers incamped without the city, and not to ſeeke the vtter ſpoile and ruine thereof: promiſing, that the ſouldiers ſhould want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleaſſes* alſo carefull of the ſafety thereof, earneſtly intreated the Emperor in the citiſens behalfe. But he,
D although he was of his own honourable diſpoſition ready enough to haue granted what they requeſted; yet for that he did not without cauſe, doubt of the Moores fidelity, and that the paiment of the mony which they of Tunes had by *Muleaſſes* promiſed for the paiment of the ſoldiers wages, was by them craftily delaied, expecting ſtill the vttermoſt deuoire of *Barbaruſſa*, he could not by any means be perſuaded to promiſe them any certainty of their ſafety: moued alſo ſo to do by the diſcontented ſpeeches of his ſoldiers, who ſpared not to ſay, That they ſhould be hardyl and vnkindly dealt withall, if after ſo long trauell and ſo much paines taken both by ſea and land, they ſhould be defrauded of the reward of the victory, ſith nothing but only the hope of the preſent ſpoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miſerable, hauing ſcarce clothes to couer their nakedneſſe, and their bodies ſpent with long labour and
E thirſt: ſo that the Moores of Tunes, enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and the perpetuall receiuers of moſt horrible pyrats, might worthily rejoyce of the Chriſtians victory; and the conquerors themſelues for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miſeries. Whileſt the Emperor ſtood thus in doubt what to reſolue vpon, *Vaſtius* with a ſmall company came to the caſtle gate, and was with wonderfull joy receiued by the Chriſtian captiues. But as he was viewing the wealth and prouiſion laid vp in the caſtle, a Ligurian captiue diſcouered vnto him where certain treaſure lay hid: for *Barbaruſſa* had there caſt into a well 30000 duckats ſowed vp in bags, which *Vaſtius* getting eaſily out, obtain'd them of the Emperor of gift, as he whoſe good ſeruice had well deſerued them. The caſtle thus won by a ſtrange chance, and the captiues taking the ſpoile thereof, the ſoldiers could no longer be ſtaied, but that they entred into the ci- *Tunes ſpoiled by the Chriſtians.*
F ty by heaps, running after the ſpoile into euery part therof; the citiſens fearing no ſuch matter, and calling in vain vpon the faith of *Muleaſſes*: the old ſoldiers at the firſt entrance ſlew many. The Spaniards and Italians ſought moſt after the ſpoile; but the Germans deſiring more to glut themſelues with the Mahometan bloud, fill'd all places with dead bodies, without regard of ſex or age; ſo that the prophane temples of their vain prophet, ſwam with the bloud of them

that

that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued vntill ſuch time as the Empe- G
ror moued with the pittifull requeſt of *Muleaſſes*, cauſed proclamation to be made, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death hurt any citiſen, or take any priſoners: yet for all that, it could not otherwiſe be, but that many young men and women were by the mariners (which were come to the ſpoile of the city) carried away to the fleet.

Muleaſſes for a little mony redeemed diuers which he knew, out of the hand of ſuch as had them priſoners: amongſt others, one of his wiues, whom he ſometime held deareſt, was ranſomed for two duckats. The Emperor entering into the caſtle, commended the captiues, who were the occaſion of that ſpeedy victory: and giuing to euery one of them mony, ſet them at liberty, promiſing vnto them ſhipping and prouiſion to bring them home euery man into his owne country. Vnto the two manumiſed ſeruants of *Barbaruſſa*, which were the authours H
of breaking the priſon, he gaue mony and apparell, & afterwards learned of them many things concerning *Barbaruſſa* his purpoſes, and ſecret diſpoſition. In the ſpoile of the caſtle, *Muleaſſes* lamented the loſſe of three things eſpecially: firſt, the antient Arabian bookes containing the interpretation of the Mahometan law, and the acts of the Kings his predeceſſours; the loſſe whereof, *Muleaſſes* (in the hearing of *P. Iouius*, out of whom this hiſtory is taken) ſaid (as he reporteth) that he would moſt gladly if it had bin poſſible, haue redeemed with the price of a city: then the precious ointments and perfumes, with the wonderfull ſtore of ambergrize, muske, and ciuet, worth much gold: all which, *Barbaruſſa* as a rude and rough man had made no reckoning of. And laſt of all, the rare and rich colours for painting, which lying by heapes, were by the ignorant ſoldiers, ſeeking for that might yeeld them preſent mony, fooliſhly neg- I
lected and troden vnder foot, ſeruing no man to good. In this caſtle were found diuers head-pieces and other armor of the Chriſtians, namely, of the French, who with *Lewis* their King, had about three hundred yeares before beſieged that caſtle: which armour had beene vntill that time there kept by the Moores in remembrance of that victory againſt the Chriſtians.

Three things eſpecially lamented by Muleaſſes in the ſpoile of the caſtle of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa in the meane time was come to the riuer of Bagrada, which the Moores call Maiordech, which he eaſily paſſed ouer, though he was purſued by certaine Numidian horſemen, whom *Muleaſſes* had raiſed of his old friends, and of the followers of his vncle *Dorax*, and ſent them to purſue the Turks: but *Barbaruſſa* ſo marched with his harquebuſiers and archers placed in the rereward, that the Numidian horſemen durſt not come neere him, and ſo in ſafety came to Hippona, as he had before purpoſed. Yet in paſſing the riuer Bagrada, he loſt *Haydin* K
of Smyrna, that famous pirat: who being a fat man, and wearied with the heat of the Sunne and painefulneſſe of the journy, dranke ſo much, that he died preſently vpon the banke of the riuer. When *Barbaruſſa* was come to Hippona, he reſted his men two daies: then calling them together againe, he comforted them with good words; perſuading them, that whatſoeuer miſchance had hapned, they ſhould impute it not to the valour of the enemy, but to the trechery of the ſlaues: exhorting them, as valiant men patiently to indure that frowne of Fortune, and by ſome notable exploit to win againe her fauour: for he was againe determined to put to ſea with the fleet he had, and to go preſently from thence to Algiers, where after he had with new ſupplies increaſed his power, and augmented his fleet, and better aduiſed himſelfe, he would take an attempt in hand anſwerable to their deſires, and not vnbeſeeming his own credit and L
eſtimation. It is reported, that neuer vanquiſhed and beaten captaine was with more cheerefull acclamation anſwered by his ſouldiers, than he was at that preſent; they all with one conſent moſt willingly requeſted him to command whatſoeuer pleaſed him, which they would neuer refuſe to vndertake, were it neuer ſo heauy or dangerous, ſo that they might be brought to ſome notable exploit. *Barbaruſſa* vſing this exceeding cheerefulneſſe and forwardneſſe of his ſoldiers, did with with wonderfull celerity weigh vp the 14 gallies which he ſunke in the lake, and forthwith rigged them vp, and furniſhed them for all aſſaies: and vpon the very brinke of the lake caſt vp a mount of earth, whereon he placed certain pieces of artillery for defence of the harbour; not vainely conjecturing, that the Chriſtian fleet would in ſhort time come thither to impeach his going out: pointing therein as it were at the purpoſe of the Emperor and M
Auria his admirall, who were of opinion, that by ſending part of the fleet thither, thoſe gallies might be drown'd in the harbor with the great ordnance, before they could be rigged and made ready. Vnto this piece of ſeruice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a captaine of Genoa, a man of no great skill in matters at-ſea, but yet of great wealth & credit, and the Admirals nigh kinſman:

Barbaruſſa flieth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiers.

Auria ſendeth certaine gallies to intercept Barbaruſſa.

he

A he with certaine galliots and foureteene gallies, ſet forwards towards Hippona, promiſing vnto himſelfe a moſt certain and eaſie victory, hoping to purchaſe vnto himſelfe great honor of the vnprouided enemy: for that he thought to haue taken *Barbaruſſa* buſie in ſetting forth of his fleet. But after he was paſt Biſerta, and come neere to Hippona, he was certainly aduertiſed, that *Barbaruſſa* had with incredible celerity rigged vp his gallies and fortified the harbor, by planting great ordnance vpon the mount he had there raiſed. With which newes he wonderfully troubled, changed his purpoſe, perſuaded by the other captaines of the gallies, in no caſe to aduentnre to fight with him, becauſe the Spaniſh, Sicilian, and Neapolitan gallies were but weakly manned, many of the ſouldiers being for greedineſſe of the ſpoile, gone aſhore without leaue at Tunes: ſo that he ſhould at great diſaduantage fight with the Turks, being mo in
B number and deſperatly bent. Wherefore he vpon good aduice preſently changed his former courſe, and returned to the fleet for more aid. *Barbaruſſa* (as it was afterwards knowne) ſtood a good while in doubt, whether he ſhould in hope of victory purſue thoſe gallies, foraſmuch as they were in number no more than his owne, or elſe to perſiſt in his former purpoſe of going to Algiers. Vnto which opinion all the vnder captains inclined, being altogether ignorant of the weakneſſe of the Chriſtians: and ſo letting ſlip a faire occaſion, leauing a ſmall garriſon of Turks in the caſtle, he departed from Hippona & ſailed along the coaſts to Algiers. When *Adam* was returned againe to the fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Chriſtian Princes were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of ſome who were hardly to be commanded, and by the vnrulineſſe of others who without leaue was gone aſhore, ſo faire an occaſion
C of the deſired victory, was neglected. For this thing only wanted vnto the Emperors rare felicity in that war: for if thoſe few gallies had bin taken from the cruell enemy, or ſunke in the ſea, there had been no meanes for him to haue eſcaped; being verily thought that the Numidians in number infinit, and deadly enemies vnto the Turks, would with often skirmiſhes out of their knowne places of aduantage, haue ſo cut him off in his long and painfull trauell by land, that they would altogether haue made an end both of him and his followers before he could haue come to Algiers. *Auria* angry both with himſelfe and thoſe whom he had put in truſt, and yet not out of hope to ouertake his enemy; with his owne gallies and ſome other of the beſt ſhips went to Hippona: but finding *Barbaruſſa* gone, he took the city and ouerthrew the wals thereof: but in the caſtle which he by force tooke from the Turks, he placed *Aluarus Gometius* with a ſufficient garriſon, and ſo returned vnto the Emperor. This *Gometius*, al-
D though he was a moſt valiant captain, yet became ſo infamous for his auaritious dealing both with the enemy and his friends, that for feare how to anſwer ſuch things as he knew would be laid to his charge, he became the infamous executioner of himſelfe. The caſtle was afterwards by the cammandement of the Emperor, raſed downe to the ground, for that it was not without a maruellous charge to be kept. After that, a counſell was holden concerning *Muleaſſes*, whom the Emperour placed again in the kingdome of Tunes, there to reigne as his anceſtors had don before him; paying him yearly by the name of a tribute, two Faulcons, and two Numidian courſers: with condition, that he ſhould for euer honour the Emperour, and be a friend vnto all Chriſtians, and an vtter enemy vnto the Turks. Beſides that, That he ſhould
E from time to time defray the charges of a thouſand Spaniards and more, to be left in garriſon in the caſtle of Guletta; by holding whereof, the Emperour kept as it were the keies of that kingdome at his girdle. The Emperor hauing thus honourably driuen *Barbaruſſa* & the Turks pyrats out of Tunes, taken from them their gallies, deliuered the Chriſtian countries (al along the ſea coaſt into the Mediterranean) of a great feare, and reſtored *Muleaſſes* again to his kingdome, ſayled into Sicilia, where he was in great triumph receiued at Panormus and Meſſana, from whence he paſſed ouer to Rhegium in Italy, and from thence by land to Naples. Thus was the kingdome of Tunes taken by *Barbaruſſa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the Emperour recouered againe out of their hands the ſelfe-ſame time that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelfe in wars againſt the Perſian: whom *Barbaruſſa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Iew, after this ouer-
F throw met at Iconium in his returne out of Perſia, well excepting of their excuſe, as is before declared.

Barbaruſſa eſcapeth to Algiers.

The kingdom of Tunes is by the emperour reſtored to Muleaſſes.

The Emperour returneth with victory into Italy.

Solyman as well of his own ambitious diſpoſition, as following the manner of the *Othoman* kings, deſirous by all meanes to increaſe the glory of his name, and to inlarge his Empire, determined with himſelfe to take away from the Portingals all their traffick into the Eaſt Indies. 1537

It

It grieued him to heare, that the Christian religion should begin to take root amongst those G
Pagan kings, which had not long before receiued the Mahometan religion: Besides that, he was credibly informed, that the Portingals in these late wars he had against the Persians, had aided them with certain harquebusiers, and also had sent them workemen to shew them both the making and vse of great artillery. But that which moued him most of all, was for that the Portingals by their trafficke into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandise into the gulfe of Arabia, whereby the riches of the East were wont to be transported vnto Caire, and so to Alexandria, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian Merchants and others dispersed into all parts of Europe: but now were carried by the great Ocean into Portingall, and from thence conueied into all parts of Christendome, to the great hindrance of his tributes and customs of Ægypt. For these causes and at the instance of *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch, H
borne in Epirus, and then Gouernour of Ægypt; *Solyman* caused wonderfull preparation to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the red sea, to go against the Portingals. All the timber whereof was cut downe in the mountaines of Cilicia, and shipped in the bay of Atralia in the bottome of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by sea transported to Pelusium, and so vp the riuer of Nilus to Caire; where after it was framed and ready to be set together, it was with infinit labour, and no lesse charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that hot and sandy country, from Caire to Suetia, a port of the Red sea, called in antient time Arsinoe. From which place eightie miles distant from Caire, the ancient Kings of Ægypt, seeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eternise the memory of themselues, had with incredible charge cut through all that maine land; so that vessels of good burthen might come vp the same from I
The Ægyptian Kings about to let in the red sea into the Mediterranean. Arsinoe to Caire: which great cut or ditch, *Sesostris* the rich king of Ægypt, and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purposed to haue made a great deale wider and deeper, and thereby to haue let the Red sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier transportation of the Indian Merchandise to Caire and Alexandria. Which mad worke, *Sesostris* preuented by death could not performe: and *Ptolomeus* otherwise persuaded by skilfull men, in time gaue ouer: for feare lest by letting in the great South sea into the Mediterranean, he should thereby as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greatest part of Grecia, and many other goodly cnuntries in Asia, and with exceeding charge, in stead of honor, haue purchased himselfe eternall infamy. Yet by the singular industry of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with seuere commandement inforced all the people of the countries therabouts to the furtherance of the K
building of that fleet; he had with wonderfull celerity in short time new built eighty tall ships and gallies at Arsinoe, and furnished them with men, and all things else needfull for so long a voyage. At which time he vpon a quarrell pickt without cause, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, most injuriously confiscated the goods of the Venetian merchants at Alexandria and Caire, and thrust the marriners into his gallies as slaues. With which fleet in most warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Bassa, accompanied with *Assan-Beg*, commonly called the Moore of Alexandria, a most famous pyrat and an excellent sea-man, set forward against the Portingals: and sailing thorow the Red sea, and so Eastward by the gulfe of Persia, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus; where with all his power he assaulted Dium a
Dium a castle of the Portingals in the East-Indies in vaine assaulted by the Turks. castle of the Portingals, scituate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in conclusion, after he L
had many daies besieged the castle both by sea and land, and tried the vttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portingals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, & leauing his great ordnance behind him for hast, returned backe againe to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Fœlix: where discouraged with the euill successe he had against the Portingals, because he would be thought to haue done something, he allured the king of that rich city to come vnto him, vpon his false faith before giuen for his safe returne: but as soone as he had him aboord,
The treacherous dealing of Solyman the eunuch Bassa with the kings of Arabia he like a perjured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall gally, and so surprising the city, enriched himselfe with the spoile thereof. The like barbarous cruelty he vsed at Zibyth, another famous port of Arabia, where the pilgrims of the East do commonly land when they after the manner of their superstition come to visit the temple of their false M
prophet at Mecha: the king of which place together with all his nobility he cruelly murthered, contrary to his faith giuen; and so trauelling himselfe by land to Mecha, as if he had been some deuout pilgrim, sent backe his fleet by the Moore to Suetia, hauing performed against the Portingals nothing at all.

At

A At the ſame time *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Lutzis* and *Ajax* (the Baſſaes of greateſt authority about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his forces from the Perſians, as men agreeing with him in the chiefe points of his Mahometan ſuperſtition, with purpoſe to conuert the ſame vpon Italy: whereunto he was earneſtly ſolicited by *Iohn Forreſt* the French Kings Embaſſador, then lying at Conſtantinople of purpoſe to incite *Solyman* againſt *Charles* the Emperour, aſſuring him that he was not of ſuch power, as at one time to defend Apulia againſt him, and the Dukedome of Millaine againſt the French King, who (as he ſaid) was determined that Summer to inuade that part of Italy. And to further the matter, about the ſame time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble gentleman, ſometime commander in *Charles* the Emperors army, but then exiled out of Naples, fled vnto *Solyman*; and foraſmuch as he was a man
B of name, and like to do him great ſeruice in the inuaſion of Apulia, as one which knew the country well, and promiſed vnto him good ſucceſſe in that wars, was by *Solyman* honourably entertained amongſt his Mutfaracas: which is a certaine company of horſemen for their approued valor, choſen out of all nations; hauing the free exerciſe of their religion whatſoeuer without controllement, and are onely bound to attend vpon the perſon of the great Turke when he goeth to wars. The cauſe of his reuolt was, for that the Viceroy of Naples had executed *Andrew* his brother, one of the Knights of the Rhodes. But being now growne into great fauour with *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, and oftentimes called to counſell in the preparation of that war, caſting off all naturall loue of his country, ceaſed not by all meanes to perſuade *Solyman* to inuade the ſame; aſſuring him, that the people of Apulia and Salerne, oppreſſed with
C grieuous tribute and exactions by the Emperors officers, would at the firſt reuolt, eſpecially if they ſaw any of the French nation to cleaue vnto. And that which moued him more than all the reſt, the antient Turks told him into what a feare al Italy was ſtrucken, at ſuch time as *Achmetes* the Baſſa hauing taken Hydruntum, had vndoutedly conquered not only the kingdome of Naples, but the city of Rome alſo, and all the reſt of Italy, had not the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his great grandfather interrupted the courſe of that victory. Which perſuaſions wrought ſuch effect in *Solyman*, that he, once fully reſolued for the inuaſion of Italy, made ſuch expedition both by ſea and land, that he himſelfe in perſon was come with two hundred thouſand men vnto Aulona, the moſt conuenient port of Macedon for the tranſporting of his army, before it was thought in Italy that he was ſet forward from Conſtantinople: where he
D had not long ſtaid, but *Lutzis Baſſa* his Admiral, accompanied with *Barbaruſſa*, ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus and Epirus, and ſo paſſing by Corcyra, where *Hieronimus Piſaurius*, Admirall of the Venetian fleet lay with his gallies (after mutuall ſalutation done after the manner of ſea, by ſhooting off their great pieces in token of friendſhip) put into the hauen of Aulona alſo. *Solyman* not purpoſing to loſe any time, and hauing Italy now in his ſight, commanded *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa* to paſſe ouer with the fleet vnto Otranto, and to proue the minds of the people; that if the firſt enterpriſe fell out well, he might preſently follow after with all his army. With them went alſo *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the deſtruction of his country, as any of the reſt. He knowing that the great Cities of Hydruntum and Brunduſium were kept with ſtrong Garriſons of *Charles* the Emperour; leauing Hydruntum on
E the right hand, directed the Turks to a Towne vpon the Sea-coaſt, eight miles off, called Caſtrum, neere vnto which ſtandeth a caſtle vpon a hill then belonging to *Mercurinus Catinarius*: who being a man vnacquainted with warres, and terrified with the ſudden comming of the Turks, and perſuaded by *Troilus*, yeelded vp his Caſtle, vpon condition, That the Turks ſhould offer no violence or injury vnto him or his, either in body or goods. Vpon which condition the Towne of Caſtrum was alſo deliuered vnto them. But the Turkes, eſpecially the greedy marriners, being got into the Caſtle and the Towne, moued neither with the intreaty of *Troilus*, nor the commandement of *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa*, rifled the Towne and Caſtle, and carried away with them *Mercurinus* himſelfe, with all the floure of the people, to their gallies as priſoners. But *Lutzis* aſhamed of ſuch faithleſſe dealing, preſently ſet *Mer-*
F *curinus* at liberty againe. At the ſame time alſo, *Solyman* had by night ſent ouer certaine troupes of light horſemen, in great Palendars: which running all alongſt the ſea coaſt from Tarentum to Brunduſium, carried away with them both the people and cattell, and whatſoeuer elſe came in their way by the ſpace of forty miles. So that all that Countrey of Salentinum, now called Otranto, was filled with feare and danger; and had not there ſtaied, but

Solyman incited by the French Embaſſador to inuade Italy.

Solyman with an army of two hundred thouſand men commeth to Aulona

Solyman ſends Lutzis & Barbaruſſa with his fleet to inuade Italy.

Caſtrum in Apulia yeelded to the Turks, & by them contrary to their faith ſpoiled.

The Turkes ſpoile Apulia.

was

was like enough to haue ouerwhelmed all Italy, by the comming ouer of *Solyman* with his whole army, had not the raſhneſſe of one Venetian captaine by vnexpected chance turned that tempeſt from the Italians vpon the Venetians themſelues. G

Alexander Contarenus, a valiant captain of the Venetians, meeting with certain of the Turks gallies, which would neither vaile their top ſailes, nor in token of reuerence and friendſhip, diſcharge any of their great ordnance, as of duty they ought to haue done in thoſe ſeas, where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud inſolency, fiercely aſſailed them, and in fight ſunke two of them: wherein *Vſtamenes* Gouernour of Callipolis, a man of no ſmall reputation among the Turks, was reported to haue periſhed. Which outrage don by *Contarenus* in a moſt vnfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian eſtate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his owne priuat grudge which he bare againſt the Turks, for that they intercepted a ſhip of his as ſhe was comming out of the Eaſt countries laden with rich merchandiſe; ſo that it was thought, that he to pleaſe himſelfe in reuenging of his own priuat injury, regarded not what in that dangerous time might enſue thereof to the common ſtate. H

A little before the comming ouer of the Turks into Italy, *Andreas Aurea* the Emperours Admirall lying at Meſſana in Sicilia, vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was come with his army to Aulona, and that his fleet was arriued there alſo, put to ſea, directing his courſe towards the Iſlands of Caphalenia and Zacynthus, hoping (as indeed it fell out) to meet with the taile of the Turks fleet: for there according to his expectation he chanced vpon diuers of the Turks victuallers, whom he eaſily tooke. The marriners he chained in his owne gallies for ſlaues, and furniſhing his fleet with the victual, which was not for him prouided, fired the ſhips. Whileſt *Aurea* was thus beating too and fro in the Ionian ſea, it fortuned that *Solyman* ſent *Iunusbeius* his chiefe interpreter, a man whom he made no ſmall account of, with two gallies on a meſſage to *Lutzis* his Admirall. This proud Turke comming neere vnto Corcyra, where the Venetian Admirall lay with his fleet, offered ſcornefully to paſſe, without vailing: which his pride tending to the diſgrace of the Venetians, certaine of the Venetian captains not enduring, ſet vpon him with ſuch fury, that the Turks were enforced to run both their gallies on ſhore vpon the coaſt of Epirus, neere vnto the mountaines called Acroceraunij, where hauing eſcaped the danger at ſea, they fell almoſt all into the hands of the cruell mountaine people, liuing for the moſt part by theft, and waiting for wracks, as hawks for their prey: by theſe ſhauers the Turks were ſtript of all they had, and *Iunusbeius* with much adoe redeeming himſelfe out of their hands returned to *Solyman*. *Aurea* ſailing alongſt the ſea coaſt, chanced vpon theſe gallies, and finding them ſore bruſed, ſet fire on them. I K

Iunusbeius with two gallies, driuen by the Venetians vpon the Acroceraunian rocks.

For theſe vnkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, and grieuouſly complained of them to *Solyman*: although the Venetian Admirall laboured by all means he could to appeaſe *Iunusbeius*, and to excuſe the matter as a thing done by great ouerſight on both ſides. Vpon theſe ſmall occaſions, the Turks ſought to breake off the league with the Venetians; which fell out ſo much the ſooner, for that about the ſame time *Auria* ſailing vp and down the Ionian ſea, and diligently looking into euery harbor to intercept ſuch as ſtragled from the Turks fleet, hapned by night to light vpon 12 of *Solymans* great gallies neere vnto Corcyra, all filled with his Ianizaries and choiſe horſemen of the court, the beſt ſoldiers of the Turks, who had by land ſent their horſes to the camp by their lackies, and were comming themſelues with the Ianizaries by ſea. *Auria* falling vpon theſe gallies, had with them a cruell and deadly fight: for they as reſolute men, wiſhing rather to die than to yeeld to their enemies, with inuincible courage maintained a moſt bloudy fight againſt *Auria* with his 30 gallies excellently appointed, vntill ſuch time as moſt part of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſore wounded; who ſeeing no remedy, but that they muſt needs come into the hands of their enemies, threw their ſcimiters ouerboord, becauſe thoſe choice weapons ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. In this conflict, *Auria* loſt alſo many of his beſt ſoldiers: yet hauing got the victory, and poſſeſſed of the gallies, he ankered neere vnto Corcyra, there to take view of his own harmes and the enemies: but whilſt he rid there at anker, he was aduertiſed, that *Barbaruſſa* was comming againſt him with 80 gallies. Wherefore knowing himſelfe too weake to encounter ſo ſtrong an enemy, he departed thence, and returned againe to Meſſana to repaire his fleet. *Solyman* thorowly chafed with the loſſe of his gallies and beſt ſouldiers, and with the double injury done vnto him by the Venetians, fell into ſuch a rage, that he L M

Auria taketh 12 of the Turks gallies full of Ianizaries and Solymans other beſt ſouldiers.

curſed

A curſed *Barbaruſſa*, as one who in theſe wars had done him no good ſeruice: and thundred out grieuous threats againſt the Venetians; ſaying, he was vnder the colour of an antient league, by them deceiued and greatly abuſed, and that they were ſecretly confederated with *Charles* his enemy, and had for that cauſe (as they had alwaies) holpen *Auria* with intelligence, and all things neceſſary, receiuing him into their harbors, and by their eſpials giuing him knowledge of the order of his fleet, that ſo he might at his own aduantage ſurpriſe his gallies, as he had already done. Vnto which fire, *Ianusbeius* his Interpreter, *Barbaruſſa*, and *Ajax*, laid new coles, more and more increaſing the tyrant, who was of himſelfe ſufficiently inflamed; perſuading him by all means they could, to breake the league with the Venetians. Wherein *Ianusbeius* ſought to reuenge his own priuat iniuries; and the other two after their greater profit and credit, gaping after the ſpoile of the Iſlands neer hand, eſpecially of Corcyra (now called Corfu) B Zacynthus and Cephalenia, all ſubiect to the Venetian ſeigniory; finding the wars in Italy more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not then into Italy, as was by them expected: and it was commonly reported, That *Petrus Toletanus* Viceroy of Naples, hauing put ſtrong garriſons into the towns all alongſt the ſea coaſt, was comming himſelfe with a great army: beſide that, the horſemen ſent ouer from Aulona, ranging about in the countrey of Salentum for ſpoile, were many times cut off by *Scipio Sommeius* a noble gentleman there Gouernor for the Emperor. Wherefore *Solyman* changing his purpoſe for the inuaſion of Italy, in his mad mood proclaimed war againſt the Venetians: and riſing with his army from Aulona, & marching alongſt the ſea coaſt till he came ouer againſt C Corcyra, he incamped neer vnto the mountains called Acroceraunij, where the fierce and wild people inhabiting the high and rough mountaine of Chimera, a part of the Acroceraunian mountains; by the inſtigation of one *Damianus* a notable theefe, and very perfect in the blind and difficult paſſages amongſt the rocks and woods in thoſe deſolate mountains; conſpired to attempt a moſt ſtrange and deſperat exploit, which was, by night to ſpoile *Solyman* in his own pauilion. Theſe beggerly wild rogues liuing for moſt part by murther and robbery, altogether without law or any maner of religion, in hope of ſo great a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world in the midſt of his ſtrength, garded with ſo many thouſands of his ſoldiers; were not afraid of any danger, how great ſoeuer, hoping in the dead time of the night to ſteale into the camp vndiſcouered, and there ſo to oppreſſe *Solyman* ſleeping in his tent. Which (as was by many afterwards ſuppoſed) they were like e- D nough to haue performed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, had it not bin by chance diſcouered: for when they had put all things in readineſſe for that purpoſe, *Damianus* ringleader of theſe deſperat ſauage people, by ſecret waies ſtealing downe the broken rockes of thoſe huge mountains, and comming very neer the camp, to view the ſtanding of *Solymans* pauilion, with the order of the Turks watch, was by the crack of a bough eſpyed by the Ianizaries, where he ſtood in a tree prying all ouer the camp: and being there taken, and afterward put to torture, and confeſſing what he had intended, was by the commandement of *Solyman* torne in pieces. Wherupon he forthwith ſent a great part of his army vp into the mountaines, which hunting after theſe wild people as if they had bin wild beaſts, ſlew many of them, and by *Solymans* ap- E pointment did what they poſſibly could to haue quite deſtroied them, as an infamous people, enemy to all men.

Ianusbeius, Barbaruſſa, and Ajax, inſence Solymã againſt the Venetians.

Solymã conuerteth his forces from the Italians againſt the Venetians.

Solymã in danger to haue bin ſlain in his tent in the midſt of his army.

When *Solyman* had thus fully reuenged himſelfe vpon this barbarous nation, he purpoſed to inuade the Iſland of Corcyra, now called Corfu, part of the Venetian Seigniory: ſending before *Barbaruſſa* with his great Artillery, whom he had but a little before called out of Italy with his forces. *Piſaurus* the Venetian Admirall in good time perceiuing the tyrants purpoſe, ſtrengthned the garriſons in both the Caſtles of Corfu, with new ſupplies of good ſouldiers ſent out of the gallies: and knowing himſelfe vnable to incounter with the Turks great fleet at ſea, withdrew himſelfe farther off from the Iſland, into the gulf of the Adriatick, to the intent to ioine his power with *Ioannes Veturius*, who kept that ſea with another fleet of the Venetian F gallies, and ſo with ioyned forces to defend the Venetian coaſts againſt the Turks: whom he thought himſelfe ſtrong enough for, with the help of *Veturius* and of *Auria*, whoſe comming was dayly expected. *Solyman* ſending a great part of his army out of the Main, into the Iſland, burnt and deſtroyed the country villages, leading away a wonderfull number of poore country people into moſt miſerable captiuity. *Ajax* the Baſſa, and *Barbaruſſa*, in two ſmall pinnaces

Solyman inuadeth the Iſland of Corcyra.

came as neer vnto the city of Corfu as they possibly could, to see which way they might most G
conueniently lay siege vnto it: but perceiuing the great strength thereof, being wonderfully fortified, and throughly manned, they aduertised *Solyman*, that it was a place impregnable. *Aloysius Ripa* and *Simon Leonius*, two Senators of Venice, were then gouernors of Corfu: who not without cause standing in doubt of the great strength of the Turks both by sea and land, caused the city suburbs (which were very great and sumptuously built) to be pluckt down, for fear that the Turks shrowding themselues in them, should more easily besiege the town. This was a woful and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the same time a man might haue seen the magnificent houses of the Venetian Merchants, built in time of long peace both for profit and for pleasure in euery place of the Island, and set on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publique state in so great a danger, made al those goodly things which went so to wrack, to be H
lightly accounted of in comparison of their liues and liberty; forasmuch as those lost things might with new charge be again in short time recouered.

The two Venetian Gouernours aforesaid, fearing a long siege, and not prouided of victuall to suffice such a multitude as were got into the City, for any long time; vsed a heauy and sharp remedy, by turning a great number of weak people and children vnable for seruice, out of the city; of whom many, specially children, died in the town ditches in their mothers arms, vnder the wals of the city, not daring to go any further for fear of the enemy, who had fast by, in places conuenient cast vp great mounts, and planted his Ordnance against the city. Onely the castle called S. *Angelo*, standing in the middle of the Island, about fifteen miles from the city of Corfu, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants against the assaults of the Turks, I
haply saued aboue three thousand poor people which fled thither from the fury of the Turks, who in all other places of the Island had made all desolate. The Turks the more to terrifie them of Corfu, taking a hill not far from the city, couered the same with their tents, and from the rock called Maripetrus, shot with their great ordnance into the town: some of them in the meane time standing close in the ruines of the suburbs, did with their harquebusies kill or wound them which appeared vpon the wals: the gallies also did oftentimes out of their prowesse discharge their great pieces against the city, to the greater terror than hurt of the defendants. *Solyman* perceiuing that he did but lose his labour in besieging the city (as he was told at the first by his great captains, *Lutzis*, *Ajax*, & *Barbarussa*) determined now to raise his siege, and to return to Constantinople, greatly ashamed that he had no better sped, neither in Italy, K
nor at the siege of Corfu. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how vnfaithfully some of his soldiers had dealt with them of Castrum in Italy, who yeelding themselues vpon the Turks faith to them giuen for the safegard of their liberty and goods, were neuertheles most iniuriously spoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage: which fact, as tending to the dishonor of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding, *Solyman* took in so euill part, that for amending therof, he caused the authors of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of Castrum to be diligently sought out, and sent home againe into their countrey; well deseruing therin the commendation of a most iust Prince. The Turks left the siege of Corfu, and departed out of the Island about the twelfth of September, in the yere 1537; carrying away about sixteen thousand of the Island people into perpetuall captiuity. L
So *Solyman* rising with his army, marching through Acarnania and Ætolia, returned through Macedonia to Constantinople: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in Italy and Corcyra, but yet nothing increased his empire or honour.

Good Iustice done by Solyman

The Turks depart frō Corfu, and cary away with thē aboue 16000 Christians into captiuitie.

Before his departure, calling vnto him *Lutzis* his Admirall, he commanded him also to returne with his fleet to Hellespontus: who passing by Zacynthus, and landing some of his men in the night, took diuers of the countrey people prisoners. But vnderstanding that the City it selfe was both strong and well manned, he departed thence to Cythera, where vnfortunately attempting to haue taken the castle, and disappointed of his purpose, he made what spoyle he could vpon that Island, and with 800 prisoners returned into Ægeum to Ægyna, a rich and famous Island, and well peopled both with mariners and other Inhabitants. Approaching the M
Island, he by his messengers sent before vnto the Gouernour of the City, attempted first by faire means, and afterwards by threats, to haue had the City yeelded vnto him: and not so preuailing, but perceiuing them to stand vpon their defence, he landed his men, and gaue the signall

A nall of battell; which they of the Iſland refuſed not, but manfully met him, and at the firſt incounter ſlew many of his men. Wherwith the Admiral grieuouſly offended, and ſtil landing freſh men, euen with his multitude oppreſſed them of the Iſland, being but few in number, and weary of long fight, and ſo inforced them to retyre into the city.

Ægina with other Iſlands of the Egeum ſpoiled.

To be reuenged of this injury, the Baſſa cauſed certain great pieces of ordnance to be landed, and a battery planted againſt the City: by force whereof he had in ſhort time in diuers places opened the walls, and then with all his power aſſaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke the city, which after he had rifled, he burnt it down to the ground, raſed the wals, and put euery man to the ſword. As for the women, he gaue them without reſpect vnto the luſt of his ſoldiers and mariners; whom afterwards together with the boies and young children he ſhipt into
B the country neer Athens, to be from thence conueyed vnto Conſtantinople, into moſt miſerable ſeruitude.

Ægina thus vtterly raſed, he with much like force and cruelty raged vpon them of Paros and the other Iſlands therabouts, killing the old men and ſuch as made reſiſtance, & thruſting the reſt into his gallies. Shortly after he came to the Iſle of Naxos, where all the Iſland people were for fear of his comming fled out of the country into the city; where landing his men he made hauock of whatſoeuer came to hand. And in the mean time ſent a meſſenger to the Duke, to wil him to yeeld himſelf and his city into the obedience of the Turkiſh Emperour *Solyman*. Which meſſenger admitted into the city, and brought before the duke, in blunt and plain terms, without further circumſtance, deliuered his meſſage thus:

C

A blunt ſpeech of a Turk ſent to the Duke of Naxos.

If thou wilt without more ado yeeld thy ſelf, thy city and territory, to the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, thou ſhalt deſerue his fauor, and ſo ſaue thy ſelfe with that thou haſt. But if thou, otherwiſe aduiſed, ſhalt now refuſe this grace, thou ſhalt neuer haue the like offer, but for euer vndo thy ſelfe, thy wife & children, thy citiſens, and ſubiects in generall. Here is preſent a moſt mighty fleet, with moſt valiant and victorious ſoldiers, furniſhed with all the habiliments of war requiſit for battell or ſiege. Be warned by them of Ægina, Paros, and other thy neighbor Princes of the Iſlands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not miſaduiſed, and (warned by other mens harms) wilfully refuſe to remedy thy owne; and when thou mightſt be ſafe, wilfully caſt away thy ſelf.

D This ſaid, he was commanded by the duke to ſtand aſide, and a while to expect his anſwer: who with the chief of his ſubjects there preſent, but much troubled, and all full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, conſulted what anſwer to make. But after they had according to the weightineſſe of the cauſe, and neceſſity of time fully debated the matter, it was generally agreed, That foraſmuch as they were not themſelues of power to withſtand ſo furious an enemy, neither to expect for help from others, they ſhould therfore yeeld vnto the preſent neceſſity (which otherwiſe threatned vnto them vtter deſtruction) & reſerue themſelues vnto better times. Wherupon anſwer was giuen vnto the meſſenger by the Duke, That he was ready to yeeld himſelf vnto *Solyman* as his Vaſſal, and of him as of his Soueraign to hold his ſeigniory for the yearly tribute of 5000 duckets. Of which offer the Baſſa accepted, receiuing in hand one yeares
Naxos becomes tributary vnto the Turks.
E tribute. So was that notable Iſland yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance the 11 of November *Anno* 1537. From whence *Lutzis* the proud Baſſa, laded with the rich ſpoil of the Countries and Iſlands he had paſſed by, returned to Conſtantinople with his fleet.

Not long after, this great Baſſa (then next in credit and authority to *Solyman* himſelfe) fel at ods with his wife *Solymans* ſiſter; for that he, after the vnnaturall manner of that barbarous people, kept in his houſe a moſt delicat youth, in whom he took more delight than in his wife. Which ſhe being a woman of great ſpirit, not able to indure, and knowing her husband by marying of her, to haue bin from baſe degree aduanced vnto the higheſt honors the Emperor her brother could heap vpon him; in great rage reproued him with moſt bitter words; ſaying, That ſhe had maried him to be of him beloued, and vſed as his wife, and not contemp-
F tuouſly abuſed by his minions. Wherwith the Baſſa moued, gaue her a blow on the eare, and cauſed her as a fooliſh and vnquiet woman to be ſhut vp in her chamber. But ſhe not brooking ſuch abuſe, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, & complaining of her husband, requeſted to be diuorced from him, who made no more reckoning of her. And with her complaint ſo inſenced *Solyman*, that he took from him his Seal, and thruſt him out of all his honourable

Lutzis Bassa exiled.

promotions, and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old loue and friendship staied his fury: yet hauing vtterly disgraced him, he banished him the Court, into Macedonia, where he spent the remainder of his life like a poor priuat man. Of whom *Boisardus* thus writeth: G

Quæ tibi cum molli res est pollute Cynedo:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humili fortuna loco te evexit in altum
Ex alto major sæpe ruina venit.

On dainty Boyes, thou filthy man, why dost thou fix thyne eye; H
Whilst princely Dame of royal bloud doth in thy chamber lye?
From base estate, to honors hight blind fortune did thee call,
And set thee vp with princes great, to work thy greater fall.

The Turks and Venetians spoil one another.

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforesaid; to intangle them with Wars in diuers places at once, commanded his Lieutenants in euery place bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniory, to vex and molest them with all hostility, which they did accordingly. In Peloponesus *Cassimes* besieged Nauplium and Epidaurus, two strong Cities of the Venetians. *Barbarussa* landing his men in Dalmatia, surprised the antient city of Botrotus, belonging to the Venetians, caried away the Citisens, and rased the City. Obroatium another city of the I
Venetians in Dalmatia, called in antient time Argirutum, with the Castle of Nadin, were taken by *Vstref*, *Solymans* Lieutenant in Illyria.

The Venetians thus inuaded on euery side, requited them again with the like. *Pisaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their men, besieged Scardona a city of the Turkes in the borders of Dalmatia, which they took by force, put the Turks to the sword, & ouerthrew the wals of the city, because it should be no more a refuge vnto the Turks. They sent also another of their captains called *Gabriel Ribeus*, to besiege Obroatium; who vpon the comming of *Amurathes* one of *Vstrefs* Captaines, cowardly fled, and in flight lost most of his men. For which his cowardise *Pisaurius* caused his head to be strook off aboord the Admiral gally. And *Camillus Vrsinus*, appointed by the Venetian state gouernor of Iadera, a strong Town vpon the K
frontiers of their territory in Dalmatia, took from the Turks the town of Ostrovizza, which he burnt down to the ground. He recouered also Obroatium, which was a little before lost; and by commandement from the Senat vtterly rased it, as a place not well to be kept against the Enemy.

The same Autumn that *Solyman* hauing wasted Corcyra, returned to Constantinople, and the Venetians held wars with the Turks for the towns and castles in Dalmatia; King *Ferdinand* receiued such an ouerthrow at Exek by the Turks, as a greater or more shamefull vnto the name of the Christians was hardly seen in that age; if the losse of the choice souldiours and Captains of four great Nations, with the shameful flight of the General, be well considered. After the battell of Mohatcz, wherin King *Lewis* was lost, the Turks hauing gotten the L
victory, kept vnto themselues that part of Hungary which is called Possega, because thereby they had a fit passage from Belgrade farther into Hungary. The two great Riuers of Savus and Dranus running almost with equall distance from the West, taking with them diuers other smaller Riuers, before they fall into the great Riuer of Danubius Eastward, do on both sides inclose this countrey of Possega, being a rich and plentifull Countrey, and wonderfully well peopled. It bordereth vpon the Prouinces of Croatia and Corbania; which in times past were in continuall warres with the Turkish Garrisons there by in Illyria, and also in Bosna.

Mahometes Gouernor of Belgrade.

At that time one *Mahometes* a most valiant captain of the Turks was gouernor of Belgrade: to whom for his approoued valour and wisedome *Solyman* had committed the keeping of M
those Frontiers, and the protection of the kingdom of Hungary in the behalfe of King *Iohn*. He the year before had so vsed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, hee had taken from the Christians aboue thirty small Castles in the Countrey (which was sometime a part of the patrimony of the Despot of Rascia) and had joined them to the regiment of Bosna.

One

A One of theſe caſtles amongſt the reſt, called Exek, for the commodious ſcituation therof he ſtrongly fortified, as that which might giue him paſſage ouer the riuer Dranus into Hungary; from whence he fet infinit preys out of King *Ferdinands* country neer vnto him. Yet was there at that time a certain league betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithſtanding after the old cuſtom of thoſe Countries, for the exerciſe of the garriſon ſoldiers, did bear with the taking of booty, and light skirmiſhes, without any breach thereof: ſo that it were done without any great power or field pieces. Which wrong named peace *Mathias* & other kings of Hungary had of long time vſed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light horſemen no leſſe harm than they receiued. But the Germans now vſing no ſuch light horſemen, but ſeruing vpon great horſes, and charged with heauy armour, receiued great hurt by thoſe
B light skirmiſhes; the Turks with their light horſes eaſily ſhunning their charge, and again at their pleaſure charging them afreſh, when they ſaw the heauy German horſes almoſt wearie and ſpent: by which means the German horſmen were oftentimes by the Turks light horſemen ouerthrown, and ſo either ſlain or taken. King *Ferdinand* not wel brooking theſe continual injuries, and grieued in mind at the league which *Solyman* had to his profit made with him at his going into Perſia; finding the ſame both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himſelfe, determined to take vp arms, with purpoſe that if he could driue the Turks out of the Countrey of Poſſega, then forthwith to paſſe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to Buda againſt king *Iohn*. It ſtil ſtucke in his minde, how that kingdome was taken from him by *Solyman*, and that more was, as it were in diſgrace of him and the Houſe of Auſtria, beſtowed vpon a ſtranger, which
C had neither right therto, nor was any way royally deſcended. Yet there were ſome that wiſhed him, not raſhly to enter into arms againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, as was not to be vanquiſhed but by the vnited forces of all the Chriſtian Princes of Europ. For they foreſaw, that *Soliman* ſo prouoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare againſt the Chriſtians, and for his honour, ſeeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late don againſt the Venetians, with whom vpon a light occaſion he had broke an antient League, for ſinking one or two of his gallies; for which he would admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to bee true: yet all the people of his dominions lay ſo earneſtly vpon him to take that war in hand, that they ſaid plainly, they would neuer bear arms more againſt the Turks, if he omitted that occaſion. For they of Carinthia, Stiria, Croatia and Noricum, ſubiect to the inuaſion of the
D Turks, & daily receiuing great harms, thought the Turks might eaſily be driuen out of Poſſega, forſomuch as *Mahometes* had no great power, nor like to haue any greater, Autumn now almoſt ſpent.

So King *Ferdinand*, with the wonderful rejoicing of his ſubjects, cauſed ſoldiers to be taken vp in all parts of his kingdom, ſending for moſt of his nobility and beſt captaines, as to a Religious War: and in a very ſhort ſpace had raiſed a good Army, yet ſuppoſed of greater ſtrength than number, as conſiſting moſt of ſelect men. The footmen were for moſt part Germanes; to whom were joined as wings certaine Companies of Italians, harquebuſiers, whom *Lewis Lodronius*, a valiant captain, and General of the footmen, had raiſed in Rhetia and thoſe parts of Italy which lie neer vnto the Alps. The horſmen were of Bohemia, Sileſia, Moravia,
E Stiria, Carinthia, and ſome alſo out of Hungary, all conducted by their ſeueral captains. All theſe horſmen were in number 8000, but the footmen were 16000 ſtrong, with great ſtore of artillery of all ſorts. This army for the expertnes and valor of the ſoldiers, was thought ſufficient to haue met the greateſt army of the Turks in field, if it had been conducted by a politique General, and (as he had at other times bin) fortunat: which was one *Iohn Cazzianer* a nobleman of Croatia, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of Vienna, King *Ferdinand* had made General of his Army. For *Ferdinand* by the aduice of his beſt friends neuer vſed to aduenture his perſon vnto the danger of any battell, eſpecially againſt the Turks, by whom many Chriſtian Kings had in former time bin vanquiſhed and ſlain; but performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought to do not ſo much for want
F of courage, as moued with the fatal miſhap of ſo many Chriſtian Kings. *Mahometes* gouernor of Belgrade vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, ſent for diuers companies of the garriſon ſouldiers which lay vpon the borders neer hand; hee required aid of the Gouernours of the Turks prouince thereabouts, and was eſpecially holpen by *Vſtref* Gouernour of Boſna, who of all *Solymans* Lieutenants in Europ, was able to bring into the field moſt good

An euill aſſured League.

K. Ferdinand breaks League with the Turks

Cazzianer General of King Ferdinands army.

Mahometes gouernor of Belgrade aided by the other Turkiſh captains.

horſemen;he ſent him *Amurathes* a famous Captaine with a great companie of gallant horſe- G
men,vnto whom were joined certain companies of footmen of the wild and mountain people of Dalmatia,entertained for pay; which rough and rude kinde of people were gouerned and kept in order by certain companies of Ianizaries drawn out of the garriſon towns as farre as Belgrade and Samandria. After whom followed many out of Servia and Raſcia, ſome for pay,ſome for prey: the Turks Receiuer liberally paying to ſuch as were willing to ſerue, two months pay before hand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hungarians from Buda. So that the Turkiſh gouernors on euery ſide putting to their helping hands,*Mahometes* had in ſhort time gathered ſuch an army,as for number and ſtrength was not much inferior to King *Ferdinands*, and reſolued to expect the comming of his enemies at Exek. *Cazzianer* was now come as far on his way as Caprunza,a town vpon the riuer Dranus; hauing before well and conueniently H
prouided for the victualling of his army,if they whom he put in truſt,and had taken the matter vpon them,had with like ſpeed and diligence performed their charge: for they were the chief men of all the Countrey; who all followed the direction of *Symon* Biſhop of Zagrabia: who inflamed with zeal aboue meaſure, or elſe for want of judgement deceiued, had promiſed to ſerue the whole Campe with plenty of victuals at a very low rate. Which thing the Country people which were to bring in the victual,ſome by wagon,ſome by boats along the Riuers,many difficulties now ariſing,were not able to perform:which was not to be remedied by reaſon of the neerneſſe of the enemy;and alſo for that *Mahometes* with ſmal gallies in both Riuers,and his troups of horſmen pricking vp and down the country,did either ſtay the country people from bringing of victuall, or els allured them for a greater price to bring it to his I
own Camp,where they receiued ready money. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward from Caprunza, hardly came in ten dayes to the Caſtle of Veruza, which is about forty miles diſtant from Caprunza; being inforced to make ſhort marches, by reaſon of the troubleſome carriage of ſome great pieces of Artillery for battery. The wiſer ſort began euen then to miſdoubt the want of victuals, both for the reaſons before alledged, and for that ſuch victuall as they loo-
A ſlow march. ked for came not, although they marched very ſoftly: ſo that they were then inforced to ſpend ſuch victuall as they had prouided,not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted War. Wherof *Cazzianer* wrot ſharply to the Biſhop,and to the others who had taken vpon them the charge of prouiding victuall for the Army; commanding them to vſe all poſſible diligence and ſpeed,and not to let the hope of a moſt aſſured victory to be loſt K
through their negligence, for want of victuall, rather than the valour of the enemy. In the mean time *Cazzianer* thought good there to ſtay,and to expect the comming of victuall,ſending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thouſand Hungarian light horſmen,and certain companies of Italian harquebuſiers,as far as the Caſtle of Zopia, to the intent he might of ſuch priſoners as he could take,learn ſomthing of the enemies purpoſe. The Turks in the Caſtle of Zopia deſcrying the comming of *Bachitius*, and thinking the whole Army of the Chriſtians had bin at hand,ſet fire on the Caſtle,which they thought they could not keepe, and by boats fled down the riuer Dranus. Yet for all their haſt,*Bachitius* took ſome of them in their flight,of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which he before knew by his own eſpials, That *Mahometes* and the Turks lay incamped at Exek, with a full reſolution to giue him battell. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward again,ſtill keeping alongſt the riuer of Dranus,came in eight daies to the L
Cazianer comes to walpo. caſtle of Walpo:where by the way he was glad to ſtay ſeuen daies at the riuer Craſſus,which falleth into Dranus, vntill ſuch time as a bridge was made for the tranſporting of his Army, for that the riuer was not to be waded ouer: in which time *Cazzianer* entred oftentimes into counſell with the other Captains, what courſe to hold for the better proceeding in that war. Where diuers men were of diuers opinions: ſome ſaid it were beſt to leaue Exek, and to beſiege a caſtle of the enemies there by, called Villach. Others more wary than the reſt,were of opinion, That it were better there to ſtay vntil the reſt of the aid and victuall,which they expected dayly,were come. But the greater number (which alſo preuailed) vrged the firſt determination, of going directly to the enemy at Exek, for that longer delay would but breed M
further danger; and there was in the Camp (as they ſaid) both ſtrength and victual ſufficient for the obtaining of the victory,if they would make an end of their needleſſe Conſultations, and not protract the Warre vntill that Winter were come on: wherby they did nothing elſe but cauſe moſt of the ſoldiers to think that they were afraid to meet the Enemy; and ſecretly

to

A to ſteal back again into their countries. Wheras if they would like reſolute men march on forward againſt the enemy, who at other times truſting moſt vnto his multitudes, and now hauing no great power, would neuer abide the ſight of the Chriſtian Army, bringing with it ſo much Artillery, but forthwith forſake the place and neuer ſhew his face: foraſmuch as the Chriſtian men at Armes would (as they ſaid) eaſily breake thorow and ouerthrow the naked Turkiſh horſmen, if they durſt abide the field. The yong ſouldiers, who had neuer made proof as yet of the Turks maner of fight, did with ſuch cheerfulnes like of this reſolution, that they thought two daies ſtay a long delay of ſo ready and eaſie a victory. Wherfore it was reſolued vpon preſently to ſet forward, and therupon the Army was muſtred: where vpon view taken there was found to be 10000 horſmen (for diuers troups of Germans were come vnto the
B Camp after the time of the firſt ſetting forward of the Army) a more gallant company of horſmen, both for the ſtrength of the horſes, and goodly furniture of the men, had ſeldom bin ſeen in an Army ſo ſuddedly raiſed. But the footmen, ſelected out of all the prouinces, were greatly diminiſhed, being now in number ſcarce 8000 ſtrong: for many were ſick in the camp; others weary of the long journy, lingring behind were ſtoln away: and generally al they that were left, moyled with dirt and myre by reaſon of the deepnes of the rotten way, wet thorow with rain, and almoſt ſtarued with cold, and therto pinched with hunger, were thought ſcarce able to endure the hardneſſe of the preſent War. After that, commandement was giuen, that euery ſoldier ſhould carry with him three dayes victuall; and proclamation made, That no man ſhould vpon pain of death take any Turke priſoner, although he yeelded himſelfe, or
C charge himſelf with any ſpoil before the battel were fully ended; for that the Captains would afterwards diuide the ſpoil of the enemy amongſt the ſouldiers. This proclamation made thorow the camp, they ſet forward towards Exek, and the third day they came to a certain valley about three miles from Exek, where the incamped. The next day a company of Turks ſhewed themſelues, who were by the great ordnance repulſed. The day following, the ene- *The Turkes skirmiſh with the Chriſtians.*
my ſallied out of the Towne, and skirmiſhed oftentimes with the Chriſtians: in which skirmiſhes many were ſlain on both ſides, but more wounded of the Chriſtians; for that the Turks had politiquely mingled certain Ianizaries, harquebuſiers, and archers, with their horſemen; who, vſed to that maner of fight, ſore gauled the Chriſtian horſemen. For which cauſe the Generall forbad all ſuch light skirmiſhes, as purpoſing to keep his ſtrength whole againſt the
D generall day of battell: commaunding his Cannoniers ſo to place the great Ordnance as might moſt annoy the enemy if he ſhould ſhew himſelfe by troups within the danger of the ſhot: which was ſo wel performed, that the Turks ſallying forth receiued thereby great hurt, the great ſhot flying through the midſt of their companies. The ſame day *Symon* Biſhop of Zagrabia came into the Camp with his horſmen, and a certain prouiſion of victuall; whereby the fear of the want before conceiued, was wel eaſed. *Mahometes* perceiuing that the Chriſtians were not longer to be drawn to thoſe harmful skirmiſhes, but that he muſt bring himſelf within the danger of the great ſhot; to annoy them by another means, ſent many ſmall Boats manned with harquebuſiers and ſmall pieces of ordnance, into the lake neer vnto the Campe, ſo to keep the Chriſtians from watring there, and with thoſe ſmall pieces ſhot oftentimes in-
E to the camp. Neer to the vally where the Chriſtians lay, was a hill, wherupon ſtood a village, wherin were placed certain Companies of Turks, to skirmiſh as occaſion ſhould ſerue with the Chriſtians: for diſplacing of whom, the whole Army was ſtraitway put in order of battel, and the great Artillery bent vpon them, that they ſhould not with their light skirmiſhes, after the Turkiſh manner of fight, trouble the order of the Army. Which thing the Turks perceiuing, and that they were not able to hold the place, ſet fire on the towne, and ſo retyred to Exek. The Chriſtians keeping on their march, came to the top of the hill, for whence they *The Chriſtians come within ſight of Exek.*
might ſee Exek ſtand about two miles off in a fair plain neer to the bank of Dranus: all which low ground betwixt the hil and Exek was ſo ſubiect to the caſtle, that it was thought a matter too ful of danger, to attempt that way to batter the caſtle, and expoſe the army to the ine-
F vitable fury of the enemies ſhot. Wherfore deſcrying a riſing ground on the farther ſide of the city, equal with the top of the wals, they thought it beſt to remoue their camp thither, & on that ſide to plant their battery againſt the city. But to come to that place was thought very troubleſome; for they muſt fet a compaſſe three miles on the right hand thorow a forreſt by a foul and troubleſom way, before they could come to the place they deſired: for the army

was

was not ſo great to beſiege the city round;wherin were not (as is reported) aboue 160000 men, G
neither was there ſuch ſtore of victuals in the camp, but that the Army was like ſoon to feel the want therof,without a continual ſupply,which would hardly be had,the enemy ſtil beſetting euery paſſage,and with his light horſmen ſcouring about all the country, of purpoſe to keep them from victual. For which cauſe ſome were of opinion,that it was beſt to ſtay where they were,till ſuch time as both more aid and better ſtore of victuals were come to them:but others of the contrary mind,ſaid the enemy was but barely ſtored with victual himſelfe, and therefore could not long hold out. Which they ſaid they vnderſtood by certain Chriſtian fugitiues;and that *Mahometes* had put his chief ſubſtance into certain boats, to be conueyed down the riuer,as purpoſing to fly,and would not hold out the ſiege aboue three daies. As for the forreſt,they thought it might wel enough be paſt thorow, if they would couragiouſly ſet H
forward. Beſides that,the time of the year ſuffered no delay, winter comming faſt on,and except ſome notable thing were don quickly, they ſhould be inforced by the very time of the year to return with ſhame,without doing any thing. This opinion was beſt liked of, as more honorable,and better beſeeming men of valor,than to ly ſtil in one place: wherupon the next day the Army remoued,and in good order marched thorow the forreſt. Which thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiuing,preſently ſent out a thouſand light horſmen,and certain companies of Ianizaries,harquebuſiers,to trouble the Chriſtians in their paſſage:who by a neerer & wel known way ouertaking the Army,ſuddenly charged the rereward,wherin the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled,and the Italians had much ado to endure the charge:but being relieued by the Carinthian men at arms, they notably repulſed the Turks, I
and put them to flight. So the army with ſmall loſſe paſſed the forreſt,and came to the place they deſired:where after they had incamped themſelues, and in good order placed all things needful for the ſiege,they in ſeemly order offered the enemy battel;but he keeping himſelfe within the town,ſhot at the Chriſtians with his great ordnance:and they to requite him,with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the hil,ſhot thorow both the wals of the Town and the bulwark alſo,to the great terror of the defendants. The Chriſtians in the mean time hauing ſtood almoſt al the day in order of battel in ſight of the enemy,vainly expecting when he ſhould come forth to giue them battel, returned at night into their Camp. For *Mahometes* vpon great conſideration kept in his ſoldiers,although they were moſt deſirous to fight; vnderſtanding right wel of the want of victual in the Chriſtian camp: and beſides that (as the K
fugitiues reported) beeing ſtreitly commanded by letters from *Solyman*, That he ſhould not vpon pain of a moſt ſhamefull death forſake the place, but to defend it to the laſt. Now the Chriſtians deſirous of battel,being thus delayed and deceiued of their expectation, had in a few daies ſpent the ſmal ſtore of victuals they had, and began to feel a general want: nor was there any apparant means how they ſhould be relieued. So that euery man began to feare ſome general miſchief to enſue. When *Balthazar Pamphilus* a noble Hungarian,and a Captain of great experience,ſitting in counſel with the reſt,entred into this ſpeech:

The Turks skirmiſh with the Chriſtians paſſing the forreſt.

Mahometes wiſely refuſeth to fight with the Chriſtians, offering him battell.

Balthazar his counſel for relief of the army

Captains (ſaid he) *we do all that we do,vnaduiſedly: for whilſt we conſult at large how wee may ouercome our enemies,the ſtrength of our army is in the mean time ſo weakned for want of victuall, that the* L
ſouldiers are neither well able to ſtand on their legs,nor to hold their weapons in their feeble hands: and generally euen they which are of greateſt courage begin now to quaile, and deſpairing of battell, ſee that they muſt miſerably and ſhamefully periſh for want. Wherefore in my opinion wee ought firſt and aboue all things moſt ſpeedily to prouide for this want, which ſo grieuouſly pincheth vs, and preſently to remoue hence vnto the caſtle of Hermande, that with the prouiſion therof,which is not like to be little,we may refreſh our whole army;and ſo relieued,to proceed further as occaſion ſhall require.

This caſtle was about ten miles from Exek, whereinto many of the Turks had conueyed their wiues and children,and chiefeſt ſubſtance,being kept with a ſmal garriſon of 20 Turks. Faſt by the caſtle was a pretty little walled town without flankers, after the maner of the old M
fortifying: which town and caſtle *Balthazar* ſaid would eaſily be won. This his counſel was wel liked of all men,and he himſelf ſent with certain Companies of ſouldiers to take in the town. Wherin fortune ſo fauoured him, that it was at his firſt comming ſurrendred vnto him; but when he had it,he found not therein any ſuch ſtore of corne or victuall as hee had hoped for:

Balthazar taketh the town of Hermande.

A for; yet he took there certain veſſels of wine,to the great relief of the weak ſouldiers. Vpon the news of the taking of this town,the camp remoued from Exek about ten a clock at night, but ſo diſorderly,that the ſoldiers ſcarce knowing their own enſignes, ſeemed rather to haue fled for fear,than marched for ſpoil.Yet the Turks for all that moued not out of Exek, miſdoubting ſome deceit,and loth to attempt any thing raſhly in the night. When the Army was come to the town,the captains took order that the victual there found was equally diuided amongſt the ſoldiers:and the next morning battery laid againſt the Caſtle, which thoſe few Turks valiantly defended half a day,and then by compoſition yeelded it. But when the caſtle was taken,there was found in it but two barrels of meal,and other two of Millet. Then might a man haue ſeen the captains themſelues hanging their heads, as men ſtrucken with a
B ſudden fear;who in ſtead of a great prey,& victual to haue ſerued many daies, ſound nothing but a few women & children,and ſcarce ſo much victual both in the town and caſtle as would ſerue the army two daies. Yet they diſſembled the matter, and fed the ſoldiers with hope of better ſtore after the bridge was once repaired, that they might paſſe the riuer of Bodrog, which ran by the town: which bridge the Turks had before,for their own defence, broken, by plucking vp of certain piles,and taking away of the planks;wherfore the carpenters being ſet on worke,and euery man putting to his helping hand,the bridge was with continual labor in 3 daies repaired. The fourth day the wagons and ſmaller pieces of Ordnance paſſed ouer the bridge, and after them ſixe of the great pieces for battery; but the bridge ouercharged with the ſeuenth,which was of a wonderful weight,and much greater than the reſt, began to break:
C ſo that the captains were inforced to break that fair piece of ordnance, & ſo by pieces to cary it away,that the enemy ſhould not get ſo great a ſpoil. All things being thus wel paſt ouer, the piles were again cut down, and the planks ſtruck off, to the intent the enemy ſhould not that way purſue them;and other way there was none,but to fetch a compaſſe about the great Lake,which was many miles about. Here the captains began to conſult,whether it were beſt to break the great pieces of Ordnance, that ſo they might more ſpeedily march away,or not. Of which opinion was *Cazzianer* himſelf,promiſing of his own charge to new caſt them. As for the ſcaling ladders and other like things prouided for the ſiege, they burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the enemies hand, or trouble themſelues in their march. But moſt of the Captains were of opinion, that it was not beſt ſo diſhonourably to breake thoſe goodly
D pieces,the greateſt ornament and defence of their Country; but to hold on their march thorow Poſſega,vntil they came to Iuvanca,where they ſhould find great ſtore both of Corne and wine:which town with the caſtle of Gara faſt by it, ſtored with all manner of prouiſion, they ſaid would eaſily be taken before the Turkes could poſſibly come ſo far about the Lake from Exek:and that it were a great ſhame ſo to returne without doing any thing. *Cazzianer* thus perſuaded,ſet forward,and with great toil (by reaſon of the deepnes of the way,and heauines of the great ordnance) came by night to Iuvanca, which was but three miles off; where the Turks hauing with incredible celeritie paſſed a long journey, arriued at the ſame time alſo. Neer vnto this caſtle was a little town out of which all the Turks were fled: the townesmen being Chriſtians,opened the gates and receiued in the ſouldiers;who there filled themſelues
E abundantly with wine,and could hardly be driuen out thence by their captains to the Camp. The ſame night the Turks burnt the ſame town,and whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had left therin;and euery man betook him to his armor in the camp,for the enemy was then at hand, and in the dawning of the day began hotly to skirmiſh in diuers places with the Chriſtians, but eſpecially in that quarter of the camp where the Bohemians lay. Wherwith *Petrus Raſchinius* general of the Bohemians being grieued,ſet vpon them with a troup of his beſt horſmen,and inforced them to fly: but the Turks after the maner of their fight quickely returning againe, and relieued by the comming in of their fellows,beſet the Bohemians on euery ſide,and ſlew many of them. *Raſchinius* the Generall fighting moſt valiantly, was there ſlain with his followers. The Chriſtian captains purpoſing to retyre home,placed on each ſide of the army four
F ranks of wagons for defence on both ſides. In the vauward were placed the weak & ſick men; yet ſo,that in the front of the army were certain companies of luſty tall ſouldiers: but in the rereward was placed the greateſt ſtrength both of horſe and foot. The army thus marching as it were on both ſides intrenched,as it oft times met with wooddy hills hindring their way, ſo did the ſame fitly ſerue the Chriſtians,that the Turks could not well aſſaile them in their

The Caſtle of Hermande yeelded to the Chriſtians.

Cazzianer to retire more haſtily, would haue broke the great ordnance

The Turks sore trouble the Christians in their retreit.

march,both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiuing,sent before certain companies of Ianizaries and nimble footmen which knew the country and passages wel,with certain falcons and other small pieces, to take the streits wherby the army was to passe,and so to gaul them in their passage;and when they could keep the place no longer, to fly back to another,and so from place to place: and in the open places he had his troups of light horsemen, which were euer busie in one place or another of the army. By which meanes the Christians in their march receiued much harm; which grieued them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be seen together, but stragling companies;which as they were commanded,somtime would come on with a fierce charge,and by and by retyre again,& with their arrows and falcon shot from places of aduantage assail them. From one of these streits somwhat bigger than the rest,*Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian Captains,in whome the soldiers generally reposed their greatest trust,was slain with a falcon shot,with diuers others of the valiant Hungarians; who seeing there a greater number of the Turkes than they had seen in other places,thought to haue don some good seruice vpon them. His death brought a general fear vpon the whole army,forasmuch as then and at other times without him they neuer had any good succes against the Turks. Yet in that skirmish,the Hungarians to reuenge the death of their Captain,did with such force repulse the enemy,that they caused him after he had lost many of his men,to run away and leaue his small pieces behind him. But such was the weaknes or cowardise of the Christian footmen,and the agility of the Turkes, especially the Ianizaries,that they with their shot out of the woods staid the Hungarian horsmen from the pursuit of their fellowes,and recouered their small field-pieces before they could be carried away by the Christian footmen; wherwith they did again fore-run the Army,still troubling it as before. The Christians beset with these dangers, and almost spent for want of victual; seeing no means to relieue their weak bodies, nor any hope to comfort their fainting spirits, did generally fear some extream calamitie to ensue: and so much the more,for that it was reported,that *Mahometes* stil expected fresh supplies from Belgrade,Samandria,and Nicopolis: and many of the Hungarian light horsmen stole away from them,as careful of their own safety. Neither did they see any comfort in the dismaid captains, who at other times were wont with cheerful and couragious speeches to relieue the souldiers, if they saw them any thing discouraged. But when they were come into a fair open field neer to a town called Gara,they were aduertised,That the Enemy had in the woods before them,wherby they were to passe, cut downe great trees crosse the waies, so that neither their great Ordnance nor wagons,nor yet their horsmen could possibly passe that way,but that they must needs breake their order.

A general fear in the Christians camp.

This once bruted thorow the army,filled them all with heauinesse and desperation; and so much the more,for that *Ladislaus Moreus*,and others which knew the country well, said there was but two waies to escape; the one thorow the Woods about ten miles space to Walpo, which by reason of the trees cut down crosse the waies by the Turks,was not to be passed,but they must needs leaue behind them their great ordnance and carriages:the other towards the castle of Zenthuerzebeth,which was in *Ladislaus Moreus* his Countrey, certaine miles distant from Gara: by taking of which way,the enemy by reason of the streitnes of the passage, must of necessitie be inforced to giue ouer his pursuit. Yet for all that, it was in Councell resolued vpon, to take the way thorow the Woods of Walpo, for that there was there victualls enough, and in the Castle of Walpo was kept money sent from King *Ferdinand*,sufficient to pay the soldiers for all that Winter. And so leauing the great Ordnance behind them, and burning the pouder and whatsoeuer els could not wel be caried on horsebacke, to set forward with all speed: as for the trees,they said they would bee wel enough remooued, and the way opened by the pioners and wagoners. Wherfore euery captain was commanded to haue his soldiers in readines to set forward vpon signe giuen,which was by the sound of a shalm or hoboy;which when it should be giuen,was referred to the discretion of the General. There were many which wonderfully disliked of this resolution,and said openly,that the enemy was fewer in number than their horsmen,and pinched almost with like want of victual: besides,That the Turks durst neuer in iust fight incounter with the Christian men at arms,but like theeves assail them vpon a sudden at some aduantage,and by and by be gon again:and that the towne of Gara where the enemy lay incamped,was not so strong but that it might be won:wherfore

The fearfull resolution of the Christians to escape the Turks

all

A all things were to be proued, and ſome great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched with wants: for that to run away, would be not only a diſhonor vnto the Captains themſelues, who ought always to prefer their honor before their liues, but alſo dangerous to them, which reſpected nothing but life. And if they ſhould ſet forward in the night, many would be loſt in the woods; and valour in the darke could not be knowne from cowardiſe: beſides that, the Turks (as they ſaid) lay ſo nigh, that it was not poſſible to depart without their knowledge, eſpecially if they ſhould burn the pouder, or break the great Ordnance. For which cauſes, they thought it better to fight a battell with them, and not to beleeue the falſe reports of new ſupplies come vnto them, and that God would vndoubtedly giue them aid, which were ready to lay down their liues for their Religion and glory of the Chriſtian name. After all this, they
B began to conſult what was now to be done with the ſick and wounded ſouldiers, which were before carried in waggons or among the other baggage of the army: for it was like, that ſo great a multitude of ſick and wounded men, vnderſtanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the army, would as miſerable forſaken men, fill the camp with lamentation and mourning; which it was thought would be alſo increaſed by the weeping and wailing of them which ſhould neuer afterwards ſee their brethren, kinſmen, fellows, or friends, ſo miſerably and ſhamefully left behind and forſaken: the noiſe wherof, muſt needs come to the ears of the Turks, which lay within a ſmall gun ſhot. Wherefore it was determined, that theſe ſick and wounded ſoldiers ſhould be carried vpon the waggons and cart horſes; and that ſuch as were not able to ſtay themſelues, ſhould be holden vp by others of more ſtrength riding behinde
C them vpon the buttocks of the horſe. In fine, to color the matter, they which were ſo deſirous to go, ſaid that this their manner of departure grounded vpon good reaſon, was not to be accounted a ſhamefull flight (as ſome would tearm it) but a right honeſt and neceſſary manner of retiring: foraſmuch as they were ſtronger than their enemies in horſmen, and equall alſo (if not ſtronger) in footmen, although they were ſore weakned with ſicknes. Whilſt theſe things were in counſell diuerſly diſcourſed, and the reſolution ſet down as is before ſaid, the matter was brought to this paſſe, that euery captain with troubled iudgement conceiued in himſelf ſecret cogitations, far from the common good; and without regard of ſhame & diſhonor, bethought himſelfe how he might betake himſelfe to flight, the vncertain hope of deſired life.
On the contrary part, *Mahometes* vſing moſt certain ſpies, and aduertiſed euery houre of al the *The vigilancie of Mahometes.*
D diſtreſſes of the Chriſtians, and therefore preſaging his future victory; did by moſt diligent watch and troups of horſmen, beſetting the paſſages far and neer, moſt vigilantly attend euery motion in the Chriſtian camp: of purpoſe, that when the army ſhould riſe and ſet forward, he after his wonted manner might in the ſtraits (fit for his purpoſe) ſet vpon them being diuided and diſperſed one from another, as they muſt needs in thoſe troubleſome paſſages: for he had ſo placed his horſmen and footmen in the known tracts of thoſe woods, that he had ſhut vp the Chriſtians as it were in a toile. It was now almoſt midnight, & the army taking no reſt, ſo carefully expected the ſigne of ſetting forward, that euery little delay ſeemed to moſt men both tedious and dangerous: ſo that many great captains vpon a cowardly conceit would ſtay *The Chriſtian captains ſhamefully flie, ſome one way, ſome another, in the night.*
no longer, but haſted to depart, and to go before the reſt, without any leaue of the general: the
E beginning of this miſcheuous departure, is reported to haue bin begun by the common Hungarian horſmen, which knowing the paſſages & waies through the woods, made haſt to Walpo. *Ladiſlaus Moreus* diſhonorably following their example, went the other way to his Caſtle Zenthuerzebeth. After them followed in great haſte the Stirian horſemen, without regard of ſhame, led by *Iohn Hunganot* their Generall, who was appointed to haue guarded the rereward. *Simon* Biſhop of Zagrabia fled in like manner, knowne by his great lanthorn wandring in the wood: yet with leſſe ſhame than the reſt, becauſe he being a clergy man, thought it not to belong to his vocation to put on armes, or to go into battell. In the mean time it was fearefully told to *Gazzianer*, That the Hungarian horſmen were fled, and that *Ladiſlaus* & *Hunganot*, with the Stirian troups were gon alſo; and that al the reſt of the army not expecting the appointed
F ſignall, were in like manner vpon flying: with which report, the cowardly and diſmaid Generall was ſo terrified, that he preſently got to horſe, quite forgetting the ſignall he ſhould haue *The diſhonourable flight of Cazzianer.*
giuen (for that he thought all the reſt, as he afterwards ſaid, to haue been gone before) and as he was vnarmed, betooke himſelfe to flight, leauing behind him for haſte his Tent ſtored with plate and other rich furniture. In this tumult of them which ſo diſorderly fled, *Lodronius*

nius that famous captain was called vp, and told by his seruants, that the General was fled and gone: to whom he answered again, Without doubt it cannot be so, that I should be so shamefully and perfidiously betraid of him: and so as a man megred with long wathing and painful labour, laid himselfe down again to sleep. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the stir that was in the camp, rise with his Turks to assaile his enemies: yet to be better assured what the enemy did, he thought it good to stay for day light, causing his men to stand still in order of battell, and with wonderfull silence to expect the signe of setting forward, which was giuen by the soft sound of a horsmans drum passing through euery company. For the old captain acquainted with many battels against the Christians, doubting of their feigned flight, would not vnaduisedly be drawn into battell, but in a place commodious for his soldiers; as one before fully set down (after his wonted maner) to perform that seruice, not by the hazard of one set battell, but by dallying off the time with often skirmishes, when he could take the enemy at aduantage. The day appearing, *Lodronius* againe waking, heard a certain confused noise of the Turks, and withall saw himselfe forsaken of the greatest part of the horsmen: whereupon he complained in vaine, that he was betraid: yet for all that, he was nothing discouraged, but cheered vp the footmen, exhorting them to remember their former valor, and to resolue with themselues, onely with courage to ouercome the danger, which hard fortune had at that time brought them into; for that valiant men were rather to thinke of an honourable death, than shamefull flight, wherby whether they should escape with life or not, was vncertaine. As for himself, who had bin their happy General in many battels, he said he was resolutely set down by repulsing the enemy to bring them into a place of safety, or els valiantly fighting together with them to end his daies. As *Lodronius* was yet thus incouraging the footmen, the horsmen of Carinthia, Saxony, Austria, and Bohemia, who mindful of their duty, had in vain expected the appointed signal from the Generall, came vnto *Lodronius*, as vnto the most valiant captain, beseeching him in stead of their trecherous Generall, to take vpon him the place: promising to do whatsoeuer he commanded, and to fight as men against those Infidels, for their Religion and King, so long as they were able to hold vp their weapons. *Lodronius* would in no case accept of that honor so franckly offred, modestly protesting himselfe vnworthy therof: yet as a man of courage, and moued with the hard estate of such an army, he with a solemn protestation promised to execute the place in the best manner he could, and so did as long as his fortune gaue him leaue.

Ladronius encourageth the footmen.

It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was incouraging the footmen, and earnestly inueighing against shamefull flight, an old German soldier was so bold, as bluntly, yet sharply to say vnto him: *Worthy* Lodronius, *thou canst neuer be thought to fly shamefully, with a horse of such a price vnder thee. Lodronius* perceiuing the old soldiers meaning, alighted, and with his sword hoxed his horse; saying aloud, This day, valiant soldiers, shall you haue me both your Generall and fellow souldier, fighting on foot as one of your selues: see now that you deceiue not my expectation, but let vs either with glorious victory or honourable death end this war together; yet so, as that we die not vnreuenged. All his other horses he gaue away vnto such sick and wounded souldiers as he best knew; amongst whom was one *Picenard* of Cremona, a Captaine who was then in an extreme fit of an ague, & had hardly escaped the hands of the enemy. The first troups of horsmen and bands of footmen, were scarcely out of the camp with their ensigns, but the Turks comming on with a hideous cry, assailed them on euery side, and many sharp skirmishes were giuen vnto the horsmen as they marched, with such euent that the Christians sometime valiantly receiuing the enemies charge, and somtime charging them againe, repulsed the proud enemy still busie with them. In these continuall skirmishes, *Antius Macer Fuchstat*, Generall of the Carinthian horsmen, fighting valiantly was slain, heing for his braue armor supposed by the Turks to haue bin the Generall of the field. And by like mishap foure and twenty horsmen of great name were also slain, and their guidon taken; amongst these were three noblemen; *Andreas Reschius*, *Christophorus Hernaus*, and *Georgius Himelbergus*. In another place was made a most cruell skirmish with the Saxon horsmen, and them of Misnia, Thuringia and Franconia, who followed the Saxons ensigne: of these, fighting most valiantly, was slain aboue 36 worthy Captains, Lieutenants, or Antients; and *Chuenricus* a principall Captaine of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in bonds amongst the Turks. Amongst them which were slain, *Sebastianus Metheseus*, and *Iacobus Scullemburgh* were of greatest Nobility.

An old German souldier iesteth at Lodronius.

The horsemen discomfited by the Turks.

A lity. In like manner the horſemen of Auſtria couragiouſly reſiſting the enemy for a ſpace, were in the end ouerthrowne: where amongſt them was ſlaine two valiant noblemen, *Fettaius* and *Hoſchirchius*, with diuers other men of great place and reputation both in their own country and abroad. But the greateſt ſlaughter was made amongſt the Bohemian horſemen, vpon whom (being diſordered by the Ianizaries harquebuſiers) the Turkiſh troups of the old garriſon ſoldiers breaking in with their ſcimiters and heauy yron maces, made a moſt bloudy execution. The battell of footmen being ſore galled, and almoſt diſordered in their march by cer- *The Chriſtian footmen ouerthrowne.*
tain companies of Ianizaries and archers of the Aſapi (who from a wooddy banke of a mariſh diſcharged their ſhot & arrows continually vpon them, yet neuer comming to handy blowes) was one the other ſide ſo hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his troups of horſemen of Boſna,
B that being not able longer to keep order, it was at laſt by him broken and cut in pieces: where the Turks with their ſwords and hatchets ſlew the poore Chriſtians without mercy. *Lodronius* himſelfe, carried away with the breaking in and force of the horſemen, was driuen into a marriſh: where after that he being ſore wounded, and almoſt faſt in the deepe mud, had done the vttermoſt of that his laſt endeauour; he by the faire intreaty of the Turks, perſuading him rather to yeeld, than there to be ſlaine, ſo yeelded himſelfe, that he with three companies which were with him, after they had laid downe their weapons, were all ſaued as valiant ſouldiers: for now the mercileſſe Turks embrued with the Chriſtian bloud, were weary of ſlaughter, and began greedily to ſeeke after the ſpoile, hunting after them (who flying diſperſedly, thought themſelues to haue eſcaped the enemies hands) with ſuch ſucceſſe, that a great number of
C them were taken and led away for ſlaues: few of the footmen eſcaped, and almoſt all the reſt which were not fled before the battell, were to be ſeen dead vpon the ground.

This ſhamefull ouerthrow at Exek was reported to haue exceeded the moſt grieuous ouerthrowes that the Chriſtians had receiued in any former time: for the flower both of horſe and foot there loſt by the raſhneſſe and fault of an vnlucky Generall, rather than by the valor of the enemy, ruthfully periſhed: ſo that many prouinces were filled with heauineſſe and mourning: For it neuer chanced before (as was to be ſeen by the vnfortunat battels of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and king *Ladiſlaus*) that the Turks got ſuch a victory without ſome loſſe: ſo that they which fell almoſt vnreuenged at Exek, may ſeeme to haue augmented that loſſe by the great infamy thereof. *Mahometes* hauing thus almoſt without the bloud of his ſoldiers, obtained ſo
D great a victory, and taken the ſpoile of the Chriſtian camp, pitched his tents in a little medow being clenſed of the dead bodies, and after he had merrily feaſted with his captains, commanded the chiefe priſoners, the goodly ſpoiles, and faireſt enſignes to be brought vnto him: and openly commending the captaines who had that day done any good ſeruice, commanding diuers bags of mony to be brought vnto him by the receiuers, he with his owne hand rewarded the ſoldiers, ſome with gold, ſome with ſiluer, according to their deſerts: And cauſing all the priſoners which were not common ſouldiers to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and preſently cauſed euery one of their names, and the office they bare, to be inrolled by his clerks: and vnto ſuch as brought in the heads, eares, or hands of the Chriſtians with rings vpon them, he forthwith cauſed one reward or other to be giuen. *Lodronius*, when as by reaſon of *Lodronius ſlain.*
E his deadly wounds he was thought vnable to indure trauell, or to be brought aliue with the other priſoners to Conſtantinople, was ſlaine by his keepers, and his head afterward ſent thither. For, as many noble gentlemen (and amongſt others, *Laurentius Streiperg* and *Dietmarus Loſeſtaine*) haue reported, (who ranſomed afterwards, returned againe home to their wiues and children) amongſt the priſoners which were together with the faire enſignes, and other gallant warlike furniture (eſpecially gilt armor and headpieces) preſented by *Mahometes* his meſſengers to *Solyman*, three of the greateſt captaines heads were in a ſiluer baſon there ſeene and *Three of the great captains heads preſented to Solyman at Conſtantinople.*
known; which were the heads of *Paulus Bachitius* the valiant Hungarian captain, *Antius Macer* Generall of the Carinthian horſemen, and *Lodronius* Generall of the footmen: which after the tyrant had looked aſquint vpon, as obhorring that loathſome ſight, he with ſtern countenance
F commanded all the priſoners to be ſlaine. But vpon the interceſſion of the Ianizaries (who entreated for them, as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking paſt their faith, and might afterwards do him good ſeruice) he changed his countenance, and ſaued many of them. But *Cazzianer* flying to his owne caſtle, was of all men accuſed as a wicked forſaker of *Cazzianer generally hated.*
his owne campe and enſignes, and commonly railed vpon, as the eternall infamy of his coun-

try, and authour of that publike calamity: so that it was reported, that he durst neither goe G
abroad, nor shew his face for shame. He was so generally hated, that infamous libels, made against him & the other captains which shamefully fled as he did, were commonly sung in the streets by boyes in all places of Germany. Wherewith he was so much grieued, that he requested of K. *Ferdinand*, that he might safely come to the court, to answer whatsoeuer could be laid against him: which his request the king easily granted, and when he came to the court, receiued him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cause was by the king somewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the meane time kept vnder safe custody; impatient of such delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he should be quitted or condemned, thought it better to fly, than to abide the triall. So feigning himselfe sicke, and scraping vp by little and little with his knife a bricke pauement vnder his bed, and so in the H
Cazzianer imprisoned, breaketh prison. night getting out one bricke first, and then another, at length brake thorow the vault, and with his sheets letting himselfe downe, escaped, hauing post horses ready for him without the Castle. Not long after, as he was a man of a hasty and vnconstant nature, despairing of his estate, he fled to the Turks; *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beside his great entertainment, promising him the gouernment of all Croatia in manner of a tributary king, if he would faithfully serue *Solyman*, and helpe him in the subduing of the cities of Austria. After he had agreed vpon all the conditions of his reuolt, that he might returne to *Mahometes* with some more credit, he began boldly to deale with *Nicholaus Sirenus* a Nobleman of Croatia, and his deere friend, as he supposed, to reuolt with him; assuring him, that *Solyman* would deale as kindly with them both, as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdome of Hungary. *Sirenus* promi- I
sed him he would, or at least made as if he promised to do what he desired, and so agreed as it were vpon the matter, promising to go ouer with him to the Turke with a troupe of his best and most trusty horsemen. But *Sirenus* considering with himselfe the hainousnesse and impiety of so great an offence, changing his purpose, chose rather to deale treacherously with his old friend, fearing no such thing in his house, than to offend both against God and his Prince.
Cazzianer most shamefully murdred, and his head sent vnto K. Ferdinand. Wherefore after he had well feasted *Cazzianer* in his house, he as a most cruell hoast, caused him to be slaine, and sent his head to King *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the Kings gift *Cazzianer* his castle, with all his substance.

In the mean time the Venetians, prouoked by the Turks with diuers injuries both by sea and land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly besieged Corcyra, and with most barbarous K
cruelty wasting the Island, had broken the league, & euen then by his lieutenant *Cassimes Bassa* besieged Epidaurus and Nauplium, two of their cities in Peloponesus) resolued without delay to make war likewise vpon him, who for a small trespas would admit no excuse or recompence. Wherunto they were also animated both by *Charles* the Emperor, and *Paulus* the great Bishop: who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbarussa*, thought it more for the safety of their estates, by giuing aid to the Venetians, to keep the Turks busied further off, than to suffer them to acquaint themselues too much with the ports of Italy and Sicilia. Wherefore all the Winter following they labored by their Embassadors, to set down what number and what manner of ships, what souldiers, what mony was to be prouided, and how to be according to their estates apportioned, for the setting forth of a strong fleet against
The Emperour, the Venetians, and the Bispop of Rome, enter into a confederation against the Turks. the next Summer, to be sent into Grecia against the Turks. At last it was agreed amongst these confederat Princes, by their Embassadors at Rome, That the Emperor should furnish and set forth 82 gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the Bishop 36, to make vp the number of two hundred gallies; that the Venetians should lend vnto the Bishop so many gallies ready rigged, as he should desire, to be furnished by him with marriners and soldiers; and that the Emperor and the State of Genoa should find sufficient shipping for the transportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals also of this great fleet to be set forth, were at the same time appointed: *Andreas Auria* for the Emperour, *Vincentius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimmanus* Patriarch of Aquilea for the Bishop; to whom was joyned *Paulus Iustinianus* one of the chiefe Senatours, a man of great experience in sea matters. It was also M
agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* Viceroy of Sicily, should haue the commanding of the land forces; and that whatsoeuer was got from the Turks in that expedition in Grecia, the Islands, or Dalmatia, should be all faithfully deliuered to the Venetians, who had receiued so many injuries from the Turks. The Emperour also of his liberality promised vnto the other Confederats,

federats, that they ſhould for reaſonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of Sicilia, without paying any cuſtome.

Solyman vnderſtanding of this confederation and preparation made againſt him by theſe Chriſtian Princes, commanded *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall to make ready his fleet to goe againſt theſe enemies, and to do all the harme he could vpon the Iſlands ſubiect to the Venetian ſtate. Which thing *Barbaruſſa* with great care and diligence in ſhort time performed: and ſo with 130 gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed, with the firſt of the Spring, in the yeare 1538, departed from Helleſpontus directly to Creet; where hauing paſſed the promontory of Gyamus, which at this day is called Sparta, he vnaduiſedly landed moſt part of his men, to haue ſurpriſed the city of Canea, which was in antient time called Sydonia. But *Grittus* one of the Venetian Senatours then kept the City with a ſtrong garriſon; who from the walls and bulwarks therof ſo plagued the Turks with great and ſmall ſhot, and the ſallying out of two companies of Italians, that *Barbaruſſa* hauing loſt many of his men, was faine to retire againe to his fleet in ſuch haſt, that he left behind him 1000 of his Turks, which were gone further into the Iſland after booty, who were afterwards all ſlaine by them of Creet. After that, he attempted to haue taken diuers places in the Iſland, and was euery where notably repulſed. With the city of Candia, wherof the Iſland now taketh name, and was in antient time called Cytheum, he durſt not meddle: but failing almoſt round about the Iſland, tooke onely Cecilia, a little towne before forſaken of the inhabitants, which he ſet on fire, and ſo departed from Creet: for he was aduertiſed, That *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admirall, who was now come to Corcyra, would in ſhort time come to relieue them of Creet. *Auria*, Admiral of the Emperors fleet, paſſing the ſtreit of Meſſana, came to Corcyra alſo, and there joined with the Venetians. The Chriſtian fleet was then ſo great that it was thought the Turks durſt not meet it at ſea, but by all means ſhun to giue battell. For *Barbaruſſa* then lay with the Turks fleet in the bay of Ambracia, expecting when the Chriſtians ſhould enter the ſtreit entrance therof, where he had on both ſides placed diuers pieces of great ordnance, to haue ſunk them in their comming in: for *Grimanus* the Patriarch, a little before departing from Corcyra, had with the great Biſhops gallies begun to beſiege Preueſa, a towne vpon the promontory of Actium faſt by that ſtreit, and landing ſome of his ſouldiers, with three great pieces of artillery ſo battered the caſtle of Preueſa, that he was like enough to haue taken it, had not the Turks from Ætolia come to relieue it with a ſtrong power both of horſe and foot. Wherfore the Patriarch ſhipping againe his men and ordnance, returned to the fleet at Corcyra, not repenting him of his iourny, for that he had well viewed the ſtreits of that Bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at anchor within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch, and relation made, what he had both done and ſeene, the great commanders of the Chriſtian fleet entred into counſell, what courſe were beſt to take for the better proceeding in that great action. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy, Generall of the land forces, was of opinion, That it were beſt to land the ſouldiers and great ordnance, and with all their force to aſſault the caſtle of Preueſa: which once taken, and their ordnance there planted, the enemies fleet might in the Bay be vtterly defeated, for that all paſſage to ſea might eaſily be taken from them, by ſinking one of the great ſhips in the mouth of the Streit, and by moaring there of three great Gallions full of Artillery: ſo that if *Barbaruſſa* would deſperatly aduenture to come out, hee muſt needs be ſunke in the mouth of the Bay. Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counſell was in words and ſhew glorious, but to put in execution moſt dangerous: for that firſt to land the ſouldiers and great artillery, he ſaid was a thing too too full of hazard and perill: for it was to be thought, that the Turks in Ætolia would as they had before done, come with ſpeed with their horſemen to relieue the beſieged in the caſtle; whoſe force the Chriſtian footmen could hardly abide. Beſides that, if the fleet ſhould by force of weather be conſtrained to leaue that coaſt, (as it wel might, Autumne now comming faſt on) after the ſouldiers were landed, From whence ſhould they then get victuall in the enemies country? Or what reliefe ſhould they hope for, if they ſhould hap to be diſtreſſed; being on euery ſide beſet with their enemies, and their friends by tempeſt driuen from them? Wherefore he thought it beſt, if the enemy could not be drawne out of the Bay to battell, to go directly to the Bay of Naupactum, and to take that towne which was not greatly fortified, and to ranſacke and ſpoile all the Townes, euen to the bottome of the Bay of Corinth. Which the Grecians in the Fleet ſaid might eaſily be done: by taking of which

1538

Solyman ſendeth Barbaruſſa againſt the Venetians.

Barbaruſſa landing in Creet, is repulſed with loſſe.

The confederat Princes Fleets meet a Corcyra.

Gonzaga his opinion.

Auria of another opinion.

courſe it might fall out, that *Barbaruſſa* mooued with the danger of his friends, would for ſhame come out and joyne with them in battell. This counſell of *Auria* was beſt liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being far more deſirous to fight with their enemies at ſea, than at land. G

Auria braueth Barbaruſſa lying in the Bay of Ambracia.

Auria hauing put in order his fleet, came to Preueſa, and ſo to the ſtreit of the bay of Ambracia, where he ſo placed the whole fleet, which was in number 250 ſaile, that it might eaſily of the enemy be numbred. Which ſight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbaruſſa*; who although he was of a couragious diſpoſition, and ſuch a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martial diſcipline of the Chriſtians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the ſight of ſo great a fleet ſo well appointed; for a greater had not of long time bin ſeene in the Ionian ſea. So that an Eunuch of *Solymans* court, ſent by him as *Barbaruſſa* his companion, ſeeing him to delay the time as a man halfe diſcouraged, did with moſt vnciuil and proud words take him vp, becauſe he would not forthwith go out of the bay and fight with the Chriſtians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them: wherein he was not (as he ſaid) to regard his own ſafety (who as a coward would not endure the ſight of the enemy) but the honour of *Solyman* his Soueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glory of his name ſtained with ſo ſhamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he profeſſed himſelfe to be, he ought neuer to deſpaire of victory: and if it ſhould ſo fall out, that fortune ſhould frown vpon them, and not to anſwer their deſires, yet ſhould not *Solyman* therefore want captains and ſoldiers better than they, if they were ouercome; and the woods of Pontus would afford him timber enough to build twice ſo great and ſtrong a fleet. And for a concluſion, the inſolent Eunuch willed *Barbaruſſa* to beware, that whileſt he feared a moſt honourable death (which was vncertaine, though the battell were loſt) he drew not vpon himſelfe the certaine danger of a moſt ſhamefull death by the diſpleaſure of *Solyman*. H I

Barbaruſſa reproued of cowardiſe by one of the Turkes Eunuchs.

Barbaruſſa his anſwer to Salec concerning the Eunuchs ſpeech.

At which ſpeech *Barbaruſſa* turning himſelfe about to *Salec*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous ſea man, ſaid vnto him, *We muſt for ought that I can ſee, moſt valiant and faithfull captaine, aduenture this battell, although it be at too much diſaduantage; leſt haply we periſh by the complaints of this barking demy man.* And ſo preſently commanded all his fleet to weigh anchor, at the ſame time that *Auria* had hoiſed ſaile, and was on his way toward the bay of Naupactus, thinking that the enemy durſt not for feare haue come out of the bay of Ambracia. *Auria* keeping on his courſe was come to Leucade, when the enemies fleet was diſcried out of the top of *Bondelmerius* galleon, to be come out of the Bay, and to make towards them, keeping cloſe by the ſhore: which manner of courſe the crafty Turke, miſdoubting his own ſtrength, held of purpoſe, that if he ſhould chance to be ouermatched by the Chriſtians, he might turne the prow of his gallies vpon them, and running the poups aground, ſo to land his men and great ordnance, and from land as he might to defend his Fleet: accounting it a leſſe loſſe (if the worſt ſhould chance) to loſe the gallies, than the men. K

Barbaruſſa putteth out of the bay of Ambracia, and followeth Auria.

Auria ſomewhat troubled with this ſudden comming out of the enemy, as with a thing which he then leaſt expected, yet notably ſtaid himſelfe, and commanded all the fleet to prepare themſelues to battel, and to follow his Admiral gally. Now all the Turks fleet was come into the open ſea into ſuch order, that *Barbaruſſa* himſelfe was in the middle battell; where his Admirall gally was to be ſeene with many purple flags and ſtreamers flying gallantly in the winde: on his right hand was *Tabaccches*, and *Salec* on the left, both men of great fame, euery one of them hauing almoſt like number of gallies, which were in all 150. Vnto the middle battell were joyned two wings, in ſuch order, that which way ſoeuer the Admirall turned, they turning alſo, ſtill repreſented the forme of a flying Eagle: ſo that (as *Auria* himſelfe afterwards confeſſed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue bin brought out by any expert captain. Before the fleet came about 20 nimble gallies conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an arch pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Chriſtians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requeſting him, That he with his gallies might giue the firſt charge vpon the enemy: to whom *Auria* gaue great thanks, and praiſing his forwardnes, requeſted him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a ſigne what he would haue done. The formoſt of the Turks light gallies was now come to the great galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the formoſt of the Chriſtian fleet, whereunto were ſent alſo certaine gallies from *Salec*, to helpe to aſſaile that tall ſhip; which ſhooting a far off, did no harme, neither L M

The order of the Turks fleet.

Bondel-

A *Bondelmerius* them; who would not ſuffer one piece to be diſcharged; for he being an expert ſea man, and loth to ſhoot in vain, expected that they ſhould come neerer vnto him, and then vpon the ſudden to diſcharge all his great ordnance vpon them. Neither was he deceiued in that his expectation, for the Turks comming neere vnto him, were ſo ouerwhelmed with the great and ſmall ſhot out of the galleon, that they were glad to ſtay their courſe and retyre. In the meane time *Auria* called backe again his ſhips which were gon before, and cauſed his galleon to be towed out; and by boats of purpoſe ſent out, charged the captains of the gallies to make themſelues ready to fight, vpon ſignall giuen by the ſound of the trumpet, & diſplaying of the Admirals enſigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight, with his gallies without his ſhips. Which thing the crafty enemy well perceiued, and therefore ſought by all meanes to joyne
B battel with the gallies, before the comming in of the tal ſhips, which were as caſtles in reſpect of the gallies: for it was then ſuch a calme, that the ſhips were not able to keepe way with the gallies, and the ſmooth water ſeemed to offer a fit opportunity for battell; which ſo well pleaſed the Patriarch, that many heard him cry aloud to *Auria* to giue the ſignall; and maruelled much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compaſſe, and houering about his ſhips, with his gallies kept ſuch a courſe, that many thought he would vpon a ſudden haue don ſome ſtrange and vnexpected exploit vpon the enemy: but *Auria* held that ſtrange courſe of purpoſe to haue drawne the enemies gallies within the danger of his great ſhips, who thundring amongſt them with their great ordnance, might haue eaſily ſore beaten and diſordered them, and opened a way to his gallies to haue gotten a moſt certaine victory. But the crafty
C old Turke doubting by the ſtrangeneſſe of *Auria's* courſe, to be circumuented with ſome fineneſſe, changed his courſe, and lay ſtill with his owne ſquadron of gallies, warily expecting to what purpoſe that ſtrange courſe of the enemy tended. In the meane time, both the wings of his fleet had a little before Sun-ſet, begun in diuers places to encounter with the Chriſtians: ſome were in vaine ſtill aſſailing *Bondelmerius* his great galleon; others with their great ordnance had ſo ſore beaten two tall ſhips (wherin *Buccanigra* and *Mongaia*, two Spaniſh captains, were embarked with their companies) that they were giuen for loſt, many of the ſoldiers and mariners being ſlain. Two other ſhips loded with victuall, the one of Venice, the other of Dalmatia, were burnt by the Turks, & ſome few of the men ſaued by their ſhipboats, and by ſwimming to the ſhips neereſt vnto them. In the ſhutting in of the euening *Salec* tooke two gallies
D ſtragling behind the reſt of the fleet, whereof *Mozenicus* a Venetian, and *Bebiena* a Florentine, were captains. After theſe gallies, was taken alſo the ſhip of *Aloyſius Figaroa* a Spaniard, although his ſoldiers had for a time fought moſt valiantly. In this ſhip, with *Figaroa* the father, was taken his ſon a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature; who afterwards preſented to *Solyman*, turned Turke: and growing in credit in *Solymans* chamber, after three yeres miſerable impriſonment, obtained his poore fathers liberty, and ſent him well rewarded home again into Spaine. Whilſt both the fleets were thus expecting how they might to their moſt aduantage joyne battell, ſuddenly aroſe a great tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and rain, with a freſh gale of Eaſterly wind: wherupon the Chriſtians ſeeing the Turks hoiſing vp their ſmall ſailes, without delay hoiſed vp both ſmall and great to cleere themſelues of the
E enemy, and with that faire wind returned againe to Corcyra; ſo diſordredly and in ſuch haſt, ſparing neither ſaile nor oare, that it ſeemed rather a ſhamefull flight, than an orderly retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of ſo great fame at ſea, as that he was called a ſecond *Neptune*, was that day accounted no captain. It is reported that *Barbaruſſa* with the ſame wind purſued the Chriſtians a while, and being not able longer to ſee what courſe they held, by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night, to haue ſtaied his courſe: for the Admirals had cauſed their lights which they vſed to carry in the poups of their gallies, to be put out. Wherat *Barbaruſſa* heartily laughing, ſaid oftentimes in the Spaniſh tongue: Auria *hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke to hide his flight*: noting in him ſuch a feare, as that he without regard of honour, ſought onely how by flight to eſcape. When they were come to Corcyra, they were all generally of opi-
F nion, That by the benefit of that ſudden ſtorme they had auoided a great danger. The Imperials, eſpecially the Genowaies, to excuſe *Auria*, imputed the cauſe of ſo ſhameful a flight vnto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spaniſh ſouldiers into their gallies, the better to haue withſtood the enemy; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Venetians, refrained from joyning battell; and the rather, becauſe that vpon the comming forth

Auria his politique courſe.

The Chriſtian fleet ſhamefully flyeth.

Barbaruſſa ieaſteth at Auria.

of the Turks fleet, they had hoiſed vp their ſailes tied vp to the yards with ſmall lines, which they might at their pleaſure eaſily cut, and ſet ſaile to fly which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbaruſſa* with all his fleet to the Iſland of Paxus, about foure leagues from Corcyra Eaſtward, brauing the Chriſtians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durſt come out. Wherat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to euery one of the three great commanders, requeſting them for the honor of the Chriſtians, to repreſſe that proud Turks inſolency. At laſt the matter was brought to that paſſe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certain companies of Spaniards, the fleet ſhould be diuided into foure ſquadrons, and ſo to giue battell. But this conſultation was ſo long protracting, that *Barbaruſſa* fearing the tempeſtuous Autumne weather, hoiſed ſaile, and about the ſeuenth of October returned again into the bay of Ambracia. After the departing of *Barbaruſſa*, the Generals of the Chriſtian fleet directed their courſe into the bay called Sinus Riſonicus, to beſiege Caſtronovum, or New-caſtle, a ſtrong towne of the Turks ſtanding in that bey, and bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniory. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Chriſtian religion, and ſome Turks, liuing moſt part by merchandiſe. Vnto this town the Chriſtians laid ſiege, and in ſhort time won it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all ſorts. Three daies after the taking of the towne, the caſtle was alſo yeelded by the Turks garriſon; couenanting in vaine to depart with life and liberty.

Barbaruſſa braueth the Chriſtians.

Caſtronovum taken by the Chriſtians.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue been deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reſerued for the Emperor, and *Franciſcus Sarmentus* with foure thouſand Spaniards all old ſoldiers, left there in garriſon: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing ſo much grieued the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in ſuſpect, and now aſſured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of Catarum) that repenting themſelus of the league with the Emperor, they decreed to ſue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards eaſily obtained, for a ſhort ſpace, by *Laurentius Grittus* their Dukes ſon, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rincus* the French Kings Embaſſador; who then lying at Conſtantinople, in good time told the great Baſſa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the conſent of the greateſt part of the Senat, and that war taken in hand againſt moſt of their wils.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Barbaruſſa* put to ſea againe to haue relieued Caſtronovum: but being at ſea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a ſudden tempeſt driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks, and there caſt away. It is reported that he loſt there 20000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almoſt all along ſt the coaſt of Dalmatia. This ſhipwracke being certainly knowne, *Capellius* would haue perſuaded *Auria* to haue preſently purſued *Barbaruſſa* ſo diſtreſſed: which motion *Gonzaga* well liked, as a man deſirous by ſome notable exploit to recompence the diſgrace before receiued at Leucade. But *Auria* for diuers cauſes not liking of the matter, was ſo ſet down vpon his return to Italy, that he preſently hoiſed ſaile, leauing the Venetian Admirall in ſuch a rage, that he deteſted himſelfe, for ſubmitting himſelfe to another mans power; and wiſhed the captains there preſent, neuer to ſubject themſelues to the command of a ſtranger, foraſmuch as that Genoway, either vpon cowardiſe or malicious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian State, would not proſecute ſo manifeſt a victory, but put vp ſo ſhamefull a diſgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made ſmall reckoning, referring all that he both ſaid and did, ſo far vnto the Emperors commodity, that *Valerius Vrſinus* a noble gentleman then ſeruing in the Venetian pay, merrily ſaid, That *Auria* had done nothing but wiſely and politickly, in ſetting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks, and opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not: ſo as the emperor himſelf could not haue better wiſhed, and that without the loſſe of one gally. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians would ſort to the great good of the emperor; when as the Venetians worne out and ſpent with thoſe long and chargeable wars againſt ſo mighty an enemy, ſhould be ſtripped of their lands and territories either by force, or ſome hard compoſition wrung from them by neceſſity.

Auria neglecting to purſue Barbaruſſa, returnes into Italy, to the griefe of the Venetian Admirall.

Caſtronovum thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a garriſon of foure thouſand Spaniards there placed, as is aforeſaid, and the Chriſtian fleet diſſolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that he determined to beſiege it againe both by ſea and land: and in his fury, cauſed

Naupli-

A Nauplium and Epidaurus, two of the Venetian cities in the country of Peloponesus, to bee straitly besieged. Yet tooke he singular pleasure, that *Barbarussa* his Admirall, in all respects worse furnished, had driuen out of the sea the great fleet of the Christians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbarussa* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, and notably furnished it with all maner of warlike prouision; manning his gallies for the most part with Ianizaries and other such select soldiers. With this fleet *Barbarussa* (Summer now wel come on) departed out of the Hellespontus, and came to the bay Risonicus; at which time also *Vlames* the Persian then Gouernor of Bosna, shewed himselfe with his forces vpon the mountaines, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbarussa* before he entred the streits of the bay, sent before
B him *Dragut* and *Corsetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto Castronovum (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being slaine and taken prisoners. After that came *Barbarussa* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ships which carried the artillery for battery and other necessary prouision for the campe; where he spent three daies landing his great ordnance and casting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night by reason of the continuall shot out of the Towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three daies space slaine aboue 1000 Turks: amongst whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himselfe as it were a king at Taiorea, a city neere Tripolis in Africa; whose death much grieued *Barbarussa*, as one of his most antient and best friends. At length *Barbarussa* hauing cast vp his tren-
C ches, landed foure and fifty great pieces of artillery for battery; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlemas* to batter the towne on the North side, whilest he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the East side, and *Salec* from sea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whilest *Sarmentus* was thus in so many places assailed, and did what was possible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had displaied their ensignes, they from thence with their shot sore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Vlemas* had made a breach, and was ready on the other side of the city to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* seeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt soldiers to get them into the castle below, and the rest with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turks streight-
D way breaking in on euery side vpon them, made a most cruell and bloudy fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with shot, and the multitude of their enemies, were slain almost euery man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, seeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to fly, sharpely reproued him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, vntill they were both together slaine. Many valiant captaines were there lost, whose names for breuity I omit. *Aloysius Arius*, and certaine other captaines who together with the wounded souldiers were got into the castle, seeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themselues: whom *Barbarussa* according to his promise, tooke to mercy in sparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuity to Constantinople. The dead body of *Sarmentus* could not be knowne amongst so many heaps of the dead, although *Barbarussa* had
E caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of mony and liberty also, to whosoeuer could recouer it; being desirous to haue sent his head for a Present to *Solyman*. *Barbarussa* proud of this victory, began forthwith to gape after Cattarus a City of the Venetians in the bottome of the same bay; and thereupon writ threatning letters to *Ioannes Bembus* one of the Venetian Senators then Gouernour of the city, presently to deliuer the city; which he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* answered againe by letters, that in so doing he should violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he should find him ready by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbarussa* displeased, sent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay; who discharging certain great pieces at the city, made shew as if they had come to besiege it. At whom *Bembus* as a man of good courage
F caused as many moe like pieces to be discharged, and shewed his men vpon the wals: Which thing *Barbarussa* perceiuing staid his course, and calling backe his gallies, returned to Castronovum, from whence (better appeased with Presents afterwards sent from *Bembus*) he departed out of that bay.

1539 *Barbarussa sent by Solyman to besiege Castronovum.*

Castronovum hardly besieged by Barbarussa.

Castronovum taken.

Sarmentus slaine.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French King, were now well pacified;

pacified, and such friendship (at least wise in shew) now growne betwixt these two great Princes, that most men thought that all other quarrels laid aside, they would now at length with vnited forces goe against the great and dangerous enemy of Christendome: which opinion not altogether of the wiser sort beleeued, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinary and rare courtesies then passing betweene them, which concerne not this History; as also, in that two of their most famous captains, *Alphonsus Vastius*, and *Hanebald*, were as it were with one consent by them both sent embassadors to Venice: to haue drawn the Venetians into the confederation of that war against the Turke. Which two renowned captains comming to Venice, most gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the Duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in euery place to behold them so noble captaines sent from such mighty Princes; but especially *Vastius*, whose fame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more desirous to satisfie their eies also with the beholding of his tall and comely person. Which two famous captains admitted into the Senate, for that purpose fully assembled, and audience giuen: *Vastius* arising from the Dukes side, in these or like words deliuered their embassage.

Aphonsus Vastius and Hanebaldus sent embassadors from the Emperor & the French king to the State of Venice.

Vastius his Oration to the Venetian Senat.

It is come to passe (as I suppose) by the great prouidence of Almighty God, and of all the Diuine powers (most noble Duke and honourable Senators) that two of the most mighty Kings of Europe, who of late had of long time made mortall wars one vpon another, touched with the zeale of religion, are become great friends: vndoubtedly to that purpose only, that hauing made a firme peace, they may bring such a generall quietnesse to the long troubled and afflicted state of Christendome, as best beseemeth their greatnesse; and taking in hand a sacred war, to reuenge so many calamities receiued from the Infidell. That this might be made knowne vnto you (most noble Venetians) these mighty Monarchs haue sent vs hither in good time to kindle in you the like zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwaies for the honour of your State bin inflamed: for you of all others, which are of such power and valour at sea, they wish for, as their fellowes and confederats in this sacred war and hoped victory; and thinke you worthy, which should enjoy the especiall fruit of all that labour. Forasmuch as the Christian forces once renewed, and so great and strong a fleet once assembled, euery man seeth that the Turks must needs be too weake: although they brag, That they carried away the victory of late at Actium, when as they then escaped the victorious hands of our men, not by their owne valour, but by the vnexpected hap of a sudden storme. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of the sea also, will be propitious vnto vs, vniting so great forces, in regard of our sacred religion; and will so take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they shall learne to be ouercome. As for our land forces, we are to hope nothing but well, forasmuch as vnto those which the Emperour of late brought into the field at Vienna, and caused the Turkish Emperour to fly, shall be joyned not onely all the horsemen and infantery of France (a wonderfull strength) but Sigismund *also King of Poloniа will without delay bring forth his armies, wherewith he hath beene vsed in the quarrell of the Christian Religion happily to fight against the Infidels: so that it is not to be doubted of a most certaine and assured victory. Wherefore the victorious Emperour and most Christian King* Francis *most instantly request you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceiued for the generall good of the Christian name, and religiously to embrace the hope of a most true and glorious victory: and further exhort you, by a wholesome decree to auert your religious and couragious hearts from the friendship of the Infidels: for it may worthily seeme vnto your most honourable minds, a most foule and shamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace, before a most religious and just war. Neither doth it beseeme this most wealthy State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of war, be they neuer so great: for if we shall once ouercome, which is incident to this present and long wished occasion, we shall by the profit of one victory, either by sea or land, to your incomparable praise, recompence all the losses by vs in former times receiued.*

The answere of the duke to Vastius.

Whereunto the Duke in the name of the whole State answered, That there neuer happened any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honorable, for the manner of the embassage, or for the publike security of their state, more to be desired than the hope of such a peace: after that two most mighty kings by two such famous captains their embassadors, did certifie them of their attonement & assured peace, most glorious to themselues, to their eternal praise, whole-

A wholesome also to the Venetian State, beset with so many dangers, and wonderfully to be wished for of all other Princes of Christendome, if they would sincerely and religiously with their forces by common consent vnited, resolue vpon that sacred war: for then would not the Venetians be wanting to themselues or the Christian common-weale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a dishonourable peace, but with armes and victory. Wherefore it was to be requested of Almighty God by praier, That those puissant Kings would with religious and happy euent speedily and seriously fulfill all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall discourses and embracings in shew promised vnto the World.

In few daies after, certain of the select Senators sitting in counsell, after the manner of that State, called the embassadors vnto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the
B articles and capitulations wherin that league and confederation was to be concluded? and by the way, Whether they thought the Emperour in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings son the Dukedom of Millan, as was reported? Whereunto *Hanebald* the French embassador answering nothing, *Vastius* said, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great Princes had agreed of betwixt themselues, and that the Emperour had desired the peace, as one willing to help the afflicted and declining state of the Christian common-weale: which thing any man might see could not be effected or brought to passe, but the Emperour must in many things yeeld to the requests of the French King, and redeeme his good will: for the noble mind (said he) worthy Senators, can easily make light of the greatest losse of his owne things, when it foreseeth a large way opened thereby to eternall fame and glory. These words
C were very glorious and gratious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it sinke in their minds, that the Emperor whom they had often deeply sounded, would euer part with the Dukedome of Millan, which only thing the French King required, and had for the recouering thereof vnfortunatly striuen almost 20 yeares, to the trouble and disquiet of a great part of the World. The nobility and authority of this embassage more moued the Senat than did the other former Embassadors, *Didaco Mendoza* a Spaniard, and *Gulielmus Pellicerius* a Frenchman, then both present: yet was it much suspected by the Venetians, because it contained no certaine resolution, but only the bare hope of a future peace; so that it was by many men supposed to be but a matter deuised to deceiue others, and to serue the Emperours turne to his great profit. Yet all the cunning seemed to rest in this point, That the Venetians
D led on with the hope of this league, should neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almost expired. Vpon which vncertainty of other mens resolutions, the graue Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Vastius his answer to the demand of the Venetian Senators.

Vpon this question of this new league and confederation to be made with these Christian Princes against the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully diuided: some fauouring the Emperors request, enueighed against the renewing of that shameful league with the Infidels, which they said was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Christendom, and especially Italy, destitute of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; and with many reasons vrged the honorable confederation with these Christian Prin-
E ces: others of a deeper reach, considering what infinit harmes they had from time to time receiued by falling out with the Turks, & suspecting also the Emperors drift; and joining thereunto the consideration of the great dearth then reigning in the city, which was not to be relieued but out of Macedonia & Grecia, the Turks countries; the emperor hauing at that time as it were of purpose imposed so great a custome vpon all corne to be transported out of Sicily, that the very custome came to as much as both the price of the corne and the fraight together: all which mischiefs they said were to be preuented by renewing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too & fro, either part hauing great faultours: so that the Senators spent almost whole Winter nights in the court in discoursing and consulting what were best to be don: but whatsoeuer was there said or decreed, was forthwith by one of the factions or other made known, not only to the Embassadors present in the city,
F but by letters also discouered into prouinces far off: a thing neuer before in that state known, which had euer vsed as it were with a religious silence to keep secret whatsoeuer was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Foscarus*, an old Senator and a man of great wisedom, perceiuing, said openly, That the state was betraied by the multitude and corruption of voices, and must needs shortly perish, if it were not speedily committed to the graue and faithfull judgment of some

The Venetian Senators diuersly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French King, against Solyman.

Foscarus a graue Senatour.

ſome few: for there were almoſt two hundred of them which gaue voices, reducing the multitude to the number of fifty, who for their experience and loue toward their country, were holden for men of greateſt grauity and ſecrecy: ſo was the madneſſe of many ſtaied by the diſcretion of a few. But *Foſcarus* ſhortly after fell into ſuch hatred of the multitude, grieuing to be as light headed men without diſcretion, ſo excluded out of the counſell; that he was by the voices of the multitude firſt thruſt out of the counſell himſelfe, and by them kept a great while after from all the preferments and honours of the city: being indeed one of the graueſt Senatours, and a man of deepeſt judgement. Which diſgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreſeene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterouſly reuealed the ſecrets of the State. G

Foſcarus diſgraced by the multitude.

But this long conſultation concerning the confederation, came to this end, That the Senators doubting the vnion of thoſe two great princes, and yet willing to expect the euent, decreed forthwith to ſend three Embaſſadors; whereof two ſhould be ſent to the Emperour and the French king to diſcouer their deſignes; and the third, which was *Aloyſius Badoerius*, a wiſe and well ſpoken man, was with all ſpeed diſpatched away to *Solyman*, to preuent the fame of the diſtruſt to be conceiued of the agreement of theſe great Chriſtian Princes, and if he could by any means, to ſpare for no coſt, to ſaue vnto the Venetians their cities of Nauplium and Epidaurus, which *Solyman* required of them before he would grant them peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and crafty tyrant, then to yeeld vnto neceſſity, and to conclude a peace with him vpon any conditions: which courſe the Decem-viri thought to be moſt expedient for the State: yet concerning the yeelding vp of the cities, they gaue him ſecret inſtructions and warrant, fearing forſooth the force and tumult of the headſtrong multitude, who if they had knowne any ſuch thing, would vndoubtedly thereupon haue taken occaſion to haue croſſed and ouerthrowne that moſt wholeſome decree: for there was no doubt, that if they had delaied the matter, and ſought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would vpon another mans weakneſſe and neceſſity haue increaſed his vnſatiable deſire, and not granted them peace, being brought low and forſaken, except they would deliuer vnto him the Iſlands of Cephalenia, Zacinthus, and Corcyra, a matter no leſſe grieuous than the deſtruction of the very city of Venice it ſelfe. So that the great Embaſſadors *Vaſtius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpoſe to haue hindered the league with the Turke, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreſeeing the danger of their ſtate, ſhould as they did, make haſt to conclude the ſame: for it falleth out in mens purpoſes & actions, That a good and happy ſucceſſe otherwiſe well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was ſent by the French King but for faſhion ſake, and ſecretly vnderhand by *Pellicerius* the old Embaſſador, perſuaded the Venetians to haſten the concluſion of a peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their embaſſador was carefully ſoliciting the matter at Conſtantinople, & being loth to yeeld the ſtrong cities which *Solyman* required, offering vnto him in ſtead of them a great ſum of mony: *Solyman* took him vp with threatning words as a ſhamefull diſſembler, earneſtly proteſting, That he would neuer grant him peace, without the yeelding of thoſe cities; rehearſing vnto him the moſt ſecreteſt points of his embaſſage, and how that he was authoriſed from the Decem-viri to yeeld them vnto him: which thing the Embaſſador did little thinke *Solyman* had knowne. Wherfore *Badoerius* ſo ſhamefully reproued and ſtanding in doubt of his life, ſeeing the greateſt ſecrets of his embaſſage reuealed to *Solyman* and his Baſſaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding vnto him Nauplium and Epidaurus, two cities in Peloponeſus, and with them Nadium and Labrania, two caſtles of Dalmatia, to the great griefe of the whole Senat: for granting whereof the common people ignorant of the ſecret decree of the Decem-viri, and ſuppoſing that *Badoerius* had giuen away that which he had no authority to giue, were ſo inraged againſt him at his returne, that there was much ado to ſaue the guiltleſſe man from exile, and his goods from confiſcation, although the traitors were then knowne which had diſcouered the ſecrets of the ſtate vnto the Turks. Theſe were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senatour, and *Conſtantinus Cobatius*, Secretary to the colledge of the Decem-viri, and *Franciſcus Valerius*, one of the Senatours baſe ſonnes, the traiterous diſperſer of the Turks mony for the corruption of others: who with other his complices were for the ſame fact hanged in the market place, when as *Leonius* and *Cobatius* were a little before fled into France. H I K L M

The Venetians ſend Aloyſius Badoerius their Embaſſadour to Solyman, to conclude a peace.

The moſt ſecret decree of the Venetian Senat made knowne to Solyman.

1540

A peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solyman.

The traitours which reuealed the ſecrets of the Venetian ſtate to Solyman, executed.

Abont

A About the ſame time, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepuſius* King of Hungary, *Solymans* tributary; after whoſe death enſued great wars in Hungary, and the lamentable ſubuerſion of that flouriſhing kingdome: for the better conceiuing whereof, it ſhal not be amiſſe with as much breuity as the plaineneſſe of the hiſtory will permit, to open the cauſes and grounds of the endleſſe calamities which afterwards enſued, and neuer tooke end, vntill that warlike kingdome was to the great weakning of Chriſtendome vtterly ſubuerted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributary King *Iohn*, had with like deſire of peace and quietneſſe, made betweene them a league, profitable to them both as their eſtates then ſtood, rather than honorable, yet moſt welcome to the Hungarians, who diuided into factions, and hauing followed ſome the one king, and ſome the other, enjoyed neuertheleſſe their lands and goods by
B the benefit of this peace; the townes and caſtles being ſtill kept by them in whoſe poſſeſſion they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was compriſed, That *Ferdinand* ſhould from thenceforth call *Iohn* by the name of a king; whereas before he had both in his common talke and letters called him by the name of a Vayuod only: It was alſo expreſly ſet downe in the ſame articles of peace, and ſubſcribed by the hands of diuers of the nobility of Hungary, That if king *Iohn* ſhould die, king *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the whole kingdome of Hungary: Which condition was ſuppreſſed and kept very ſecret for feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdome as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and beſtowed vpon king *Iohn* as vpon his vaſſaile: neither was it to haue been thought, that if he ſhould haue known thereof (being of a hauty mind by nature, and not able to indure
C any injury) he would haue ſuffered that kingdome, got and defended with ſo great danger and coſt, to be by the Will of an vnthankfull man, transferred vnto his enemy.

This matter of ſo great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronymus Laſcus* embaſſador for king *Ferdinand* to Conſtantinople, reuealed vnto *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, to bring King *Iohn* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwiſe greatly to haue beene commended, yeeld vnto his griefe, and deſire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*, he fell from the friendſhip of king *Iohn*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to priſon, and hardly afterwards inlarged, at the requeſt of king *Sigiſmund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with king *Iohn*, called him vnthankfull churle, and turning himſelfe about to *Lutzis Baſſa* his brother in law, ſaid, How vnworthily doe theſe two
D Chriſtian kings weare their crownes vpon their faithleſſe heads; who as ſhamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldly ſhame or feare of God, for their profit to falſifie their faith? But king *Iohn* vnderſtanding therof, & wonderfully fearing his own eſtate, did by good friends and rich Preſents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame vpon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beare it. Not long after, king *Iohn* hauing ſet his kingdome in good order, and ſtrongly fortified the city of Buda; being now far ſtriken in yeares, at the earneſt requeſt of moſt of the nobility of Hungary, and other his beſt friends, married *Iſabella* the daughter of *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia, a gracious lady and of great ſpirit: which King *Sigiſmund*, had long before married *Barbara* king *Iohns* ſiſter, after whoſe death he maried the lady *Bona Sfortia*, the daughter of *Ioannes Galleacius* Duke of Millain, by whom he had this lady *Iſabella* whom king *Iohn*
E now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the ſingle life of the king: but King *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreſeeing, that the Hungarians (if the king ſhould chance to haue a ſon) would forthwith looke vpon him as their naturall king, and reject himſelfe as but a ſtranger.

The ſecret confederation betwixt king Ferdinand & king Iohn reuealed.

King Iohn in his old yeares marieth Iſabella King Sigiſmunds daughter.

This yong queene in ſhort time (as he had feared) conceiued with child, and was now very big: when king *Iohn* was inforced to make an expedition in perſon himſelfe againſt *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*) and *Balas* both Gouernours of Tranſyluania: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayuod or Gouernor, ſought to make himſelfe King. But *Solyman* deteſting the impudent arrogancy of the faithleſſe man, and hating him for the death of *Grittus*, and the Turks ſlaine with him, aduertiſed king *Iohn* of all the matter, wiſhing
F him to be more circumſpect, whom he truſted with the gouernment of ſo great and rich a country. So *Maylat* ſhamefully rejected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdome, fearing alſo to be thruſt quite out of his gouernment by King *Iohn*, thought it beſt for his owne ſafety to raiſe vp all the prouince into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents ſecretly furthered to the vttermoſt. For theſe two Kings, al-

The Queene with child.

though

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and ſhew made ſemblance of G
friendſhip, yet in heart they enuied and hated each other, as if they ſhould preſently haue waged war. At that ſame time king *Iohn* exacted of his ſubjects, and eſpecially of them of Tranſiluania, a great ſum of mony, to pay the Turks his tribute, then two yeares behind: Which thing ſerued *Maylat* and his complices, as a fit occaſion to raiſe the people into rebellion; perſuading them, that there was no reaſon to pay vnto the Turke ſuch a tribute, as would ſerue wel to wage ten yeres honorable war againſt him: ſo that by that, and ſuch like perſuaſions, all the prouince was in an vprore, little differing from manifeſt rebellion. To appeaſe theſe dangerous troubles thus ariſing, king *Iohn* ſent certaine of his chiefe nobility and beſt captaines with a great power into Tranſyluania, following after himſelfe in his chariot, not yet well recouered of his late ſickeneſſe. Theſe noblemen entering in two places into Tranſyluania, and H
ſcouring vp and downe the country, had in ſhort time ſo vſed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders worthily executed. *Maylat* the ambitious author of this ſedition, not able to hold the field againſt the king, and ſeeing himſelfe beſet on euery ſide with his enemies, retired himſelfe with all his wealth into a towne called Fogaras, a place of great ſtrength, which the kings power ſhortly after hardly beſieged: the king himſelfe then lying at Sibynium, the chiefe city of Tranſyluania, about a mile diſtant from Fogaras, ſicke of an ague, wherinto he was againe fallen through too much care and paines taken in trauelling in that hot time of the yeare, the daies being then at the longeſt. Whileſt he thus lay ſicke at Sibynium, and his army faſt by at the ſiege of Foga-

Queene Iſabella deliuered of a ſonne.

ras, newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the Queene his wife was deliuered of a I
faire young ſon: which was no ſooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerjoyed, came flocking to the court where the king lay, diſcharging their pieces in triumph, with all other ſignes of joy and mirth they could poſſibly deuiſe: the noblemen came from the camp to rejoyce with the king, and all the army was filled with gladneſſe. And for the greater ſolemnity of this ſo common a joy, a royall feaſt was prepared, which the noblemen would needs haue the king to honour with his preſence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as yet but a little recouered: howbeit yeelding to their importunity, he ſuffered himſelfe to be ouerruled and brought to the feaſt by them, which was vnto him the merrieſt and the laſt that euer he made: for willing to ſhew his inward joy, and to content his nobility there preſent, he forgot himſelfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weake bo- K
dy: whereby the feauer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in ſuch ſort, as that he well perceiued he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw faſt on, he made his Will, appointing his yong ſon to be his heire, whom he committed to the tuition of *George* Biſhop of Veradium, and *Peter Vicche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinſman, vntill he came to age: requeſting the reſt of the noblemen to prefer his ſon in the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, before a ſtranger; telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his ſonne, if they would in time ſend Embaſſadors vnto him with preſents, and promiſe for his ſon, that he ſhould reigne as his tri-

The death of king Iohn.

butary, as he had done before: and ſo preſently after died.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings juſt, of no L
fierce and rough diſpoſition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a moſt ciuill behauiour, garniſhed with good letters, and thorowly ſchooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes: not meaſuring his actions by the ſtrength of his power, but by the exact rule of diſcretion; for in time of buſineſſe no man was more circumſpect or vigilant than he, nor in time of re-

The honourable ſaying of king Iohn.

creation any man more courteous or pleaſant. He vſed oftentimes to ſay, That the fauor and loue of valiant men gotten by bounty and courteſie, was the beſt treaſures of a Prince; for that courteous and thankfull men, did oftentimes in ſome one worthy piece of ſeruice, plentifully repay whatſoeuer had been beſtowed vpon them: as for ſuch as were vnthankefull, they did to their ſhame beare the reſtimony of another mans vertue.

The kings death was kept ſecret vntill ſuch time as the noblemen had agreed with *Maylat*, M
that he ſhould take an oath of his faithfull allegiance to the king, and his ſon his lawful heire, and ſo ſtill to injoy his former place & gouernment: which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted. Then calling together the counſell, it was decreed to ſend the ſame Embaſſage to *Solyman*, which was appointed the old king yet liuing. So were preſently diſpatched away two moſt honoura-

ble

A ble Embaſſador, *Ioannes Exechius* Biſhop of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the Chancelor, a man of great years; carying with them ten boles of pure gold curiouſly wrought, 600 of ſiluer gilt and ingrauen, forty pieces of purple ſilk & cloth of gold for Turks gowns, and 50 ℔ of coined gold to be paid in the name of two years tribute. Which Embaſſadours paſſing directly from Sibynium ouer Danubius into Servia, and ſo trauelling thorow Thracia, came to Conſtantinople. In the meane time the dead body of the King was with much heauines carried from Sibynium to Alba Regalis, moſt of the army following it, and there with great ſolemnitie buried. After this the yong king was chriſtned and called *Stephen*, and there preſently crowned with the antient Crown of king *Stephen*, who firſt erected that King-
B dom, and without which the Hungarians neuer accounted their Kings lawfully crowned. Yet the Royal dignity was by common conſent of the Nobility giuen vnto the Queen; with condition, that in al publique writings the names of the ſon and the mother ſhould be joined, and the Kings mony coined with the ſame inſcription. But the chief authority reſted in *George* the Biſhop, for he was Treaſurer, and had at his command the caſtles & ſtrong holds: yet were the ſoldiers with their enſignes and furniture at the deuotion of *Valentinus Thuracus*. In the middle betwixt theſe two was placed *Peter Vicche* the Kings kinſman, and by the old king appointed for one of the tutors of his yong ſon; ſuſpected of neither part, honored with the title of the high Conſtable. But becauſe the name of this *George* the Biſhop was moſt famous in this woful war which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labor to ſpeak ſomthing of his nature and diſpoſition; that it may be known to all poſterity, by what policie this war
C was managed, & how this flouriſhing kingdom by the madnes of the Hungarians came into the Turks hands.

Embaſſadors ſent to Solyman out of Hungary

A yong childe crowned king of Hungary.

This *George* was born in Croatia, and brought vp from his youth in the houſe of king *Iohn*, where vertue and induſtry neuer wanted relief: when as he vnaduiſedly before had entred into the orders of a monaſticall life, and weary too late of the ſtreitnes therof, had forſaken his profeſſion. Wherfore being of a very pleaſing nature, and ſtil following King *Iohn* driuen out of his kingdom, and long liuing in exile, he won ſuch credit and commendation for his fidelity, integrity, and ready counſel in the kings moſt doubtful & dangerous affairs, that after *Sabacchus* that worthy biſhop was by the trechery of *Aloyſius Grittus* ſlain at Baxovia, he obtained the great Biſhoprick of Veradium. After that, when he had ſtrengthned his credit with great
D wealth, he always as a faithful counſellor ſwaied and happily ruled both the court and kingdom, to the profit of the king. But he was of ſuch a diuers and pliant nature, that performing in all actions all the parts of a moſt ready and excellent man, he ſeemed to be made of contrary qualities, and born to do any thing: for in ſaying of his prieſtly ſeruice, and performing the other ceremonies of the Chriſtian Religion, hee ſhewed, or at leaſt counterfeited ſuch a contrition in his deuout countenance and ſpeech, that a man would haue thought it could not poſſibly be the ſame man, who in the moſt weighty affairs both of war and peace, did moſt ſtoutly ſhew the wonderful force of a pregnant and couragious wit: for he vſed to keep whole companies of moſt excellent & ready horſmen, and would oft times come forth into the battel armed: he would with often banquets and rewards win the hearts of the ſoldiers, and after
E the maner of great chieftains, maintain the honor and credit of his name, both with puniſhment & reward, as occaſion required. Beſide that, no man looked into the wealth of the kingdom more diligently than he: no man did to more profit let to farm the cuſtoms, old mines, feedings, and ſalt pits: no man could deuiſe finer means to raiſe mony, of all others the readieſt way to credit: inſomuch as King *Iohn* would confeſſe himſelf to reign by the ſpecial induſtry of that one man. And King *Ferdinand* would many times ſay, that he envied at King *Iohn* for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow, which was better for the defence of a kingdom than 1000 with helmets on their heads. Wherefore this Biſhop hauing taken vpon him the tuition of the yong King, was ſtil buſied in all the weighty cauſes of the kingdom, both ciuil and martial. He labored with great care, that the Hungarians ſhould agree together in loue
F and vnity; and did what he might, prouidently to foreſee, that no tumult or rebellion ſhould any where ariſe, wherby the beginning of the kingdom, yet but weak, might any way be troubled. But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for him to recouer again the kingdom of Hungary, which he had ſo long deſired. Wherto he was alſo

George Biſhop of Veradium a notable man.

The Hungarian fugitiues perſuade K. Ferdinand to inuade Hungary.

the more prickt forward by the perſuaſion of *Alexius Torſo, Ferentius Gnarus, Petrus Bachitius, Balthaſar Pamphilus, Francus Capolnates, Ianus Caſtellamphus,* and *Caſparus Seredus*; all Noblemen or gentlemen of great account in Hungary, who in the former troubles following the part of King *Ferdinand* againſt King *Iohn*, liued now in exile. Theſe all with one conſent told King *Ferdinand*, That now or neuer was the time wherin they might againe be reſtored vnto their country with honor; and that the war might that Autumn be diſpatched, if hee would make haſt, foraſmuch as Winter comming faſt on, would ſtay the comming of the Turks, and ſuch Noblemen of Hungary as took part with the Queen did not very wel agree together, beeing vnwilling to be commanded by *George* the Apoſtata Monk, who (as they ſaid) with great cunning and diſſimulation ſeducing the Queen, and poſſeſſing the treaſure, enioyed all alone the power of a King: and that they, which for taking part with the right, had long liued as baniſhed men, might now ſafely return into their country, & be honorably preferd by the queen; the Biſhop (which all commanded) aſſuring them therof, if they would return vnto the yong Kings court, vnto their friends and antient houſes. But they had (as they ſaid) before giuen their faith vnto him, as to a vertuous and faithfull prince, whom they had preferred before one that was a natural Hungarian born: wherfore he ſhould do both vnaduiſedly and vnkindly, if letting ſlip the occaſion preſented, he ſhould defer to make war. For, what could be more diſhonorable to him ſo great a King, and alſo Emperour elect, than by ſhameful delay to forſake them, being noble & valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then ready with ſtrong troups of horſmen to do him the beſt ſeruice they could. G H

The German captains in like maner perſuaded him to take the matter in hand; who as martial men, expecting ſome one preferment, ſome another, in the Army, were deſirous of honor, pay and prey, the chief comforts of their trauell and peril. I

Laſcius perſuades K. Ferdinand to requeſt the Kingdom of Hungary of Solyman, rather thã ſeek it by force.

But *Laſcus* the Polonian (who in matters concerning peace and war ſaw more than all they; as he that knew the diſpoſitions of many Princes, and had ſeen the manners and faſhions of diuers Nations, hauing trauelled thorow a great part of the World, and oftentimes been an Embaſſadour in the Courts of the greateſt Princes) was of a contrary opinion, and told King *Ferdinand* plainly, That the Kingdome of Hungary was to be obtained rather by policie than by force, by crauing it at *Solymans* hands, to hold it of him as his his Tributary, as King *Iohn* had don.

K

For (ſaid he) *that may by petition and fair entreatance be eaſily obtained of that heroical Prince (who in his vain humor oftentimes fondly ſeeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of arms. I know* (ſaid he) Solymans *haughty mind, and the proud diſpoſition of his Baſſa's: hee contemneth wealth, and is cloyed with ſo many kingdoms. But they vpon their vnſatiable couetouſneſſe and great pride, deſire nothing, nor perſuade him to nothing more than war. Wherefore it is good to beware, that that with the noiſe of this ſudden war you ſtir not vp the Turks, which lie ready as it were expecting ſuch an occaſion, which canot be withſtood but by the vnited forces of the Chriſtian Princes; which might by their general conſent be done, but that their eies blinded with fatall darknes, canot ſee it, and the vnitie of the Chriſtians now deſperat, ſeemeth by God reſerued for ſome better time: ſeeing that of late the Chriſtian Kings are fallen off, and canot agree vpon the long expected peace. Is not* (ſaid he) *the French King deceiued of his hope, and as he would haue it thought, greatly diſhonored with this late vnkindnes? which renuing the old wound, wil reuiue in him an endleſſe hatred. Away with all diſſimulation, enemy to graue counſels, and let plain truth, although vnpleaſant vnto princes ears, preuent flattery. Vndoubtedly, he being a Prince of no baſe courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thorowly grieued) will in his anger as an enemy pour forth his gold, wherof he hath great ſtore, to croſſe the Emperors deſignes, to trouble the aſſemblies of the States of Germany, to withdraw the minds of the Princes, and with bounty to gain them to himſelf: who enuying mightily at the Imperial dignity, wont to be indifferently giuen to them that beſt deſerued the ſame, to be as it were inueſted in the Houſe of Auſtria, which in this perpetual ſucceſſion of ſo many Emperors, hath as it were got a right by long cuſtom. Wherfore they will ſecretly conſpire together, and as notable lingerers by nature, wil either giue no help at all, or elſe too late, at ſuch time as the Turks gariſons ſhal come flying to ſuccor the yong king. Neither is there any cauſe for any man to think that the gouernors of the Turks countries neer hand, wil for the approch of Winter be ſlack in this cauſe: for they vndoubtedly making an honeſt and honorable ſhew, will take vpon them to defend the fatherleſſe child and* L M

Widow;

A *widow; of purpose to make an entrance to the secret desire they haue to gain the kingdome to themselues: for if you shall once ioyn with them in battell, if the best happen, and fortune fauor our first attempts, truly you shall haue war without end, with such an enemy, who will bring with him wealth neuer to be spent, power not to be ouercome, and couragious soldiers sworn to our destruction. So will it come to passe, and I pray God I be a false Prophet, that in seeking for the kingdome of Hungary by war, you shall at length bee driuen to fight for Austria it self, and your own kingdom also.*

Lascus sent embassadour from K. Ferdnand to Solyman.

This speech so mooued King *Ferdinand*, that although he purposed to go on with the war, yet he thought it good by an honorable embassage to proue *Solymans* mind & purpose also: which to do, no man was thought fitter than *Lascus* himself, author of that counsel, being vnto B him very wel known, and familiarly acquainted with al the great Bassa's of the court. Which seruice *Lascus* refused not, but being furnished with all things needful for such an embassage, departed from Vienna toward Constantinople.

K. Ferdinand by his embassador demandeth the kingdom of Hungary of the Queen.

Yet for all that, King *Ferdinand* persisting in his former purpose, made withall preparation for wars, trusting vpon the aid of the emperor his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cause honest enough for them to reuolt, if it so stood with their present profit. But before he would enter into open wars, he sent *Nicolas* County of Salma to the Queen, to shew her the instruments of the last league betwixt the king her late husband and him; & to exhort her to yeeld vp the kingdom, which by the late league was another mans right, and not by delaying the matter to hurt both her self & her son. For King *Ferdinand* of- C fered to giue vnto the child the prouince of Sepusia, as was before agreed betwixt the two Kings expresly in the league: and to the queen a greater reuenue, and whatsoeuer els she had in dowry. But if she should forget that lawful league, he threatned, that neither the Emperor *Charles* his brother, nor he, wanted force wherwith to recouer by strong hand the kingdom, annexed to the house of Austria both by antient right, and the new consent of most of the Hungarian nobility. The County of Salma being receiued at Buda, hardly obtained to be admitted to the presence of the queen: for *George* the Bishop, and *Vicche*, mistrusting her womanly courage, said she was not to be spoken withall, for that she was so ful of heauines and sorrow; & that they were of authority as the kings tutors, & ready to giue him both audience & answer. Which opinion of her weaknes and want of iudgment, the queen, being a woman of an D heroical and royal spirit, took as tending so much to her disgrace, that she said she would kil her self, if the Embassadors were not permitted to come into her chamber, which was a dark room hanged with black, as the maner is, and she sitting vpon a low palat, negligently attyred as one that had no care of her self, wan and pale coloured, but as then shedding no teares, but with voice and countenance so heauy, as might shew her tears to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her sorrow was any thing abated: for the desire of rule had now so possessed her mind, that she contemned all the dangers of imminent war, and for defence of her soueraignty resolued with her self to call in the Turks. After the County admitted to her presence, had with due reuerence and great protestation deliuered his message, she demurely answered, That such was the fortune of her sex and years, that being bereft of the King her hus- *The queens answer to the embassador.* E band, and perplexed with the daily griefs both of body and mind, she could neither take nor giue counsel; but purposed in so weighty a cause to vse the aduice of *Sigismund* her father, whose integritie and justice was such, that King *Ferdinand* needed no other judge or arbitrator to decide that controuersie. Wherfore she requested a conuenient time and space wherin she might ask counsell of her father; to whose iust iudgment she said she would stand, as she thought the Nobility of Hungary would do also. Which small time of delay if it should be denied, and that they would needs make war vpon her; she said that the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his brother should surely win no great honour, if they should come to oppugne her a widow, consumed with tears, and a yong child yet crying in his cradle. The County being so sent away, when he was returned to King *Ferdinand*, told him, That the Queen was altoge- F ther in the power of the Bishop, and could neither say nor do any thing but what she had before receiued from him: for he only (as he said) commanded al. As for the rest of the Nobility, they shared amongst them the honours and preferments of the realme, and as men desirous of gain, had rather be the gouernors of the yong prince, than the seruants & waiters of a great and mighty forrein King. Al which, he said, he had both heard and seen. Wherfore all

the hope was in war, wherin ſuch ſpeed was to be vſed, as that the Queene with her ſon vnpro- G
uided, and expecting the euent of their embaſſage from Conſtantinople, might be driuen out of Buda before they could take vp arms, or wel aduiſe themſelues what to do. And that the Queene ſought delay but to make her ſelfe the ſtronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turk, and ſo to make a more dangerous war. Wherfore if euer he purpoſed to reign in Hungary, he ſhould forthwith caſt off all other cogitations, and make ready his forces with all ſpeed poſſible.

K. Ferdinand inuadeth Hungary.

Herupon King *Ferdinand*, furniſhed with mony from *Charles* the Emperour, without delay raiſed a great army, which he ſent down the riuer Danubius to Strigonium, which City had all the reign of king *Iohn* continued faithful to king *Ferdinand*. The General of his army was *Leonardus Velſius* a Nobleman of Rhetia, who for many cauſes thought it expedient, firſt to H
Vicegrade taken. open the way to Buda; for almoſt in the middle of the way ſtood Vicegrade, with a goodly caſtle vpon the top of a hil by the riuer; which town, but not the caſtle, *Velſius* after nine dayes ſiege took, with the loſſe of about 200 of his men, all the gariſon ſoldiers therin being either ſlain or taken priſoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their Captain. From Vicegrade he paſſed
Peſth & Vacia taken. ouer the riuer Danubius to Peſth, which he took, being forſaken of the enemy. With like ſucces he took the city of Vacia without loſſe. And remouing thence, and croſſing again the Ri-
Buda beſieged. uer with his fleet, came and incamped before Buda, ſo to terrifie the Citiſens, and to diſcouer as far as he could, the purpoſe of the queen. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Raſcaius*, and *Franciſcus Francopanes* Biſhop of Agria, all men of great nobility among the Hungarians, reuolted from the Queen to king *Ferdinand*. The Biſhop was reputed a man of great integrity, & vpon meer I
conſcience went ouer to K. *Ferdinand*: yet was he by letters from *George* the kings tutor, challenged to haue reuolted, in hope by means of *Charles* the Emperor to be made a Cardinal. *Velſius* lay with his army at the hot baths, about a mile and a half from the city, as if he would rather beſiege it than aſſault it. The Germans lying there did fetch in booty round about the country: which was taken in euil part by the Hungarians on their ſide, who ſeeing their own cattel or their friends driuen away, the villages burnt, and the poore husbandmen bound and taken priſoners, fel together by the ears oftentimes with the Germans. On the other ſide they of Buda ſending out their troups of horſmen, skirmiſht with the Germans, if they did but ſtir out of the camp, and wel defended the villages from the injury of the enemy. For *Valentinus Thuraccus* General of the Queens power, had taken into the city a wonderful number of light K
horſmen. Whilſt the army lay thus incamped, it fortuned that *Balthazar Pamphilus* a Noble Hungarian, ſtraying out of the camp euen vnto the gates of Buda, deſired the Warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talk with *Valentinus* their Generall, for that he deſired to ſee his old friend, and to confer with him of certain matters concerning the good of the common ſtate. Which thing being granted by the General, he was immediatly receiued into the City with his troup of horſmen. Shortly after returning again into the camp, he reported how hee had bin entertained by his old acquaintance in the city: where viewing the gariſon, the great Artillery, and fortification of the city, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more ſeaſonable time of the year. Which thing ſo mooued *Velſius*, by nature ſuſpitious, and doubtful of the fidelity of a ſtranger, that he commanded him in anger to auoid L
the Camp, becauſe he had without his leaue gon into the city, and vpon his owne inſolencie had conference with the Enemy, and by amplifying their ſtrength, to haue diſcouraged the
The kings army departeth from Buda. Army, by putting them out of hope of victorie. Wherfore *Velſius* neuer attempting to aſſault the City, returned again to Vicegrade, to beſiege the higher Caſtle (wherin the antient Crown of King *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian Kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which Caſtle he alſo took with ſomthing leſſe loſſe than he had don the lower Towne.
Alba Regalis yeelded to king Ferdinand. Not long after, he marched with his Army vnto Alba-Regalis, the City where the Hungarian Kings were vſually crowned and buried: which town by the means of *Perenus* was deliuered vnto him, and a Garriſon put into it for King *Ferdinand*. Theſe things thus done, *Velſius* retyred againe to Strigonium: which he did the rather, becauſe the Germanes and Hunga- M
rians, two rough Nations, could by no meanes agree together; inſomuch as that *Velſius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the thigh, and *Perenus* was hurt with a ſtone. Beſides that, Winter was now come far on, and the Souldiours cried out for want of pay. For which cauſes *Velſius* (being alſo ſick of the Stone) billetted his Souldiors for that Winter

about

A about the country. Yet before that, he new fortified Peſth, and left therein a gariſon, becauſe it was reported, that the Turks vpon their frontiers were making preparation to aid them of Buda.

At ſuch time as King *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuaſion of Hungary, the Queen by the counſell of the Biſhop had in good time craued aid of the Turks lieutenants in the countries bordering vpon Hungary; eſpecially of *Vſtref* gouernor of Boſna (a very aged man, and of great honour, who had maried one of the daughters of *Bajazet* the old Emperour) as alſo of *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the frontiers of Dalmatia. From whom ſhe receiued one anſwer, That they might in no caſe without expres commandement from *Solyman* depart from the places committed to their charge. Be-
B ſides that, *Mahometes* was by rewards ouercome by *Laſcus*, as he paſſed by Belgrade to Conſtantinople, not to ſtir or aid the Queen. Wherfore ſhe, rejected by theſe great Captains, certified *Solyman* by her Embaſſadors, in what danger her ſelf, her ſon, and the kingdom was, crauing his ſpeedy aid. *Laſcus* was not yet come to Conſtantinople, being faln ſick by the way; but had ſent before *Ptolemeus* his phyſitian to the great Baſſa's, and eſpecially vnto *Lutzis* his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had beſtowed great gifts, and was in hope by him to haue obtained what he deſired; but all in vain: for *Solyman*, who thought it much for his honour to defend his own right, and that he had before giuen vnto King *Iohn*; thought alſo that it would redound both to his great profit and glory, if he ſhould as it were vpon charity take vpon him the protection of the widow and fatherles child, in their ſo great diſtreſſe and danger. Wher-
C fore calling to him the Embaſſadors, the three great Baſſa's ſtanding by, he ſaid, That he had of his meer bounty before giuen the kingdome of Hungary vnto King *Iohn* deceaſed, to deſcend to his poſterity, ſo long as they ſhould retain the kind remembrance of ſo great a benefit. Wherfore to declare his conſtancy, inſeparable from his bounty, hee ſaid he would take ſuch a courſe in the matter, as that the Germans his enemies ſhould not long reioyce of the wars they had begun. And in token of friendſhip, and that he had taken vpon him the protection of the yong King, he cauſed to be deliuered vnto the Embaſſadors a royal robe of purple and gold, a buckler with the boſſe moſt curiouſly wrought, a horſmans mace with a handle of gold, and a ſcimiter with the ſcabberd richly ſet with ſtones. And afterwards wrot effectually to *Vſtref* and *Mahometes* his lieutenants, That they ſhould without delay giue aid to
D the Queen, and not to make excuſe becauſe it was winter: threatning them, That if ſhe took any harm through their default and negligence, it ſhould coſt them their heads. The Queens Embaſſadors glad of their good diſpatch, were ſcarce departed from the Turks Court, when *Laſcus* came to Conſtantinople; and vnderſtanding by his phyſitian the ſucces of the Hungarian Embaſſadors, proceeded for all that in his buſineſſe, and deliuered his meſſage, and vpon reaſonable conditions requeſted the kingdom for king *Ferdinand*. But when hee in ſpeaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the Emperor, as if hee would with all the power of Germany aid his brother; *Solyman* was ſo mooued therwith, that he was preſently taken away and committed to priſon; the great Baſſa's, but eſpecially *Ruſtan*, *Solymans* ſon in law, a proud
E and furious young man, chiding him, and ſhaking him vp as worthy of death, for offending with his liberty of ſpeech the majeſty of ſo courteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the king of kings; requiring friendſhip, when in the mean time his maſter moſt impudently made wars in Hungary.

The queen craueth aid of Solyman.

Solyman promiſeth to protect the Queen and her ſon, againſt Ferdinand, & ſends preſents to the yong King.

Laſcus K. Ferdinands Embaſſador impriſoned by Solyman.

Vſtref and *Mahometes* the Baſſa's aforeſaid, hauing receiued ſuch ſtreit commandment from *Solyman*, aſſembled their diſperſed ſouldiers, and by ſhipping brought them down the riuers Savus and Dranus, into Danubius. For it is a hard matter to perform any great thing by wars in Hungary, without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great Ordnance, victuall, and other ſuch neceſſaries of the army, from one ſide of the great riuers to the other, as occaſion requireth. But as then being the midſt of winter, and the North wind blowing hard, Danubius was ſo froſen on both ſides, that the middle of the riuer was ſcarſe open: ſo that the Turks
F not able to paſſe for the extremity of the weather, nor daring to return for the ſtreit command of *Solyman*, were inforced in their Tents there to abide the hardnes of Winter, to ſhew their readines. It is almoſt incredible to be ſpoken, with what patience and reſolution the ſoldiers endured all the extremity of the time in ſo bare a place, their horſes, which of all other things they hold moſt dear, ſtaruing for cold and want of meat.

1541. *The queen joineth her forces with the Turks and burns Vacia.*

The Spring at length comming on (right welcome both to the Turks and the queen) *Mahometes* with his Turks and wild Illyrians, and *Vstref* with his souldiers of Bosna, entred into Hungary; with whom *Valentinus* General of the Queenes forces joined also, with an Army of Hungarians brought from Buda. And the Queen to further the matter, sent presents to the Turks Generals, victualled the camp, and furnished them with great Ordnance for the besieging of such Cities as were holden by King *Ferdinand* her enemy. They passing ouer Danubius, took the city of Vacia (being but badly defended for King *Ferdinand*) and putting many to the sword, after the manner of their barbarous cruelty, burnt the City. From thence they remoued to Pesth, which was so valiantly defended by *Barcocius* and *Fatiscus*, the one of them an Hungarian captain, the other a German; that the Turks dispairing of the winning of the city, and not wel relieued with victual from the Queen then, fearing future want, passed again ouer Danubius, & faithfully restoring the great ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their own countrie. But in their retyring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Ferentius Gnarus* slew many of them; among whom was one *Achomates*, one of their best and valiantest captains.

Pesth in vaine besieged by the Turks.

King *Ferdinand* aduertised of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recouering the kingdom: persuading the Emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war so fortunatly begun, especially now that the Turks hauing forsaken the Queen, were departed & gon. Wherfore the new forces lately before raised in Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, for a new supply of *Velsius* his army, were presently sent into Hungary, vnder the leading of the lord *William Rogendorff* steward of the Kings house, who was then gon as far as Possonium, to haue relieued them of Pesth; vnto whom, as a more antient and honourable Generall, *Velsius* gaue place. He, furnished with these new supplies, three months victuals, and great Artillery from Vienna, joining with the old Army, marched directly to Buda and besieged it. Ouer against the stately castle of Buda, wherin the Queen lay, was a great hil called S. *Gerrards* mount, so high, that the middle therof was equall with the highest place of the castle; and from the top therof they might look into the streets of the City: betwixt which hil and the Castle was a great valley and deep ditch. Vpon this hil, *Rogendorff* to beat the Castle, and to terrifie the Queen, planted his battery, and so shook a new built tower therof, that it was thought that it would haue suddenly fallen: which if it had, yet was it supposed a dangerous matter to haue assaulted it, because it was walled about with a treble wal. But the sumptuous turrets and the princely galleries of the Kings palace in the Castle, which euery man saw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten down with his great ordnance, he spared: but whither of himself, or els commanded by the King (as loth to destroy such goodly buildings as could not without great charge be in long time again repaired) was vncertain. Wherfore by diuers heralds sent to the queen, he wished her to breake in sunder those gyves and fetters wherin the Bishop vnder colour of protection had fast bound her son and her, and to accept of K. *Ferdinands* offer, who was readie to bestow vpon her a goodly seigniory, wherin she might most honourably liue in quiet, and bring vp her son in safety. Which thing if she as a simple woman ignorant of her owne danger, should refuse, and obstinatly contemn the peril wherein she stood, he would forthwith in most terible maner beat down the palace about her ears. Wherunto the Bishop in the queens behalf answered, That she was not such a fool to exchange the kingdom of Hungary for the principality of Sepusia: and that she thought *Rogendorff* a very doting and mad old man, who being once before wel beaten in those ditches, came now again like a fool to receiue his vtter destruction in full guerdon of his rash folly. Wherefore hee should cease to terrifie valiant men, fighting with discretion for their natural King and country, against his drunken company; for that they were nothing troubled with the noise of his great shot. But yet he said, that he would aboue all the rest, by way of priuat curtesie, gently request *Rogendorff* to discharge his pieces with a little lesse noise, because he had a sow at home great with pigs, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the grief of his guests. For the Bishop was of a sharpe and taunting spirit, and such a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the Kings orchards, burning certain orchards, he in derision caused two hogs to be hanged vpon the same gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* remoued his camp from S. *Gerrards* mount, to a more conuenient place for the battering of the City, called the Iewes Graues, neere vnto the Gate called the Iewes Gate.

K. Ferdinand sends the Lord Wil. Rogendorff with an Army into Hungary.

Buda besieged.

Rogendorff threatneth the Queen.

The Bispop his scornfull answer to Rogendorff.

Which

A Which thing the Bishop seeing, after his quipping manner requested of *Rogendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old man; for that in remooving his camp into a more commodious place, he seemed to be a proper wise man, and of good discretion, now that he had pitched his tents in a most fit place amongst the dead, both for himself being an old man, and almost worn with vain labor; and for his army condemned to dy there with him. *Rogendorff* thus incamped, began in two places to batter the wals: *Perenus* with the Hungarians and the Bohemians neer vnto the gate called Sabatina in one place, and hee himself with the Germans betwixt the Iews gate and the Castle in another: which was done with such violence, that a great part of the wal was beaten down; and another part therof ouercharged with earth, which the defendants had cast vp on the inner side for the strengthning there-
B of, was at the same time born quite out and so fel downe, to the wonderfull dismaying of all that were in the city. Which fair opportunitie to haue taken the city *Rogendorff* let slip, either not wel aware therof, by reason of the great smoke of the artillery on both sides, and the dust arising with the fall of the wall, which couered all; or els according to his natural disposition, doing all things leisurely and suspitiously; so that a little delay bereft him of the present apprehension of so sudden a resolution: and the Germans, vsed more to standing battells than to assaults, were not to be so easily brought on to assault the breach vpon the sudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The wall was opened in that place almost two hundred paces in length, yet standing almost the hight of a man, which might easily haue bin scaled with short ladders: but night was comming now fast on, wherin the Germans would not
C attempt any dangerous matter; so that the assault was deferred til the next morning. Wheras they of Buda in the mean time taking aduantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence and labor in that night raised vp a new rampier in stead of the wal that was fallen, euery man without exception putting his hand to the work. In the morning the Germans coming to the breach, gaue such a fierce assault vnto the new made rampier, that *Otho Fatiscus* desperatly entred into a shattered house which ioyned vnto the wall; and certain other companies, one soldier helping vp another, had almost recouered the top of the rampier, and were there ready to set vp their ensignes. When they of Buda with wonderful constancie and resolution withstood the assailants, *George* the Bishop incouraging them, and fighting amongst them: who hauing laid aside his hood, was now to be seen with his helmet on his head, run-
D ning to and fro as need required all alongst the rampier. At length the Germans seeing themselues to striue in vain against resolute men, were inforced to retyre. In this assault *Rogendorff* lost aboue 800 men. *Perenus* was also in like maner, but with lesse losse, repulsed at the other breach he had made at the gate Sabatina. After that, *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining to haue taken the city, but was by countermines disappointed of his purpose. Yet for al this, they in the city began to feel the want of many things, so that it seemed they were not able to endure any longer siege: the common people pinched with hunger, crying openly out in mutinous sort, that it was time to yeeld and make an end of those common miseries. But such was the authority of the Bishop, with his prouident foresight of all vrgent euents, that once shewing himself in the market place as if he would haue preached, he could turn the peeuish
E minded people which way he pleased.

A great breach in the walls of Buda.

The Germans assaulting the breach are repulsed with losse.

After all this it missed but a little, but that this City which could not by enemies force be won, had by shameful treason bin lost. There was at that time in Buda one *Bornemissa* a lawyer, who had in former time bin Maior of the city: this *Bornemissa* exceedingly hated the Bishop, for taking part with a bankerout Iew against him, and being full of malice, and desirous of reuenge, promised to *Revalius* (Marshal in the enemies camp) to deliuer to him the blinde postern in S. *Maries* churchyard, wherby he might enter the city: which gate serued the Citizens in time of peace to go thorow to the riuer. *Rogendorff* the General made acquainted with the matter, so liked therof, that he himself thought it not good in a matter of so great importance to vse at all the seruice of the Hungarians. Quite contrary to that *Bornemissa* had requ-
F sted of *Revalius*, who desirous to haue the matter brought to passe without the slaughter of so many guiltlesse people as was by him to be betrayd, would haue had it altogether performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would shew mercy vnto their Countrymen and kinsmen, and vse their victory with more moderation than the Grmanes; who prouoked with many despights, and comming in by night, were like enough to make great effusion of bloud.

Bornemissa practiseth to betray Buda.

But

But *Rogendorff* after the maner of his Nation, to be counted politique, vſed to keepe promiſe with no man; and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to haue all the glory of the conceiued victory to himſelf, made as if he would haue vſed only the Hungarians, and glozed with *Revalius*, whoſe ſon for the more aſſurance he took as pledge. For againſt the appointed hour, which was about midnight, hauing before giuen ſtreit charge that no man ſhould ſtir in the camp, he ſent four ſelect companies of Germans with great ſilence vnto the poſtern; at which time his ſon *Condi* ſtood with a ſtrong troup of horſmen ready to haue entred, as ſuch time as the Germans, receiued into the city, ſhould breake open the great gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemiſſa* fail to perform what he had as a traitor promiſed; but opening the poſtern we ſpake of, had with great ſilence receiued in moſt part of thoſe Germane Companies. But when he ſtil asked ſoftly of them as they came in, for *Revalius*, and heard them anſwer nothing but in the German language; although he was otherwiſe a man of a bold ſpirit, yet then ſurpriſed with a ſudden fear (as it oftentimes chanceth in ſuch actions, to men deceiued of their expectation) he ſtood as a man amaſed, that knew not what to do, and forgot to conduct the Germans: who altogether vnacquainted in the city, knew not which way firſt to goe; and ſtealing on ſoftly in the dark, went on with no great courage, for fear of treaſon; ſtil asking of them that followed, for him that ſhould direct them. The Germans could not go ſo cloſely, but that by the clattering of their Armor and the light of their matches they were deſcried by the Watch: who asking for the word, and they not giuing it, preſently raiſed an Alarm; but now all too late, the City being as good as half taken, had the Germanes well conducted, reſolutely gon on with the matter ſo wel begun: but they ignorant of the way, and now deſcried and chaſed with their own fear, ran backe againe to the poſtern in ſuch haſt, that one of them miſerably wrung another, in ſtriuing who ſhould get out firſt: and their paſſage was much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which fled firſt had caſt croſſe the way, to run the lighter into the camp. The firſt that ſet vpon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that night the charge of the Watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the Court of gard in the market place, and hearing the alarme came thither with a ſtrong company both of horſemen and footmen. Many of the moſt valiant Germans, who comming in firſt, were in flight becom laſt, were ſlain or taken, and amongſt them many of *Bornemiſſa* his familiars and friends (as for himſelf he was got out among the formoſt) from whom the Biſhop by exquiſit torture wrung out the whole plot of the treaſon, and afterwards cauſed them to be ſeuerally executed to the terror of others. *Revalius* in the mean time complaining in the Camp, That he was deceiued by the General: and *Bornemiſſa* wofully lamenting, That hauing worthily got the name of an infamous Traitor, he had therby loſt all his ſubſtance, and vndon his friends & kindred. The Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the common ſoldiers for his fooliſh arrogancie and pride) was hardly ſpoken of thorow all the camp, as he that by too much inſolencie had ouerthrown the faireſt occaſion of a moſt goodly victory. Wherfore from that time hee attempted no great matter, but ſet himſelfe downe by long ſiege to tame his enemies, and ſo to win the city.

Bornemiſſa receiueth in the Germans by a poſtern, ſuppoſing them to haue bin Hungarians.

The Germanes not conducted, are diſcouered & diſcomfited.

Solyman vnderſtanding of the Queens diſtreſſe in Hungary, and with what deſire *Ferdinand* (ſupported by the Emperor his brother) thirſted after that kingdom; conſulted with his Baſſa's, of the purpoſes and power of his enemies both there and elſwhere: and politickly reſolued at one time, with his diuided forces, to withſtand their attempts in diuers places, & thoſe far diſtant one from another; whereby the greatneſſe of his power is well to bee perceiued. Firſt, he ſent *Solyman Baſſa* an Eunuch to Babylon, to defend the Countrey of Meſopotamia, and the frontiers of his Empire alongſt the riuer Tygris, againſt *Tamas* the King of Perſia. *Mahometes* another of his great Baſſa's he ſent into Hungary to relieue the beſieged Queen. And after him *Vſtref Baſſa* (which was the fourth of his chiefe Baſſa's) with another Army to ſtay at Belgrade, in readineſſe to aid the other great Baſſa ſent before him, as occaſion ſhould require, if he ſhould find his enemies too ſtrong. Vnto *Barbaruſſa* hee committed his Navy, for the defence of Grecia and Epirus againſt *Auria*; who but a little before (aided by the Gallies of Sicilia and Naples) had driuen the Turks and Moors (which took part with the Turkes) out of Clupea, Neapolis, Adrumentum, Ruſpina, Tapſus, and all alongſt that coaſt of Africke which the Moores call Mahomedia, except the City of Leptis; and cauſed thoſe Cities to ſubmit themſelues vnto the gouernment of *Muleaſſes* King of Tunes.

Solyman maintains wars in diuers far diſtant places of the world at once.

Theſe

A These cities are at this day called Calabia, Susa, Mahometa, Monasterim, Sfaxia, and Africa. And because *Solyman* vnderstood, that *Maylat* the Vayuod of Transyluania tooke part with King *Ferdinand*, he sent against him *Achomates* gouernor of Nicopolis, and commanded *Peter* of Moldavia, Prince of Valachia, to aid him; who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with 30000 horsmen. He himself also doubting the purposes of the Christian princes, and especially of *Charles* the emperor, more than he had need, came to Hadrianople, and in the countries therabouts raised a third army, to aid the two Bassa's sent before him into Hungary; keeping with him his son in law *Rustan*, whom he had made one of the four great Bassa's of his Counsel, hauing thrust out *Lusitbeius*, whom the Turks cal *Lutzis*, his brother in law, and exiled him into Macedonia for euil intreating and striking his wife, which was *Solymans* sister, as is before
B said, but was at this time don.

Mahometes the Bassa desirous to do his great master the best seruice he could, entred into Hungary with his Army about the middle of Iune, in the year 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* gouernor of Belgrade, who gaue the Christians that shameful ouerthrow not farre from Exek; ioyning also with him the power of Bosna, now commanded by *Vlemus* the Persian, for that *Vstref* the old Bassa was lately dead. The captains of the Christian army hearing of the comming of the Turks, entered into counsell, whether they should continue the siege, or els go and meet them by the way and giue them battel. But the period of the Hungarian kingdom drawing fast on, and the inevitable destiny therof so requiring, the opinion of *Rogendorff* preuailed against the rest for continuing of the siege; he seeming more
C willing to die, than to crosse ouer the riuer to Pesth, or to retyre to Vicegrade or Strigonium, as diuers would haue persuaded him. Wherfore he remoued from the place where he lay before, and incamped his army on the further side of the city, at the foot of S. *Gerrards* Mount; where the hil lying between Buda & the camp, & departing from the riuer, leaues a fair plain toward the East; of purpose that the Turks (whom he knew would not go far from the Riuer and their fleet) should be inforced dangerously to passe by the mouth of his great Ordnance, which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for such was the nature of the place that the camp lay defended on the right hand with the steep hil, on the left hand with the riuer, and behind toward the city with a strong bulwark. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little rising ground he placed the lesser camp, wherin were the Hungarians which fauored king *Fer-*
D *dinand*, and then followed his ensignes. He made also a bridge from his camp into a little Isle which lay in the riuer, and with a fort wel planted with ordnance commanded both the Riuer and the plain, so to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuer, and themselues also as they should march alongst the plain. Hee was about also to haue made a bridge of lighters and boats quite ouer the riuer from his Camp to Pesth; and in this order to expect the comming of new supplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repel the enemy who was comming, and with long siege to weary them in Buda: for there was such store both of victual and all other warlike prouision in Pesth, as would wel haue sufficed his army vntil winter had bin spent. As soone as the Turks were come nigh the city, *Valentinus* as an Embassador from the Queen, met them with two thousand horse, and fully instructed both the *Mahomets*, what the Christians did,
E what strength they were of, and how they might most conueniently incamp their army: wherfore the Bassa marching on boldly forward, came within half a mile of the Christian Camp, where he quickly intrenched himselfe round with a strong trench, filling a great part of the plain with his Tents. But the other *Mahometes* Gouernor of Belgrade, a most politick captain, took the higher ground towards the rising of the hill, neerer vnto the tents of the Hungarians than of the Germanes. Vnto these two Armies thus incamped, belonged also two fleets; the Christian fleet consisted of four and twenty Galliots, about fourscore smal pinnaces, and little lesse than 100 ships of burthen, and other great boats. Wheras the Turks fleet was not thought to be past half so great. Neer vnto the little Island, joined as we haue before said by a bridge to the Christian Campe, beneath in the riuer had the Turkes taken another
F Island called Cepellia, ouer against their own Camp; where casting vp a great bulwark in the vppermost end therof, and planting it with great ordnance, they from thence shot at the fort which the Christians held in the little Island, and at their Vessells passing to and fro in the Riuer, as the Christians did at them likewise. This Island of Cepellia lieth somwhat more than forty miles in length in the riuer of Danubius, ful of country villages, so commodiously,

Mahometes Bassa comes with an army to relieue Buda

The order of K. Ferdinands Army.

The Bassa's Army intrencheth within halfe a mile of K. Ferdinands army.

that

that if *Rogendorff* had at the first taken it,and fortified it before the comming of the Turks, as G
the Hungarians persuaded him to haue don,the Turks could by no means haue incamped in
the plain,but must needs haue forsaken their fleet,fetching a great compasse about more to-
ward the West,farther off from the riuer,which would haue turned to the Turks great disad-
uantage. *But no man is so wise as to foresee all things, when as the euill succes, be the plot neuer so well*
layd, shal of it self,besides the losse,leaue vnto the vnfortunate man the note of the want of prouident fore-
sight and discretion. But *Rogendorff* was not willing to diuide his forces vntil he had some new
supply from King *Ferdinand*. Whilst the armies lay thus neer one to another,there were some
light skirmishes made euery day,either by the horsmen or footmen, and somtime one braue
man challenging forth another hand to hand,whom he thought by his armour,or some other
signe of his worth, to be like to himself: which was so pleasant a sight to behold, that both H
the armies vpon a military curtesie,as if it had bin so agreed, would many times for certaine
hours forbear to shoot any shot,of purpose to see those gallants,with true prowesse to proue
their valor and manhood one vpon another with their spears and swords only. In which light
skirmishes the Getman horsmen were oftentimes put to the worst;who mounted vpon heauy
horses,fitter for a set battell,could neither so readily charge the enemy,nor pursue him in his
flight;as could the Turks with their nimble ready light horsmen,so wel acquainted with that
maner of flying fight,that they would with wheeling about easily frustrat the first charge of
the heauy horsmen,and by and by come vpon them again with a fresh charge, and so often re-
tyre and come on again,vntil they had either wearied or ouerthrown them. But the Hungari-
ans acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and also better armed, did easily en- I
counter the Turks and foil them,although they were in number moe.

Rayschchius for sorow of his son slain by the Turks,suddenly dieth.

There was amongst the German captains a nobleman called *Eckius Rayschachius*, whose son
(a valiant yong gentleman) being got out of the Army without his fathers knowledge, bare
himself so gallantly in fight against the enemy,in the sight of his father and of the army,that
he was highly commended of all men, but especially of his father, who knew him not at all:
yet before he could cleer himselfe he was compassed in of the enemy, and valiantly fighting
slain. *Rayschachius* exceedingly mooued with the death of so braue a man, ignorant how neer
it touched him self,turning about to the other captains,said, This worthy gentleman,whatso-
euer he be,is worthy of eternal commendation,and to be most honorably buried by the whole
army. As the rest of the captains were with like compassion approuing his speech, the dead K
body of the vnfortunat son rescued,was presented to the most miserable father;which caused
all that were there present to shed tears: but such a sudden and inward griefe surprised the
aged father,and strook so to his heart, that after he had stood a while speechles, with his eyes
set in his head,he suddenly fell down dead. From that time the General commanded, That no
man should vpon pain of death go out of the army to skirmish with the enemy without leaue:
wherin he was so seuere,that he hanged vp one or two that presumed to transgresse his com-
mandment. Which thing much discouraged his own men,and so incouraged the enemy,that
they would somtime braue the Christians vpon the top of their own trenches.

Many daies had now passed since the comming of the Bassa, the Turkes and they of Buda
daily increasing both in strength and courage;when as on the other side,faint courage, weake L
strength,troubled counsel, vncertaine resolution,the ominous signes of an vndoubted ouer-
throw,were easie to be seen:and hope it self,the stay of all human actions,especially of marti-
al affairs,almost lost:the only things which vpheld their fainting hearts,were,the often Let-
ters of king *Ferdinand*;and the firm opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the Emperour
would not in so great a danger fail to aid his brother both with men and mony:and last of all,
the firm resolution of a General,which far passed al reason,the sooner to draw him to his end.
The armies lying in this order,the Turkes from the higher ground and out of Ceppellia,per-
ceiuing the Germans in the little Island as careless men to keep but slight watch, agreed a-
mongst themselues,at one instant out of both their Camps to assail diuers of their forts: and

The Turks suddenly assail the Christians in the Island.

so by break of the day landed with their fleet so closely and suddenly to the Island,that they M
had slain almost 600 of the Germans before they were throwly awake or could wel arm them-
selues. Wherwith the rest were put in such a fear,that they fled to the Campe in such haste,
that many of them fel beside the bridge,and were drowned in the Riuer. All the Camp was
wonderfully troubled with the suddennes of the matter, the Turkes with their hideous cries

raising

A raising the alarm in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certain German Companie sin one of the forts neereſt vnto the riuer, and the ſoldiers in the fleet, wel declared their preſent reſolution and valiant courage, in recouering again of the Iſland. For *Herbeſtulfus* the Camp maſter perſuading them not to ſuffer the Chriſtian enſignes and great ordnance to be ſo ſhamefully caried away by the Turks; & *Marius* the Admiral at the ſame time landing diuers companies in the Iſland with his pinnaces and great boats; they ſo couragiouſly charged the Turks, then buſied in ſpoiling the dead bodies, and drawing away of the great ordnance, that they draue them again to their boats, leauing vnto them as victors both the Iſland and Ordnance; hauing before their departure receiued no leſſe loſſe themſelues, than had the Germans before.

B It was reported, that the Turks fleet might that day haue bin quite ouerthrown, if the Chriſtians vſing the victory, and holpen with the courſe of that ſwift riuer, had couragiouſly purſued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is don are eaſily ſeen, which in the very heat and hurle of the danger canot be foreſeen; foraſmuch as ſudden accidents attended with great peril, do oftentimes daſle the minds of right wiſe and valiant captains: yet four of the Turks pinnaces were ſunke, and three taken, and many of the Turks ſlain or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turks more and more incouraged with the multitude of themſelues, and the fearfulnes they perceiued in their enemies, did at ſundry times ſo inſolently trouble and aſſail the camp of the Chriſtians on euery ſide, that they left them almoſt no time of reſt, one company ſtil ſucceeding another; ſo that they were almoſt in diſpair to
C be able long to defend their camp, the enemy ſtil growing both in ſtrength and courage. For the Baſſa that lay at Belgrade ſtil taking vnto him the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, ſent continually freſh men in their ſtead: and *Valentinus* taking to him a company of the Turks harquebuſiers, had driuen *Perenus* with the Hungarian horſmen out of the vpper camp. So that they in the nether camp were now hardly beſet by their enemies on euery ſide: yet were they well holpen by the great Artillery from Peſth, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horſemen in aſſailing the camp on that ſide.

Some report, that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian baniſhed men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat curteſie or friendſhip, by a faithful ſouldier wiſh *Perenus*, ſpeedily to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and of the Hungarians with him; for that
D there was a great beaſt comming which would at one morcel deuour them al. For *Solyman* aduertiſed of the doings of the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come down to Buda with a puiſſant army, was reſolued to be preſent himſelf at ſo notable a battel, and was therfore comming thither with his Army in all haſt. Wherfore *Perenus* thus forewarned, ſaid plainly to *Rogendorff* and the other captains, that except they would preſently riſe with the army and depart, he would now whilſt he had yet time make ſhift for himſelf and his countrymen. Their opinions diuerſly deliuered, at laſt they all agreed, that it was beſt the next night to paſſe ouer the riuer to Peſth. Only the General by fatal obſtinacy ſaid, He would not without King *Ferdinands* commandement depart from Buda: and therefore ſent County *Salma* with a ſwift pinnace vp the riuer to Vienna, to know his pleaſure therin. In the
E mean time vrged with fear, *Perenus* fretting at their long ſtay, it was reſolued vpon, that they ſhould the next night, after the Moon was downe, paſſe ouer the riuer with four conuoyes to Peſth. In the firſt were to paſſe ouer the Hungarians with their great ordnance. In the ſecond the German and Bohemian horſmen; and in the other two, the footmen and baggage of the army: for it was not ſo eaſie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at firſt ſuppoſed: for after they had begun it & almoſt planked it, there riſe ſuch a wind and tempeſt, and the violent riuer became ſo rough, that the timber wherwith the bridge was faſtned together was broken, the joints vnloſed, and many of the boats wherof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken, were carried away by the force of the ſtream. The firſt and ſecond conuoy fortune ſo fauored that they wel paſſed ouer; for although they of Buda and the Turkes, ſee-
F ing in the day time from their high places their fleet drawing together into one place, might haue ſome ſuſpition of the matter, ſome gheſſing one thing, and ſome another; yet could they foreſee nothing of that ſudden departure of the enemy. But that multitude of ſhips and boats now paſſing to and fro, could not long be hid from the attentiue and vigilant Enemy; and ſo much the leſſe, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then diſcouered to the Biſhop,

Valentinus the queens general certifieth Perenus of Solymans comming

The Chriſtians depart by night from Buda.

the

the flight of the Germans; who presently certified the Bassa, and the other *Mahometes* therof, G
which without further delay came almost with all their power to assault the Christians in
their camp: the great ordnance was brought forth, and after the Ianizaries and other footmen,
The Turkes assaile the Christians in their camp at their departure followed the horsmen, dismounted from their horses to do the better seruice; who all with a
horribly cry assailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quaile, their flight being now
discouered; yet did they with the the Bohemians for a while notably resist the enemy. Al the
campe was filled with tumult and confusion, and especially at the riuer side, euery man in that
great feare striuing to get aboord, without regard of order or shame: for the dead time of the
night then couered with darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible, euen vnto
them which were of best courage: the authority of *Rogendorff* the General (in the darkenesse of
the night, and so great clamour both of his owne people and of the enemy, and the thundring H
of the ordnance) was as nothing: he (besides that he was then sick in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderfull and fatall chance: for as he was writing letters to the king, a faulcon shot
out of the enemies camp falling in his tent, and striking in sunder a chest which stood there,
wounded him grieuously in the left shoulder with a splinter of the same. The other captaines
of the footmen enuying that the horsmen were so wel escaped, stood as men more carefull of
themselues, than of the common danger, faintly resisting the enemy. The vpper tents wherin
Perenus lay, were first taken by *Mahometes* of Belgrade, and *Valentinus*, & the German footmen
chased all ouer S. *Gerrards* mount. They of Buda also sallied out, and entred the camp on that
side which was next vnto the City, and with wild fire burnt the Tents, a little before forsaken
A mischieuous practise of the Bishop. by the Germans. And the Bishop at the same time caused a great stacke of straw standing by I
the kings stables, neer vnto the riuers side, to be set on fire; which gaue such a light that a man
might haue seen all ouer Danubius vnto the wals of Pesth, as if it had bin light day: whereby
the great confusion of the Christian army by land, as wel as the shameful flight by water, was
of the Turks plainly discouered. Then was the great artillery on euery side discharged vpon
Great slaughter of the Christians. the flying fleet, as wel from Buda, as the Turkes Campe. And to increase the feare, *Cason* the
Turks Admiral rowing with his light boats against the stream, set vpon the ships crossing the
riuer to Pesth, where he took certain boats loded with souldiers, and his great ordnance sunke
diuers others: so the riuer was filled with dead bodies, and the miserable company of mariners and soldiers, laboring to saue their liues by swimming: for at such time as the Ianizaries
hauing slain the first companies, were broken into the lower Campe; and the rest of the Ger- K
mans flying ouer the bridge into the Island, were there slain without mercy, by the Turks pursuing them, many of them leapt into the riuer and there perished. Three hundred sail of one
sort of ships and other were so mingled together, that Danubius seemed that night to be couered ouer as if it had bin with a great bridge. But the Christian fleet seeing all lost, cleered
themselues so soon as they could of the Turkes; and so beating them backe with their great
ordnance out of the poups of their ships, got vp the riuer to Comora. The rest of the Forces
endured the same fortune by land in the Campe, of whom the Bohemians died most honourably, slain by the enemy in fight. Many falling into the hands of them of Buda, were saued
or slain, as it was their fortune to fall into the power of a mercifull or mercilesse man. But
the Sunne rising, plainely discouered the slaughter of the Christians, and the victory of the L
Turks, not so well before known. There was about 3000 men of one sort and other, who in
warlike maner had taken a little hil by S. *Gerrards* Church, and there stood vpon their gard;
vntill such time as more than two thousand of them were slaine: the rest casting away their
weapons, yeelded, in hope of life, and were reserued for a spectacle more grieuous than death
it selfe.

At the same time *Cason* with his victorious fleet comming to the shore of Pesth, brought
such a fear vpon them that were escaped thither, and might easily haue defended the Walls,
(only with the cry of his soldiers, and thundring of his artillery) that the horsmen for hast to
get out, were like to ouer-run one another. The Germanes had at that time so much forgot
their wonted valor, and so trembled at the name of the Turkes, that as soone as they saw their M
white caps in their ships they ran away as men dismaied, vnarmed, leauing behind them their
plate, their cariages, and whatsoeuer good thing they had els. Yet some Hungarian horsmen,
more desirous of the spoile, than afraid of death, staid behinde rifling the merchants shops;
for Pesth was become a very rich mart town for all kind of merchandise, merchants resorting
thither

A thither from all other places of the troubled country, as to a ſtrong and commodious city, and of more ſafety than the reſt. But *Caſon* now entring without reſiſtance, ſlew ſome of thoſe greedy Hungarians, and ran thorow the towne with ſuch barbarous cruelty and thirſt of the Chriſtian bloud, that he ſpared neither man, woman, nor child, except ſome few, which either for their beauty or ſtrength of body were reſerued for the Turks beaſtly luſt, or ſlauiſh labor: ſo that in this war it is reported, more than 20000 Chriſtians were one way and other by diuers chances ſlaine. There were taken at Peſth, in the campe and in the Iſland, 36 great pieces for battery, of wonderfull beauty; and of leſſer field pieces 150. As for ſhot, powder, armor, weapons, and victuall prouided for Winter, ſuch ſtore was found, that the Turks accounted it for the greateſt part of their victory. *Rogendorff* the vnfortunat Generall, at ſuch time as the

Peſth taken by Caſon, Admirall of the Turkes fleet.

B Turks hauing won the trenches, were fighting in the midſt of his camp, deſiring rather to be ſlaine in his tent, than to liue after ſo great an ouerthrow, was againſt his will by ſtrong hand carried aboord a little pinnace by his phyſitian and chamberlaine, which would not leaue him as he lay, and was ſo conueighed vp the riuer to the Iſland of Comora; where he ſhortly after, partly for the painefulneſſe of his wound, but more for griefe of minde, died in a little countryvillage called Samarium, leauing vnto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his accurſed obſtinacy and pride. *Solyman* ſtill doubting the comming of *Charles* the Emperour and King *Ferdinand* to Buda, was comming with his army from Hadrianople in ſuch haſt, that he cauſed the Ianizaries, his beſt footmen, contrary to their manner, to march as faſt as his horſemen: but vnderſtanding by the way, of the late victory obtained by his captaines, he tooke more

Rogendorffe againſt his will caried away by his phyſitian & Chamberlain, to Comara, there dieth.

C leiſure, and came with a great power to Buda in Auguſt, and there incamped on the other ſide of the city, to auoid the noiſome ſauour of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburied. Where calling vnto him the other army, and making one huge campe of both, he highly commended all his captaines, but eſpecially the two *Mahometes*. And vnderſtanding that the victory was eſpecially gotten by the meanes of *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrage, he made him Generall of all his Europeian horſemen, one of the moſt honourable preferments of the Turkiſh Empire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deſerued, and withall augmented their pay.

Solyman commeth to Buda.

After that, he cauſed the priſoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out: who bound in long ropes, were in deriſion led all alongſt the army, ranged in order of battell, and

Turkiſh cruelty.

D afterward by his commandement ſlain by his yong ſoldiers: ſaying with ſeuere countenance, that they were worthy of ſuch death, which by Embaſſadours diſſemblingly entreating of peace, had in the meane time craftily waged war. Amongſt theſe priſoners was one ſouldier of Bauaria of an exceeding high ſtature; him in deſpight of the German nation, he deliuered to a little dwarfe (whom his ſonnes made great account of) to be ſlaine, whoſe head was ſcarce ſo high as the knees of the tall captiue; with that cruell ſpight to aggrauate the indignity of his death: when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apiſh dwarfe with his little ſcimeter, as if it had bin in diſport, fell downe, and was with many feeble blowes hardly at laſt ſlaine by that wretch, ſtill heartened on by others, to ſatisfie the eies of the Princes, beholding it as their ſport.

E This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* ſent his Embaſſadors with preſents to the yong king, which were three beautifull horſes, with their bridles of gold, and their trappings richly ſet with pretious ſtones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold, & vnto the chiefe of the nobility he ſent rich gownes and chains of gold. The embaſſadors which brought theſe preſents, in curteous manner requeſted of the Queene, to ſend the yong king her ſon, attended with his nobility, into the campe, and without all feare, to hope that all ſhould go well both with her and her ſon: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortune only, but in vertue and vpright dealing alſo, was of ſuch an heroicall diſpoſition, that he would not onely defend the childe, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthy his

Solyman ſends for the young King into the campe.

F protection and fauor, victory confirming the fame, but would alſo augment his eſtate, with the largeſt bounds of his antient kingdome. Wherefore he was deſirous to ſee the yong king, and to behold him in the repreſentation of his father, and with his own hand to deliuer him to be imbraced of his ſons; that of his protection renewed, ſo happily begun, might be grounded a firme and perpetuall friendſhip with the *Othoman* kings: and that he would alwaies account of her as of his daughter. But the cauſe why he came not to ſee her, which he did in curteſie de-

ſire, was for that by antient cuſtome the *Othoman* Kings were forbidden that point of curteſie, G
to viſit other mens wiues in their houſes. Beſides that, *Solyman* (they ſaid) was not ſo forgetfull
of his modeſty and honour, as to receiue into his pauillion the daughter of a King his friend
and allie, and ſhe the late wife of a King his friend and tributary, and the faire young mother
of a ſonne, growing in the hope of like regall dignity, for feare he ſhould draw into any ſuſpi-
tion the inuiolate name of her chaſtity, which in Queenes was to be guarded with an eſpeci-
all and wonderfull care. Whereunto the Queene (a manifeſt feare confounding the tender
ſences in her motherly affection) anſwered very doubtfully: but the Biſhop perſuading her,
and inſtantly requeſting her, not to giue the Turks occaſion to ſuſpect, that ſhe had them in
The Queen ſendeth the young King her ſon to Solyman in the camp, attended with the Nobility. diſtruſt, by her little and vnprofitable delay; ſent her young ſon in Princely ſwathing clothes,
in a rich chariot, with his nurſe and certaine great ladies vnto the campe, attended vpon with H
almoſt all the nobility to whom *Solyman* had ſent Preſents. In his comming to the campe, he
was for honours ſake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troups of the Turks braue horſe-
men: and all the way as he paſſed in the camp, orderly ſtood the Ianizaries of *Solymans* guard.
Solyman curteouſly receiueth the young king. As ſoone as he was brought into the campe, *Solyman* courteouſly looked vpon him, and famili-
arly talked with the nurſe, and commanded his ſons there preſent to take him in their armes,
and to kiſſe him, in certaine token of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time
to haue their friend and tributary, when he was growne to mans eſtate: theſe were *Selymus* and
Bajazet, begotten of his faire concubine *Roxolana*, bearing the names, the one of his grandfa-
ther, the other of his great grandfather. As for *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſonne by his Circaſſian
wife, he then liued in Magneſia a great way off; who though he was a Prince of ſo great hope, I
as neuer any of the Turkiſh kings had a ſonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly be-
loued of the men of war; yet was he not ſo well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with
him by *Roxolana*, as if he had traiterouſly gone about to take the Empire from him, yet liuing;
as did *Selymus* his grandfather from *Bajazet*: for which cauſe *Solyman* ſecretly purpoſed to take
him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his ſucceſſour, as hereafter ſhall
appeare.

Solyman craftily taketh the city of Buda. But *Solyman* at ſuch time as the Noblemen of Hungary were dining merrily with the Baſ-
ſa's, had commanded certain companies (to whom he had before giuen inſtructions what he
would haue done) vnder the colour of ſeeing the city, to take one of the gates called Sabatina,
and the chiefe ſtreets: which was done ſo quietly and cunningly, that a wary watchman ſtan- K
ding there, and beholding the manner of the Turks comming and going too and fro, could
hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes
walking faire and ſoftly by great companies into the city, as if it had bin but for pleaſure, to
haue ſeen it; and otherſome to colour the matter, walking likewiſe backe againe, as if they
had ſufficiently viewed the city; by that meanes they without any tumult or ſtirre quickely
tooke the appointed gate, with the market place and chiefe ſtreets of the city. Which ſo fine-
ly done, the captaine of the Ianizaries cauſed proclamation to be made in all parts of the city,
That the citiſens ſhould without feare keepe themſelues within their houſes, and forthwith,
as they would haue their liues, liberty, and goods ſaued, to deliuer all their weapons: which
they ſeeing no remedy, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turks faith for L
their ſecurity, they receiued them into their houſes as their vnwelcome gheſts. But ſuch was
the quietnes and modeſty of the Turks, by reaſon of the ſeuerity of their martiall diſcipline,
that no citiſen which tooke them into their houſes, was by them wronged by word or deed.
Solyman vnderſtanding that the city was thus quietly and without reſiſtance taken, ſent the
Solyman detaineth the Noblemen of Hungary in his campe. childe backe againe vnto the Queene, although it was now almoſt night; but the chiefe noble-
men he retained ſtill with him: theſe were *George* the Biſhop and Treaſurer, *Petrus Vicche* the
young Kings nigh kinſman and one of his Tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* Generall of the Queens
forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* Chancellor, and *Bacianus Vrbanus* Gouernour of the city of Buda.
This ſudden and vnexpected change exceedingly troubled all their mindes, and ſo much the
more, for that the great Baſſa's with changed countenance began to picke quarrels with them, M
and as it were ſtreightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all
that they had done. The Queene ſeeing the city ſo craftily ſurpriſed, and the nobility iniu-
rioufly detained in the campe, troubled with feare and griefe, by humble letters requeſted
Solyman not to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and euen of late confirmed

by

A by his Embaſſadors; but mindfull both thereof, and of his wonted clemency, to ſend backe vnto her the Noblemen, who for their fidelity and valiant ſeruice had well deſerued both of him and her: this ſhe did by *Ruſtemes Baſſa*, whom ſhe had loded with gifts, and amongſt other things of great price, had ſent him a faire coronet of her owne, and a goodly jewell ſet with rich ſtone, to ſend vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a Preſent.

After that, *Solyman* conſulted with his Baſſaes foure daies, what order to take concerning the kingdome of Hungary: in diſcourſe whereof his great Baſſaes were of diuers opinions. *Mahometes* aduiſed him to carry away with him to Conſtantinople, both the young childe and all the Nobility, and to leaue ſuch a gouernour in Buda, as by his wiſe and moderate gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of ſeruitude and bondage, B by defending them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkiſh gouernement. But *Ruſtemes Baſſa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the reſt, becauſe he was *Solymans* Son in law, and therefore further from all ſuſpition of flattery; ſtood altogether vpon tearmes of honour: ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable vnto ſo great and mighty a Monarch, who neuer had at any time with any ſpot or ſtaine blemiſhed the glory of his name, than after victory, againſt all right and reaſon to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and ſilly infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other ſide, *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade (an old mortall enemy of the Chriſtians, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the ſtate of Hungary, and for his great experience and approued valour, then extraordinarily admitted by *Soly-* C *man* into counſell among the great Baſſaes) diſliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenity: and beeing asked his owne, deliuered it in this miſchieuous manner as followeth:

The great Baſſaes of diuers opinions for the diſpoſing of the Kingdome of Hungary.

I know (ſaid he) *moſt mighty* Solyman, *that he which in conſultation of matters of ſo great conſequence is to deliuer his opinion laſt, ſhall if he diſſent from the reſt, be ſubject to enuy and reprehenſion. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrary opinion to them that haue before ſpoken, my ſpeech muſt alſo be vnto your eares both vnpleaſant and tedious. But I refuſe not be counted by my ſelfe, yea, and preſumptuous, if you will ſo haue it, rather than a ſmoother vp of other mens ſayings, as one of no judgement; whileſt I recount thoſe things, which as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, may wonderfully profit* D *your deſignes and the Imperiall ſtate: for of right I may deſire you to yeeld a little to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour ſo ſay) to that I haue already done: when as I, now growne an old man in wars againſt theſe Hungarians, haue by experience learned thoſe things of the ſtate and ſtrength of this kingdome, and the diſpoſition of the people, which being here laid downe, may much auaile for your better determination of this ſo weighty a cauſe as admitteth no repentance if you ſhall now be ouerſeene therein. You haue now within the ſpace of theſe twenty yeares come in wars your ſelfe in perſon fiue times into this country, when as I no obſcure captaine or ſouldier, was in all thoſe warres and battels euer preſent, of purpoſe, as I ſuppoſe, to reuenge your injuries, to inlarge your empire, and in briefe to aſſure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victory. And therefore you valiantly won Belgrade, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of moſt outragious theeues and robbers, and in former time famous* E *for the vnfortunat attempts of your anceſtors: when as from thence the Hungarians in time of peace had at their pleaſure, whileſt your father was then occupied in the Perſian war, ſpoiled the borders of Seruia, and Illyria. The ſame Hungarians about fiue yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner ſlaine your Embaſſadors, you ouerthrew in battell, and ſlew their King: and poſſeſſed of Buda, to manifeſt and make knowne by a notable demonſtration, the magnificence of your heroicall minde, euen vnto the remoteſt enemies of our name, did chuſe out of the reliques of that vanquiſhed Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall Crowne, although not borne of Royall bloud, or vnto you knowne for any other deſert, than that he was a little before both your publike and priuat enemy; and comming againſt you with a ſtrong power out of Tranſyluania, he had in the meane time loſt his brother, a better man than himſelfe, ſtaine with our ſword. After that, roſe vp the Auſtrian King, a new enemy, to expulſe this Han-* F *garian, reigning by your courteſie, and ſo you tooke in hand the third warre againſt the Germanes, which you ſo effectually proſecuted, that hauing forthwith reſtored the King, you carried the terrour of your ſelfe not onely to the wals of Vienna, but into the very heart of Germany. But two yeares ſcarcely paſt, the ſame King (neuer long contented with peace or warres) ſupported by the power of his brother* Charles, *and*

The oration of Mahometes of Belgrade, to Solyman, concerning the diſpoſing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

in vaine beſieging Buda, defended by your garriſons, ſtirred you vp againe to reuenge the injury, ſlaughter, and ſpoile by his ſouldiers done: for that you thought it to ſtand with your honour, to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare bounty made a King; and then deſired aboue all things, to fight a noble battell with the two brethren for the Empire of the Weſt. But they at ſuch time as you with fire and ſword ran thorow their antient kingdomes, endured not the noiſe of your comming. After that, enſued a peace betweene the Hungarians and the Germans, your Majeſty permitting and approuing it, at ſuch time as you made haſte to goe againſt the Perſians: but the Germane King ſo broke that peace, that had not I in good time reuenged his treachery, by the ouerthrow of a great army of his at Exek, you muſt of neceſſity haue beene ſent for from Babylon your ſelfe, as but now you were glad to come in haſt, by long and painefull journies from Conſtantinople, to aid vs in time, and as I verily hope to make an end for all; that all things ſet in firme order in Hungary, the inconueniences of ſo many labours and ſo great charge, fiue times vndertaken for another mans profit, might now at length take end: except (as I ſee ſome wiſh) you be in minde neuer to giue ouer the protection of the childe and widow, a matter full of infinite labour and perill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious ſhew of honour, which by theſe (in my opinion) too too wiſe men is pretended to your haughty minde, euer deſirous of honour and fame. But I as a blunt man vnderſtand not this high point of wiſedome, abounding with glory, which in the very courſe thereof cutteth in ſunder the ſinewes of victory, and is neuer by politique Generals admitted into their camps. In which doing, as I wiſh you more fortunate than your anceſtors, who haue vnited eighteene kingdomes to this your Empire, ſo would I not haue you more wiſe than they: for what can be a more vnwiſe part, than alwaies to play the vnwiſe man? that is to ſay, alwaies to be carefull of other mens affaires, and in the meane time oftentimes to indanger his owne eſtate, his health, his wealth, his honour. You haue ſatisfied, and that (in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of charity, fidelity, and if it muſt needs be ſo, of honor and glory alſo; if it be to be gotten rather by courteſie, clemency, and lenity, than by the inuincible ſtrength of wiſe policy, and the conſtant reſolution of a martiall mind: for by thoſe inſtruments, and none other, hath worthy vertues alwaies promoted and ſupported the Othoman *kings. Wherefore let thoſe vaine ſhews (as ſeemeth vnto me) of counterfeit honour delight the minds of idle and ſlothfull kings: aſſuredly they neuer pleaſed your armed anceſtors; but after the enemy was quite ouerthrowne, the triumph made, and the trophies of victory erected. But let this be as beſt pleaſeth your high wiſdome and judgement, whereunto the greateſt wits giue place. Truly I (if I well foreſee the chances of war, and the aſſured euents of things) will not follow that manner of counſell which the pleaſure of my mind perſuadeth me vnto; when as neceſſity, which ruleth all things, preſently forceth me & ſheweth me a far better courſe. The Hungarians aboue all other things notably warne vs not to truſt them, who infamous for their inconſtancy, after reuolt and trechery, are ſtill at variance amongſt themſelues; and their baniſhed men are continually ſetting on the Germans to inuade the country, and the weake power of the Queene and the child is not ſuch as may withſtand ſo neere and ſo mighty an enemy: ſo that another mans kingdome muſt of neceſſity be defended by our helpe, which may not be leſſe than a ſtrong army, without our great perill. To be briefe, euery yeare to take in hand ſo long an expedition of ſo great labour and trauell, with an army furniſhed with horſemen, footmen, artillery, and a fleet of ſhips for the defence of another man, as commonly we do, ſeemeth vnto me meere madneſſe: neither do I thinke it to ſtand with the Majeſty of the* Othoman *Emperors, thus to be moued euery yeare at the requeſt of a puling woman, crying for helpe: except you thinke it more profitable and honourable to maintaine a defenſiue than an inuaſiue war: Wherefore (in my opinion) it is beſt to turn this kingdome (ſo often conquered and defended by law of Armes) after the manner of your anceſtors, into the forme of a prouince: the Queene I would haue ſent to her father, and the boy her ſonne brought vp in your court at Conſtantinople, and there inſtructed in our religion: the nobility of the country I wiſh to be ſlaine, and their caſtles raſed, and the notable families which bare the braueſt minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the country into Aſia: as for the baſe multitude, I would haue kept vnder with good garriſons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this only means (mighty* Solyman) *ſhall both the Hungarians perceiue themſelues conquered, and the Germans glad to forbeare comming into Hungary, vnleſſe they will raſhly and vnfortunatly hazard both Styria and Auſtria.*

Miſchieuous counſell.

But *Solyman* thinking it good to doe ſacrifice before he would reſolutely determine of ſo great a matter, entred into Buda with his two ſonnes, *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the thirtieth of Auguſt in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* (being before by his prieſts purified after the manner of their ſuperſtition) ſacrificed the firſt Maho-

Solyman entreth Buda the 30 of Auguſt 1541, & there firſt ſacrificeth after the Mahometan manner.

A Mahometan ſacrifice in Buda. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great counſellors, prouided out of them all both for his owne ſecurity and honour, and publiſhed a decree, the fatall doome of that flouriſhing kingdome, where vnder it yet groaneth at this day; That Buda ſhould from that day be kept with a garriſon of Turks, and the kingdome conuerted into a Prouince of the Turkiſh Empire; and the queene with her yong ſon ſhould preſently depart the City, and liue in Lippa, in a fertile and quiet Country beyond the riuer of Tibiſcus, which ſomething to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father *Sigiſmund* his kingdome, to be ſafely conducted thither with all her wealth and jewels by his Ianidaries. Wherefore the Queene and her Son, according to this Decree, with teares and mourning, deteſting in her heart the Tyrants perfidious dealing (which neceſſity inforced her then B to diſſemble) departed from Buda, conſtrained by the Turks to leaue behind her all the ordnance in the caſtle and city, with all other the warlike prouiſion and ſtore of victuall. The Nobleman went with her alſo, who although they went ſorrowfull for this wofull and vnexpected change of things, yet were they very glad of their liberty and ſafety, whereof they had for the ſpace of three daies diſpaired. Only *Valentinus* was kept in ſafe cuſtody in the campe, becauſe he was a martiall man of greateſt power amongſt the Hungarians; and beſides that, much hated of the Turks for the hard purſuit of *Caſon* and his horſemen, ſlaine at Storamberg in Auſtria. Thus the royall city of Buda fell into the hands of the Turks, whereupon not long after enſued the finall ruine of that kingdome, ſometime the ſtrong Bulwarke of Chriſtendome, but loſt to the great weakning of the Chriſtian Common-weale; which may juſtly be imputed to the pride, ambition, and diſſention of the Hungarians amongſt themſelues, and the calling in of the common enemy: the due conſideration of whoſe onely comming, might well haue ſufficed to haue ſet them agreed.

The doome of Hungary.

The Queene departeth out of Buda with her Sonne.

C

Whileſt theſe things were doing at Buda, King *Ferdinand* expecting the euent of this war at Vienna, & hearing of the ſhamefull loſſe of his army, and that the Generall deadly wounded was fled to Comara, and that *Solyman* (fame increaſing the euill newes) was comming towards Vienna; ſent *Leonardus Velſius* (who neuer liked of the ſiege of Buda) to Comara, to ſtay the further flight of the ſoldiers, and to gather together ſo well as he could the diſperſed reliques of the ſcattered army, and to comfort againe the diſcouraged men with the hope of new ſupplies and of pay. And ſomewhat to ſtay *Solyman*, who as it was thought would ſuddenly come D to Vienna, he ſent County *Salma*, and *Sigiſmund Letheſtaine*, a noble and graue counſellor, his Embaſſadors, with Preſents and new conditions of peace to *Solyman*. The preſents were a high ſtanding cup of gold after the German faſhion, curiouſly ſet with ſtones: and a wonderfull globe of ſilner of a moſt rare & curious deuice, daily expreſſing the hourely paſſing of the time, the motion of the planets, the change and full of the Moone, the motion of the ſuperiour orbes, euer mouing by certaine wheeles or weights courioufly conueied within the ſame, and exactly keeping due time and motion; liuely expreſſing the wonderfull motions and conuerſions of the cœleſtiall frame. A moſt curious and ſtrange piece of worke, deuiſed and perfected by the moſt cunning Aſtronomers for *Maximilian* the Emperour, whoſe noble minde neuer ſpared for any coſt to obtaine things of rare and ſtrange deuiſe. The Embaſſadors paſſing E downe the riuer of Danubius, were at their landing firſt receiued by *Caſon* the Admirall of *Solymans* fleet, and by him brought into a rich tent, the ground vnder their feet being all couered with rich carpets: to whom *Ruſtan Baſſa* ſent ſuch good cheere as the campe afforded, but eſpecially moſt excellent wine, no leſſe forbidden the Turks by their law, than deſired of the Germans. The next day after, the great Baſſaes feaſted the Embaſſadors, *Solyman* himſelfe dyning not far off in his pauillion: at which feaſt the Baſſaes for the more courteſie dined with the embaſſadors, not ſitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their maner was, but ſitting in chaires at a high table, after the manner of the Chriſtians: only *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade, for his age and valour an extraordinary gheſt, ſat downe vpon a cuſhion beneath the Baſſaes. Their cheere was only Rice and Mutton, and that ſo plainly and F ſparingly dreſſed, as if they had thereby noted our gourmandiſe and exceſſe; who meaſure not our cheere by that which nature requireth, but that which greedy appetite deſireth, as if therein conſiſted the greateſt nobility: and the drinke for the great Baſſaes themſelues, right eaſie to be had, was faire water out of the riuer Danubius. After dinner the embaſſadors were brought in vnto *Solyman*, each of them led betwixt two Baſſaes holding them faſt by the

K. Ferdinand ſendeth Embaſſadors and preſents to Solymã.

The ſrugall cheere of the Turks.

armes as it had been for honours sake, and so brought to kisse his hand. For the Turks suffer G
no stranger otherwise to come vnto the presence of their suspitious Emperour, but first they
search him that he haue no weapon about him, and so clasping him by the armes vnder the
colour of doing him honour, dissemblingly bereaue him of the vse of his hands, lest he should
offer him any violence: yet hath he alwaies as he sitteth in his Throne, lying at hand ready by
him, a targuet, a scimiter, an yron mase, with bow and arrowes. The great Globe was also
brought in by twelue of the Embassadors seruants, which with the strangenesse thereof filled
the minde of *Solyman*, and the eies of his Bassaes with admiration: for *Solyman* was of so
sharpe a wit, that he was not learned onely in such bookes as contained the lawes and rites of
the Mahometane superstition, but had also curiously studied Astronomy, and especially Cos-
mography, in which profitable and pleasant study he much recreated himselfe as his leisure H
serued. The Embassadors desired that he would giue the kingdome of Hungary to King *Fer-*
The requests of the embassadors in the behalf of king Ferdinand
dinand, almost vpon the same conditions that *Lascus* had before required it for him at Con-
stantinople, paying him such yearely tribute as King *Iohn* had vsually paid, and promising far-
ther to draw *Charles* the Emperor his brother into the same league: so that *Solyman* deliuered
of all feare that way, might at his pleasure turne his forces vpon the Persian, which it was
thought he most desired. Besides that, they said he should deale neither honourably nor in-
differently, if he should prefer the young child before King *Ferdinand*, who beside his antient
right vnto that kingdome, (which they were not now to vrge, as oppressed by his happy vic-
tories, but might in time be reuiued) had also a late interest by a league betwixt him and King
Iohn, wherein he had expresly couenanted by the solemne consent of the greatest part of his I
Nobility, that King *Ferdinand* should succeed him in the kingdome. Whereby they excused
him of the late war, as justly taken in hand against the Queene and her Son vsurping vpon his
right; which King *Iohn* knowing to be good, and moued with conscience, had by his solemne
act acknowledged, though to the great offence and prejudice of *Solyman* his setter vp and de-
fender, as also to the touching of himselfe in honour, to haue so vnthankefully and fraudulent-
ly dealt with his Patron, to whom he was by the oath of obedience bound. Wherefore they
requested, that sith he being a Prince of all others most mighty and magnificent, standing vp-
on his vpright dealing both in peace and war, had so lightly regarded the sly dealing of so
vngratefull a man: he would rather accept of King *Ferdinand* so many waies injured, as his
friend and tributary, than to haue him his perpetuall enemy. Concluding, That nothing K
could be vnto him, for the good report of his justice more commendable, or for the assurance
of a perpetuall peace more profitable, or to the immortall praise of his bounty more honou-
rable, than to call a King of a most antient discent, famous for his vertue and fidelity, chosen
for a king by the Bohemians, desired for a King by the Hungarians, Emperor elect of the Ro-
mane Empire by the Germans, and the naturall brother of the great Emperour, his tributary
King of Hungary. *Solyman* with cheerefull countenance accepting and commending of the
Presents, answered them two daies after by *Rustan* the Bassa his son in law, that this was his re-
Solymans proud answer to king Ferdinand his Embassadours.
solute condition of peace and friendship; If King *Ferdinand* would forthwith restore all the
cities, townes, and castles, which were before belonging to King *Lewis*, and for euer after ab-
staine from Hungary: and whereas he had beene so often prouoked by him to warre, and had L
therein bestowed so great charges, and taken so much trauell, he could for that be content with
an easie paine (which should be for his great honour) to impose an easie tribute vpon Austria:
vpon which conditions he was content to enter into league with them; but if so be that those
conditions seemed vnto them too heauy, and that they would rather make choice of war than
peace, he would bring to passe by continuall war, that such things as they had taken from the
kingdome of Hungary, should be requited with the destruction of Austria. But the Embassa-
dours, although they were much moued at the proud demand of tribute for Austria, as that
wherein the two brethren of mighty power, *Charles* the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* were dis-
dainefully abused; to keepe the best course of their negotiation, and to win some time in so
hard estate of things; required a truce vntill such time as King *Ferdinand* and the Emperour M
his brother might be made acquainted with the matter,. Which their repuest, the Turke
(perceiuing their drift & purpose) would in no case grant, for Winter was now fast comming
on. It was lawfull for the Embassadours all the time they were in the Turks campe, to view
the greatest part thereof, *Rustan Bassa* conducting them from place to place: where aboue all things,

they

A they most wondred at the perpetuall and dumbe silence of so great a multitude, the souldiers being so ready and attentiue, that they were no otherwise commanded but by the becking of the hand, or a nod of their commanders: they maruelled also at the exquisit order and sweetnesse of the Turks campe, finding therein nothing disordered or noysome; so that it seemed not the campe of such a rude and barbarous nation, but rather of them which were the authors of martiall discipline. The Embassadors being rewarded and so sent away, *Solyman* commanded the old Gouernor of Belgrade to spoile the borders of Austria all alongst Danubius: *Cason* also Generall of the voluntary horsemen, he sent into Morauia for like purpose; who neither of them did any great harme, by reason of the sudden rising of the great riuers, with the abundance of raine then falling in Autumne. After that, *Solyman* appointed one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken prisoner in his youth by the Turks, had from that time followed the B Mahometan superstition) Gouernor of Buda: who by the vpright administration of justice, and the courteous vsing of the people, with *Verbetius* the old Chancellor, should do what was possible to put the people in hope of long peace and tranquility. Which things done, after he had staid about 20 daies at Buda, he determined to returne againe into Thracia, because the rain of Autumna & the cold of Winter was now come in: and was also in doubt to be shut in with the rising of the great riuers, wherewith the country of Hungary is in euery place so watered, and on euery side so compassed, that it is a hard mutter to passe. By the way he set *Lascus*, King *Ferdinands* embassador, again at liberty, whom he had left in prison at Belgrade: but he long injoyed not that benefit: for shortly after returning into Polonia, he died of the flix; C which caused many to suppose, that he was poisoned by the Turks. A man for his vertue and learning, famous, worthy of a longer life, whose death the King himselfe much lamented.

The Turkes campe well ordered.

Solyman returneth towards Constantinople.

Lascus set at liberty by Solyman, shortly after dieth.

As *Solyman* was returning into Thracia, and was come to the riuer Dranus, it was told him, That *Stephen Maylat*, Vayuod of Transyluania, who tooke King *Ferdinand* his part, a professed enemy of the Turks, was taken, by the cunning of *Peter* of Moldauia, and Prince of Valachia; and that all the country of Transyluania was well pacified, and yeelded to his obedience. Of which newes *Solyman* was passing glad; for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*, a martiall man of a froward nature, desirous of rule, and ready vpon any occasion to reuolt; forasmuch as he remembred *Grittus* his Legat, and the Turks by him slaine; and knew also, that the Transyluanians, an inuincible people, borne to trouble, and more delighting in vncertain war than assured peace, was by him stirred vp; whom he wished rather by gentlenesse to appease, than by force D of armes and strong hand to subdue. But because we haue oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whose taking *Solyman* so much rejoyced, it shall not be amisse in few words to declare in what fineneſſe he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloudy man, *Peter* of Moldauia.

This Moldauian by the commandement of *Solyman* (as is aforesaid) had joyned his forces with *Achomates*, Gouernor of Nicopolis, against *Maylat*; which being vnited, were in number 50000 horsemen beside footmen; which after the manner of those countries, were not many, euery man almost in the country, be he neuer so poore, keeping a horse to serue vpon. *Maylat* beset with the multitude of his enemies, and finding himselfe too weake to encounter them, E despairing also of aid from King *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be busied in a greater war, forsooke the field, and fled again into the strong town of Fogaras, as he had done the yere before, when he was ouercharged by king *Iohns* power: for there as in a most strong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid vp his greatest substance & prouision for the wars, but especially the rich spoile he had long before taken from *Grittus*. *Achomates* comming thither with his power, and perceiuing the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time, thought it best, to assey if he could ouercome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he sent a messenger vnto *Maylat*, to persuade him to yeeld himselfe vnto *Solyman*, and to make choice rather to be called of him his friend, than to be judged his enemy; of whom he might well hope of all goodnesse, which had giuen whole kingdomes vnto his ene- F mies: promising that he would vse the vttermost of his credit, which was not small, and labour for him as his friend, that he might feele the fruit of his clemency and bounty, and still enjoy the gouernment of Transyluania, paying him some small yearely tribute, as hee had before requested: forasmuch as hee could take no course better, being beset with so many

Maylat the Vayuod not able to keep the field against Achomates and the Prince of Moldauia, flieth to Fogaras.

enemies

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reasonable conditions, and that with as much speed as were possible: in which doing, besides that he should well prouide for his owne safety, he should also saue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he said) with his victorious army; who would with assured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the siege, if he should vpon a stubborne and obstinate mind then refuse to obey his command. Whereunto *Maylat*, who foresaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to endure an vncertaine warre, answered, That he could be content to conclude a peace, so that it were not vpon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuse *Solymans* command, which was wont to be both reasonable and just: wherefore vpon sufficient pledges he would come into the campe, in presence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demanded to haue *Achomates* his son, a valiant yong gentleman, deliuered in hostage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, for that he had (as he said) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was; and therefore had ouer him no more power: but he promised for him, that was but one, to giue foure of his best captains. Which offer *Maylat* (misdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and galland retinue attended vpon, came into the enemies campe, where he was courteously and honourably receiued. But the parly, as it could not be conueniently begun immediatly after the first salutation, so could it by no meanes be then ended, but was deferred vntill the next day: to the intent, that the trecherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and well knowne gueſt, whom he had against that time inuited to a solemn banquet. By that means, the next day about the midst of dinner, fortune so fauoured the intended trechery, *Maylat* (who was of so proud and cholericke a nature, that he could not well brooke the least indignity) was by occasion of some insolent speech, of purpose ministred by the Moldauian ghests, put into such a fret, that laying his hand vpon his sword, he in a rage flung from the table: at which time al the other ghests starting vp also, laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, and in vaine crying out, that he was shamefully betraid. His followers were all forthwith stript of all their brauery by the needy Moldauians, and their horses and armor taken from them. Whilest *Maylat* was yet furiously exclaiming of this treason, in came *Achomates*, who to seeme guiltlesse of the matter, with deep dissimulation sharpely reproued the false Moldauian, that he had in doing so foule a fact shamefully violated the lawes of hospitality, reuerenced of all nations, falsified the faith which he had giuen him for his safety, and betraid the liues of such notable captains as lay in hostage for him. Wherunto the Moldauian (as if it had bin in contempt) scornfully answered, that he had vpon good cause taken *Maylat* prisoner, and so would in safety keep him for *Solyman*, vnto whom it only belonged to judge, whether he had justly or vnjustly kept him.

Maylat commeth into the Turke campe.

Maylat trecherously taken prisoner by the Moldauian.

Not long after, the strong towne of Fogaras was deliuered, with the hostages; but whether by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turaccus*, and *Maylat*, two of the greatest noblemen of Hungary, sufficient of themselues to haue restored the Hungarian kingdome (first rent in sunder with ciuill discord, and afterward with the inuasion of the Turks) fell into the hands of the enemy, not vanquished in battel, but deceiued by treason. The towne being thus surrendred, almost all the country of Transyluania, was by *Solymans* consent deliuered to the yong king, vnto whom al the people most willingly submitted themselues, and tooke the oath of obedience, remembring that his father had almost for thirty yeares space with great justice and quietnesse gouerned that prouince; and with many presents honoured the young King lying in Lippa, with the Queene his mother, and his two tutors, the Bishop, and *Vicche*.

Transyluania giuen by Solyman to the young King.

At the same time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunat suit of his subjects of Spaine, had prepared a great force both by sea and land for the conquering of Algiers: from whence the Turkish pyrats did so infest all that coast of the country, from Gades to the mountains Pyrenei, that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandise being set apart) were glad to keep a continual watch and ward all alongst that coast for defence of the country. Wherefore although hee well knew of the comming of the Turks to Buda, and how hardly he was by the Lantgraue and others spoken of, for leauing his brother so hardly bestead, to go against a sort of pirats in Affricke, yet persisting in his former determination, he departed out of Germany into Italy, where by the way he met *Octauius Farnesius* his son in law, *Alphonsius Vastius* his lieutenant, by the Venetian Embassadors, neere to Verona, and so brought to Millaine, where he was with great

Charles the emperor returneth out of Germany to inuade Affricke.

A Millain, where he was with great ſolemnity joyfully receiued of the citiſens, and vnder a canopy of gold brought vnto the palace: he himſelfe going in a plain blacke cloke, and a homely cap in mourning wiſe; when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious ſimplicity, expected to haue ſeene ſo great an Emperor in his royall robes, gliſtering with gold and precious ſtone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauy countenance anſwerable alſo to his attire, was much noted, as preſaging the wofull ouerthrow which was the day before receiued at Buda, but not yet knowne in Italy. From Millaine he departed to Genoa, where he was aduertiſed by letters from his brother king *Ferdinand*, of the ouerthrow of the Germans, of the victory of the Turks, and the comming of *Solyman*. Vpon which newes, *Vaſtius* and *Auria*, his two chiefe commanders, the one at land, the other at ſea, would haue perſuaded him
B to haue deferred his intended expedition for Africa vntill the next Spring: and with ſuch power as he had already raiſed in Italy, and brought with him out of Germany, to ſtay ſtill in Italy, ſo to make ſhew vnto the Turks as if he would haue returned and holpen his brother: and in the meane time to aſſure himſelfe of his ſtate in Italy againſt the French, who (as it was thought) would be ready to take all occaſion of aduantage, if any miſhap ſhould befall him, either by the force of the enemy, or violence of tempeſt. But he conſtant in his former reſolution, anſwered them as they ſat in counſell, that they had perſuaded him for great reaſons to ſtay in Italy; but that he was for far greater to paſſe into Africke: for if he ſhould then ſtay in Italy, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turks fled out of Germany: which diſgrace could no otherwiſe be preuented, but by the preſent proſecution of the former determi-
C nation for Algiers, and ſatisfying the expectation of his ſubjects of Spaine; and ſo by ſea valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not ſo well fauoured them at land; in hope that Algiers might be woon before the ſeas ſhould grow rough and dangerous with Winter tempeſts: which if it ſhould fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he ſaid, greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, That the diſſembling friendſhip betwixt the French king and him, would not long indure: and the rather, for that there was a new grudge riſen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rinuo*, who for certaine yeares had lien embaſſador for the French king at Conſtantinople, to *Solyman*, and was a few months before ſent backe again by him into France to the king: but returning backe againe with new *The French kings embaſſadour ſlaine by the Emperour.*
D Sultan and him, he was by certaine Spaniards of the Emperors old ſouldiers, who had knowledge of his comming, belaied vpon the riuer Padus as he was going downe to Venice, ſo to haue paſſed into Epirus, and ſlaine, together with *Cæſar Fregoſius*: or as the common report went, firſt taken and tortured, to get from him the ſecrets of his negotiation, and afterwards ſlaine. Which report ſo much troubled *Vaſtius* in credit, that in purgation of himſelfe, he offered the combat to any man of like quality to himſelfe, that durſt charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion that he was well and worthily taken away, for vndertaking ſo odious a charge, as to ſtir vp the Turks againſt the Chriſtians, and to ſhew vnto them ſuch opportunities as might beſt ſerue their purpoſe, by diſcouering vnto them the Emperors deſignes, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale. But were it well, or were it euill; *The Emperor and the Biſhop of Rome meet at Luca.*
E as *Paulus* the third of that name then Biſhop of Rome, meeting the Emperour at Luca as he came from Genoa, could not, or would determine, ſure it ſerued as no ſmall occaſion to ſet thoſe two great Princes againe at ods, whereby the wiſhed vnity of the Chriſtian ſtate was ſore ſhaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The Emperor at his comming to Luca, was honorably receiued by the Cardinals and Biſhops, and lodged in the court; the great Biſhop was before placed in the Biſhops palace, whither the Emperor came thrice to talke with him, and the Biſhop to him once. But the Biſhop hauing nothing at all preuailed with the Emperor and the French embaſſador, for the appeaſing of the troubles euen then like to ariſe betwixt him and the French King; did what he might to perſuade him to employ ſuch forces as he was about to paſſe ouer with into Africke, againſt the Turks in defence of his brother *Ferdinand*,
F and of the country of Auſtria, if *Solyman* ſhould happily purſue his late obtained victory at Buda. But he ſtill reſolute in that fatall determination of inuading of Africke, rejected that the Biſhops requeſt alſo. So the great Biſhop hauing moued much, and preuailed little, in the greateſt matters which moſt concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the Emperour, returned by eaſie journies to Rome.

The

The Emperor in the mean time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Augustinus Spinula*, and six thousand Germans, came from Luca to the port Lune, and there imbarking his soldiers in certain merchants ships prouided for the purpose, and fiue & thirty gallies, departed thence, commanding the masters of the ships to direct their course to the Islands of Baleares: but after they had put to sea, they were by force of tempest suddenly arising, brought within sight of Corsica: where after they had beene tossed to and fro two daies in the rough seas, and put out of their course, the wind something failing, they put into the hauen of Syracusa, now called Bonifacium. The disperced fleet once come together into the port of Syracusa, and the rage of the sea well appeased, he put to sea againe for the Islands Beleares, now called Majorca, and Minorca: where in his course he met with a tempest from the West, more terrible and dreadfull than the first: wherin diuers of the gallies hauing lost their masts and sailes, were glad with extreame labour and perill in striuing against the wrought sea to get into a harbor of the lesser Island, taking name of *Barchinus Mago* the famous Carthagenensian, whose name it retaineth vntil this day. From hence the Emperor with all his fleet passed ouer to the greater Island, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his Viceroy in Sicilia was in good time come with the Sicilian gallies and ships of Italy, in number a hundred and fifty saile, wherein he had brought such store of bisket and victual, as might haue sufficed for a long war. *Mendoza* was also expected to haue come thither with his fleet from Spaine; but he by reason of contrary winds being not able to hold that course, altered his purpose according to the tempest, and so happily cut ouer directly to Algiers. So the Emperour nothing misdoubting the carefull diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already chanced, and the wind now seruing faire, by the persuasion of *Auria* his Admirall hoised saile, aud in two daies came before Algiers, and there in a goodly order came to anker before the city in the sight of the enemy. Whilest the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had beene abroad at sea seeking for prize, returning to Algiers, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongst them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viscontus Cicada* stemmed with his gally and sunke him, the other with wonderfull celerity got into the hauen. In the meane time *Mendoza* with his gallies had passed the promontory of *Apollo* now called the cape of Cassineus, and in token of honour saluting the Emperour after the manner at sea, with all his great ordnance, gaue him knowledge that the Spanish fleet was not far behind. In this fleet was aboue a hundred tall ships of Biscay & the low countries, and of other smaller vessels a far greater number. In these ships besides the footmen, was embarked a great number of braue horsemen out of all parts of Spaine: for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their owne charge gallantly furnished themselues with braue armour and couragious horses, to serue their Prince and country against the Infidels. Ouer these choice men commanded *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba, for his approued valour then accounted a famous captain. These ships going altogether with sails, were not yet able to double the cape as did *Mendoza* with his gallies, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the sea went yet high, by reason of the rage of the late tempest, and did so beat against the plain shoare, that it was not possible to land the souldiers, but that they must needs be washed vp to the middle: which thing the Emperour thought it not good to put them vnto, and so to oppose them sea-sicke and thorow wet against the sudden and desperat assaults of their fierce enemies. He also staied for the comming of the Spanish ships, for two causes: first, That he might with his vnited power more strongly assault the city, and terrifie the enemy: then, To communicat the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whose request and forwardnesse & greatest charge he had vndertaken that war. Which fatal delay of two daies, although it was grounded vpon good reason, did not only disturbe an assured victory, but to the notable hurt of the whole army, opened a way to all the calamities which afterward insued.

The Emperour driuen by tempest into Sicilia.

The Emperour commeth to Algiers.

The Emperours fleet out of Spaine and the Low-countries.

The Duke of Alba.

Delay in great actions hurtful

In the meane while the Emperor sent a conuenient messenger to *Asanagus*, otherwise and more truly called *Assan-Aga*, or *Assan* the eunuch; who with a little flag of truce in his hand making signe of a parley, and answered by the Moores with like, as their manner is, went on shore, and was of them courteously receiued and brought to *Assan*. This *Assan* was an eunuch, borne in Sardinia, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometan superstition by *Barbarussa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his kingdome of Algiers in his absence with *Solyman*. This messenger brought into his presence, required him forth-

The Emperour sendeth a messenger to Assan-Aga Gouernor of Algiers for Barbarussa.

A forthwith to deliuer vp the city (firſt ſurpriſed by force and trechery by *Horruccius*, and afterwards to the deſtruction of mankind, fortified by *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* his brother) to *Charles* the mighty Emperor, come in perſon himſelfe to be reuenged on thoſe horrible pyrats: which if he would do, it ſhould be lawfull for the Turks to depart whither they would, and for the naturall Moores to abide ſtill, with their goods and religion wholly reſerued vnto them vntouched, as in former time: and for himſelfe, he ſhould receiue of the Emperor great rewards both in time of peace and warres, ſo that he would remember himſelfe, that he was borne in Sardinia, and was once a Chriſtian; and accept of the faireſt occaſion which could poſſibly be offered for him to returne againe to the worſhipping of the true God, and to injoy the fauour and bounty of the moſt mighty Emperour, and withall to reuenge himſelfe of the cruell ty-

B rant *Barbaruſſa*, for the vnnaturall villany done vnto his perſon. But if he would needs dally on the time, and make proofe of the ſtrength of ſo great preparation, he ſhould vndoubtedly, with the reſt of his followers, receiue the ſame reward of his obſtinacy, which they had to the example of others, receiued at Tunes. Whereunto the vngracious eunuch anſwered, That hee thought him altogether mad, that would follow his enemies counſell, and with a grinning countenance askt him, Vpon what hope the Emperor truſted to be able to win the city? The meſſenger pointing with his finger directly toward the fleet, told him, That which you ſee, with his great artillery, and valour of his ſouldiers, both horſe and foot: whereat the eunuch ſcornefully laughing, replied, And we with like force and valor will defend this city, and make this place, already famous for your ouerthrowes here twice, now the third time, of all others

C moſt famous by the Emperors diſcomfiture. It is reported, That there was in Algiers an old witch, famous for her predictions, who had (as it was ſaid) foretold the ſhipwracks and miſery of *Didaco Verra*, and *Hugo Moncada* to them of Algiers, and alſo prefixed a time when as the Chriſtian Emperor aduenturing to beſiege that city, ſhould there receiue great loſſe both by ſea and land. The fame of which blind propheſie ſeruing fitly to confirme the hope of good ſucces in the minds of the vulgar multitude, *Aſſan* ſo fed and augmented (although he himſelf being a crafty wiſe fellow, beleeued no ſuch vanity) that he did therwith not onely encourage his own ſoldiers, but alſo ſtrucke a terror into the minds of the weaker ſort of his enemies, ſeeing themſelues caſt vpon ſo dangerous a coaſt vpon the approch of Winter. There was in gar-

D riſon in the city about 800 Turks, and moſt of them horſemen, but ſuch, as whoſe valour and reſolution far exceeded their number. For *Aſſan* had loſt many of his beſt men, ſome in fight againſt *Mendoſa*; and otherſome at ſea, ſlaine or taken by *Auria* in Corſica; and in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitan, and Sicilian gallies; but many moe were by his leaue gone to aid the Moores againſt the Portingals: the other multitude did ſcarce make vp the number of 5000; which were partly naturall Moores borne in that country, and partly ſuch as were born in Granado; to whom were joined many fugitiues out of the Iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, who in former time hauing entred into rebellion, and fearing condigne puniſhment, were fled to Algiers, and there reuolted to the Mahometan ſuperſtition. But the captaines of the wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horſe and foot, which lying ſtragling without the city in the open fields, ſhould night and day vex and moleſt the Chriſtians. This bru-

E tiſh people, naturally enemies vnto the Chriſtians, had *Aſſan* with rewards and hope of a rich ſpoile, allured out of the countries thereabout to aid him: neither was it lawfull for any man to carry his wife or children out of the city, into places of more ſafety farther off, or to ſhew any ſmall token of feare, pain of death being by the imperious eunuch propoſed to whoſoeuer ſhould but looke heauily for feare of danger, or ſpeake a word ſauouring of cowardiſe. The Emperour by *Auria* making choice of a moſt conuenient place for landing his men, laid his gallies ſo cloſe to his tall ſhips, that his armed ſoldiers might with eaſe come out of the high built ſhips into them, and ſo out of them into the long boats, to be forthwith ſet on ſhore. And ſuch was the ſpeedy diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plenty of boats ſtill ready to receiue the ſouldiers as faſt as they could come out of the gallies, that the

F footmen were in a very ſhort time all landed. The Emperour hauing a little reſted and refreſhed his ſoldiers, diuided his army into three equal battels, which was in number about twenty thouſand footmen, beſides horſemen, and others, who of their owne voluntary will then followed the Emperors fortune. Vnto euery battaile he appointed three field pieces, to terrifie the Numidian horſemen, which were ſtill pricking vp and downe about them, ready to charge

The ſcornefull anſwer of Aſſan the Eunuch to the Emperours meſſenger.

The Emperour landeth his army at Algiers.

if

if they could take them at any aduantage. And ſo ſetting forward a few furlongs, encamped G
in a ſtrong and conuenient place, neere vnto the city, betweene two deepe ditches, which the water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne ſo deepe, that neither horſeman nor footman could well paſſe ouer, but by bridge: and faſt by vpon the left hand was a hill, from the top whereof it ſeemed the city might with great ordnance well be battered.

The deſcription of Algiers.

The city of Algiers, ſometime the royall ſeat of the great King *Iuba*, called of the Romans Iulia Cæſarea, is in forme of a triangle, ſcituat faſt by the ſea towards the North, hauing a hauen, but neither great, neither ſafe for the North wind. The houſes farther off from the ſea, ſtand in ſeemly order vpon the riſing of a ſteep hill, as it were vpon degrees; in ſuch ſort, that the windows of one row ſtill ouerlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the ſea, moſt beautifull to behold. The Emperor hauing diuided his campe into three parts, euery nation by H
themſelues, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, was in great hope to win it; and the rather, for that whilſt he aſſaulted it on that ſide, his ſhips & gallies from the North ſide, might in time of the aſſault with their great ordnance beat the enemy all alongſt the wall: which ſtill riſing higher and higher according to the riſing of the ſteep hill, could not conueniently be defended with one bulwarke, as we ſee it may in plaine ground. Neereſt vnto the riſing of the hils, lay the Spaniards: in the midſt, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the plaine neereſt to

The Numidians skirmiſh with the Spaniards.

the ſea, the Italians. In the mean time whilſt the great ordnance was landing, & the horſes vnſhipping, the Numidians with a hidious outery ſhew'd themſelues vpon the tops of the mountains aboue the Spaniards, and from thence eaſily gauled them with their darts and ſhot: for they nimbly running to and fro in the known paths of the rough mountains, would ſuddenly I
and fiercely aſſaile them, but after the manner of their nation skirmiſhing a far off, rather than neere at hand. In which maner of light skirmiſhes, all the day was ſpent vntill night, with ſmal danger, but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, theſe wild people, one company ſtill ſucceeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left ſhooting; for whereſoeuer they ſaw any fire in the Spaniſh camp, thither came arrows, darts, and ſtones flying as thicke as haile: for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and gaine the hils.

with ſilence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them. Wherefore as ſoone as the ſun was vp, the Spaniards by the perſuaſion of *Aluares Sandes*, maſter of the camp, valiantly climing vp the high mountaines, repulſed and put to flight the Numidians, and tooke the top of the hils, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore ſheepheards cottages. But K
the ſame day ſuch a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were compaſſed in round, and glad to fight on euery ſide in a ring. Yet this fiercenes of this barbarous people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly repreſſed, whoſe pikemen gliſtering in their bright armour, made ſmall account of the Numidians arrowes and darts, but orderly ſtepping forwards with their pikes, & the harquebuſiers cloſe by their ſides, eaſily repulſed their naked enemies.

The deſcription of the Numidian footmen and horſemen.

The Numidian footmen are for moſt part youths halfe naked, with long haire not vnlike the Iriſh, vſing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with their horſemen, truſting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe and agility of body. Their horſemen vſe long ſpeares, armed at both ends, which they with a maruellous dexterity vſe, to the endangering of their enemy purſuing them: they vſe alſo long and light tar- L
guets made of leather, wherwith they ſo cunningly defend themſelues & their horſes, both in their charge & retreat, that for a ſmal trifle, in reſpect of the danger, they will giue a man leaue to caſt ſeuen darts at one of them, which they will all moſt ſurely auoid, either with the ſpeare, or receiue them without harme in their targuet. In the meane time, whilſt this wild people thus skirmiſhed all the day, at night a ſudden miſchance ouerthrew all the emperors hope: for as he ſtood beholding the vnſhipping of his great ordnance, his horſes, victual, & other neceſſaries of the army, a ſtorm of wind & rain began about ſix a clock in the afternoon, holding on

A maruellous tempeſt.

all the night without intermiſſion, with ſuch rage, as if heauen & earth ſhould haue gon together: wherewith the whole army at land was wonderfully troubled, and a great part of the fleet at ſea by force of tempeſt driuen aground periſhed. That night 3 companies of the Italians, by M
the appintment of their generall, lay without the trenches againſt the ſudden aſſault of ſo vncertain an enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement raine and extreme cold, were ſo ouercome with the extremity of the weather, that neither was their minds able to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds: for they could

neither

A neither conueniently ſtand nor lie down, al the ground being ſo myrie, that at euery ſtep they ſunk vp to the calf of the leg. Vpon theſe ſtarued companies, the Turkiſh horſmen & Moors footmen, who diligently obſerued the watch of the Chriſtians, perceiuing their diſtres, ſuddenly ſallied out in the dawning of the day, and ſo fiercely charged them, their match and pouder being now ſo wet that they could not vſe their pieces, that they all fled except a few pikemen, who made a ſtand, & were all quickly ſlain by the Turks: who ſo deſperatly purſued the reſt in chaſe, that they followed them ouer the trench into the camp. This alarm beeing heard, *Camillus Columna* the Italian General came preſently thither, being ſent by the Emperor, who with certaine Companies iſſued out ouer the bridge: who now in ſhew diſcouraged with the comming out of this new ſupply, did indeed, or at leaſtwiſe made as if they did,
B diſorderly retyre for fear. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Viceroy of Sicilia, being a man of greateſt account in the army next to the Emperor, comming in alſo, and angry with them which had before fled; perſuaded them as valiant men to recompence their ſhameful flight with a freſh charge, by driuing the enemy home to his own doore. Which thing *Columna* ſaid could not be don without great peril: but *Gonzaga* being a man of a notable courage, deſired to haue the diſgrace which the Italians had receiued, ſalued ſome way, although it were with neuer ſo great danger; thinking alſo that it might haply fall out, that the enemy being put to flight and haſtily purſued, they might together with them enter the city, without any danger of the artillery. So without further delay, the reſt of the Italian companies were led forth of their trenches with great cheerfulnes by *Auguſtine Spinula*, who ſo valiantly charged
C the enemies that they put them to flight, & purſued them ſo hard, that they came with them to the very gates of the City; where many ſhut out for feare of letting in the Italians with them, ſcaped by known waies, ſome to another gate, and ſome into the mountains: but then thoſe barbarous people with darts and ſhot from the wals, began to ouerwhelme the Italians which were vnaduiſedly come within their danger, and with terible outcries to terrifie them; and they which before were fled without the wals, returned again to fight. They alſo which had ſhut the gate ſallied out again, and hardly charged the Italians, who already galled with ſhot from the wals, and rent in ſunder with the great ordnance, fled moſt diſorderly; for why, they were but raw ſouldiers taken vp in haſt, little or nothing acquainted with the wars. At *The Italians diſcomfitted by the Moors, fly and indanger the whol camp.*
which time *Aſſan* alſo ſallying out (who was eaſily known by his countenance & rich attire)
D purſued the chaſe with his troups of Turks and Moors footmen. Only certain Knights of the Rhodes fought valiantly, and retired orderly: and *Spinula* with ſome other gentlemen making a ſtand at a little wooden bridge, ſomwhat ſtaid the enemy, and ſaued the liues of many. So the Italians which firſt charged moſt valiantly, being in the flight become hindermoſt, the Enemy ſtriking them down as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the ſpace of half a mile, eſpecially they which fled toward the ſea, for they were circumuented & ſlain by the merciles Numidians, who beholding the ſhipwrack, were come downe to the ſea ſide for prey. But the foremoſt companies of the Italians which fled into the camp, fled in ſuch haſt, and ſo great fear, that none of the leaders in ſo great and ſudden a perplexity remembred either the Common ſafety, or performed the duty of an aduiſed Captaine: ſo that all ſeemed
E at once loſt both by ſea and land. Only the Emperour, armed with an inuincible courage againſt all the chances of Fortune, and not to be diſmayed with any miſhap, was both to himſelf and others that day the beſt Captaine. For when all was almoſt loſt, hee in good time ſtayed the matter, by comming on with the ſquadron of Germans, wherof he ſent before him three enſignes to ſtay the flight, and with them as a ſure and freſh ſupply to gard his Campe beyond the bridge, which was ouer the ditch, ſeruing his Army for a trench, as we haue before ſaid. But ſuch a fear had poſſeſſed the minds of the flying Italians, and ſuch was the fiere purſuit of the enemy, that thoſe Germans (not before wont to turn their backs) as if they had bin afraid of the Turks white caps, or not able to abide their ſight, or to hold vp weapon againſt them, by and by turned their backs, and ſhamefully fled for company with the Italians. Then
F the Emperor galloping forth with his horſe, and his ſword in his hand drawn, reprouing them of cowardiſe that fled, ſet forward with the German ſquadron, and with a ſtout and manlike courage ſpake to them theſe few words in their owne language: *When will you (fellow ſouldiers) ſhew your faces to your proud enemies; if now when you ſhould fight for the honor of the Chriſtian name, for the glory of the German nation, for the ſafety of your own liues, in the preſence of your Emperor, you* *The Emperor couragiouſly ſtaieth the flight of his army.*

fear a few disordred and naked Barbarians? Immediatly when hee had thus said, the Germanes touched with shame, and disdaining that it should be thought they needed any exhortation to perform the parts of valiant soldiers, issued out against the enemy: who mooued with their comming, and seeing the Italian battel again restored by the valor and trauel of certaine valiant and expert captains, stood still a while and began to retyre; whether it were becawse they feared the great artillery and assault of the Germanes, or that they thought they had done enough for that sally; when as for the ful accomplishment of that victory they saw the Christian fleet ouercome with a most horrible tempest, miserably to perish before their faces; and many of their men, especially the Moors, hasted to the sea side in hope of a more certain prey wheras no enemy was to be feared. For the blustring winds blowing from diuers quarters, as if they had conspired to raise a most horrible tempest, had made such a wrought sea, & the huge billows went so high, that the ships by the violence of the weather, and rage of the sea, put from their anchors, fel foul one of another, and were so lost; or els driuen vpon the main, were there beaten in pieces in sight of the army. So that all the sea coast Westward, from Algiers to Cercello, lay ful of dead men and horses, and the ribs of broken ships. The Numidians beholding this miserable wrecke, came down in great companies from the mountains, & without mercy slew all that came aliue to land. In the space of a few houres were lost aboue 140 ships, and all the small boats and caruels, which were in number many. Some of the Gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noon, by the painful labor of the mariners, and skilfulnes of the masters, rid it out, beeing no longer able to endure the rage of the tempest, & fearing to be eaten vp of the sea, with sails and oars ran aground: but the souldiers and mariners swimming to land in hope to saue their liues, and thinking that the greatest danger was then past, were by the Numidian horsmen which ran vp & down the sea side slain. There might a man haue seen free-men of all sorts, with tears commending their liues and liberty to their own gally-slaues, that by the speech & intreaty of them (which by the sudden chance of fortune had but euen now shaken off their irons, and with merry hearts swam out to their liberty) they might be saued from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a most grieuous and woful sight for diuers hard extremities, when as euery man according to the disposition of his mind, and skil in swimming, standing doubtful in most assured death, which to receiue or to refuse, was by fatal destiny drawn to his end, and either drowned in the sea, or thrust thorow with the enemies lance: yet most made choice to abide the danger of the sea, and to expect the end of the tempest, rather than to hasten their end by the enemies merciles hand. By that means it came to passe, that that barbarous cruelty of the enemy (as a thing feared most of the mariners and soldiers) saued many gallies, which by the appointment of the fearful mariners & passengers should otherwise haue bin run on ground. But after that, a notable gally, wherin *Iannettin Auria* went, was seen to come neer the shore, and to be driuen vpon the sands by force of weather, and the beating of other gallies. The Emperor not enduring to see so valiant a yong gentleman, captain of many gallies, slain without help by the Moors, in the sight of *Auria* his vncle; sent by and by one of his captains called *Antonius* of Aragon, with three bands of Italians to the sea side: by whose comming the Moors were put to flight, and he with the rest in the galley saued; but so, that the sauing of him was the losse of diuers other gallies. For many deliuered of the fear of the Numidians, and trusting to the rescue of the souldiers come down to the sea side, desiring to saue themselues from the rage of the sea, ran their gallies on ground; and had not some bold Captains, grieued to see so great a losse, ran vp and down the banks with their drawne swords in their hands, aud by threatening death to the gally-slaues and their mariners, staid their rowing, most part of the Gallies had by the example of others perished. *Auria*, not so angry at himself as at the Emperor (who contrary to the obseruation of skilfull sea-men, could not be persuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in so vnseasonable a time of the yeare) with an inuincible courage stroue against the violence of the tempest, & rage of the sea: insomuch, that being requested by some of his friends, to saue himself, what soeuer became of the gally; he was so angry therat, that he commanded them to be bestowed vnder hatches. Four Gallies also of *Virginius Vrsinus* earle of Anguillaria, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honor exeeeding the fear of death. Certain gallies also of Sicilia, Naples, & Spain, happily endured all the rage of the tempest. Yet was there fifteen great Gallies cast away, with the

An horrible tempest.

The christian fleet perisheth by shipwrack.

Many gallies lost by sauing one man.

G H I K L M

A the losse wherof,besides the losse of so many ships,the tempest stil enduring, so great sorrow and desperation in the wofull expectation of the wreck of all,possessed the whole army, that not only the yong souldiers,regarding only their own liues,but euen the most valiant captains, careful of the common estate,were vtterly discouraged. For neuer was army in any memory ouerwhelmed with a greater concourse of calamities, when as all their victuals being lost in three daies,nothin gwas left to relieue them withall;and they wanted tents wherin to shroud and rest the souldiers,spent with hunger,labor,cold,and wounds,in such perpetual raine and so dirty a country. In which so great miseries,a wonderfull care,heauier than the former feare, exceedingly troubled the minds of all men, to think vpon that horrid wreck, when as hauing lost so many ships,and they poor men landed in Africk, were in doubt how euer to returne a-
B gain into their natiue countries. Yet the notable courage of the emperor stil kept the distressed men in hope, which neuer altogether forsaketh wretched men in the midst of their calamities:for he with a couragious heart and cheerful countenance performed all the parts of a prouident and curteous General. For when he had again made sure his camp against the assaults of the Barbarians,he commanded the wearied captains (especially the Duke of Alva, wonderfully wearied in the late skirmish, and dung wet) to spare themselues and take their rest: hee comforted the wounded men, causing them to be cherished in the Tents which by chance yet stood (for the tempestuous wind had almost ouerthrown them all) and not sparing himself for any pains, being in his armor and thorow wet,won the hearts of all his souldiers the more. In this conflict he lost about 3000 men,among whom was fiue of his forward cap-
C tains, and three Knights of the Rhodes: but many more were hurt. The greatest losse was thought to be in the ships and mariners, which was also increased by the losse of a wonderfull deal of great ordnance,reckoned so much the greater,for that it would come into the Moors hands,to the common harm of the Christians, so soon as the sea would giue them leaue to diue for it. Shortly after, *Auria* (as he was to foresee a tempest, a wonderfull obseruer of the heauens and of the clouds) mistrusting that place,departed with the remainder of the fleet to the cape called Metasusium, because it was a place of safer riding for his Gallies, and better for the taking in of the souldiers;aduising the Emperor to march thither with his army:which his counsel the Emperor liking wel of,to relieue the hunger of his souldiers, commanded first all the draught horses which were first vnshipped for the drawing of the great Ordnance,and
D after them the horses for seruice,to be killed and diuided for meat among the souldiers. As for fire-wood,they had plenty of planks and ribs of the broken ships;fortune as it were with one poor benefit recompensing so many calamities. The next day the Emperour departed from Algiers,with his army diuided into three battels,the sick and wounded men beeing receiued into the middle:and when he had marched seuen miles (the enemies horsmen stil houering about him) he came to a heady brook,which the Moors cal Alcaraz:which was grown so high with the abundant rain and the check of the wind and the sea,that being but a shallow thing before,it was not now to be passed ouer by a good horsman. Wherefore the Emperour of necessity there incamped,in such sort,than lying with his Army in forme of a triangle,two sides therof were defended with the sea and the brook,and the other with a strong gard of ar-
E med men; for he thought it not good to depart from the sea, a sure defence for his Army on the left hand, to seeke a foord farther off. Many aduenturing to swim ouer,were by the violence of the stream caried away and drowned. Wherfore the Emperor caused a bridge to be made ouer it,of the masts & sail-yards of the broken ships which were by chance there taken vp,and so passed ouer the Italians & Germans. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brook, found a foord wherby they passed ouer. At which time the Turks pursued them no farther, being called back again by *Assan* their gouernor. As for the Moores and Numidians which still followed at hand alwaies ready to skirmish, they were easily repulsed by the harquebusiers and field-pieces appointed for euery Nation: but vpon such sicke and wounded men as were not able to keep way with the Army,they exercised all manner of cruelty. For there was
F none which in that small hope,possessed with the fear of their owne safety, was greatly mooued with the compassion of their fellows misery. The next day passing ouer another little riuer,which the souldiers waded ouer vp to the brests, they came in three daies march vnto the rodewhere the fleet lay,and incamped in the ruins of the old city Tipasa, neere vnto the sea side,which serued them in stead of a fortresse against the Barbarians. The sea was now calm,

The Emperours cheerfulnes comforteth the distressed army.

Horses good meat in the Emperours Army.

The Emperour departeth from Algiers.

the wind laid, and the weather ſo fair, that all men thought the ſoldiers might now be imbarked and tranſported into Europ. Wherfore the Emperor, to the great ioy of the whole army, commanded euery man to make himſelf ready to go abord: in ſuch ſort, that firſt the Italians, then the Germans, and laſt of all the Spaniards ſhould be imbarked: but ſo many ſhips and gallies as is beforeſaid beeing loſt by ſhipwracke, it was thought that thoſe which were left were not able to receiue the whole army, although it were crowded together as cloſe as was poſſible. Wherfore the Emperor commanded the maſters and owners of the ſhips to caſt all the horſes ouer-boord into the ſea; reputing it an vnmercifull part, to prefer the ſafegard of thoſe horſes (although they were of great worth) before the life of the baſeſt common ſoldier or horſ-boy in his camp. Which thing much grieued the minds of the noblemen and owners of thoſe goodly beaſts, not only for that they were, not without extream neceſſity, for the preſent depriued of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure, but ſhould for euer (as they ſaid) loſe the moſt noble race of horſes in Spain. There with griefe and vain compaſſion was to be ſeen goodly horſes of ſeruice bearing vp their proud heads, ſwimming all about the ſea, to the ſhips neereſt vnto them for ſafegard, as if it had bin to the ſhore; & in the end wearied with long ſwimming, to be there drowned. But ſcarſe half the ſoldiers were yet imbarked, when the Eaſt and North-eaſt wind, and ſoon after diuers contrary winds almoſt as great as the firſt, roſe: whereupon the ſhips which had already taken in the ſoldiers, not expecting any command, for fear of being driuen vpon the rocks, directed their courſe according as the wind caried them, with ful ſails alongſt the coaſt. They were quickely out of ſight and diſperſed with the tempeſt, ſome into one country, ſome into another, carying the fame of that ſhipwrack, and the report that all was loſt, into the Iſlands of the Mediterranian and ports of Italy. The force of this tempeſt was ſo great, and the billow went ſo high, that ſome of the ſhips were in the ſight of their fellows ſwallowed vp of the ſea. But amongſt the reſt, two Spaniſh ſhips ful of ſoldiers were by wonderful miſhap by contrary winds driuen againe to Algiers, and there ſet faſt vpon that fatal ſhore; where the Numidian horſmen with a multitude of Moors following them, came running down to the ſea ſide to kill them as they ſhould come to ſhore: for the barbarous people thirſting after Chriſtian bloud, would not receiue them to mercy, although they were ready to yeeld themſelues, and couenanted nothing but the ſafegard of their liues. At which their cruelty the Spaniards diſdaining, with their weapons in their hands got to ſhore, and ſtanding cloſe together as deſperat men, withſtood them, who had with their multitude quickly compaſſed them in round: yet in deſpight of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of humanity or law of arms) could do, they made way thorow the midſt of them, from the place where they were caſt on ſhore, vnto the very gates of the city. But ſeeing the Turks ſally out, they called vnto them, offring to yeeld themſelues priſoners to *Aſſan* without further reſiſtance, if they would aſſure them their liues; which they were in good hope of, for that he was born of Chriſtian parents in Sardinia, and was attended vpon by many renegat Spaniards. So *Aſſan* comming forth of the city, gaue them his faith for their ſafety, and beating away the Moors & Numidians, curteouſly ſaued them all: wiſely making great account of ſo great a gain as would redound vnto him by ſo many priſoners, joined with no ſmal commendation of his clemencie in ſauing them. Of the Germanes the third part neuer returned home, but were either loſt by ſhipwrack, or els dead of the ſickneſſe inſuing ſo great miſeries. The emperor perſuaded, or rather ouerruled by *Auria*, to auoid the violence of the tempeſt, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Africk Eaſtward to Buzia, the caſtle wherof was kept with a ſmall gariſon of Spaniards: where the Emperor landed, found ſome freſh victual, though not much, yet ſuch as did both him and his noblemen no ſmal pleaſure. Whilſt the Emperor lay at Buzia expecting fairer weather, a great Genoa ſhip laded with victual chanced to come into the bay, to the great rejoicing of the hungry ſouldiers: but ſuch was the violence of the tempeſt, that her anchors came home, and ſhe driuen vpon the flats was caſt away; yet ſo, as that part of the victual driuen to ſhore, and half ſpoiled with the ſalt water, well relieued the increaſing want. In the mean time the Emperor, when he had long looked for the aſſuaging of the tempeſt, and was now out of hope of any new ſupply of victual, ſent away *Gonzaga* with the Sicilian and Rhodian gallies: for the wind before at North, was now come to Northweſt, and put them in hope to aduenture again to ſea, rather than to ſtay there longer. So although with a troubleſome, yet proſperous courſe, they came in ſhort time to the port of Vtica, now called

Horſes of great price drowned, to make roome for the common ſoldiers.

Two Spaniſh ſhips ful of ſoldiers driuen by tempeſt to Algiers, are taken to mercy by Aſſan.

The Emperour comes to Buzia

G H I K L M

A led Farinas: where *Muleaſſes* King of Tunes bountifully relieued *Gonzaga* and his fleet with all kind of victuall and other neceſſaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in ſafety in Drepanum at Sicilia. The bluſtring winds were now at length weary of blowing, and the raging ſea became calme, ſo that the skilful ſea-men for feare of new dangers, and weary of thoſe that were paſt, thought it beſt to aduenture againe to ſea. Almoſt euery houre they were reaſoning in councell, What courſe they were for moſt ſafetie beſt to take: when ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to beare for Sardinia or Corſica: and other ſome would haue had them to haue kept alongſt the coaſt of Africa, and ſo directly for Sicilia. But the wind comming faire at Eaſt, the Emperor directed his courſe to the Iſlands Baleares, & from thence at length arriued at the port of new Carthage in Spaine, greatly commended euen of *The Emperor arriueth in Spaine.*
B his enemies, for his wonderfull courage and conſtancy in paſſing through ſo many extremities, in ſuch ſort as if he had triumphed ouer the malice of fortune.

About this time the diſſembled friendſhip betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the 1542.
French king brake out into open hatred, The king firſt thinking himſelfe deluded by the emperor, who had long time fed him with the vain hope of the reſtitution of the Duchy of Millan, when as he meant nothing leſſe; and of late abuſed by the death of *Rinco* his Embaſſador, ſlain by the Spaniards in paſſing down the riuer Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge wherof he raiſed a great power in France, and at ſuch time as moſt men thought he would haue inuaded Italy, ſent *Charles* his ſon with the one part of his forces into the Low countries, which were then gouerned by *Mary* Queen of Hungary the Emperors ſiſter; and *Henry* his other ſon
C with the other part of his forces to inuade Spaine; both young Princes of great hope. And not ſo contented, but deſirous by all means to trouble and moleſt the Emperour, as he did in in the Low-countries by ſetting on the duke of Cleue: ſo by *Antonius Polinus* his Embaſſador, a man of great diſcretion, he earneſtly ſolicited *Solyman* the Great Turke, with whom he was then in league, to ſpoile the borders of Spain with his gallies, at the ſame time that *Henry* his ſon was beſieging Perpenna in Spain. For which practiſe he was of moſt men diſcommended, as too much fauouring his owne griefe; and eſpecially by ſuch as affected the Emperor. But how this matter (which drew vpon the French King no ſmall enuy) was carried in the Turks court, ſhall not (as I hope) be vnto this Hiſtory impertinent to declare.

The French King the more to trouble the Emperor, ſolicited Solyman to inuade his countries.

After the death of *Rinco* ſlain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king ſent *Antonius Polinus*
D a man of great dexterity, his Embaſſadour to *Solyman*: who paſſing by many by-waies to Venice, and ſo ouer the gulf to Sibinicum, croſſing ouer Illyria, met with *Solyman* in Myſia, as he was comming from Buda; and there firſt offered vnto him the preſent ſent from the King his maſter (for with empty hands no man might preſume to come to thoſe barbarous kings of the Eaſt) which Preſent was a cupboord of plate curiouſly wrought, in weight 600 pounds: and 5000 rich garments of al ſorts of ſilk & skarlet to be beſtowed vpon the Baſſa's & other great courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings letters, and heard what he had further to ſay, ſeemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, & promiſed *Polinus* not to be wanting to the French king, by ſea or land to giue him aid in his iuſt wars againſt *Charles* his enemie, for breaking of the league: but foraſmuch as nothing could be well determined of ſuch
E mattters in his journy of ſo great haſt, he told him, that as ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſhould then haue anſwer by his Baſſa's of all his demands. The embaſſador aboue all things deſired that he would ſend *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* with his fleet againſt the next ſummer into Prouince, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be imploied againſt the emperor as occaſion ſhould require: & further, That he would requeſt the Venetians, with whom he was able to do much, to join in league with the king his maſter againſt *Charls* the emperor, whoſe power began now to be dreadful to their eſtate. *Polinus* was not ſlack in his buſines, but all the way as he went fought to win the fauor of the Baſſa's, ſtill giuing them one Preſent or other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to Conſtantinople, in the later end of December, *Solyman* promiſing what he had before ſaid, aduiſed *Po-*
F *linus* to returne to France with his letters, and to bring him certain word back againe from the king, of the determinat time & full reſolution of taking thoſe wars in hand: & that he would in the mean time ſend *Ianusbeius* his embaſſador to Venice, who had bin there diuers times, before, & would prouide to haue ſuch a fleet in readines as he deſired. *Polinus* exceeding glad of that anſwer, with great ſpeed returned back againe to the king, bringing with him as preſents

Pralinus the French Embaſſadour meeteth Solyman comming from Buda, and offereth vnto him Preſents from the French King.

The requeſt of the French embaſſador to Solyman.

Polinus returns into France.

from *Solyman* two goodly Turkish horses and a sword richly set with stones of great price. G
The French King hauing by his Embassador receiued *Solymans* letters and presents, and three days together discoursed with him at large of the maner of his proceeding in the Turks court, in short time after sent him backe again to *Solyman* with full instructions both of the time and places, & other circumstances of the intended war. *Polinus* comming to Venice, found not *Iunusbeius* there, as he had well hoped: yet to lose no time in expecting his comming, he with *Pellicerius* Embassador lieger for the French king, and other of the French faction, labored the Senators in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought like enough, that the Venetians still measuring all their consuls by their profit, would easily consent to that league, especially being requested thereunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to haue the port towne Maranus deliuered vnto them in reward therof; which otherwise the French, in whose possession it was, threatened H
to deliuer to the Turks, and to make them their euill neighbours, rather than to haue it taken from them by the Germans. Wherfore *Polinus* hauing audience giuen him in the Senat, notably pleaded the French kings cause, grieuously lamented the death of the embassador slain by the Spaniards, and bitterly enuied against the ambition of the Emperor, who as he said aspired to the whole monarchy of Italy, not by true vertue and valour, but by meere craft and deceit, incroching still vpon the liberties of the free States, and by little & little imposing vpon them the yoke of bondage: In confirmation whereof he produced many examples, to them well known, requesting them as antient friends and confederats of the French, to joine their Forces with the Kings; in which doing they should assure themselues of such reward of the vndoubted victory, as they could not desire greater. Whereas if they should refuse so to do, and would I
rather sit stil & look on as neuters, they should vndoubtedly, fortune hauing decided the quarrell, grieuously offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquished, hatred; and of the conqueror, injury. Besides that, in taking vp of armes they should highly gratifie *Solyman*, who prouoked with late injuries, had determined with a puissant army to inuade Hungary, and at the same time to send *Barbarussa* with a great fleet against the Spaniards their common enemies: for the imparting of which his designes he would shortly send vnto them *Iunusbeius* his Embassadour: As for the euent of the war they needed not to doubt, when as they of themselues were strong enough quickly to thrust the Emperor out of the dutchy of Millan, being generally hated of the people, feeding his soldiers with the spoile of the country, and on euery side beset both by sea and land by two of the greatest Monarchs of the world. Whereunto K
the Senat delaying the time for certain daies, that *Iunusbeius* might in the mean time come thither, grauely answered, That the amity they held with king *Francis*, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like also they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no case seeme to cast off, although they had bin by him ouerraught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citisens in generall were of opinion, to preserue their peace, as they which in the hard times of warres had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recouered with long peace: but if they did once see the ensignes displaied, and the wars begun, they would then take further aduice, Whether it were good for them to thrust themselues into those warres or not, when as they were in league and friendship with three of the greatest princes in the world.

The crafty answer of the Venetians to the French Kings Embassador.

Solymans Embassadour commeth to Venice.

In the meane time *Iunusbeius* arriued at Venice, and was there honorably receiued. He requested, That the league before made at Constantinople by *Badoerius* their Embassador, might by the authority of the Senat be confirmed: and so commended the French kings cause to the Senat, that he requested no more, but that vnto that amity which they had already held with the French, they would joine further curtesies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his brother, and had vndertaken to aid him against *Charles* king of Spain: but as to join in league with him, or in his quarrell to take vp armes, he requested nothing. Which was quite beside the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of al, had thought easily to haue persuaded the Senat to haue granted what they requested, and therfore L
thought the Turk (who had so coldly spoken in the cause) to be some way corrupted. But as it afterward appeared, there was such equity and modesty in *Solymans* letters (who was otherwise M
of a proud and insolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which should not stand with the good of their estate. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing in vaine staied certaine daies at Venice, was in one of their publique gallies transported to Ragusium, and from thence trauelled by land to Constantinople, where he found all things more difficult

Polinus cõmeth to Constantinople, findeth not the Turk so readie to send his fleet to aid the French king, as he had hoped.

than

A thaneuer he dreamed of. For the great Baſſaes ſaid, There could no fleet be ſet out that yeare, by reaſon that he was come too late to ſue for ſuch a matter, the ſpring of the yere being now paſt, of all other times moſt fit for to take in hand ſo long a voyage. So that *Polinus* was aboue meaſure vexed with care and griefe, that he had ſo euilly ſped, and was come ſo out of ſeaſon both to Venice & Conſtantinople. *Dixius* alſo, one of the maſters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to Conſtantinople, to carrie news into France of the comming of the Turks fleet: who told *Polinus*, That the Kings ſons were with ſtrong power far entred into the Low-countries, and had already inuaded Spaine, expecting nothing more than the comming of the Turks gallies. Wherfore *Polinus* (as it eaſily chanceth to men deceiued by truſt repoſed in any other mens promiſes, and bewailing the euill ſucceſſe of their vain trauell) wonderfully tormented
B himſelfe, curſed the froward and vnconſtant manners of the Baſſaes, called vpon the faith of *Solyman*; and beſought the great Baſſaes one by one, that they would not contrary to their promiſe forſake the King, who vpon the hope of the comming of the Turks fleet, had now inuaded both the Low-countries & the kingdome of Spaine: foraſmuch as by that delay, which was vnto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he ſaid) betraid the maieſtie of his King, and a moſt aſſured victory now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obteſtations, he was ſo importunat and tedious, that he became vnto thoſe proud Baſſaes rather loathſome than gracious; inſomuch that to end his ſuit, they thought it beſt ſharply to take him vp, & for that time to ſhake him off. And therefore ſending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him, to the court, the great Baſſaes then ſitting in counſell, and *Barba-*
C *ruſſa* with them for the honour of his place; as ſoon as they were come into the councel chamber, *Solyman Baſſa* the Eunuch, turning himſelfe about, ſpake vnto them in this ſort.

Frenchmen (ſaid he) *this place for diſpatch of moſt weighty affaires, appointed by the graue iudgement of our moſt mighty Emperor to vs his faithfull ſeruants, doth (as it beſt beſeemeth, receiue vs daily comming vnto it, void of loue and hatred: and withall doth notably put vs in remembrance to ſpeake our minds freely. Neither would I, that this frankneſs of ſpeech (the meſſenger of truth, and therfore the faithfull keeper of friendſhip, ſhould be vnto your eares vnpleaſing or troubleſome for ſithence your King hath been called the friend and fellow of the* Othoman *name, we may not now either forget the duties of loue, or loth your friendſhip: ſeeing that our Emperor doth maruellouſly affect you, and is not a little deſirous to*
D *ſtrengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your enemies to increaſe your power and honour. But in your demands is no equitie, no modeſtie, ſo that we tearme you vnmodeſt and importunat: and others which fauour you not ſo well, call you plainly by your right names, vnreaſonable and ſhameleſſe men; who as too too forgetfull of your duties, do moſt fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendſhip. For leagues are confirmed by like profit, by making euen the charge and mutuall dangers: but if neglecting your friends kindneſſe and courteſie, you will make no requitall, they will quickly grow wearie of you. So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who euer forgetful and negligent in our dangers, but in your own alwaies mindfull and diligent, haue ſhewed your ſelues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare letters, and embaſſages. Tell me I pray you where euer you ſhewed me any ſigne or token of your good will or ayd? whereby the minds of our enemies might at the leaſt wiſe haue but been*
E *kept in ſuſpence of ſome doubtfull feare, when as* Charles *with all the power of the Weſt came into Hungarie: And Corone and Patras were in the meane time ſhaken in Grace with the enemies fleet; and laſt of all Tunes taken with ſo great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not ſo much as once grieue at our ſo great iniuries as you ought to haue done; but ſent your gratulatorie Embaſſadours vnto the bloudie common enemie; who had but euen then ſlaine ſo many of our people. At length our Emperor came to Aulona to your great profit, about to paſſe ouer into Italie: but neither then in the arriuall of our fleet appeared the good wills of the Apulians towards you, which were of you ſo vainely promiſed, neither did you ſo much as once moue to inuade the vpper part of Italie; ſo neither ſeruing our turne, nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies loſt the occaſion of the good ſucceſſe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed we your counſell*
F *or vnited forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces and our faith: as for the reſt war, the notable reuenger of our wrongs, moſt happily brought to paſſe, at ſuch time as you of your owne voluntary made peace with the common enemy to inuade vs; and did as vnkindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his ſailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably repreſſed ſo great aſſaults of our ene-*

mies:

The ſharp oration of Solymã the eunuch Baſſa to Polinus the French Embaſſadour.

mies: when as this same Hariaden Barbaruſſa *put to flight their fleet at Ambracia, and happily ſlew* G
the Spaniſh pyrats of Caſtrum, and hauing again recouered our owne cities, tooke alſo from them ſome of
theirs. wherefore we are bound vnto you for no deſert, but we had rather forget theſe vnkindneſſes, than to
faile you whom we haue once receiued into our friendſhip. For we performe our fidelitie in deeds: but it is
his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait occaſion; which will not raſhly commit his actions to
the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than you ſhould haue done for the ſetting forth of our fleet:
for Summer now wel ſpent, followeth the peſtilent time of Autumne, ſo that mariners cannot in conuenient
time be taken vp, or ſafely thruſt into the gallies: for in long ſayling, who would not thinke, but that ſuch
a company of ſaylers vſually ſick at the change of an vnacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their liues?
Who would not feare ſhipwracke in their returne, when as this ſame Hariaden *ſo great a maſter at ſea,*
driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks in the month of Auguſt loſt ſo many gallies? A fleet would be rig- H
ged in Winter, furniſhed and ſet forward in the Spring; in Summer is ſafe ſailing and making war. Which
that it may be ſo done, we will for the common wealths ſake perſuade the Emperor: for the nauy once loſt,
cannot vpon the ſudden be againe reſtored for much gold, whereof the Othoman *Emperour wanteth no*
ſtore, heaped vp by many ages. If thou be wiſe, take theſe things in good part as friendly ſpoken: but whether
the Emperor will pardon thy boldneſſe or not, let himſelfe conſider; truly we haue ſatisfied both him and our
ſelues in ſpeaking to thee ſo plainely.

Theſe things ſeuerely ſpoken by the Eunuch Baſſa, did ſo much the more trouble *Polinus*, for that they ſeemed to haue bin ſent from the mouth of *Solyman* himſelfe, who was thought to haue heard all that was ſaid. For behind the Baſſaes as they ſate in Councel, was a window I
with a braſen gate, and a curtain drawne before it, that the Emperour when he pleaſed, might vnperceiued heare the complaints and ſuits of all nations, and note the manners of his great councellors; whoſe care for the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſo much the greater, for feare of his preſence. Yet did not *Polinus* for his repulſe, deteſting the double dealing of the Baſſaes, ſo giue ouer his ſute; but winning by gifts the fauour of the *Copiaga* or chiefe Porter, a man euer of great authority in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the ſpeech of *Solyman* himſelfe: who faithfully performed what he had vndertaken. So the French Embaſſadour brought by him into the ſecreteſt place of the court, which few Chriſtians had euer bin, and ſo vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, recounted vnto him how all matters had before paſſed, and moſt earneſtly beſought him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet he had before K
promiſed, who at that preſent was inuading his enemies in three places. Whereunto *Solyman* courteouſly and expreſſely anſwered, That the opportunitie of ſending out his fleet was paſt; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late comming, & the time of the yeare halfe ſpent: but promiſed the next Spring without doubt to ſend vnto the king his friend & brother, twice ſo great a fleet as he had deſired againſt *Charles* their enemy. With which anſwer, the embaſſador diſpatched away *Dixius* into France, vpon whoſe arriual, king *Francis* called back again *Henry* his eldeſt ſon with his army, from the ſiege of Perpenna in Spaine.

Polinus by the meanes of the Capiaga, is brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe.

Solymans anſwer to Polinus

The Princes and States of Germany, at the requeſt of King *Ferdinand* and the nobilitie of Hungary, about this time decreed with one conſent, to take vp arms againſt the Turks, for the L
recouering againe of Buda, and other the loſt parts of Hungary. For beſides the diſhonor don to their nation at Exek, vnder the leading of *Cazzianer*, and again at Buda vnder the leading of the Lord *Rogendorff*; they wel ſaw, that if they did not ſpeedily relieue the Hungarians ouerwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks forces, they ſhould in ſhort time be inforced to fight for their religion, children, wiues, and liues, againſt the ſame mighty enemy, at their own doores. For preuenting whereof, the Princes and free cities of Germany, ſet out 30000 footmen, and 7000 horſemen: amongſt whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards Duke of Saxonie, then a young gentleman about twenty yeares old. But the Generall of theſe German forces was *Ioachimus* Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, a man more for the honour of his houſe than the valour of himſelfe preferred to that place: yet ſo, that vnto him was ioyned eight others, men of great M
yeares and experience, by whoſe counſell he was to be directed. When they were come to Vienna, king *Ferdinands* power met them: where, beſide ſuch as were taken vp in Auſtria, *Huganot* Gouernour of Stiria came in with ten thouſand horſemen. Vnto theſe the noble men of

The Princes of Germany ioyne their forces with king Ferdinand againſt the Turke in Hungary.

Hun-

A Hungary, *Iasper Seredius*, *Andreas Bathor*, and *Petrus Perenus* a man of greateſt authority, power, and experience among the Hungarians, joined themſelues, with fifteen thouſand horſemen; whither alſo *Paulus* the third of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, ſent three thouſand choſen footmen out of Italy, conducted to Vienna by *Alexander Vitellius* a moſt famous Captaine. The Marquiſſe with his great Army marched from Vienna alongſt the Riuer of Danubius; but ſo ſoftly, that the Hungarian and Italian Captaines ſaid plainely, That the beſt part of the Summer, being the fitteſt time for Wars, was paſſed ouer in loytering and dallying out the time to no purpoſe. Eſpecially *Iacobus Medices*, who had long before perſuaded the king to be ready to ſet forward with his forces with the firſt of the Spring, before the Turkes could either augment their Garriſons, or put in any new forces; for that by ſuch reſolute and ſpeedy
B inuaſion it was like enough hee might recouer both Peſth and Buda. Which politique and wholſome counſell ſo well giuen, King *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great men of his Court (liking nothing but what proceeded from themſelues) rejected, expecting the full aſſembly of all his forces, before the ſetting forth of his Army. At length the Marquis was by ſoft marches come to Strigonium (King *Ferdinand* himſelf ſtaying behind at Vienna) where it was commonly reported, That *Solyman* fearing to loſe Buda, was either in perſon himſelfe comming into Hungary, or els ſending down the Generall of his Europeian horſemen, who might neuer ſet foot forward to war without ſixty thouſand horſmen. Which news ſo troubled the Germans, that they made no great haſt forward, doubting how they ſhould returne again, if they chanced not to get the victory. Beſides that, it was thought that the Marquiſſe
C neuer purpoſed to fight a battell, or to indanger himſelfe and his Army for the kingdome of Hungary, but only to defend the bounds of Auſtria, and by ſhewing the ſtrength of Germany, to terrifie if he could the Turks, if they not contented with Hungary, ſhould alſo prouoke the Germans. But after it was by certain eſpials from Samandria, known that all that report of the comming of the Turks great Army was but vaine, and that there was ſcarſe a thouſand Ianizaries and twice ſo many horſmen come to Buda, and that the Turkes fleet was both in number and ſtrength far inferior to the Kings, they ſet forward again with more cheerfulnes, much incouraged by the forwardnes of the Hungarians, eſpecially of *Perenus*; who aſſured them, that if they would without delay march on, and ſpend no more time in vain, they ſhould not find at Buda any ſuch number of Turks as was worthy the name of an Army; for that *So-*
D *lyman* vſing but euery ſecond year to make war, did that year take his reſt, and was not like to vndertake any great expedition. For theſe reaſons all men being ready cheerfully to ſet forward, the Marquis appointed to paſſe ouer Danubius: which this *Perenus*, *Hugonot*, and *Medices*, all expert Captains, liked not of, wiſhing him rather to hold on his way directly ſtill on that ſide the riuer to Buda, the chief City of the kingdom. But it was the mind of the Generall and all his Counſellors, firſt to beſiege Peſth, which might be done with leſſe labour and danger, and there hauing made proofe of the enemies ſtrength and purpoſe, to come to beſiege Buda: for then would the ſouldiers with much more courage and cheerfulneſſe endure the ſiege of Buda, if they had by good fortune firſt beaten them out of Peſth. Which counſel was both beſt liked and followed, and the Army by two bridges with great and painful la-
E bor made ouer Danubius, (which was in that place diuided into two parts) tranſported. At the ſame time *Medices* an Italian, Admirall of the Kings fleet, came down the riuer, and in deſpight of the Turks fleet took the Iſland of S. *Margaret*, lying in the Riuer a little aboue Buda, and by force repulſed the Turks fleet vnto the ſuburbs of the City. The Marquiſſe to auoid the danger of the great ſhot from Buda, after he was paſt the riuer, fetcht a great compas about, and ſo came to the North ſide of Peſth; for on the South it was defended with the riuer Danubius, running betwixt it and Buda; and on the Eaſt and Weſt, the great ordnance on the one ſide from the caſtle of Buda, and on the other from Mount S. *Gerrard*, did ſo ſcoure all alongſt the wals, that no man could without moſt manifeſt danger there abide. For Buda
F ſtanding vpon the hil, and diuided from Peſth only by the riuer, ſo ouerlooketh and commandeth all the plain country about Peſth, that without periſl no man can ſtir on any ſide of the City, but Northward towards Agria, couered by the City from the ſhot out of Buda. As the Marquis was comming thither, he was told by certain Fugitiues, That *Balis* Gouernor of Buda (who in that place ſucceeded *Solyman* the Hungarian Renegat, lately before dead of the plague) had in garriſon in Buda two thouſand horſemen: and that *Viemas* the Perſian, Go-

The Marquiſſe of Brandenburg comes to Peſth with his Army.

uernor

uernor of Bosna was come vnto him with 2000 more: wherunto *Amurathes* had also joyned another thousand which hee brought out of Dalmatia; and that *Segemenes* was come thither also with 1000 Ianizaries brought from Constantinople. As for the rest of the footmen, that they were but wild country people, fitter for labor than seruice in wars. They told him also, that the enemies fleet consisted of 60 small pinnaces, ten gallies, and a few other great boats: and that *Solyman* had commanded his Captains, in any case to defend Buda and Pesth, to the last man, without regard of any other place; and had proposed vnto the valiant great rewards, & to the cowardly extream punishment: charging them further, that if need were, they should send in time to *Achomates* the Generall of his Europeian horsemen, to Sophia, to aid them. The Turks vpon the approch of the Christians issued out at one of the gates of the City, and skirmished with the Hungarians: but after they had sufficiently prooued one anothers strength, and some few were on both sides slain, they retyred into the city, and the Hungarians to the camp. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the camp neer the City with fiue companies, to chuse a place for planting the battery; the Turkes at one instant sallying out at two gates of the city, gaue him an hot skirmish: where at the first, the fight was begun with like courage and force; but the Turks stil sending out new supplies both of horse and foot, first the Christian footmen, and after that the horsmen, not able longer to endure the force of the Turks Ianizaries, were constrained disorderly to retyre, hauing lost in that retreit four of their captains and two ensignes: and had not *Vitellius* with one company of horsmen ferred together, valiantly repulsed the insolent Ianizaries, the losse had bin much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieued with this losse, and perceiuing the maner of the enemies fight, incouraged his soldiers, purposing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requested *Perenus* to be ready to join with him, as occasion should require. *Vitellius* lay incamped in the Kings orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally distant both from the great Camp, and from the city; out of these orchards he went with twelue companies vnder their ensignes, commanding the rest to stand stil within the walls, in readinesse at all assaies; and so fetching a great compasse about, marched alongst the riuers side toward the city. Neither did the proud enemy (brag of the former daies victory) make any delay, but brauely sallied out at the East side of the city, and couragiously charged them. But *Vitellius* warned by his former harm, and seeing his enemies come on as he desired, couered his shot with his pikes, and standing close, receiued the enemies charge; his shot stil playing vnder the pikes oftentimes vpon their knees. Many of the Turks were there laid on ground, whilst they desperatly sought to haue broken the order of the Christians. In the mean time, when many of the Turks horsmen and Ianizaries comming out of the gates, and diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the Riuer from Buda, to be partakers of the victory, had filled the hithermost bank; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpose by little and little retyred, as if he had bin ouercharged. Then began the enemy to giue a great shout, and more fiercely to assail the Christians; their horsmen also clapt behind them, to haue there charged them. Which thing *Perenus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following *Vitellius* were drawn a great way from the gates; he suddenly with his light horsmen clapt in betwixt the city and the Turks, at their backs: after whom followed also *Mauritius* (afterwards duke of Saxony) with a strong troup of German horsmen, of purpose to shut them in from retyring back again into the city. But then the Turkes perceiuing the danger, & finding themselues shut in, stood as men more than half amased, bethinking themselues which way to take, and so began to retyre. When *Vitellius* comming on couragiously with his pikemen and harquebusiers diuided into two wings, charged them fiercely: and the Hungarian & German horsemen breaking in among them on the other side, made great slauter of them, & struck such a fear among the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the gate, thrust one another thorow with their pikes: diuers others were also by the horsmen driuen into the sea and drowned. That day *Segemenes* lost aboue an hundred of his Ianizaries, and four hundred other souldiours. The chiefe commendation of this piece of seruice was giuen to *Vitellius*, who had so wel and so quickly reuenged himself of the Turks: and next vnto him, to *Perenus*, who as a skilfull Captaine had so wel awaited the time to intrap the enemy. Neither is *Mauritius* the yong Saxon prince vnworthy his due praise, who valiantly charging the Turks, and hauing his horse slain vnder him, was in danger to haue beene there lost himselfe, had not *Nicolas Ribische* one of his followers couered him with his owne bodie, vntill

The Turks sally out of Pesth, & put the Christians to the worse.

The Turks sallying out again are defeated.

Mauritius in danger to bee slain.

such

A such time as that he was rescued by others, *Ribische* himselfe presently dying of his wounds. This little victory so incouraged the Germans, that the Marquis commanded the great ordnance to be presently brought forth, and the battery planted; which was at the first placed so far off, that it did little harm, although the wall were both old and thinne, not aboue fiue foot thick: and the ordnance laid either a little too low, or mounted too high, either shot short, or quite ouer the city into Buda: which fault once perceiued, the battery was remoued neerer, and a fair breach soon made in the wall, with the continual beating of 40 great pieces of artillery. *Vitellius* was the first that offered to assault the breach, so that the Germans would presently second him; which thing they al by holding vp of their hands promised couragiously, but soon after cowardly brake their promise. For oftentimes it chanceth, that they which be-

A breach made in the walls of Pesth.

B fore the danger are readiest to promise their helpe, are in the very danger it selfe of all others most slack. The Hungarians also for their parts promised not to be behind. The silence of the enemy at the breach and in the city was wonderful, so that many thought he had beene fled back ouer the riuer to Buda: for *Segemenes* captain of the Ianizaries, an old beaten soldier, ordered all things with as little stir as was possible: he had receiued new supplies from *Vlemas*, and had cast vp a deep countermure within the wal against the breach, and on the inner side of the same had made a strong barricado, with gabions and wine vessels filled with sand & earth; behind which stood the Ianizaries, and next vnto them the Turkish archers, and last of al the horsmen, who had left their horses to serue on foot. The signal for the assault once giuen, four

The breach assaulted by the Italians.

C Italian captains ran desperatly with their Companies by the ruins of the wal to the breach: but whilst they there set vp their ensignes, and wondring at the enemies fortification, were ready betwixt hope and fear to leap down, they were suddenly ouerwhelmed with a shoure of arrows and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* stil incouraging them, brought them stil on, who did what they might to haue entred. But the German footmen with their General stood stil vnder the wals, looking on, as men nothing mooued either with the hope of victory, or danger of their friends: and the Hungarians not so much as once looking vpon the enemy, retyred. Two of the Italian captains, *Rufus* and *Fiolla*, were there slain, and *Carolus*, *Vitellius* his nephew, shot in the sholder. The Turks with shot and stones stil repulsed and beat down the Italians, wherof the Germans also standing stil felt part, & were more galled than a man would haue thought men could haue bin that did nothing: for there they stil stood for shame, lest if they should

The Germanes cowardly looke on whilest the Italians giue the assault.

D haue also first retyred, they should haue incurred a second infamy as bad as the first. Which thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no case depart from the breach, but wished rather to lose his men by whole companies, than to leaue the least colour of excuse to the Germans, or that they should say they staied longest; of whom hee with greater anger than griefe complained, that he was forsaken and cowardly betraid. In time of this assault one of the Turks was heard to speak aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why do not you, valiant Italians, spare your selues, & giue place to those lazy Germans. We all wish to spare you, and to beat the drunkennesse out of their most cowardly heads, that they should no more hereafter prouoke vs.* At length the Germanes, weary of their hot standing, and nought doing, got them further off; after whom the Italians forthwith retyred: but so disorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies shot, that if the Turkes had

The contemptuous speech of a Turk against the Germans.

The Germanes & Italians retire with losse.

E at the same time sallied out at al the gates, it was thought that the whole camp had bin much indangered. In this attempt, rather than assault, 700 Christians were slain outright, and many more hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

All this while the Marquis and *Hugonot*, the great Commanders of the army, kept themselues so far from gun-shot, that they were no where to be seen; vntil that *Torniellus* & *Fotiscus* two valiant Captaines finding them out, wished them for shame to shew themselues for the comforting of the army. A little before night they consulted with the other captains, whither they should forsake the siege, or continue it stil. Wherof most of the Germanes best liked to be gon, as the safest way: though *Vitellius* and some others spake ernestly to the contrary. At which time a spy comming in, brought news, that *Achomates*, *Solymans* lieutenant of the Euro-

F peian horsmen, had past ouer the riuer Savus at Belgrade, and was comming to Pesth: whose comming either cunningly feined, or vainly beleeued, caused the Germanes to make a short conclusion, & to resolue flatly to return to Vienna, fearing that if they should longer continu the siege, they should be stayd against their wils by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of the old German soldiers to hang their heads for shame, & the Hungarians to curse both the

Ger-

Germans and the hard fortune of their nation; vainly wiſhing for a General in courage anſwerable to the ſtrength of that great Army. *Segemenes* perceiuing how much the Chriſtian Army was diſcouraged by the laſt days euil ſucces, early in the morning ſent out al the horſmen, and after them certaine Companies of footmen, to relieue them in their retyre; who in many places skirmiſhed with them, being nothing inferiour vnto them either in courage or skil: and the matter was brought to that paſſe as if it had bin ſo agreed vpon, that many of the moſt notable and expert ſouldiers on either ſide incountred hand to hand in the ſight of the Italians and Germans, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turks with the Hungarians, with ſuch fidelity, that they regarded no other enemy but him whom euery man had ſingled out for himſelf, as if it had bin in a triumph, for exerciſe hand to hand. It hapned that a notable captain of the Turks deſired to ſee *Vitellius*; who being ſhewed vnto him (for hee was eaſie to be known by his armor) the Turk ran vnto him to embrace him for his honor, and ſo departed. About 500 horſemen ſo incountered with one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were ſlain or hurt. The night following, the battery was remoued, and the Army marched toward the riuer to the fleet. The Turks perceiuing the Chriſtians to be departed, ſallied out of the City on all hands, and with a great cry vpbraiding them of cowardiſe, hardly purſued the rereward of the army. *Vlemas* was come ouer himſelf from Buda, and ſo eagerly followed the Army, that it could hardly haue eſcaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a ſtand, and requeſted the Hungarian and German horſemen to turn back vpon the enemy: which they at his requeſt did, and not only repulſed the Enemy, but alſo put him to flight, and in the chaſe ſlew many. After which time the army paſſed on quietly; yet 700 Germanes which were ſick and ſtragled behind the Army, were by the Turks horſmen miſerably ſlain in the ſight of their fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, firſt at Exek, then at Buda, and now at Peſth, returned full of heauines and grief, as they which were now to forget the ſubduing of Hungary, and to become careful of Germany it ſelf. The army comming to Vienna, was there broken vp, and the Italians ſent home into their country; who for moſt part died by the way, of infection taken in the camp in ſtrange air, and a moſt queſie time of the year.

A notable skirmiſh betweene the Turkes and Hungarians.

The Chriſtian army broken up at Vienna.

But to couer the ſhame of this vnfortunat expedition, and to turn mens talke another way by ſome notable accident; *Petrus Perenus* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the purpoſe to fil mens mouths. He, belayd with the enuy of the Court, was for ſuſpition of aſpiring to the kingdom of Hungary, by the commandment of King *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liſcanus* a Spaniſh captain, in the caſtle of Strigonium, as a traitor, and preſently deliuered to *Medices* the Admiral, to be conueyed vp the riuer to Vienna. *Liſcanus* at the time of his apprehenſion, couetouſly and vncurteouſly took from him his Chaine, and a rich cloake lined with ſables. Which indignity don to ſo noble a gentleman, ſo much offended the mindes of the reſt of the Hungarians, that aboue 12000 of them thereupon preſently returned home to their own dwellings, curſing the Germans to the diuel. This *Perenus* was one of the greateſt Peers of Hungary, but of a moſt hauty and magnificent mind, ſo that he would ſomtime haue almoſt 100 goodly ſpare horſes fit for ſeruice led before him without their riders; and would ſomtimes ſpeak too liberally againſt the barenes of king *Ferdinands* court, who polled by the courtiers, hardly maintained his ſtate. Which his ſurpaſſing magnificence and princely port was cauſe enough for the other great courtiers to enuy at his eſtate, & to ſeek his ouerthrow: who as men ouercharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they neuer bore the leaſt part, and alwaies gaining by the deprauing of other mens perfection, conſpired together his ouerthrow; and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would ſay, That he ſauored of a crown. This notable man as he had many worthy vertues, ſo was hee not without cauſe noted of ambition and inconſtancy. For after that King *Lewis* was loſt, he diſdaining the preferment of *Iohn* the Vayuod to the kingdom of Hungary, took part with King *Ferdinand* againſt him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himſelf. But after hee ſaw King *Iohn* again reſtored, and his ſtate ſtrongly ſupported by *Solyman*, and that all things ſtood doubtful and tickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like leuity ſought means by *Abraham* the great Baſſa, to be reconciled vnto King *Iohn*: which was hardly obtained of him by the interceſſion of *Solyman* himſelf (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his ſon as a pledge of his fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and royalty all the reign of King *Iohn*:

Perenus uncurteouſly apprehended vpon ſuſpition of treſon.

but

Matters surmi-sed against Pe-renus.

A but after he was dead, and saw *George* the Bishop the Kings tutor doing what he list, to reigne like a King, he disdained his gouernment, and solicited by King *Ferdinand*, reuolted again vnto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdome. But now falling into the enuy of the court, malice found out matter enough to worke his confusion. First it was giuen out, That his son who had many yeres been detained in *Solymans* Court as a pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a feigned escape come into Transylua-nia; when as he had secretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauoured of the people, should by promising them all possible freedome, allure them to the Turkish subjection: in reward of which good seruice he should be made Gouernour of the Kingdome of Hungary, and put in hope also to be made the tributary King thereof, if it should fortune B the young King to die. Besides that, it was accounted a thing very suspitious, that he had the Winter before vsed great kindenesse and friendship toward the Turkish Captains, by sending them great Presents, and receiuing the like againe. And last of all, his letters directed to certaine Hungarian Captains were produced, wherein he seemed to promise them as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his present estate. All which things King *Ferdinand* (of his owne disposition not easily to be persuaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countrey men, were it neuer so apparant or true, but of strangers any thing) quickely beeleued, and therefore caused him (as is before said) to be apprehended. But *Pere-nus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to Vienna, when he was come neere vnto the gate of the city, and heard that *Philippus Torniellus* with certaine other braue Captaines of his C acquaintance, were come to meet the Admirall; he requested that the close Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to speake to those noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was easily granted, for that the nobility and approued valour of the man seemed vnto them which had the charge of him, vnworthy of such restraint of liberty or imprisonment, yea, or of the least suspition thereof. So he turning himselfe towards them, spake vnto them in this sort:

The lamentable speech of Pere-nus, to Torniel-lus and the o-ther Captaines, concerning his apprehension.

Wretched I, noble Gentlemen (said he) *whom despightfull enuy hath circumuented guiltlesse: but much more miserable King* Ferdinand, *whom domesticall theeues bereaues of substance, of friends, and honour all at once. For so it commeth to passe, that by this inconsiderat wrong done vnto me, he shall vtterly lose* D *the loue and fidelity of the Hungarian Nation, and may therefore for euer not without cause dispaire for the obtaining of the King dome of Hungary, sithence that it is not lawfull for me (inferiour to none of my Nation in birth, and hauing for my good and faithfull seruice well deserued reward of a just King) so much as to reioyce for the deliuerance of my son from the captiuity of the Turks, but that by my sinister fortune, dreadfull death in stead of incomparable joy must be presented to mine eies. For will these malicious Picke-thanks, guilty of their owne cowardise, the wicked contriuers and witnesses of my wrongfull accusation, spare me being laid fast and in durance, which neuer spared the Kings honour? For euery man of what no-bility soeuer, be he neuer so guiltlesse, when he is once in hold, must be content to endure, not what he hath deserued, but what his hard fortune assigneth. Yet my vpright mind and cleare conscience, which thing on-ly God the most just Iudge leaueth as a comfort to men in misery wrongfully accused, deliuereth me of this* E *care: and so will the Marquisse our Generall, to whom I before vpon a mistrust foretold, that such a danger would shortly befall me, and that I had rather be slaine guiltlesse, than to withdraw my selfe from triall: which thing I told him at such time as I was so guarded with mine owne strength, that I feared no mans force. I beseech you do me this honourable fauour, as to request King* Ferdinand *in my behalfe, quickely and honourably to proceed to the triall of my cause, and according to his owne Princely disposition, and the will of others, to discerne betwixt his faithfull friends and feigned flatterers. Truly we are too too vnfor-tunate Captains, if for a little euill successe we shall be so adjudged as men that had ouerthrowne their for-tune.* Cazzianer *peraduenture receiued the just punishment he had deserued, for the shamefull forsa-king and losing the army at Exek, when as he possessed with an vncouth feare, forgot the duty of a Gene-rall, more affraid of death than dishonour: for when he had voluntarily committed himselfe to safe custo-*F *dy, he was so generally condemned of cowardise, that dispairing to defend his cause, he brake prison, and as wickedly as vnfortunatly reuolted to the Turks: But neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquished, although we preuailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly represſed the insolency of the pursuing enemy. As for the kingdome of Hungary, I might then well haue affected the same, and easily haue deserued it at* Solymans *hands, when as King* Ferdinand *after the death of King* Iohn, *was ma-*

Perenus his re-quest of the Ad-mirall and the rest of the Cap-taines.

king his preparation for that war : at which time my friends and followers at my deuotion, with the loue of the Hungarians towards me, seeming of no small importance for the obtaining of the victory, might haue ministred no vnreasonable or vseasonable hope to haue drawne a man into courses not altogether beseeming a Christian. Wherefore I haue, and will so long as I liue, fight against the Turks, if King Ferdinand *shall shew himselfe an indifferent Iudge in this accusation, falsly surmised against me by the malice of mine enemies.*

When he had made an end of speaking, the Admirall courteously perswaded him to haue good hope in the clemency of the most just King; and shortly after performed his request: for he and *Torniellus* taking the King as he was hunting, entreated him to deale fauorably with *Perenus*. For all that, *Perenus* could not obtaine that his cause might be openly heard, but was committed to safe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall prison: but whether it was for the mispriſion of new treason, or for reuenge of his old vnconstancy, is vncertaine. Thus three the only great Princes left of the Hungarian bloud, equally worthy of the Kingdome, *Valentine*, *Maylat*, and *Perenus*, snarled almost in like snares of enuy, cut off all hope of raising a King to their seditious and therefore miserable countrymen: when as *Perenus* lay too late bewailing his vnconstancy in perpetuall prison; and the other two fast in chaines neere vnto the Euxine sea, expected death the end of their miseries. This end had the wars taken in hand against the Turks by the generall consent of the Germans in the yeare 1542; which many thought might worthily be compared with the greatest losses of those times: when as King *Ferdinand* hauing in vaine spent a great masse of treasure (the fittest stay for the imminent war) and lost the opinion before conceiued of the strength of Germany; had now as a weake Prince, and subject to injury, prouoked the Turks him against, bold enough otherwise, but as then insolent for their late victories.

Perenus, Valentinus, & Maylat, three of the greatest nobility in Hungary, kept in perpetuall prison.

1543 *Polinus* the French Kings Embassadour still following the Turks Court, ceased not by all meanes to solicite *Solyman*, with his gallies to aid the King his Master in the inuasion of the Dominions of *Charles* the Emperour, in Italy, Sicily, and Spaine. In which sute he was so crossed by *Solyman* the eunuch Bassa, then Visier, that he was almost in dispaire of speed: for the malicious Eunuch being himselfe a great sea-man, and enuying the honour of *Barbarussa* (who was to be imploied in that seruice) sought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to diminish his former glory; and concerning the present, protested openly as he sate in Councell, That he saw no other cause why the Turkish Emperour should to his great charge and the common danger, send out such a fleet, but to serue *Barbarussa* his owne turne. But *Solyman* hauing diligently heard, and deepely considered of that the Bassa's had said, rejected their opinions who would not he should haue giuen the French King any aid; and honourably decreed according to his promise, whatsoeuer should ensue thereof, to send his fleet vnto the King by *Barbarussa*. Two daies after, the French Embassadour, before in dispaire, but now reuiued with that Decree, was solemnly feasted by *Rustan Bassa* (*Solymans* sonne in law) and by *Solyman* the Eunuch Bassa: for so it was their great Masters pleasure, both of them joying of him for the friendship confirmed betwixt the two Princes by sending this fleet. After which, diuers gifts were bestowed vpon the Embassadour and his chiefe followers; and at such time as he was to take his leaue, *Solyman* gaue him great charge of his Nauy, that it might be safely kept, and so after the seruice done, againe returned: and withall deliuered him letters vnto King *Francis*, wherein after the glorious rehearsall of his proud titles, he writ vnto him as followeth.

Solyman granteth to send his fleet by Barbarussa to aid the French king against the Emperour.

Solymans letters to the French king.

We haue vpon a brotherly bounty granted vnto Polinus *your Embassadour, such and so great a fleet as you haue desired, throughly furnished for all assaies: whose direction we haue commanded* Hairaden *our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment proceed against the Enemy. But you shall doe well and friendly, the wars once happily ended, to send backe againe my fleet to Constantinople. All things shall vndoubtedly fall out according to your owne desire and mine, if you shall carefully take heed that* Charles *the Spanish King your perpetuall enemy, doe not againe deceiue you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then shall you bring him to a most indifferent peace, when you haue brought vpon his countries all the calamities of War.*

Polinus

A *Polinus* taking his leaue of *Solyman* then lying at Hadrianople, returned to Conſtantinople, where he found *Barbaruſſa* with an hundred and ten gallies and forty gallions, ready to put to ſea, which he had with incredible celerity rigged vp and furniſhed. And ſo ſetting forward the eight and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1543, and paſſing the ſtreight of Helleſpontus, he arriued firſt at Cariſtius in Eubœa; and from thence to Malea, where he was by contrary winds caſt into the bay of Lacedemon, and there ſtaied nine daies before he could double the cape of Metapanium, called in antient time Tenarus: After that he came to Methon, and from thence croſſing the Ionian, came to the ſtreit of Meſſana: where the Turkiſh pyrats being come with their galliots within the ſight of Rhegium, began to land their men. They of Rhegium ſeeing ſo great a fleet, and the Turks already landed, fled out of the city for feare; but the ca-
B ſtle was ſtill kept by *Didacus Caietanus* a Spaniard, who refuſed to haue any parly with *Polinus* the French Embaſſador, and with ſhot out of the caſtle ſlew certaine of the Turks; wherewith the reſt being inraged, brake into the city, and finding it deſolate ſet it on fire, ſore againſt the will of *Polinus* and *Barbaruſſa*, who ſought to haue found out the authors thereof, and to haue puniſhed them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great Ordnance were landed and planted againſt the Caſtle, which with a few ſhot ſo terrified the Captaine, already troubled with the crying out of his wife, that he without any more ado yeelded himſelfe and the Caſtle withall therein, into the hands of the Enemy: vnto whom with his wife and children, *Barbaruſſa* at the requeſt of the French Embaſſador granted both life and liberty: the reſt he ſhut vp in a church, and gaue the
C ſpoile of the Caſtle to his ſouldiers. There was in the garriſon of the Caſtle about ſeuenty Spaniards, but many mo citiſens, which were all carried away priſoners. One of the Captains daughters, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beauty, had with her good grace ſo warmed the withered affection of the old Pyrat *Barbaruſſa*, that he (now fitter for the graue than for marriage) became amorous of her perſon: ſo that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superſtition, he made of her as of his wife: inſomuch that certaine moneths after he welcommed and bountifully entertained the Captaine as his father in law, comming to ſee his daughter at the Port called Portus Herculis in Tuſcany, where the Turks fleet then lay. *Barbaruſſa* ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Italy, came to Oſtia, in the mouth of the riuer Tiber, and brought ſuch a feare vpon the city of Rome, that the Citiſens were ready ge-
D nerally to haue forſaken the city; had not *Polinus* by his letters to *Rodolphus* the Cardinall, then the great Biſhop *Paulus* his Legat in the City, in part ſtaied the ſudden tumult. The Biſhop himſelfe was then at Buxetum, a towne betwixt Cremona and Placentia, trauelling (in ſhew) with the Emperor, to haue made a peace betwixt him and the French King; but labouring in ſecret to haue bought of him the Dukedome of Millan, for *Octauius* his kinſeman the Emperors ſonne in law. *Polinus* his letters written to the Cardinall at Rome, and ſent by the Gouernor to Tarracina, were to this effect:

Barbaruſſa amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter.

The French embaſſadours letters to comfort Rodolph the Cardinall the Popes Legat in Rome.

This fleet which is by Solyman *ſent for the defence of France by* Barbaruſſa *his Admirall, is by his appointment at my command: ſo that it is not to hurt any but our enemies. Wherefore make it knowne to*
E *the Romans and others dwelling alongſt the coaſt of the Popes territory, That they feare of vs no hoſtility; for the Turks will neuer violate the faith of their Emperor, ſolemnly giuen vnto me: and you know moſt aſſuredly, that the French King deſireth nothing more, than that the eſtate of Rome might not only be kept in ſafety, but alſo flouriſh moſt glorioufly, and be therefore preſerued from all injury. Farewell.*

In like manner he alſo comforted vp them of Neptunianum and Oſtia, ſo that they brought vnto the Turks all manner of victuall; and ſometime for foure ſhepe or a couple of oxen redeemed a good priſoner taken in ſome place of the kingdome of Naples. Yet for all this, the Romans did not ſo much credit the Embaſſadors promiſe in the behalfe of the Turks good dealing, but that many of the weaker ſort fled out of the city into the country by night, al-
F though the chiefe Magiſtrats did what they might to haue ſtaied them. When *Barbaruſſa* had thus lien three daies in the mouth of the riuer Tibur, and there watered, he paſſed alongſt the coaſt of Etruria and Liguria, without doing any harme; and ſo ſailed directly to Marſeilles. Where leauing him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French kings further pleaſure, we will againe returne vnto *Solyman*, who at the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſpoiling the fron-

Solyman commeth with a great army into Hungary.

tiers of the Emperors Dominions in Italy, came with a great army into Hungary, for the more G
assured possession of that Kingdome, where after he saw King *Ferdinand* so much longed. And
because he would make all sure before him, he sent *Amurathes* Gouernour of Dalmatia, and
Vlemas the Persian Gouernour of Bosna, to besiege Walpo, a strong towne scituate vpon the
riuer Dranus, not far from Exek, famous for the ouerthrow of the Christian army vnder *Cazzi-*
aner: after whom followed also *Achomates* the great commander of his Europeian horsemen.
This towne (part of *Perenus* his possessions) was against all these forces kept and worthily de-
fended by *Perenus* his wife (her husband then lying in prison at Vienna) and her friends by the
space af three moneths; but was at last by the treacherous soldiers deliuered to the enemy, to-
gether with their Generall; whom when they could by no meanes persuade to consent to the
yeelding vp thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the last, they tooke him perforce, H
The Castle of Walpo trecherously yeelded, and the Traitors justly rewarded,
and so deliuered him with the towne to the Turks: who receiued him with all courtesie, and
vsed him honourably: but those traiterous souldiers, whether it were in detestation of their
treachery, or for the spoile of them, were all put to the sword; the just reward of their treason.
The rest of the Citisens were taken by the Turks to mercy, and well vsed. The Bishop and
chiefe men of Quinque Ecclesiæ (a famous city not far off on the other side of Dranus) hea-
ring of the losse of Walpo, and terrified with the greatnesse of the Turks army, fled for feare,
leauing none but the meaner sort of the people in the City, who willingly yeelded the same
vnto the Turks. The next towne of any strength was Socolosia, belonging also to *Perenus*;
which for a while held out against the Turks, for that diuers Gentlemen of the country which
were fled into the City, encouraged the Citisens to stand vpon their defence. But after much I
harme done on both sides, when they were no longer able to hold out, they retired into the
Castle, in hope to haue so saued their liues and liberty by their yeelding: but *Amurathes*
was so offended with them, that he would come to no reasonable composition, or promise
them any thing more, than that they should at their pleasure come forth: and so as they came
out of the gate slew them euery mothers sonne, thereby to terrifie others from making like re-
sistance.

Solyman commeth with his army to Strigonium.

Solyman vnderstanding of all these things, gaue those towns which were taken, to *Amurathes*
the Generall: and hauing put all things in readinesse, departed from Buda with all his army to
besiege Strigonium, which was then kept by *Liscanus* and *Salamanca*, two proud couetous Spa-
niards, with a garrison of 1300 soldiers, whereof some few were Spaniards and Italians, and the K
rest Germanes. *Paulus* Bishop of Strigonium got himselfe out of the city betimes, dispairing
of all mercy if he should haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whose intermission he had
bin once before reconciled to King *Iohn*, and had again reuolted from him to King *Ferdinand*.
The castle of Strigonium was scituat vpon a high hill ouerlooking Danubius running vnder-
neath it, the walls were built euen without any flankers, after the old manner of building be-
fore the inuention of guns: for which cause *Vitellius* and *Torniellus* two expert captaines (the
yeare before sent from the King to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were of
opinion, that the city could hardly be defended, if it were besieged by any strong Enemy; be-
ing subject also vnto a hill not far from the gates of the city. Against which inconueniences
the old garrison soldiers which wintred in Strigonium, cast vp new bulwarks and fortificati- L
ons, and after the manner of windy headed men, making great boast before the danger, what
they would do, seemed to wish for the comming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous ene-
my had with his tents couered the fields and mountaines round about the City, and withall
brought a gallant fleet vp the riuer, all those brags were laid in the dust, & euery man began to
grow doubtfull of his own safety: for that they being but few (although men of good worth)
were to withstand the infinite number of such enemies, as oftentimes vsed most desperatly to
expose their liues to all maner of dangers. This their feare was also increased by the comming
of certain messengers from *Solyman*, who vnderstanding of what nation the garrison consisted,
sent vnto the city three of his owne gard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a
German, all renegat Christians; that euery one of them might without an interpreter speake M
vnto their countrymen in their own language: These men admitted into the city, offered great
rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to such as would in time yeeld: de-
nouncing all torture and extremities vnto them which should endure the summons of the
cannon. Whereunto it was answered by the Captaines, That those faithfull and valiant soul-

diers

A diers,who had repoſed their laſt hopes in their armes,were neither to be won by gifts,nor terrified with threats. With which anſwer the meſſenger returned, and the ſame day the Turks great ordnance was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the city, and the weakeſt part of the walls round about the city, ſo well pickt out by the Turks to be aſſaulted, as that they could not more skilfully or commodiouſly haue been choſen out of them which had within moſt diligently viewed euery thing:ſo that it is to be thought that the Chriſtians wanted not only fortune againſt the Turks, but alſo faith amongſt themſelues. *Salamanca* diſtruſting the fortification of the ſuburbs, retired into the city, contrary to that he had before vainely boaſted. *Achomates* Generall of the Europeian horſemen,laied ſiege to that part of the wall which was next to the Biſhops gardens: *Vlemas* the Perſian beſieged the tower neere vnto the gate
B towards Buda: the Aſapi or common ſoldiers were by their captains brought on to dig trenches and caſt vp mounts,as was thought moſt conuenient. It is incredible to be ſpoken, with what fury the great ordnance was diſcharged without ceaſing; inſomuch that the tower with a great part of the wall neere vnto it,ſhaken with continuall battery, fell downe with ſuch violence, as if all had been ſhaken with a moſt terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to ſtand vpon the wals,but that the Ianizaries with their harquebuſiers out of their trenches,and from their mounts,would moſt certainly fetch him off: and many which ſtood within farther off,were with the Turks arrowes falling from high as if it had been out of the aire, grieuouſly wounded. But that which moſt troubled the defendants,and did them greateſt harme,was the ſtones,which beaten in ſunder with the great ſhor,and not to be auoided,did with their pieces
C kill or maime the ſouldiers neere hand. With which dangers they were enforced to forſake the vttermoſt wall,and to caſt vp new fortifications within, that they might with leſſe danger defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to aſſaile the breach: thrice they deſperatly attempted to haue entred,and were alwaies with loſſe repulſed. In which aſſaults, amongſt others, *Bultaces* Sanzacke of Selymbria,a man of great account among the Turks,was loſt. Whileſt the defendants were thus buſied, many of the ſouldiers and marriners which came vp the riuer with all things neceſſary for the army, from Buda,went on ſhore,and lay in the ſuburbs of the city in ſuch ſecurity,as if there had been no enemy nigh: which thing they in the city perceiuing, ſuddenly ſallied out vpon them fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew many of them before they could arme themſelues, and draue the reſt to their fleet: ſo that betwixt
D fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them ſlaine. *Zimar* a Perſian, Admirall of the Fleet, in reſcuing of them which to ſaue their liues fled vnto the riuer, was ſhot through with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, and the Turks hauing in many places ſore ſhaken the wall,did with greater force daily aſſaile the City,and the defendants with their continuall loſſe, and out of all hope of reliefe, were more and more diſcouraged;an old Calabrian enginer which had long time ſerued king *Ferdinand*,fled out of the city to the Turks;who being courteouſly entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Baſſaes of many things concerning the ſtrength and ſtate of the city, ſatisfied them in all that they deſired; and further, directed them in planting their batteries in places moſt conuenient for the ſpeedy taking of the towne. In the meane time whileſt the Turks were with reſtleſſe labour
E battering the walls, and working in their mines, it fortuned that a gilt braſen Croſſe which ſtood vpon the top of the ſteeple of the Cathedrall Church,was by the continuall ſhooting of the Turks thereat,at length beaten downe: at the ſight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the ſuperſtitious manner of that nation taking the chance as a token of good lucke, cried out preſently, *Strigonium is won*.

The ſtout anſwere of the Captains.

The terrible battery of the Turks at Strigonium.

The Turkes repulſed thrice at the aſſault of the breach.

A Chriſtian fugitiue diſcouereth the ſtrength and ſtate of the City vnto the Turks.

Liſcanus and *Salamanca* fearfully conſulting of the euent of the ſiege,and ſecretly conferring together,reſolued to ſaue themſelues,and to giue vp the towne. *Liſcanus* was no great ſoldier, and yet by continuall ſpoile growne exceeding rich,and therefore thought it but folly to buy the name of a reſolute captain at too deare a price, with the loſſe of his life and wealth. The like feeling was alſo in *Salamanca*,who preferred the ſafety of himſelfe & of that which he had
F got in long ſeruice,before all credit & honor were it neuer ſo great. This their purpoſe was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was noiſed abroad among the common ſouldiers, of whom almoſt the third part were now either ſlain,or with wounds or ſicknes grown weake: yet were they all of opinion generally, that they were ſtill ſtrong enough to defend the towne. But the vnder Captains and Antients vſing to flatter their Generals,liked well of the motion, to yeeld vnto

Solyman vpon reasonable conditions; rather than to expose themselues to most certaine death, G
which should nothing better King *Ferdinands* cause. Not long after, an Antient was by night
let downe ouer the wall; and hauing by an interpreter receiued the Turks faith, called forth
Salamanca goeth out of Strigonium, toparly with the Turks about the yeelding vp of the same. *Salamanca*, that he might vpon better conditions go thorow with them for the yeelding vp of
the towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achomates*; before he went,
commanding them which defended the water tower next to the riuer side, a place of great dan-
ger, for safegard of their liues to get them into the city: who terrified with that news, and ha-
stily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the siege therof, perceiued; who sudden-
ly breaking in, slew such as were not yet gone, and possessed the castle. But *Salamanca* being
brought before the great Bassa's, when he had stood vpon many nice termes, & required many
things to haue bin granted him, obtained no more, but that they should without delay yeeld H
vp the city, and put themselues wholly to the mercy of *Solyman*. So the Spaniards being there
stayd, himselfe writ to *Liscanus*, how he had sped; willing him forthwith, if he loued his owne
Strigonium yeelded to the Turks by Liscanus the Spaniard. safety, to yeeld the city, without standing vpon further termes. *Liscanus* vpon receit of these
letters comming forth to the soldiers, declared vnto them the necessity of yeelding vp of the
town, and what hope there was to escape with life and liberty. But whilest the souldiers filled
with indignation, stood as men in doubt what to do, *Halis* commander of the Ianizaries came
vnto the gate, and with cheerfull rather than sterne countenance required to haue it opened vn-
to him, according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe: which was forthwith
opened by *Liscanus*, and the keies deliuered vnto him. The Ianizaries entring in peaceably into
the city, possessed themselues of the wals and fortresses round about, commanding the Christi- I
an soldiers to giue place, out of whom they chose all the beardles youths, and commanded the
rest to cast down their harquebusies & other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for
feare did, expecting nothing but some cruel execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous
enemy. Which their feare was the more increasep by a strange accident then vnluckily chan-
cing; for whilest the soldiers did as they were commanded, with their harquebusies cast their
flaskes full of pouder also, one of them suddenly tooke fire of a match which was by chance
cast in amongst them with fire in it, which firing the rest, blew about all the heape of weapons
among the Turks, which so filled them with anger and feare of some sudden treechery, that they
fell vpon the Christians and slew diuers of them: vntill such time as *Halis* (perswaded that it
was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Ianizaries to stay their fury. K
This tumult appeased, *Halis* caused proclamation to be made, That all such Christian soldiers
as would serue *Solyman* in his wars, should haue such place in his army as their quality requi-
red, with bountifull entertainment: yet of all the Christian soldiers were found only seuenty,
which carefull of their liues accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would vpon such as re-
fused exercise their wonted cruelty. *Halis* entertaining them courteously, sent them away with
the other youths whom he had before culled out, downe the riuer to Buda: the other soldiers
he tooke into his protection, and vsed their labor to help the Turks to make cleane the castle.
Liscanus the co-netous Spaniard merrily stript of all his wealth by Halis Captaine of the Ianizaries. But *Liscanus*, who to saue his gold had made shipwrack of his honor & reputation, was glad to
giue vnto *Halis* the faire chaine of gold which he had most couetously & insolently before ta-
ken from *Perènus*; when as *Halis* (who would otherwaies haue taken it from him by force) by L
way of military curtesie now craued it of him, as a strange kind of ornament among the Turks:
with which gift he was in hope to haue saued the rest of his coine. But fortune fauoured not
so much the couetous coward: for when he was about to depart away with his horses of ser-
uice which he kept very good, & had cunningly stuffed the saddles ful of gold, thinking so slily
to haue conueied it: the Turks laughing at him, tooke from him his horses furnished as they
were, saying, that he which was to go by water needed no horses. So was the couetous wretch
at once quit of the great wealth which he had in long time euil got. The captains with the rest
of the soldiers dispoiled of their armes, were conueied ouer the riuer of Danubius, and so tra-
uelled on foot to Possonium, where the County *Salme* by the commandement of the king ap-
prehended *Liscanus*, *Salamanca*, and some other of the captains for suspition of treason, & com- M
Solyman entreth into Strigonium, and there setteth vp the Mahometan superstition. mitted them to safe custody, there to answer for their cowardly yeelding vp of the city.
Solyman entred into Strigonium the tenth of August in the yere 1543, and there conuerting
Christian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan superstition, first sacrificed for his vi-
ctory (as he had before done in Buda) and after with all speed so strongly fortified the city,

as

A as if he would thereby for euer haue taken from the Christians all hope of recouering the same againe, deriding the sloathfull negligence of the Germans, who possessed of it foureteen yeares, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Ossainus* a valiant captaine Gouernor of Strigonium, and sending his Tartarian horsmen to spoile the country on the left hand, as far as Alba-Regalis; went himselfe to besiege the castle of Tatta, called in antient time Theodota. The garrison soldiers terrified with the losse of Strigonium, and the sight of the Turks army, vpon the first summons yeelded the castle without resistance, and were so suffered quietly to depart. That castle after the maner of the Turkish discipline, (who with few and those very strong holds keep their prouinces in subjection) was by *Solymans* commandement presently rased downe to the ground. *Torniellus* Generall of the Italians caused
B *Hannibali*, captaine of the castle, to haue his head strucke off, for his cowardly yeelding vp of the place he had taken charge of: thereby to admonish others, which had the charge of strong places, not to refuse an honourable death in defence of their country, for feare of an ignominious death attending their cowardise.

A cowardly captaine worthily rewarded.

Tatta thus laid in the dust, *Solyman* marched with his army towards Alba, syrnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary by an antient custome vsed there to be crowned, and also buried. Buda, Strigonium, and Alba-Regalis, three principall cities of the kingdome of Hungary, stand in maner of a triangle, almost equally distant one from another, about a hundred miles in compasse. Buda and Strigonium are scituate vpon the riuer of Danubius: but Alba standeth more into the land, strongly seated in the middest of a great lake, but not so wholesomly, es-
C pecially in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreasing, and grosse vapours arising with the heat of the Sunne. From the city thorow the marish or lake, vnto the firme land, lie three broad and high causeys (in manner of the strakes of a cart wheele) well built with faire houses and gardens on either side, and a broad way in the middle, wherby men passe in and out of the city. At the end of euery causey toward the land were cast vp strong bulwarkes, which the citisens vsed not to watch but in dangerous times of war: so that by these bulwarkes, the houses of the suburbs standing vpon these causeys, were safe from the danger of the enemy, the lake filling vp all the spaces betwixt the causeys: which, what for the depth, what for mud, flags, and bulrushes, growing in it, was not by horse or man to be passed thorow. And the city it selfe standing in the midst of the lake, compassed round about with a strong wall, and a deep
D ditch alwaies full of water, was hardly to be besieged: for which causes a great number of the country people vpon the comming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cattell, as vnto a most sure hold. In the city lay in garrison two companies of Germans, and 200 horsemen, vnto whom were joyned 500 Hungarian horsemen, such as in time of peace liued by robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Vsarous*: vnto these, the Italian County *Torniellus*, who with his Italians was come as far as Iauarinum, or Rab, sent foure captaines with their companies, such as were most forward in that seruice: after whom followed *Barcotius*, captain of the Kings guard, with a company of horsemen, appointed by the King for Generall. Who was no sooner come into the city, but newes was brought of *Solymans* approch. Whereupon he in hast called together the other captaines, with *Birrous* then Major of the city, and other the chiefe citisens to
E consult with them, What was best to be done for the defence of the city, but especially, Whether the suburbs of the city, standing vpon those three broad causeys, were to be destroied or not? that so the city standing in the middest of the great marrish, might both with lesse labor and danger be defended. This question was seriously debated, and great reasons alledged: at last the citisens cried out with one voice, against the matter and said, That they would neuer suffer those goodly suburbs, wherein were so many churches and faire buildings as might compare with the city it selfe, to be so shamefully destroied, to the vtter vndoing of so many rich citisens: for what could be (said they) more dishonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging of the barbarous enemy, to shew such a token of extreame feare; and with their owne hands to burne and destroy those stately buildings, which might by strong hand be well
F enough defended against the enemy, if they did not play the shamefull cowards. Of which opinion with the citisens was also *Octauianus Serosactus* an Italian Captaine; alledging that both the City and the suburbs might both with like danger be defended: forasmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the marrish, and if the worst should happen, the defendants might yet safely enough retire into the City. At last standing vp as one thrust forward

Solyman goeth to Alba Regalis.

The description of Alba Regalis.

The citisens of Alba will not suffer the suburbs to be destroied.

ward,both with the publicke hard fortune and his owne, said, *Valiant gentlemen, what shew will you giue of your valor, or what honor shall you haue of your seruice? If you shall defend so famous a city, by deforming of it your selues,and cutting off the suburbs,as it were the armes thereof, before the danger, vpon too hasty desperation? Verily you shall do nothing, either in the seruice of the King,or the honour of your selues,except this city (if God so please) be of you whole and sound valiantly defended.* Vpon this speech they all arose,the wiser sort and of greatest experience giuing place to the importunity of the ignorant and simple.*Barcotius* himselfe full of care, and ouercome with the vain opinion of the greater part, yeelded also vnto that fatall resolution of sauing the suburbs. *For it often falleth out, that they, who wisely weighing dangers in the ballance of reason, and do therefore fearefully resolue of the euent of things, and doe thereupon oftentimes giue more hard and resolute judgement of things than men of greater courage; yeeld neuertheless to be partakers of other mens follies, yea euen to most assured death, rather than by maintaining their fearefull opinion, to be deemed cowards.* So fell it out with *Barcotius* the Generall,who setting a good countenance on the matter which nothing liked him,went out to the souldiers,declaring vnto them the reasons why the suburbs were to be defended: exhorting them with like valour on their parts to answer that honourable resolution,promising to prouide what soeuer should be necessary for the obtaining of the victory; assuring them of great rewards and preferment, which should by their good seruice deserue the same. Hereupon the suburbs were by the common labour of the soldiers and the citisens quickly fortified,the great ordnance in places conuenient orderly planted,and watch and ward kept by their captains and their companies by their turns day & night.But the Turks drawing neere to the city,bent their forces only against the suburbs of the gate leading towards Buda: for that they perceiued the marish was in that place drier than the other,and the sandy ground more vnfit for the making of bulwarks,& other fortifications for the safety of the defendants, than in the other places where the ground yeelded better turfe. *Barcotius* perceiuing the enemies purpose, drew all the Italians and Germans from the other gates into the suburbs of the gate of Buda,leauing the country people which were fled into the city,& the citisens, in their places. At the first comming of the Turks,the Hungarian and German horsmen, with the Italian footmen,sallied out of the suburbs,and after certain light skirmishes retired. Which maner of fight was continued by the space of three daies without any great harme don on either side:for the captains had warily commanded,That the souldiers should not aduenture out too far.But after that *Solyman* himselfwas come,and had with the multitude of his tents beset the city far and neere,to the terror of the beholders;the Christians shut vp all the gates,and sallied out no more.Which thing caused the wild Hungarian *Vsarons* (vsed to open skirmishes)to prouide for themselues in time,and not to suffer themselues to be coupt vp (as they termed) within the wals of the city:so for fashion sake,asking leaue to be gone (who were not against their wils to be staied) they by night departed, being not to be intreated by the Generall or citisens to stay,and by knowne waies escaped thorow the woods from the enemy.In the mean time the Turks were come with their winding trenches within shot, and with their arrowes and small shot so scoured the top of the bulwarke, that no man could there possibly appeare but he was streight wounded: and such was the fury of the great artillery, that it had in short time battered in sunder the planks and timber which kept in the sandy mould, wherof the fortresse was made, more for shew than for strength; in such sort that the great shot flying quite through all, slew and wounded many that were a far off: in which distresse of the defendants, the Turks Asapi with small danger filled vp the ditches of the bulwarke, and diuers places of the marrish with earth and wood,which they brought continually from a wood thereby with six hundred waggons,so that in the space of twelue daies they had made a firme way for them to passe ouer vpon, both to the bulwarke and the suburbs; a worke before thought impossible to haue been performed. The ditches thus filled vp, the Turks valiantly came on,seeking by plaine force to enter the bulwarke. First came on the Asapi, whom as men of least worth the Turks captains vse to thrust to the first danger: after whom followed the horsmen,now on foot,with swords and targuets, or else their horsemens staues, couering the Ianizaries, who vpon their knees with their harquebusies sore gauled the defendants. This hot fight endured aboue three houres with equall hope and courage: but the Turks still relieued with fresh souldiers, repulsed the Christians, and gained the vttermost bulwarke: neuertheless the Italian fort was that day valiantly defended, the very women and religious helping to defend it:

The Turks with incredible labor fill vp the ditches and lake, and by plaine force assault the bulwark of the suburbs toward Buda.

A it: in which assault a tall Hungarian woman, whose courage far exceeded the weakenesse of her sex, thrusting in amongst the souldiers vpon the top of the fort, with a great sythe in her hand at one blow strucke off two of the Turks heads, as they were climing vp the rampier. This assault was giuen the nine and twentieth of August, on which day the Turks had before taken Belgrade, and also slaine king *Lewis* at the battell of Mohatchz; and were therefore after their superstitious manner in obseruation of their fortunate and vnfortunate daies, in good hope to haue then taken the city: wherein they were much deceiued, being not able at that time further to enter, but enforced againe to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, sent for *Abraham*, *Achomates*, and *Halis* (the chiefe captains in that assault) into his tent, and reproued them sharply, for that the bulwarke being so valiantly and fortunatly won, they had not with more cou-

B rage prosecuted the victory, but cowardly (as he thought) giuen it ouer, being in a manner already won: and therefore with sterne countenance commanded them to prepare all things ready within three daies for a fresh assault, and neuer to returne vnto him, except they did win the city. Wherunto the captains answered no more (for were they neuer so guiltlesse, they might not before him stand to excuse themselues) but that they would in short time accomplish his desire. Wherefore hauing made all ready, and encouraged the souldiers to this last assault, they terribly assailed the rampiers, and brought a great feare vpon the defendants: for taking the benefit of a thick mist (as it oftentimes chanceth in marrish grounds) they were with great silence (contrary to their manner) got vp to the top of the rampiers, and come to handy blowes, before they were well discouered. The fight was for the time fierce and terrible: but

C the Ianizaries preuailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians also, so that now well was he that could run fastest towards the city. But that their hasty flight little auailed, when as they were to passe out by a little narrow gate in maner of a wicket: & they in the city, without regard of them that fled, had plucked vp the draw bridge ouer the ditch. For naturally it commeth oftentimes to passe, that the feare of the present danger, without blushing excuseth our foule dealing. So the barbarous and fierce enemy pursuing the flying Christians at the heeles all the length of those suburbs with most cruel execution, many notable men, some fighting, some flying, were there slain: amongst whom was *Octauianus Seroſactus*, author of the euil counsell wherof ensued that calamity. *Barcotius* the Generall flying on horsbacke to the little gate, which was not to be passed thorow, and crying in vaine to them that

D fled, to haue the great gate opened, was by the comming of the Ianizaries slaine: whose head and right hand full of rich rings, was by the barbarous enemy carried about in derision vpon a launce. The rest of the flying multitude finding the little gate shut vp with the bodies of the dead, and the bridge malitiously drawn vp, desperatly threw themselues into the deep ditch; where some of them labouring to swim out, were caught by the legs and arms by others that could not swim, & both together drowned. Some hardly crawling ouer, were shot in the head or backe with the Turks arrowes: other some sticking fast in the mud, were as if it had been in sport shot to death by the Turkes: some few there were which got ouer and were saued.

There was yet left in the city the Generall of the German horsemen, and *Vscasades* of Cremona, an Italian captain; these two gathering the remainder of the souldiers which were left,

E placed them vpon the wals: but the citisens were strucke with such a feare, that they could not tell which way to turn themselues. For now *Birrous* the major, with the Aldermen and other chiefe citisens, seeing the slaughter of the Italians and Germanes, were so ouercome with despaire, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to be reposed in making of any further resistance, but only in the mercy of *Solyman*. Wherfore *Birrous* spake vnto the Turks from the wall, That he might safely send Embassadors to *Solyman*, to intreat with him vpon reasonable conditions, for the yeelding vp of the city: which thing *Achomates* easily granted. With these Embassadors for the citisens, went also the Generall of the German horsemen, and *Carolus Rufus* an Italian captaine (who of all others had borne himselfe most valiantly in all the assaults, to the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the safety & liberty of the soldiers.

F The Embassadors being brought before the great Bassaes, requested, That yeelding the city, the citisens might enjoy their liues & liberty: wherunto they were so answered, as that it seemed they should not all be pardoned, yet was the general feare wel diminished, for that the punishment respected but some few. *Rufus* was curteously entertained; and easily obtained, that the Italians might in safety depart with bag & baggage to Vienna: the like grace also had the Gene-

A notable act of an Hungarian woman.

The suburbs of Alba Regalis won by the Turks.

The miserable slaughter of the flying Christians

Embassadours sent to Solyman to entreat upon conditions for the yeelding of the city.

Generall of the Germans for his ſoldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, offered vnto *Rufus* honourable entertainment, if he would haue ſerued *Solyman:* which when he refuſed as bound to king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him a rich cloake wrought with flowers of gold. The Embaſſadors returning into the city, and telling how they had ſped, deliuered the citiſens of a great feare. Shortly after the city being yeelded, *Achomates* by open proclamation in the market place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themſelues ready againſt the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them: he alſo ſtreightly charged the citiſens to keep their houſes, vntill the ſtrange ſoldiers were departed. At the time appointed the Italians and Germans ſet forward, conducted by *Homares* with a company of the Turks horſemen, who faithfully defended them againſt the Tartars, running vp and downe the country after ſpoile: neither was any thing taken from them but their dags, which the German horſmen after a new faſhion carried at their ſaddle bowes; theſe the Turks greatly deſired, delighted with the nouelty of the inuention, to ſee them ſhot off with a firelocke without a match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their trauell ſet vpon by the Hungarians with whom they had many hot skirmiſhes, and had hardly eſcaped vnſpoiled, had they not bin reſcued by the Kings ſoldiers lying in garriſon in the Caſtles as they paſſed alongſt the country. The few which remained, after many troubles came at laſt to Vienna, more like ghoſts than men.

Solyman entreth into Alba Regalis.

Solyman entering quietly into the city, firſt viſited the Sepulchres of the Hungarian Kings, and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians ſhould feare of him no harme; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and ſo to reſtore againe that entire kingdome vnto *Stephen* the right heire of King *Iohn*. But within three or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citiſens into a field not far off, wherein the bodies of condemned men were wont to be buried, as if he would there haue taken an oath of them for their fidelity: whether, after they were all aſſembled in the beſt manner they could, as to ſome ſolemne feaſt, the cruel tyrant (without regard of his faith or promiſe) cauſed them all to be ſlaine. Howbeit ſome report, that he cauſed them only to be put to death which bare office in the city, at ſuch time as they reuolted from the obedience of the Queene and the infant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German ſoldiers; and that he ſent the reſt into exile to Buda and Belgrade. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibeius* Gouernour of Alba Regalis; and *Mahometes* ſometime Gouernour of Belgrade, his Lieutenant Generall for the whole gouernment of that kingdome, returned againe toward Conſtantinople (Winter now beginning to approch) after he had that Summer won Strigonium and Alba-Regalis, two of the chiefeſt cities of Hungary. All this while king *Ferdinand* had haiſed no power worth the ſpeaking of, to withſtand ſo mighty an enemy; only at Vienna lay ſeuenthouſand Germans and foure thouſand Italians, at ſuch time as *Solyman* departed from Alba-Regalis, which were ſhortly after diſcharged.

Solymä cauſeth the chiefe Citiſens of Alba Regalis to be ſlain.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Whiles *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of Alba-Regalis, he ſent his Tartarian horſmen which ſerued him to ſmall purpoſe in the ſiege, to ſpoile the country round about: theſe ſauage people doing much harme, were in diuers places circumuented by the Hungarians, & about three thouſand of them ſlaine: one of them being taken priſoner, had found in his knapſacke halfe a child, of about two yeares old, the loathſome remainder of his barbarous feeding.

Barbaruſſa all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before ſaid) at Marſeilles, fretted exceedingly, that he had to his diſhonour vndertaken ſo long a voiage by ſea, to pleaſure him which was not able (as he ſaid) to direct his own deſignes to any certain reſolution, but ſhamefully ſuffered the beſt time of the yeare for ſeruice, negligently to paſſe away without any thing doing; the blame whereof would (as he ſaid) be imputed to him at Conſtantinople: and that *Solyman* who deſired to aid the King his friend and confederat, and by all means to annoy his enemies, would take in euill part to haue it reported, that he had with ſo great charge ſet out ſo great a fleet, and ſo far off, to helpe his friend hardly beſet with his enemies, and to haue done nothing: beſides that, he tooke on like a Turke, that he who in time of ſeruice neuer vſed negligently to let ſlip the leaſt opportunity, ſhould now blemiſh his former credit and eſtimation, by lying ſtill all that Summer in the harbour of Marſeilles, where his ſoldiers grew lazy with nothing doing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the King, told him of the proud Turks great diſcontentment for lacke of imploiment: and returning to *Barbaruſſa*, brought order from the

A the king, that he ſhould lay ſiege to Nice a city of Prouince, then holden by the Duke of Sauoy. This city ſtanding vpon the ſea, was by one of the French kings for a great ſum of mony pawned vnto the Duke: which mony, King *Francis* had many times offered to haue repaied, but could neuer get the city out of the Dukes hands. Vnto which ſeruice, the French King ſent alſo his fleet of two and twenty gallies and eighteen ſhips, wherein were imbarked eight thouſand footmen, and victuall for many daies. This fleet departing from Marceilles, keeping cloſe by the ſhore, came to the port called Monoc; whither two daies after came *Barbaruſſa* alſo with an hundred and fifty gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandement from the king writ vnto the State of Genoa, That they ſhould not feare of that great fleet any hoſtility, which was not to hurt any but them of Nice, and not them neither if they would yeeld themB ſelues. For more aſſurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers Genoa captiues, which had long time bin chained in their gallies, and courteouſly ſet them at liberty, and ſent them home without ranſome. After that, he friendly exhorted the citiſens of Nice, to yeeld themſelues againe vnto their antient and lawfull Prince, renowned for his bounty and power; rather than to aduenture their State to all extremities for that poore and diſtreſſed Duke, who betweene the Emperor and the French king, diſpoiled of the greateſt part of his dominions, ſaw no other end of his miſeries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the one or to the other, that ſhould firſt lay hand thereon. Wherunto the magiſtrats of the towne anſwered, That they knew no other Prince or ſouereigne, but *Charles* their Duke: wherefore he ſhould deſiſt farther to ſolicite them by letters or meſſengers, whom they would make no C other account of but as of their enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their forces, laid ſiege to the towne in three places. The citiſens had but a little before newly fortified their wals, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, captaine of the caſtle, and one of the Kuights of the Rhodes, a man of great experience; who long before taken at ſea by pyrats, had ſometime ſerued *Barbaruſſa*, and therefore perſuaded the citiſens as reſolute men to withſtand the Turks. Which, that they ſhould more conſtantly performe, he tooke their wiues and children and weaker ſort of the people into the caſtle; and from thence furniſhed the citiſens with all things neceſſary for their defence. The City was at once in diuers places battered by the Turks and French, both by ſea and land: ſo that at laſt the Turks had beaten downe one of the new built bulwarks, and made ſo faire a breach, that with their enſignes diſplaid, they attempD ted to haue entred: whoſe forwardnes *Leo Strozza* (then ſeruing the French King with a band of Italians) imitating, ſought to haue entred alſo: but the citiſens ſtanding valiantly vpon their defence, manfully repulſed both the Turks and Italians, and cauſed them with loſſe to retire. In this aſſault were ſlaine about 100 Turks; and of *Strozza* his ſouldiers 22. Preſently after, *Barbaruſſa* with all his force began a freſh battery, in ſuch terrible maner, that the citiſens ſeeing their wals in diuers places opened, and the few ſouldiers they had, ſore wounded, and no hope to be in conuenient time relieued, began to parley with the French Generall from the wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the city; vpon condition, that they might in all reſpects liue vnder the French King as they had done vnder the Duke: for performance whereof, the Generall gaue them his faith. But *Polinus* fearing leſt the Turks ſhould violate this compoſiE tion, and for griefe of the loſſe of their fellowes, or for hope of the ſpoile, breake into the city, entreated *Barbaruſſa* to recall his ſouldiers, and to cauſe them to go aboord his gallies. For which cauſe not long after, the Ianizaries, as men deceiued of their hoped prey, were about to haue ſlaine both *Polinus* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbaruſſa*.

Nice in Prouince beſieged by the French and the Turks.

The Citiſens craue parley, & after yeeld the city.

The city thus yeelded, they began to conſult for the taking of the caſtle: the performance wherof conſiſted firſt in the aſſailing of the caſtle it ſelfe, & then in defending of the city from the ſudden ſallies of them in the caſtle; and likewiſe in defending of them which beſieged the caſtle, ſo that no enemy ſhould come to raiſe the ſiege: of which two things, *Barbaruſſa* put the French to choice which they would take, ſhewing himſelfe ready either to beſiege the caſtle, or to keepe the field. The French ſtanding in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old F Turk ſcorning their ſlow reſolution, & them alſo, as men vnfit for the ready accompliſhment of any martiall exploit; cauſed 7 pieces of battery, wherof 2 were of wonderfull greatnes, to be placed in a trice in a place moſt conuenient, & the ſame quickly intrenched & fortified, to the great admiration of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten downe the battlements of the wals, and centinel houſes, ſo that no man was able to ſhew himſelf vpon the wals.

The caſtle beſieged.

The

The Frenchmen likewiſe on the other ſide did with their great ordnance continually batter the caſtle: but with long ſhooting they came to ſuch want of ſhot and pouder, that *Polinus* was glad to requeſt, that he might either borrow or buy ſome of *Barbaraſſa*: whereat the Turke fretted and fumed exceedingly, That they ſhould in their owne country ſtand in need of his prouiſion, who at Marceilles had better fraughted their ſhips with wine, than with neceſſaries for the wars. For the rough and ſeuere old Turke could not forbeare to taunt them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promiſed at Conſtantinople; and that in ſuch rage, that he would threaten to lay hands vpon *Polinus*, who had brought him from Conſtantinople thither, whereas he muſt either loſe his honour, or hauing ſpent his ſhot and pouder, expoſe himſelfe and his fleet to all dangers. Wherefore being exceeding angry with the French, he ſuddenly called a counſell of his Captaines, and other chiefe afficers; giuing it out, That he would preſently returne toward Conſtantinople, ſeeing that among theſe cowardly and vnskilful men (as it pleaſed him to terme them) he found nothing ready or according to promiſe. Yet for all that, when he had chafed his fill, by the faire intreatance & large promiſes of the French General & *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was perſuaded to change his minde, and to continue the ſiege. But he was yet ſcarcely well pacified, and his mind ſet againe vpon the ſiege, but letters were intercepted from the great captaine *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, to *Paulus* captaine of the caſtle, wherein he requeſted him to hold out a while againſt the enemy, till that he, who had already ſent before his light horſemen, might come alſo himſelfe with his men at armes, who were vpon the way alongſt the Alps by the ſea ſide, and would in two daies with the ſlaughter of the Turks put him and his caſtle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the camp, ſuch a great and ſudden feare come vpon the Turks and Frenchmen (the night following the more to terrifie them prouing by chance very rainy and tempeſtuous) that they all forſooke their trenches and great ordnance, and laying downe their weapons, by narrow paths climing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the ſea ſide to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enemy to be ſeene, they were aſhamed of that they had done, and came againe to the ſiege. Not long after, when as the caſtle in all mens judgement was hardly to be battered, and ſtanding vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull ſucceſſe to be vndermined, it was generally thought good to raiſe the ſiege. The Turks vpon their departure brake into the city, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire.

Barbaruſſa in his rage threatneth to lay hands on Polinus, and to returne forthwith to Conſtantinople.

The Turks and French giue ouer the caſtle of Nice, and ſet fire on the city.

Barbaruſſa retiring with his fleet to Antipolis, came to anker at the Iſland Lerina, called of the mariners Margarita; at which time *Vaſtius* and the Duke of Sauoy, with *Auria* his fleet arriued at Villa Franca: in the entrance of which hauen, the gally wherein *Vaſtius* went, was like to haue bin loſt. Foure other gallies by force of ſudden tempeſt were driuen vpon the rockes, and ſo ſuddenly beaten in pieces by the ſurges of the ſea, that the gally ſlaues had no leiſure to ſtrike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordnance loſt. *Polinus* vnderſtanding this diſtreſſe of the enemy, ſent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbaruſſa*, to ſhew him the occaſion offered, & to perſuade him with all ſpeed to haſt thither with his fleet, as to a moſt aſſured victory. *Barbaruſſa* ſeemed to like well of the motion, and promiſed to go; yet he moued not, letted as was thought with the contrary wind, which then blew hard at Eaſt, and with the roughneſſe of the ſea. But the wind being fallen, and the ſea become calme, and he contrary to his wonted maner making no haſt, ſet ſlowly forward, and being a little on his way, came again to anker, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other captaines firſt maruelling, and afterward laughing thereat, ſcoffingly ſaid, That *Barbaruſſa* did but reaſon to deale kindely with *Auria*, as his brother and friend of his owne profeſſion, for that he had ſome yeares before receiued the like friendſhip at his hands, in letting him eſcape at Hippona, which he now honeſtly repaied him again. Whereunto *Barbaruſſa* both then and afterwards at Conſtantinople anſwered no otherwiſe, but, That he being an old commander, and halfe blind, ſaw more in the matter than all thoſe greene Captaines with their ſharpe ſight. Not long after, he returned againe to Marceilles, and put into the hauen of Tolon, called in antient time Taurenta. *Vaſtius* and the Duke comming to Nice, commended the Captaine of the Caſtle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turks fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Chriſtians. *Barbaruſſa* lying with his fleet at Tolon, and by the Kings officers entertained with all poſſible courteſie, deliuered fiue and twenty gallies to *Salec* the famous pyrat, and

Barbaruſſa derided by the Turks captains.

His anſwer to their taunts.

Aſſanes

A *Aſſanes* his nigh kinſman; who paſſing the bay of Narbona, rifled certain towns in Spain ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt, and about the promontory of *Venus* (called of the mariners Creum) took great prize; and in the hauen of Palamos took one merchant ſhip and a gally: with which prey they paſſed ouer to Algiers as they were commanded, there to winter, and with the firſt of the Spring to return againe to *Barbaruſſa* in Prouince. That Winter *Barbaruſſa* repairing his fleet, was furniſhed with many neceſſaries by the Genowaies, and ſpecially by *Auria* himſelf, who vnder the colour of redeeming of priſoners, willingly furniſhed the Turk with ſuch things as he wanted: for although he profeſſed himſelfe one of the Emperours Captaines, yet would he not ſhew an enemies mind, by the vnſeaſonable deniall of a little ſea furniture, leſt in ſo doing he ſhould haue hurt his natiue country Genoa, which he ſaw then ſubiect to the
B iniury of ſo great a fleet ſo nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbaruſſa* to winter in Prouince, and with the courſe of time turn a little out of the way, to ſee in *Muleaſſes* king of Tunes, the ſmall aſſurance the greateſt haue in higheſt place of worldly honour.

This Mahometan king, once before thruſt out of his kingdome by *Barbaruſſa*, and reſtored again by *Charles* the Emperour (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great fleet, and imagining nothing leſſe than that he ſhould come to the aid of the moſt Chriſtian King, doubted (not without cauſe) leſt it was prepared againſt himſelfe. Beſides that, diuers great cities of his kingdome, namely Conſtantina, Mahemedia, and Mahometa (called in antient time Cyrtha) Leptis & Adrumentum, were then holden by the Turks *Barbaruſſa's* fauorites. Wherfore fearing the worſt, about the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſailing along ſt the
C coaſt of Italy, he paſſed ouer into Sicily to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, and to haue obtained of him greater aid againſt the Turks. At his departure out of Africke, he committed the tuition of his kingdom to ſuch valiant men as he ſuppoſed would haue bim to him moſt faithfull: Firſt, he appointed *Mahometes* (then Maniphæt) to gouern the city, and *Corſus* (otherwiſe called *Fares*) his old ſeruant to keep the caſtle; leauing *Mahometes* his brother, and *Fares* his ſon, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captain of the caſtle of Guletta) as pledges, the one of his brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* his ſonne he committed the leading of his men of war for the defence of his kingdome againſt the Turks and Numidians. As he was paſſing out of Sicilia to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, he was by contrary winds driuen firſt to Caieta, and afterward to Naples, where he was by the Viceroy honorably entertained,
D and a houſe appointed for him richly furniſhed: the Neapolitans wondring at the ſtrange attire of the people, with the maner of their feeding, and curious plenty of all manner of ſweet perfumes; for into euery diſh they put in odors of exceeding price, ſo that it was well known, that a Peacock and two Pheaſants dreſſed after the manner of the kings kitchin, coſt aboue an hundred duckats: ſo that not only the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the houſe was ſo filled with the ſtrange & fragrant ſmell, that all they that dwelt neer therabouts were partakers of that vnuſuall and delicate perfume. From Naples he was about to haue trauelled by land vnto the Emperour, being then in conference with the Pope at Buxetum (fearing to aduenture the ſea, poſſeſſed by the enemies fleet) had not the Emperor by his letters willed him to ſtay ſtill where he was. But whilſt he made his abode at Naples, and carefully
E attended what courſe *Barbaruſſa* would take (who furniſhed with ſo great a fleet, was departed from Nice diſappointed of his purpoſe) he was by certain meſſengers aduertiſed out of Africa, That *Amida* his ſon was riſen vp againſt him, and poſſeſſing himſelfe of the kingdome, had ſlain his captains, polluted his wiues, and taken the caſtle of Tunes. With which news he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to paſſe ouer into Africke, and though late, yet as he might to remedy his domeſticall troubles, in hope to oppreſſe that rebellion in the beginning, and his ſonne alſo, before he could gather any ſtrength to reſt vpon. Wherfore he with all the haſt he could opened his coffers and entertained ſoldiers, the Viceroy giuing leaue to all ſuch baniſhed men as would, to come and giue their names to paſſe ouer as ſouldiers into Africke: vpon report whereof, ſuch a number of malefactors and condemned per-
F ſons came flocking to Naples, that it was thought a ſufficient army might haue been made of ſuch kind of men; euery one of them chuſing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamy of baniſhment, and proue the fortune of wars, than to liue wandring vp and downe the woods and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of theſe infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptiſta Lofredius* (a man well borne, but of a fierce and couetous diſpoſition) vndertooke the leading: he co-

Muleaſſes fearing the comming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italy, to craue aid of Charles the Emperor.

coſtly diſhes.

Amida riſeth againſt Muleaſſes his father, and vſurps the kingdome of Tunes.

Muleaſſes returneth into Africke to Guletta.

uenanting with *Muleaſſes* to haue three months pay before hand, leuied 1800 men; which he presently shipped, and keeping the greateſt part of their pay to himselfe, passed ouer with the King into Africke, and landed at Guletta. But how *Amida* rose vp against his father, and what was the end of that bloudy rebellion, should not be amisse briefly to rehearse. There were certain Noblemen of great authority about *Amida* when *Muleaſſes* departed, which at their pleasure ruled the yong Prince, who easily hearkened vnto their counsell, and followed the same: the chiefe of these was one *Mahometes* the sonne of *Bahamer*, who in the reigne of *Mahometes*, *Muleaſſes* his father, was Maniphæt, whom *Muleaſſes* (possessed of the kingdome) put shamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, because he had by hasty marriage deceiued him of *Rhahamana* a maiden of incomparable beauty, the daughter of *Abderomon* captain of the Castle, whom he most passionatly loued: for which cruell fact, *Mahometes* his sonne had long time conceiued a deadly hatred against *Muleaſſes*, which he had many yeres dissembled, that he might as occasion serued be the more cruelly reuenged. Next vnto him was another *Mahometes* syrnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleaſſes* was wont commonly to call his worst seruant. These two with a few others conspiring together, gaue it out, that *Muleaſſes* was dead at Naples, and before his death had most irreligiously (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Christian religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* moued, came vnto him, and persuaded him quickly to enter into his fathers seat, lest *Mahometes* his yonger brother (then lying in hostage with the Christians at Guletta) should by the fauour and help of *Touarres*, whose garrison was euer ready, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eighteene yeares old, resembling his Grandfather in name, fauor, and disposition, and therefore of the Citisens of Tunes best beloued. Wherfore *Amida* came in post hast out of the camp to Tunes, to lay first hand vpon his fathers Kingdome. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many stood maruelling that he was so rashly come into the City without his fathers commandment, *Mahometes* (appointed by *Muleaſſes* to gouerne the City) came out and sharply reproued him as guilty of high treason, persuading him to returne againe into the camp, and seeing him stay, by force of multitude thrust him out of the City. *Amida* deceiued of his expectation, got him out of the way into the pleasant country of Martia between Vtica and the ruines of old Carthage. But *Mahometes* Gouernour of the City, after he had repulsed *Amida*, got him with all speed by water to *Touarres* at Guletta, to know of him more assuredly, if any such euill news were brought from Sicily of the death of the King; and to complain of the rashnesse and intollerable presumption of *Amida*. Where staying somewhat long in discoursing with the Captaine, and afterwards returning to the City, he was suspected to haue practised with the Captaine, to make *Mahometes* (the pledge in Guletta) King in his fathers stead; for so the common voice went. The Moores are by nature a faithlesse people, hasty, suspitious, desirous of news, which true or false, they for the time interpret as serueth best their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen. So at the first there rose in the City a doubtfull rumor of the making of a new King; the suspition whereof more and more increasing, set all the City on an vprore. By occasion whereof, certain of the citisens to whom the very name of *Muleaſſes* was odious, speedily certified *Amida* (then in the gardens of Martia, sighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how all stood, and that now was the time to do himselfe good. He reuiued with that vnexpected news, and encouraged by the persuasion of *Bohamar* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; resolued to take hold vpon that good offer of fortune, which would not alwaies frown, & to follow his good hap. So in hast returning to Tunes, and entring in at the gate, which he then found open, ran presently to the Gouernours house, and finding him not at home, cruelly slew all his houshold, and with his bloudy company went presently to the Castle: where *Fares* the Captain seeking to haue kept him out, and boldly laid hands vpon his horses bridle to haue thrust him back, was by a desperat Æthyopian, one of *Amida* his followers, thrust through with a sword and slain: ouer whose body yet sprawling, *Amida* forcing his horse, brake into the castle with his friends, & finding *Mahometes* gouernor of the city, presently slew him also: and so by this means *Amida* in the space of an houre (a little before, a man in despair) obtained the city, the castle, and kingdom together. After that, he murthred his yonger brethren, & embrued with bloud, without shame polluted his fathers concubines. *Muleaſſes* landed (as we haue before said) at Guletta, with such forces as he had brought with him out of Italy; was aduised by

Amida thrust out of Tunes.

Amida returneth, and possesseth the kingdome.

A by *Tovarres* the Spaniard, not to aduenture with ſuch a handful of men to go to Tunes, before he were wel aſſured of the good diſpoſition of the citiſens toward him: and was the more erneſt with *Lofredius* not to go, becauſe the Viceroy had expreſly written, that he ſhould in no caſe go farther than Guletta, except the King according to his promiſe had a good ſtrength of the Numidians to ioyn with him. But certain of the Noblemen amongſt the Moors, who vnder the colour of friendſhip were fled out of the city, and had after the ſolemne manner of their nation, put their ſwords vnto their throats, and ſworn to be faithfull vnto him, wonderfully prickt forward both the King and *Lofredius* (too haſty of themſelues to their own deſtiny) bearing them in hand, that *Amida* vpon the firſt ſight of his father would forſake the City and betake himſelf to flight. So without any more ſtaying, *Muleaſſes* with enſigne diſplai- *Muleaſſes going to Tunes, by the way ouerthrowne.*
B ed ſet forward toward Tunes, *Lofredius* cheerfully following him; *Tovarres* requeſting them in vain to beware of the Turks trechery. *Muleaſſes* marching ſtill forward, was come ſo nigh that they might from the wals deſcry him; when ſuddenly a ſtrong troupe of Moores ſallied out at the gate with a terrible cry, and fiercely aſſailed him: whom the Kings horſmen valiantly receiued, many falling on both ſides. *Muleaſſes* in this hot skirmiſh fighting couragiouſly againſt his enemies, was wounded in the face, and bled exceedingly; which ſo diſcouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their backes and fled: when preſently a wonderfull number of horſe and foot ſuddenly iſſuing out of the oliue gardens, had beſet *Lofredius* and his ſouldiers round: vpon whom the Italians diſcharged certaine field pieces: but after they had once diſcharged them, they had no leiſure to charge them againe; for
C the barbarous enemy came on ſo thicke and ſo faſt, that the Italians ſeeing themſelues too weake, and compaſſed in round, let fall their weapons as men diſcouraged, and caſt themſelues into the lake, ſo by ſwimming and taking hold of the little boats, to ſaue themſelues from the enemies ſword: which boats ſtood theſe diſtreſſed men in great ſtead; for being furniſhed with ſmall pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly purſued them euen into the lake with their horſes. *Lofredius* as a man amaſed with the ſudden comming of the enemy, tooke the lake with his horſe, and was there vnhorſed by the enemy and ſlaine, as were diuers *Lofredius ſlaine.*
with him. Some few there were that fought couragiouſly, chuſing rather honourably to die in the midſt of their enemies, than ſhamefully to be ſtrangled in the ſtinking lake. *Muleaſſes* *Muleaſſes taken.*
ſoiled with his owne bloud and with the duſt, flying amongſt the reſt, was knowne and taken:
D nothing more bewraying him than his odoriferous perfumes. In this conflict 1300 Italians were loſt; the reſt which eſcaped *Tovarres* relieued, and ſhortly after ſhipped them ouer into Sicily, from whence they trauelled home to Naples, but ſo poore, as well ſhewed the miſery of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victory, was more carefull of nothing than to make his father vnfit for gouernment, which he did by cutting the ſight of both his eies *Amida puts out his fathers and brethrens eies.*
with a hot penknife: the like cruelty he vſed vpon *Nahazar* and *Abdallas* his brethren, then taken with his father. After that, he certified *Tovarres* Captaine of Guletta, That he had taken a few youths priſoners, which he would deliuer vnto him; and that he had bereft his father of his ſight, who had deſerued a worſe puniſhment, as he that had long before done the like to his brethren; but had yet left him his life, as an example to other tyrants, and to ſhew that he dealt
E not altogether vnmercifully with ſo perfidious a father: Laſt of all, he confirmed (vpon certaine conditions) the ſame league which his father had with him: which he well ſaw was to great purpoſe, eſpecially in the newneſſe of his kingdome. Neither did *Tovarres* refuſe the ſame, as ſtanding with his preſent profit: for vpon this agreement, *Amida* was to giue him certaine mony to pay his ſouldiers, and to deliuer him the priſoners he had taken, with the enſignes and body of *Lofredius*. For more aſſurance whereof he gaue *Sehites* his ſon then nine yeares old, in hoſtage; yet vpon condition, that if any aſſured peace could not be agreed vpon, but that they muſt needs enter into war, then *Tovarres* ſhould forthwith reſtore him his ſonne *Sehites* in ſafety. Theſe capitulations, although they ſeemed not vnreaſonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Tovarres* thought it not altogether agreeing with the honor of the Em-
F peror, that he ſhould enjoy the kingdome, who by moſt horrible treaſon and deteſtable villany had thruſt himſelfe thereinto without the Emperors leaue. Wherefore he entred into a new deuice to cal in the rightful heir, who might at the Emperors pleaſure (offended with the injury done by *Amida*) reigne in Tunes.

There was an exile amongſt the Numidians one *Abdamelech*, euer ſince the time that *Roſ-*

Touarres sends for Abdamælech Amida his elder brother.

cetes fled to *Barbaruſſa*. Him, becauſe he was *Muleaſſes* naturall brother, *Touarres* ſent for, put- G
ting him in hope of the kingdome, ſupported by *Anemſeah* a great Prince amongſt the Numi-
dians, who had all that long time curteouſly entertained him. Neither was *Abdamælech* ſlow
to accept the occaſion preſented, eſpecially incouraged thereunto by the Numidian prince his
good friend, and the predictions of the Aſtrologers, who had foretold him, That he ſhould die
king of Tunes. Which vain kind of diuination hauing in it no maner of aſſurance, yet cauſeth
great mindes oftentimes to vndertake great attempts beyond reaſon, which falling out with
more hap than they were with reaſon foretold, giueth ſome credit to that vanity, and cauſeth
thoſe cold prophets to be of ſome accounted as great wiſards. And to worke this feare, ſuch a
time was offered, as a better could not be wiſhed: for *Amida* hauing ſet all things in order as
he pleaſed in the city, and caſting no perill, was gon to Biſerta, to take order for his Cuſtoms. H
which was there great vpon fiſhing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keepe his promiſe, ſent backe *Se-*
hites, *Amida's* ſon, in a boat to Tunes, and receiued *Abdamælech*: who trauelling moſt part by
night, was ſecretly come to Guletta, and there reſting himſelfe and his horſes a few houres, to
preuent the fame of his comming, poſted in haſt with a troupe of his Numidian followers to
Tunes, and paſſing through the city, went directly to the caſtle, which he entred without reſi-
Abdamælech by policy obtaineth the Kingdome of Tunes. ſtance of the warders, ſuppoſing him to haue bin *Amida* come from Biſerta: for *Abdamælech*
had after the manner of the Moors couered his face with a skarfe, as if it had bin to haue kept
him from the ſun & the duſt, and by that happy ſlight got into the caſtle before it was known
who he was. The warders perceiuing their error, began as men amaſed now too late to betake
themſelues to their weapons, for in making reſiſtance they were quickly ſlain by the Numi- I
dians which came in with *Abdamælech*: who thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle (the chiefe ſtrength of
that kingdom) let in his friends, which were many in the city, by whom preſently he was ſa-
luted king: the reſt of the citiſens either well liking of the matter, or at leſt not daring for fear
Abdamælech dieth, and Mahometes his ſon is choſen King in his place. to ſtir. But as in theſe worldly things, for which men ſo vainly toil, is no aſſurance, ſo this new
king ſhortly after fel ſick and died, when he had reigned but 26 daies, and was afterwards roi-
ally interred. After whoſe death, his mighty friends, with the chief of the citiſens (perſuaded
and incouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) choſe *Mahometes* his ſon (a childe ſcarce 12 yeares
old) to reign in his fathers place, appointing *Abdalages* Maniphæt (brother to him who *Amida*
ſlew) *Abdelchirinus* Meſuar, *Schyriffus* (a great man in their Mahometan ſuperſtition) and *Pe-*
rellus a Chriſtian knight, to be his directors & gouernors: which foure ſwaied all at their plea- K
ſure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendring the welfare of his country, and diuiſing out of ſeaſon how to
ſet vp one of the roiall bloud that were of himſelfe able to gouern the kingdom (ſaying, That
it was not for the common good to be ruled by a childe) was for his labour by his other three
fellowes ſuddenly ſlain, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whoſe death the other
three erected a manner of Triumvirat gouernment, euery one of them laying hand vpon one
part of the ſtate or other, as liked him beſt. *Amida* thus ſhut out of Tunes, and hauing loſt his
kingdom, wandred vp and down to Leptis, Cyrapolis, and many other places, craving aid of
euery man to recouer his kingdom, miſerably rent in ſunder (as he ſaid) by moſt wicked men
who inſolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of Tunes knew well to be true, and
daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithfull Counſellor L
and father of his countrey. Whilſt *Amida* is thus trudging vp and down, craving help of this
and that prince, prouing his friends, and ſounding his ſubiects affection towards him; *Muleaſ-*
ſes grown miſerable with his long impriſonment and the calamity of his diſaſter fortune, ob-
tained of the yong king his nephew ſo much fauour, as that he might ſomtime go out of the
caſtle to the church: vnder colour whereof he took ſanctuary, a place in Tunes holden in ſuch
reuerence amongſt the Moors, as that it was a moſt inuiolable refuge to all ſuch as fled there-
unto. Not long after, at ſuch time as *Bernardinus Mendoza* the Admiral of Spain, came to Gu-
Muleaſſes at the requeſt of Touarres is ſent to Guletta. letta with the Spaniſh fleet, *Muleaſſes* at the requeſt of *Touarres* was conueyed out of the ſan-
ctuary to the Lake, and ſo by water to Guletta, there to be preſent at the conſultation there
holden for the vtter ſubuerſion of *Amida* and the driuing out of the Turks out of ſuch Cities M
as they yet held alongſt the ſea coaſt in Africa. *Muleaſſes* had hardly before eſcaped the
hands of certaine of his enemies in Tunes, who ſought after his life, preſerued by an old wo-
man, who mooued with pitty, hid him from their fury vnder a great heap of garlicke: and
had he not now in good time eſcaped to Guletta, he had againe fallen into the hands of his

merci-

merciles ſon *Amida*, who ſhortly after recouered again his kingdom, and would not, as he ſaid himſelf, haue ſpared him for the reuerence of any ſanctuary. For the citiſens of Tunes weary of the euil gouernment of ſuch as were in authority about the yong king, and not a little offended with the King himſelf, for eſpouſing *Melucca* his couſin, one of *Muleaſſes* his daughters; ſecretly incouraged *Amida* by letters to repair to the city, promiſing to aid him in recouering of his kingdom. Whereupon he came in ſuch haſt, that the yong king had ſcarce time to get out of the city; and *Amida* entring without reſiſtance, and holpen by his friends, eaſily obtained again the kingdom, and exerciſed moſt exquiſit cruelty vpon his enemies: of whom he cauſed ſome to be torn in pieces and deuoured of fierce maſtiues kept hungry for that purpoſe. *Perellus* he cauſed to be tortured, his ſecrets to be cut off, and himſelf afterward burnt to aſhes in the market place.

Amida recouereth the kingdom of Tunes.

But *Muleaſſes* ſtaid not long at Guletta, offended with the couetouſnes of *Tovarres*, who, as he ſaid, had not faithfully reſtored ſuch things as he had before put him in truſt withall, but had auaritiouſly to his miſery deceiued him of part of his rich houſhold ſtuffe, with certaine notable pretious ſtones, and ſome of his treaſure: whereof the blind King ſo grieuouſly complained to *Charles* the Emperor, that for deciding the matter they were both commanded to repair vnto him into Germany: where in concluſion to end the ſtriſe, *Tovarres* was diſcharged of his gouernment, and *Muleaſſes* ſent into Sicily, there to bee kept of the common charge of that rich Iſland. *Muleaſſes* by the way comming to Rome, was honorably feaſted by Cardinal *Farneſius*: at which time he ſhewed himſelf both in his apparel and behauiour not forgetfull of his better fortune: and being brought into the preſence of *Paulus* the great Biſhop, would do him no greater honor than to kiſſe his knee, accounting it too great an indignity to haue kiſſed his foot. He was of ſtature tall, and of a princely diſpoſition, vnworthy of ſo hard a fortune, had he not in the like maner before vnmercifully dealt with his own brethren.

Barbaruſſa weary of his long lying to ſo ſmall purpoſe in Prouince, requeſted the French King either thorowly to imploy him, or els to giue him leaue to depart: offering if he ſo pleaſed, to ſpoil all along ſt the coaſt of Spain, from the mountain Pyrenæi to Cadiz. But he not ignorant what hard ſpeeches ran of him already in all parts of Chriſtendom, for bringing in the Turks, was loth to leaue to the memory of all poſterity, the foule remembrance of ſo woful a ſlaughter: beſides that, he was aduiſed to diſ-burthen his Countrey of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, who rouing about, did much harm in the prouince where they lay, and as it was reported, now & then ſnatcht vp one country peaſant or other, and chained them for ſlaues in their gallies. Wherfore in ſupply of the Turks that were dead, the king gaue vnto *Barbaruſſa* all the Mahometan ſlaues in his gallies, to the number of about 400, and furniſhing him with all kind of prouiſion, and beſtowing great gifts vpon him and his captains, ſent him away, and with him *Strozza* with certain gallies, his Embaſſadour to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of Prouince, kept along the coaſt vntil they came neer to Savona, whither the Germanes ſent diuers preſents and freſh victuals to *Barbaruſſa*; which he took ſo thankfully, that he proteſted not to hurt any of their territory. From thence he took a right courſe to the Iſland of Elba belonging to the duke of Florence, ouer againſt Populona; where vnderſtanding that one of the ſons of *Sinan* his old friend was kept priſoner, he writ vnto *Appianus* Gouernour of the Iſland, for his deliuerance, to this effect: 1544.

Barbaruſſa his letters to Appianus.

I know that a yong man a Turk ſerueth thee, the ſon of Sinan *ſyrnamed the Iew (a famous Captaine) taken of late at Tunes; him I would haue thee freely to reſtore: which gift I wil make thee to vnderſtand to be vnto me moſt acceptable, for this our great fleet in paſsing by you ſhall faithfully forbear to vſe any hoſtility. But if thou ſhalt in this ſo ſmall a matter refuſe to gratifie me, expect vpon the coaſt of thy country all the harms that an angry enemy can do.*

Wherunto *Appianus* (ſhewing his men vpon the walls in token that he was not afraid) anſwered, That the yong man was become a Chriſtian, & therfore might not in any caſe be deliuered to the Turks: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him what he could, and for his ſake vſe the yong man as his ſon. And to mollifie the vnkindneſſe of his anſwer, he ſent him freſh victual with other preſents. But *Barbaruſſa* offended with the anſwer, landed his men round about the Iſland, and commanded them to make what ſpoile they could. Which they

performed accordingly, hunting the Iſland people vp and down the rocks & mountains like hares; vntil that *Appianus*, not without cauſe doubting the vtter ſpoil of the Iſland, redeemed his peace by deliuering the yong man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbaruſſa* gallantly attyred after the Italian maner; of whom he was ioyfully receiued, as the ſon of a moſt valiant captain his old friend. And therupon *Barbaruſſa* ſtaid his ſoldiers from doing any further harm vpon the Iſland, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This yong man *Barbaruſſa* honored with the command of ſeuen gallies, and afterwards ſent him to his father, then lying at Suetia a port of the red ſea, Admiral againſt the Portugals, who greatly troubled thoſe ſeas. But the old Iew ouerjoyed with the ſudden and vnexpected return of his ſon, whom hee had for many years before giuen ouer as loſt, in embracing of him fainted, and ſo preſently for joy died. G

Sinan the Iew dieth for ioy.

This man for valor was accounted little inferior to *Barbaruſſa*, but for diſcretion & iuſt dealing far beyond him, nothing of ſo furious and waiward a diſpoſition as was he. *Barbaruſſa* departing from Elba, came into the bay of Telamon in Tuſcany, and in ſhort time tooke the city, which he ſpoiled and burnt, eſpecially the houſe of *Bartholomeus Telamonius*; whoſe dead body but a little before buried, he cauſed to be pluckt out of the graue, and his bones to bee ſcattered abroad, becauſe he being admiral of the Biſhop of Romes gallies, had in the Iſland of Lesbos waſted *Barbaruſſa's* fathers poor poſſeſſions: and marching by night eight miles farther into the land, ſurpriſed Montenum, and carried almoſt all the inhabitants away with him into captiuity. The like miſchief he did at the port called Portus Herculis; but purpoſing to haue taken Orhatello, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* and *Vitellius* (two valiant Captains before ſent thither, the one by the State of Siena, and the other by the Duke of Florence) repulſed. So though diſappointed of his purpoſe, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole country of Tuſcany in exceeding fear, he departed from thence: & landed again at Igilium, now called Gigio, an Iſland about twelue miles diſtant from Portus Herculis, where he quickly battered the town, and caried a wonderful number of all ſorts into miſerable captiuitie. Keeping his courſe, he paſſing the cape of Linar, and comming ouer againſt Cantumcelle, had burnt that city for the ſame reaſon he did Telamon, had he not bin otherwiſe perſuaded by *Strozza* the French Embaſſador, fearing to draw the French King into further obloquy. From thence he came with a direct courſe to the Iſland of Iſchia; where landing in the night, he intercepted moſt part of the inhabitants of the Iſland, as they were flying into the mountains; and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceiued againſt *Vaſtius* at the ſiege of Nice, he burnt Forino, Panſa, and Varranium, three chief townes of that Iſland: but Pithacuſa the dwelling place of *Vaſtius*, ſtanding vpon a broken rocke ſomewhat diſtant from the ſea, he durſt not aduenture vpon. Then ſcraping along the Iſland Prochita with leſſe hurt, becauſe moſt part of the inhabitants were before fled to Pithacuſa, he put into the bay of Puteoli, and ſent *Salec* the pyrat with part of his fleet, to make proof if the city of Puteoli might from ſea be battered. *Salec* drawing neer the city, ſhot into it with his great ordnance, and by chance ſlew one *Saiauedra* a valiant Spaniard, vpon the wals, and put the citiſens in great fear leſt the whole fleet ſhould haue landed, they themſelues as then vnprouided. But the Viceroy came preſently with a power both of horſe and foot from Naples: which *Barbaruſſa* diſcouering from ſea as they came down the mountains, called back *Salec*, and leauing the Iſland of Capri, and paſſing by the promontory of Atheneum, was about to haue ſeiſed vpon Salernum; when a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing diſperſed his fleet, and draue him beyond the promontory of Palinurus, vpon the coaſt of Calabria, where he did exceeding much harm, eſpecially at Carreato. From thence he departed to the Iſland of Lipari, betwixt Italy and Sicily, which Iſland he miſerably ſpoiled, and with forty great pieces ſo battered the City, that the Citiſens were conſtrained for fear to yeeld; whom he carried away all priſoners, about the number of ſeuen thouſand of one ſort of people and other, and afterwards burnt the City. So loded with the rich ſpoil of Italy and the Iſlands vpon the coaſt, hee returned againe towards Conſtantinople, with ſuch a multitude of poore Chriſtian Captiues ſhut vp ſo cloſe vnder hatches among the excrements of Nature, that all the way as they went almoſt euery hour ſome of them were caſt dead ouer boord. Euery man deteſting the endleſſe hatred betwixt the Emperor and the French King, the very ground of all this and many thouſand other moſt woful and vndeſerued calamities of the poor ſubiects. With this rich prey, and an infinite H I K L M

Barbaruſſa doth great harm vpon the coaſt of Italy.

A finit number of captiues *Barbaruſſa* arriued at Conſtantinople in the beginning of Autumne, in the year 1544. where hee was honorably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended for his good ſeruice both by ſea and land.

Solyman triumphing at Conſtantinople for the good ſucces he had in Hungary, in the mid- *Mahomet Solymans eldeſt ſon dieth.*
deſt of all his glory was aduertiſed of the death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſon, whom of all his children he held deareſt: whoſe dead body was ſhortly after brought from Magneſia, & with wonderful ſolemnity and no leſſe mourning buried at Conſtantinople. How intirely *Solyman* loued this his ſon, wel appeared by the great ſorrow he conceiued at his death; and not contented to haue built him a ſtately Tomb, he erected alſo in memorial of him a Mahometane church, called the Church of *Mohomet* the leſſer; for the difference of *Mahomet* the great who
B won Conſtantinople. Wherto alſo he anexed a monaſtery and a colledge, with many things more after the groſſe maner of their ſuperſtition, for the health of his ſoul, as he vainly ſuppoſed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted maner, which was but euery ſecond or third year to take in hand ſome notable expedition, for two years ſpace ceaſed from wars; in which time many of the great princes and worthy men of that age died, amongſt whom was *Francis* the French King. *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* that famous Turk of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken, *Barbaruſſa and Vaſtius die.*
(being a man of great years, and of no leſſe fame) left this life in the year of our Lord 1547, and was buried at a houſe of his own called Beſictas, neer to Boſphorus Thracius on Europe ſide, not far from the mouth of Euxinum, about four miles from Pera, where he had but a few years before at one time ſould about ſixteen thouſand Chriſtian captiues taken out of Cor-
C cyra. And to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his owne coſt built a Mahometan temple there, which with his ſepulchre is yet to be ſeen. That place was in antient time called Iaſonium. About which time alſo died of conceit the famous captain *Alphonſus Davalus Vaſtius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but forty fiue years. At which time *Charles* the Emperour by his Embaſſadour *Gerardus Veltunich* concluded a Peace with *Solyman* for fiue years, wherin King *Ferdinand* was alſo included. Which peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the requeſt of *Henry* the French King) 1548.
broken.

Solyman had now almoſt three years taken his reſt, when it fortuned that *Ercaſes ImirZa* king 1549.
of Sirvan, mooued with the often injuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Perſian King, fled
D to *Solyman* at Conſtantinople to craue aid againſt his brother. *Solyman* glad of ſuch an occaſion to work vpon, entertained him with all curteſie, and promiſed to vndertake his quarrel, and to protect him againſt his vnnatural brother: and when hee had made all things ready for ſo great an expedition, paſſed ouer into Aſia, and after a long and painfull trauell entred at laſt with a puiſſant army into Armenia, and there in the borders of the Perſian kingdom firſt beſieged the city of Van, which after ten daies ſiege was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, that the Perſian ſoldiers there in gariſon might with life and liberty depart with their arms as ſoldiers: which was at the firſt by *Solyman* granted, and ſo the city ſurrendred. From thence *So-* *Van yeelded to the Turks.*
lyman ſent his chief Commanders with a great part of his Army to burn and ſpoil the Ene-
E mies country: which they for a time cheerfully performed, and running far into the country, ſtroue as it were among themſelues who ſhould do moſt harm; where *ImirZa* among the reſt (for whom *Solyman* had vndertaken this war) was as forward as the beſt to waſt and ſpoile his brothers kingdom, ſparing nothing that came to hand: the beſt and richeſt things he got he preſented to *Solyman*, to draw him on ſtill in that War. But that ſerued not his turn to recouer again his kingdome of Sirvan: for *Tamas*, without ſhewing any power to withſtand the Turks, had after his wonted manner cauſed his people to withdraw themſelues far into the mountain Country, leauing nothing behind them in that waſt country to relieue them, but the bare ground: ſo that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without hope of better ſucceſſe than ſuch as they had before to their loſſe made proof of, in their former expeditions into that great Kingdome. The conceit wherof did not ſo much pierce the common
F ſouldiers only, but euen the Captaines themſelues, that to make an end of that long and vnprofitable war taken in hand for another mans good, they conſulted amongſt themſelues either to kil *ImirZa*, or elſe to diſgrace him with *Solyman*. Which thing they ſo cunningly wrought; ſome ſuggeſting falſe ſuſpitions of his trecherous dealing in the proceeding of that war; and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendſhip giuing him warning in ſecret of the

danger

danger he was in; the one filling *Solymans* head with diſtruſt, and the other *Imirza's* with fear; briefly to ſhut the matter vp in their own terms, *They perſuaded the Hare to fly, and the hounds to follow.* *Imirza* doubting ſome ſudden miſchief, fled to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of Chaldæa, who moſt trecherouſly ſent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother his moſt cruel enemy; who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliuered into his hands, caſt him in priſon: and that *Solyman* nor any other ſhould in his behalf further proſecute the war, or by his means hope for victory, cauſed him to be murthered in priſon. In this expedition againſt the Perſian king *Solyman* was occupied a yeare and nine moneths: all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were often hardly diſtreſſed by the Perſians; vntill at laſt *Solyman* himſelf weary of that tedious war, wherin he had got neither honor nor profit, thought it beſt ſo to make an end; and therupon returned again to Conſtantinople in the year 1549.

Imirza murdered in priſon.

1550. In the mean time it fortuned that one *Dragut Rayſes* a notable pyrat of the Turks, had craftily ſurpriſed the city of Africa in the kingdom of Tunes (called in antient time Aphrodiſeum, and alſo Leptis Parua, and now of the Moors Mahomedia) and there ſetling himſelf as in a place both commodious and of good aſſurance, exceedingly troubled the Chriſtians both by ſea and land, eſpecially ſuch as traded in the Mediterranian. So that the Emperor, mooued as wel with the manifold injuries don by that arch pyrat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaints of his poore ſubjects, commaunded the Viceroy of Sicilia, and *Auria* his admiral, to levy a ſufficient power, in time to repreſſe that pyrat before he grew to further ſtrength. Whereupon they with a ſtrong fleet wel manned, and thorowly appointed for that purpoſe, and aided by the Knights nf Malta, paſſed ouer into Africk, and landing their forces, by the ſpace of three moneths beſieged the City, before poſſeſſed by the pyrat; which with continual battery they had at length made faultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was comming with a new ſupply to relieue it, they with al celerity aſſailed it both by ſea and land, and in the ſpace of a few hours took it by force the 10 of September, *An.* 1550. in which aſſault many of the enemies were ſlain, and the reſt taken. *Auria* hauing thus diſpoſſeſſed the pyrat, and aduiſedly conſidering that the city was not without infinit charge to be holden by the Chriſtians, among ſo many of the infidels, raſed it down to the ground, carying away with him 7000 captiues, and all the ſpoil of the city; and not ſo contented, did all the harme hee could with fire and ſword all alongſt the coaſt of Africa, to the intent that the Turks ſhould there find no relief; and took 12 priſoners out of Monaſterium, a town not far from the City of Africa: and ſo hauing don what he came for, returned againe into Sicily. *Dragut* thus at once thruſt out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* to Conſtantinople, and ſo inſenced him with the grieuous complaint of the wrong don vnto him by the Chriſtians, that in reuenge therof he reſolued to make war both vpon the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding that the fiue yeares league hee had before taken with him at his going into Perſia, was not yet expired. So with cheerfull words and curteous entertainment comforting vp the deſpe at Pyrat, the Spring following (which was in the year 1551) he furniſhed him with a great fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the injuries done vnto him by *Auria* in Africk. With this fleet, in number 140 ſaile, *Sinan* one of the Turks great Baſſa's, accompanied with *Dragut* the pyrat, by the appointment of *Solyman* departed from Conſtantinople; and cutting thorow the ſeas, arriued at length in Sicily, where they ſuddenly ſurpriſed the town and caſtle of Auguſta, which they preſently ſacked. Departing thence, they came to the Iſland of Malta, and there landed their men in the port of Marza, otherwiſe called Moxet, neer vnto the caſtle, which they battered with certain great pieces of Ordnance, but ſo as that it was not to any great purpoſe. At which time diuers companies of the Turks running farther into the Iſland, made hauock of what ſoeuer came in their way. After they had thus a few dayes in vaine battered the Caſtle, and ſaw themſelues both there valiantly repulſed, and in other places by ambuſhes and ſuch like meanes cut off by the ſouldiers and inhabitants of the Iſland, they remoued thence to the road of Saint *Paul*, where they landed their ordnance with purpoſe to haue beſieged the city: but perceiuing by a little, what ſmall hope there was to preuail, and ſeeing diuers of their men dying through the extremity of the heat, they forſook the Iſland and went to Gaules, now called Goza, a little Iſle about thirty miles in compas, fiue miles diſtant from Malta Weſtward, ſubject to the Knights of the Religion: and

Dragut the pyrat taketh certaine cities in Africk.

1551.

Malta attempted by the Turks.

A and there landing their men, miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland, and whatſoeuer they light vpon, and carried away with them of one ſort of people and other ſix thouſand and three hundred captiues into moſt wofull bondage. With which booty they put againe to ſea, and ſayled directly to Tripolis in Barbary, called of old Leptis Magna: which city *Charles* the Emperour had before giuen to the knights of Malta, & was at that time by them kept. This city was the marke whereat the Baſſa and the pyrat ſhot; for taking whereof they landed their forces and by long and winding trenches approached as neere the ſame as they could: Which they did not without great loſſe of their people; for they of the caſtle hauing good ſtore of great ordnance, and moſt expert canoniers, did with continuall ſhot ſo annoy the Turks, that they were oftentimes inforced to retire; yet with much troubleſome labour and no leſſe perill, they
B came at laſt within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Baſſa cauſed his gabions made of thicke planks, to be placed in the night, and his battery planted. And the next day (which was the eighth of Auguſt) the cannon began to play, which was again anſwered from the caſtle with like, and euery houre ſome of the Turks ſlaine, the great ſhot ſtill flying into their trenches, ſo as that day foure of the beſt canoniers in the army were ſlaine, with certain other men of good account alſo: and the clerk-generall of the army, a man of great eſtimation and well beloued of the Baſſa, had his hand ſhot off, and many other of the Ianizaries & common ſouldiers either ſlaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their beſt pieces, and diſmounted foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turks approched yet neerer vnto the caſtle, vpon whom the Chriſtians in the break of the day fal-
C lied out euen vnto their very trenches, and afterwards retired. With the riſing of the Sunne (which the Turks haue in great reuerence) they renued their battery with greater force than before; yet with ſuch euil ſucceſſe, that the Baſſa was almoſt mad for anger: for about the euening the fire by miſchance got into their pouder, wherewith thirty of the Turks were burnt, many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the Turks were come ſo neer, that they had planted their battery within 150 paces of the wal: which they continued with ſuch fury, that they had made a faire breach euen with the ditch: but what was beaten down in the day time, the defendants repaired again by night, in ſuch ſort, as that it was not to be aſſaulted. Yet in concluſion, a traiterous ſouldier of Prouince, before corrupted by the Turks, found meanes to fly out of the caſtle into the camp, where he declared vnto the Baſſa the weakeſt places of the ca-
D ſtle, by which it might be moſt conueniently battered and ſooneſt taken: and eſpecially one place aboue the reſt which was againſt the gouernours lodgings; which ſtanding towards the ditch, and hauing vnderneath it cellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once battered, well be repaired again or fortified. Which the Baſſa vnderſtanding, cauſed the batterie there to be planted, laying the pieces ſo low, that they did eaſily beat the cellars & vaults in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time the wals were ſo ſhaken, that the rampiers aboue through the continuall battery, began greatly to ſink: which ſo amazed the ſoldiers, ſeeing no conuenient means to repaire the ſame, that ſetting all honour aſide, they requeſted the Gouernour, That ſithence the matter began now to grow deſperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, he would in time take ſome good order with the enemy for their ſafety, before the walls
E were further endamaged. With which motion, *Vallier* the Gouernour (an antient knight of Daulphiny, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Peiſieu* another of the knights, perceiuing, he as a man of great courage, and of all others there preſent moſt antient, in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, that the breach was neither ſo great, nor ſo profitable for the enemy, but that it was defenſible enough, if they would as men of courage repaire the ſame; ſaying, That it was more honourable for worthy knights, and luſty ſoldiers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting againſt the Infidels for the maintenance of their law & Chriſtian religion, than ſo cowardly to yeeld themſelues to the mercy of thoſe, at whoſe hands nothing was to be looked for but moſt miſerable ſeruitude, with all kind of cruelty: and therfore perſuaded the gouernor to hold it out to the laſt. For all
F that, he ouercome with the importunity of ſuch as would needs yeeld, who with al vehemency vrged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be ouerwhelmed, and finding himſelf bereft both of heart and fortune, and forſaken of his ſoldiers; without farther conſideration, conſented that a white enſigne ſhould be diſplayed vpon the Walls, in token that they deſired parley: When a Turke preſenting himſelfe, they requeſted him to vnderſtand of

The Turks fleet arriueth at Tripolis in Barbary.

Tripolis battered by the Turks.

the

the Baſſa, if he could be contented that ſome of them might come to intreat with him of G
ſome good order to be taken for the yeelding vp of the caſtle. Whereunto the Baſſa willingly
conſenting, two of the knights were forthwith ſent out, to offer to him the caſtle with the ar-
tillery and munition, ſo as he would furniſh them with ſhips to bring them with bag & bag-
gage ſafely to Malta. Whereunto the Baſſa briefly anſwered, That (toraſmuch as they had as
Hard conditions offered by the Baſſa to the beſieged. yet deſerued no grace, preſuming to keep ſo ſmall a place againſt the army of the greateſt
Prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the army, he would condiſcend to
their requeſt; or if they would not thereunto conſent, that for recompence, all they within the
caſtle ſhould continue his ſlaues & priſoners: notwithſtanding if they incontinently & with-
out delay did ſurrender the place, he would exempt out of them 200. Wherupon the meſſen-
gers returning in deſpaire, were ſtaid by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and faire H
promiſes that they would ſo much as lay in them, perſuade the Baſſa to condiſcend to a more
gratious compoſition; fearing indeed that the beſieged through deſpaire would reſolue (as
their extreme refuge) to defend the place euen to the laſt man. Wherfore they went preſently
to the Baſſa, to declare vnto him his ouerſight in refuſing them who voluntarily would haue
put themſelues into his hand, whom reaſon would he ſhould with all curteſie haue receiued:
for that after he had the caſtle & the men in his power, he might diſpoſe of them as he ſhould
think good. The Baſſa liking wel of his counſell, cauſed the meſſengers to be called again, &
More eaſie conditions offered by the Baſſa, which he confirmeth by his oath. with fained & diſſembling words told them, That at the inſtance of *Dragut* & *Salla Rais* there
preſent, he did diſcharge them of all the coſts & charges of the army; ſwearing vnto them (the
better to deceiue them) by the head of his lord & his own, inuiolably to obſerue al that he had I
promiſed vnto them: which they too eaſily beleeued, and forthwith went to declare the ſame
to the Gouernor, & others within the caſtle. The Baſſa, the better to come to the effect of his
deſire, after theſe meſſengers ſent a crafty Turke, whom he charged expreſly to perſuade the
Gouernor to come with him into the camp, for the full concluſion of the giuing vp of the ca-
ſtle, & for the appointing of ſuch veſſels as ſhould be needful for their ſafe conduct to Malta;
and that if he made any doubt to come, he ſhould make ſhew as if he would there remaine in
hoſtage for him; but aboue all things, to conſider of the ſtrength & aſſurance of the beſieged,
and of the diſpoſition of all things there. Which the ſubtile Turke ſo finely handled, that the
gouernor by the counſell of thoſe who had perſuaded him to yeeld (notwithſtanding the rea-
ſons of wars & duty of his office forbad him in ſuch maner to abandon the place of his charg) K
reſolued vpon ſo ſmall an aſſurance of the Baſſa, & gaue eare to the miſerable end of his for-
tune. So taking with him a knight of his houſhold (to ſend back vnto thoſe of the caſtle, to de-
clare vnto them how he ſped in the camp) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to
fetch him, he went ſtreight to the tent of the Baſſa: who by the Turke that went firſt in, was
aduertiſed of the ſmall courage of the defendants, which he aſſured him to be no better, but
that if he thought it good, he might bring them to ſuch order & agreement as he would him-
ſelfe. Vpon whoſe perſuaſion calling in the gouernor *Vallier*, after he had rigorouſly reproued
his raſhnes, ſaid vnto him, That foraſmuch as he had once giuen his word, if he would pay the
charges of the army, he was content to let them go with bag & baggage, otherwiſe he would
diſcharge but two hundred. Whereat the Gouernor greatly moued, anſwered, That that was L
not according to his laſt promiſe to the knights before ſent. But when he ſaw it would be no
better, he requeſted him that he might again returne to the caſtle to know the minds of the
reſt: which the falſe Baſſa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to ſend back the
knight that he had brought with him, to make report of theſe hard news to the beſieged: as for
the Gouernor, he was ſent to the gallies with yrons on his heeles. When they of the caſtle vn-
derſtood what had paſſed betwixt the Baſſa & the gouernor, they began exceedingly to feare
the miſchief then at hand: yet took no other reſolution, but to return the ſaid Knight to the
Baſſa, to know whether they ſhould expect from him no better anſwer. Who as ſoon as he was
come before him, the captain of the caſtle was brought in, of whom the Baſſa asked, Which
of the two he would chuſe, either to pay the expences of the army, or els both he & al the reſt M
The warie anſwer of the gouernour to the Baſſa. to remain his priſoners? Wherunto the Gouernor anſwered, That a ſlaue had no other autho-
rity than that which by his maſter was giuen him; & that hauing loſt (beſides his liberty) the
power to command, if any thing were yet reſerued in him, could not counſel him to command
others to agree vnto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before
ſent.

A sent. Which thing the Bassa hearing, for feare that such a resolute answer should come to the knowledge of the besieged, and cause them to become desperat; hauing taken counsell with his other Captains, he tooke the Gouernour by the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promised; and that therfore without fearing any thing, he should cause them all to come out of the Castle. But the Gouernour because he had bin before deceiued, would not trust to his word, but said vnto him, That he might command him that was come from the Castle, for that he knew they would now do neuer a whit the more for him. So the Bassa turning towards the other Knight, commanded him forthwith to go vnto them in the Castle, and to cause them to come forth, swearing again as before, by the head of his great Lord, and his owne, That they
B should al be deliuered & set at liberty, according to the conuentions first agreed vpon: which the Knight beleeuing, went to report to them this good news: which they receiued with such ioy, that without further care or consideration of their mishap so neer, they ran in preasse with their wiues, children, and best mooueables, striuing who should first get out. But they were no sooner issued, but they were by the enemies spoiled of all that they had, and taken prisoners; part of the Knights were sent to the gallies, and the rest to the Bassa. Who being by the gouernour put in remembrance of his faith twice giuen, answered, That there was no faith to be kept with dogs, and that they had first violated their oath with his great Lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the Rhodes, they had (as he said) sworn neuer more to beare armes against the Turks. The Castle was forthwith taken and spoiled, and about two hundred Moores of
C that country that had serued the Knights, cut in pieces, & therupon, a great peale of ordnance discharged, with great cries and shouts in sign of their victory. Thus the strong castle and antient City of Tripolis in Barbary was deliuered vnto the Turks the fifteenth day of August, in the yeare 1551. Whilst the Bassa lay at this siege, the Lord of Arramont, who had many yeres lien Embassador from *Francis* the French King at Constantinople, and was now sent again by *Henry* the second, came to the Turks camp, being requested so to do by the Great master of the Rhodes, to haue dissuaded the Bassa from that siege: wherein he nothing preuailed. Yet now grieued to see how the faithles Turk, contrary to his oth, most villanously intreated the Gouernour and the other Knights, lying at his feet as men halfe desperat; was so bold as to put him in mind of his promise, confirmed by his oth; which if he would not keep, that yet
D at the least according to his own voluntary offer, he would release two hundred of them: but he excused himselfe as before, saying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had first broken their own faith. Yet afterwards he condiscended, that two hundred of the eldest and such as were most vnfit for seruice (amongst whom was comprehended the Gouernor and certain other old Knights) should be set at liberty; who were forthwith sent aboord the French Embassadors gallies, and by him transported to Malta: where they were but hardly welcom, for that they had so cowardly surrendred a place, which they might much longer haue defended. The next day after the castle was deliuered, which was the 16 of August, the proud Bassa for ioy of his victory made a solemne dinner, whereunto he inuited the French Embassador, and *Vallier* the late Gouernour: which they refused not to come vnto, in hope to recouer
E some mo prisoners. This great feast for the more magnificence was kept in the Castle ditch against the breach, where were set vp two stately pauilions, the one for the Bassa, and the other for the Embassadour and his company, where he was honourably feasted with wonderfull plenty both of flesh and fish and good wines, which they had found in the Castle; which seruice was done with musicke of diuers sorts, and officers in number aboue a hundred; apparelled for most part in long gownes of fine cloth of gold, tuffed or fringed; and the other of veluet or damaske. The Bassa was no sooner set down, but all the Ordnance of the fleet was discharged with such a noise and thundring, that it seemed the heauens and skies did shake. The table being taken vp, the Embassador, and the late Gouernour *Vallier*, entred into the pa-
F uilion of the Bassa, and beside the two hundred men which he had promised, obtained twenty mo, vpon the Embassadours promise, That he should for them cause to be released 30 Turks taken at Malta, at the landing of the army there. The Turks hauing in their hands an antient gunner of the Castle, called *Iohn de Chabas* born in Dolphin (to the end that this triumphant feast should not be vnfurnished of some cruell sacrifice of Christian bloud) for that he had in time of the siege shot off the hand of the clerke generall of the army, brought him into the

The castle yeelded.

The shamelesse answer of the faithlesse Bassa to the French Embassador.

The Turks triumph for the winning of Tripolis.

towne,

A shamefull cruelty of the Turks.

towne, and hauing cut off his hands and his nose, put him quick into the ground to the waſt, G
and there for their pleaſure ſhot at him with their arrows,& afterward to make an end of him
cut his throat. The Baſſa ſhortly after departing out of Barbary, left *Dragut* the pirat Gouer-
nor of Tripolis,honoring him with the title of Sanzack of that place;from whence he many
years after grieuouſly moleſted the Moors neer vnto him by land, and the Chriſtians by ſea.
The ſame year 1551, *Solyman* notwithſtanding the fiue years peace before taken with K. *Fer-
dinand*,at his going into Perſia,ſent *Achomates* his Lieutenant in Europe with a great Army
into Hungary,who with *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda inuaded the vpper Hungary, and firſt tooke

Temeſwar and Zolnok taken by the Turks.

the city of Temeſware,and contrary to their faith giuen,ſlew the garriſon ſoldiers. After that
they took alſo the caſtle of Zolnoc,forſaken by the Chriſtians, and certain other ſmall Ca-
ſtles. But laying ſiege to Erſam,they were partly by the valor of the defendants,and partly by H
the comming on of winter inforced to forſake the ſiege,and to get themſelues into their win-
tring places.

Queen *Iſabel*,King *Iohns* widow,ſeeing the Turks daily incroching vpon that little they had
left her,and that ſhe was not able by any means to defend Tranſyluania againſt them,by the
aduice of *George* Biſhop of Veradium her old counſellor,agreed with King *Ferdinand* to deli-
uer vnto him the gouernment of the country,with al the royall dignity of Hungary,for which
ſhe was to haue of him Caſſovia,and a yearly penſion of an hundred thouſand ducats:which
agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptiſta Caſtalius* an Italian (whom *Charles* the
Emperor had but a little before ſent to aid King *Ferdinand*) the Queen returned into Polonia
her natiue country;and ſo King *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almoſt all the prouince of I
Tranſyluania,and what els the Queen had in Hungary. But the Biſhop a little before made
a Cardinal,being ſuſpected by *Baptiſta* the Italian, that he fauored the Turkes faction more
than King *Ferdinand*,and by that means ſought to get the gouernment to himſelf;was by the
Italians deuice ſuddenly murthered in his own houſe at Veradium: an end good enough for
ſo troubleſome a Prelat.

George Biſhop of Veradium murdered in his owne houſe.

Haly Baſſa of Buda proud of the good ſucces he had the year before,vnderſtanding that di-
uers of the chief Hungarians had withdrawn themſelues into the caſtle of Agria, purpoſed
in himſelf with all his power to beſiege it,and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*,*Cha-*
1552 *ſan*,and other of the Turks Sanzacks and captains,by *Solymans* appointment ready at his call,
he came with an army of 35000 Turks,and the 10 of September, *An.* 1552, incamped round K
about the caſtle:where after he had placed his artillery he began a moſt furious battery. But

Agria beſieged by the Turks.

doubting to preuail that way,he attempted alſo to vndermine the Caſtle, omitting nothing
that could be deuiſed for the taking therof. But all in vain; for the Hungarians by the good
direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their Captain,couragiouſly indured the ſiege,and very manfully
repulſed the enemy. At length the 29 of September,the enemy with 28 enſignes of ſele& ſol-
diers gaue a freſh aſſault to the caſtle,and were by the defendants inforced ſhamefully to re-
tyre: at this time 24 barrels of gunpouder by miſchance got fire, and beſides that it blew vp
diuers captains and ſouldiers,did much harm in the Caſtle,to the great diſmaying of the de-
fendants. After that,the Turks with incredible pertinacy the 12 of October fiercely aſſaul-
ted the caſtle from morning vntil night,and for deſire of reuenge and hope of ſpoile left no- L
thing vnattempted for the gaining of the place;but were by the greater valor of the Hungari-
ans beaten back,and with great loſſe inforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault. Thus the Baſſa
nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promiſes and large offers to haue brought
them forth. Which he vnderſtanding to be nothing regarded,and his letters ſcornfully burnt,
brought on his ſoldiers again,& gaue vnto them in the caſtle a moſt furious aſſault, but with

The Turks giue ouer the ſiege of Agria.

no better ſucces than before;for hauing loſt many of his beſt ſouldiers, he was inforced to re-
tyre. So after he had in vain ſix weeks beſieged the caſtle, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege and
retyre to Peſth. After whoſe departure there was found 12000 great ſhot wherewith hee had
battered the wall. In this ſiege 6000 Turks were ſlain,and of the Hungarians but three hun-
dred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this victory, made *Stephanus* the worthy Captaine Vayuod of M
Tranſyluania,and bountifully rewarded the other Captaines and ſouldiers as they had well
deſerued.

Henry the French king,who together with his kingdome had as it ſeemed receiued the he-
reditary quarels of *Francis* his father againſt *Charles* the Emperor,had by his Embaſſador the

Lord

A Lord of Aramont ſo wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the Emperor, he ſent a great fleet into the Tyrrhenum or Tuſcan ſea, which in the yeare 1553, and the yere following, did great harme vpon the coaſts of Calabria, Sicilia, Sardinia, as alſo in the Iſlands of Elba, Corſica, Cerbe, and Majorca, and ſuch like places on the frontiers of the Emperours dominions: yet were the Turks in moſt places notably againe repulſed by the people of thoſe Countries. The ſame yeare *Solyman*, ſeduced by *Roxolana* (ſometime his faire Concubine, but then his imperious wife) and *Ruſtan Baſſa* his ſon in law, moſt vnnaturally murthered his eldeſt ſon *Muſtapha*, the mirrour of the *Othoman* Family: Which tragicall fact (the like wherof both for the trecherous contriuing and inhumane execution hath ſeldome times beene heard of) I haue thought good here in due time to ſet downe, in ſuch ſort as it is by moſt credible Wri-

B ters of that time reported.

Solyman after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings (who to auoid the participation of their ſoueraignty, vſe not oftentimes to marry, but otherwiſe to ſatisfie their pleaſure with ſuch beautiful Concubines as it pleaſeth them to make choice of out of the faireſt captiues of all Nations, moſt daintily brought vp for that purpoſe in the Court) had by a Circaſſian bondwoman a ſon called *Muſtapha*, who for his wonderfull towardlineſſe and rare perfection, was amongſt the Turks had in ſuch expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themſelues more happy, than in the hope laid vp in him: whoſe noble carriage was ſuch, as thereby he ſo poſſeſſed the minds of all men in generall, (but eſpecially of the men of warre) that he was reputed the glory of the Court, the floure of Chiualry, the hope of the ſouldiers, and joy

C of the people. Whileſt he thus grew, increaſing both in yeares and fauour, it fortuned with *Solyman* as it doth with men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of ſome called *Roſa* (but more truly *Hazothya*) by condition a captiue, but ſo graced with beauty and courtly behauiour, that in ſhort time ſhe became miſtreſſe of his thoughts, and commandreſſe of him that all commanded: and that which more eſtabliſhed her in poſſeſſion of his loue, ſhe had in time made him father of foure faire ſons, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Bajazet*, and *Tzihanger*, and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtemes* the great Baſſa. In this height of worldly bliſſe nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne by the Circaſſian woman; who honoured of the greateſt, and beloued of the reſt,

Muſtapha, Solymans eldeſt ſon in great eſtimation with the people.

Solyman becometh amorous of Roxolana.

ſtood only in her light, imbarring her and hers (as ſhe thought) of the hope of the Empire,

D which ſhe now aboue all things ſought to bring to one of her owne ſons: which the better to compaſſe, ſhe vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that *Muſtapha* the young Prince and his mother ſhould as it were for their greater honor and ſtate, with a Princely allowance be ſent into Caramania to gouerne that great country, far from the Court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to paſſe: for that the Turkiſh Emperours vſually ſend their ſons after they come to any yeares of diſcretion, vnto ſuch prouinces as are far from the Court, attended vpon with one great Baſſa and ſome graue Doctor of their Law, ſo to acquaint them with the manner of gouernment; the Baſſa inſtructing them in matters of ciuile policy, and the Doctor in matters concerning their ſuperſtition: and yet by ſending them a far off, to keepe them from aſpiring to the Empire by the fauour of the Court: (a thing of the Turkiſh

Muſtapha ſent to gouerne Caramania.

E Emperors not vnworthily feared euen in their owne and beloued children. *Roxolana* hauing at once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great competitors both of her loue and of the Empire (things of all others enduring no partners) reſted not ſo, but began ſtreightway to plot in her malitious head the vtter deſtruction of him, to whom all others wiſhed all happineſſe. This ſhe ſaw was not to be brought to paſſe without ſome complices: wherefore after ſhe had in her ſecret conceit diſcarded many, of whom at firſt ſhe had reaſonable good liking; at laſt ſhe made choice of *Ruſtan Baſſa* her ſonne in law, vpon whom ſhe would ſet vp her reſt. This *Ruſtan* was a man baſely borne in Epirus, altogether compoſed of diſſimulation and flattery, euer ſeruing his owne turne, were it neuer ſo much to the hurt or grieuance of others: by which meanes he, although none of the beſt ſouldiers, was yet by many degrees growne vp

The malice of Roxolana againſt Muſtapha.

F to be the greateſt man in the Court, and *Solymans* ſonne in law: him ſhe probably thought to wiſh the ſucceſſion of the Empire to one of her owne ſons, his wiues full brethren, rather than to *Muſtapha* her halfe brother. Beſide that, ſhe was not ignorant how that *Ruſtan* as one carefull of the Emperours profit (the readieſt way to preferment) had abridged the penſions and fees of the officers and ſeruitors in Court: which he perceiuing to pleaſe the Emperour, pro-

ceeded ſo far therein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had beene poſſible, ſome part of *Muſtapha* his princely allowance: for which doing, ſhe knew how odious he was to all the courtiers (whereof he made ſmall reckoning) but eſpecially to *Muſtapha*, inſomuch that it was thought he would not forget ſo notorious an injury, if euer he ſhould obtaine the Empire. Hereupon ſhe brake with *Ruſtan* vpon the matter, whom ſhe found ready ynough of himſelfe to do what in him lay to further her miſchieuous deſire. G

Roxolana conſpireth with Ruſtan Baſſa her ſon in law, againſt Muſtapha.

To begin this intended tragidy, ſhe vpon the ſudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of *Solyman* growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had been vpon a deuout zeale for the health of her ſoule, after the maner of their Turkiſh ſuperſtition, to build an Abbey, with an Hoſpitall and a Church: which ſo godly a purpoſe ſhe imparted to the Muphti or chiefe Mahometan Prieſt, demanding of him, if ſuch works of charity were not acceptable vnto God, and auaileable for her ſoules health. Wherunto the Muphti anſwered, That thoſe workes were no doubt gratious in the ſight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her ſoules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the ſoule of the great Emperor *Solyman*, vnto whom as vnto her Lord, both ſhe and all ſhe had appertained. With which anſwer of the great Prieſt ſhe ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull penſiue and melancholy, her cheerefull countenance was repleat with ſadneſſe, and her faire eies flowed with teares, her mirth was mourning, and her joy heauineſſe. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, and ſorry to ſee his loue vpon conceit ſo to languiſh, ſent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort her ſelfe; promiſing in ſhort time to take ſuch a courſe as ſhould eaſe her of all her griefes: which he forthwith did, ſolemnly manumiſing her from her bond eſtate. So great a fauour obtained, *Roxolana* with great cheerefulneſſe began thoſe meritorious works by her before intended, as if ſhe had thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thought were in the depth of hell. When ſhe had thus a good while buſied her ſelfe in pauing the way to heauen, as was ſuppoſed; *Solyman* not able longer to forbeare the company of her, in whom his ſoule liued, after his wonted manner ſent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who ſhould haue brought her to his bed-chamber. To whom ſhe with her eies caſt vp to heauen, demurely anſwered, that her life and whatſoeuer elſe ſhe had was at her dread Soueraignes command, but againe to yeeld her body vnto his appetite ſhe might not in any caſe do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifeſt breach of his ſacred Lawes, which permitted her now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he before without offence might command of his bond-woman: and becauſe ſhe would not ſeeme to vſe this as an excuſe, ſhe referred her ſelfe in all things to the graue judgment of the learned and reuerend Muphti, with whom ſhe had before at full conferred. This ſhe did, preſuming of the ſouereignty ſhe had ouer that great Monarch, whom ſhe right well knew ſhe had ſo faſt bound in the pleaſing fetters of his affection towards her, as that ſhe was ſure enough of him without a keeper. *Solyman* rauiſhed with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, ſent for the Muphti, requiring his judgement in the matter: who before inſtructed in all points, agreed with that *Roxolana* had ſaid, aggrauating the hainouſneſſe of the fact, if he ſhould proceed to enforce her as his ſlaue, who being now free, he might not without great offence touch vnmarried. Whereupon *Solyman* more and more burning in his deſires, became a freſh ſuter to her for marriage, whom he had ſo often before commanded: which his ſute eaſily obtained, (as the marke ſhe had all this while aimed at) he with all ſpeed to the great admiration of all men, and contrary to the manners of the Mahometan Emperours, ſolemnly married her, appointing for her yearely dowry fiue thouſand Sultanyns. But here before we proceed any further, ſtay a while, and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch ſo much doted, as it is by the skilfull workemans hand moſt liuely expreſſed. H I K L

Roxolana faineth her ſelfe religious.

Solyman manumiſeth Roxolana.

Solyman ſends for Roxolana.

She excuſeth her ſelfe, and refuſeth to come.

Solyman marrieth Roxolana

ROX-

Frontis nulla fides, nulla eſt fiducia formæ:
Pectore dum ſæuo dira venena latent.
Philtra viro miſcet fallax miſerúmque coegit
Sanguine natorum commaculare manus.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

To faireſt looks truſt not too farre, nor yet to beauty braue:
For hatefull thoughts ſo finely maskt, their deadly poyſon haue.
Loues charmed cups the ſubtill dame doth to her husband fill;
and cauſeth him with cruell hand his childrens bloud to ſpill.

Roxolana plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha.

This woman of late a ſlaue, but now become the greateſt Empreſſe of the Eaſt, flowing in all worldly felicity, attended vpon with all the pleaſures her heart could deſire, wanted nothing ſhe could wiſh, but how to find means that the Turkiſh empire might after the death of *Solyman* be brought to ſome one of her own ſons. This was it that had (as is before ſaid) long troubled her aſpiring mind, and in the midſt of all her bliſſe, ſuffered her yet to take no reſt. Noble *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne, and heire apparant of the Empire, although far abſent, was yet ſtill before her eies preſent; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her deſires: he was the only cloud that kept the ſunne from ſhining vpon her; if he by any

any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that she desired. Which to bring to G
passe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solymans* head no small suspition of *Mustapha*, That he being a yong man of a hauty spirit, desirous of Souereignty, generally beloued, and swelling with the immoderat fauour of the men of war, which were all at his deuotion, left nothing else to be expected from him, but when he should (as did his grandsier *Selymus*) lay hand vpon the Empire, and worke his aged fathers destruction. This
Rustan the great Bassa furthereth the deuises of Roxolana. mischieuous plot by her deuised, was not a little furthred by *Rustan* the great Bassa, by whom passed all great matters: who nothing omitted that could be slily deuised for the disgrace or confusion of the yong Prince. For he as a great secret, craftily told all them that were sent gouernors into Syria, that *Mustapha* was secretly suspected by his father, of aspiring to the Empire, and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obserue all his actions, with the H
manner of his life and gouernment, and by their letters diligently to aduertise him of whatsoeuer they should see or heare; bearing them in hand, that the more suspitiously or odiously they should write of him, the more gratious & acceptable it would be vnto the great Sultan. Wherfore he by these men oftentimes certified of the princely disposition, courage, wisdom, valour and bounty of *Mustapha*, whereby he had won all mens hearts, doubted that he would at length be preferred to the Empire: yet durst he not for all that aduenture to temper with *Solyman* about that detestible conspiracy against the innocent Prince, but still deliuering the letters to the malitious woman, left the rest by her vngratious head to be wrought. And she still as occasion best serued her purpose, ceased not with pleasing allurements and flattery (wherin she was most excellent) to infect *Solymans* mind, that whensoeuer he should chance to haue any I
speech of *Mustapha*, she might take the fitter occasion to bring forth those Letters. Neither was she in her drift deceiued, but hauing found a fit opportunity, with tears trickling downe her cheeks (which to serue their turnes subtill women seldome want) she told the Emperor in what danger he stood: recounting amongst other things, how *Selymus* his father had by such means depriued *Bajazet* his grandfather, both of his life and Empire together: and therefore most instantly besought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a carefull loue, by that example warned, to looke to himselfe. But these light arguments of suspition seemed as they were indeed, vnto *Solyman* scarce probable; so that she little preuailed thereby. Which thing she well perceiuing, and inwardly grieuing thereat, conuerted her cruell mind to other mischieuous deuices, and sought by all means how to poison the young Prince: neither wanted there K
wicked men, as it were vowed to all kinde of mischiefe and villany, ready to haue performed what she desired, had not Gods prouidence withstood so horrible a practise. For whereas
Mustapha in danger to haue beene poysoned by Roxolana. certaine rich apparell was by her sent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the worst, would not touch it before he had caused it to be worne by one of his seruants: by which curious warinesse (as it was thought) he for that time preuented the treason of his wicked stepdame, and made her malitious practise manifest to the world. Yet rested she not so, but was still plotting new deuices, tending all to one purpose: for being growne to that height of honour and power as neuer was woman in the *Othoman* court, and by the means of *Trongilla* a Iew (as it was thought) hauing bewitched the mind of the Turkish Emperor, she still grew more and more in fauor, and obtained that her sons might by turnes be still present in Court: of purpose, that L
by their daily presence and continuall flattery, they should more and more procure their fathers loue; and if by chance *Mustapha* should come thither, she might haue the better means to dispatch him: if not, to expect some other fit time, when she might by some one or other meane take him away. But *Mustapha* neuer comming (for why, the Emperours sons vse not without their fathers leaue to go out of the prouinces assigned vnto them, or to come to Constantinople, but after the death of their father to receiue the Empire, attended vpon with a number of souldiers) she easily deuised another practise, that her sons should wait vpon their father, not in the city only, but in the Prouinces also; so that *Tzihanger* surnamed *Crouchbacke*, alwaies followed his father in the campe. Certaine yeres thus spent, and she still hammering her mischieuous deuices; at length fortune fauouring her wicked desire, got from the Bassa which had the gouernment of *Mustapha* and the prouince of Amasia (for as we haue said, euery one of the Kings sons hath with him one Bassa, which is as it were his lieutenant in administration of justice and martiall affaires) certain suspitious letters, wherin was contained, that there was a speech of a marriage to be made betweene *Mustapha* and the Persian Kings daughter:

A ter; which thing he thought good to giue knowledge of to the Counſell, that if any harme ſhould enſue therof, he might be out of all ſuſpition. Theſe letters being brought to *Ruſtan*, he thought he had now as good as halfe brought to paſſe the long deſired ruin of *Muſtapha*: ſo making no ſtay, he opened the matter to *Roxolana*, & afterwards both together went to the court, and declared all the matter to the Emperor: in doing wherof, they forced both their vngratious wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull, with ſuſpition, and to poſſeſſe his mind with the feare of his own moſt dutifull ſon: ſaying, That he as a proud and ambitious young man, rauiſhed with the deſire of ſo glorious an empire, ſought againſt the laws both of God & nature, to take his father out of the way, that ſo he might with more ſpeed ſatisfie his aſpiring mind. And to giue the more credit to this their moſt falſe ſuggeſtion, they warned him of the alliance by
B him purpoſed with the Perſian king the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors; wiſhing him to beware leſt *Muſtapha* ſupported by the ſtrength of Perſia, and the fauor of the Sanzacks and Ianizaries, whoſe loue he had by bounty purchaſed, ſhould in ſhort time when he feared leaſt, together depriue him both of his life and Empire. With theſe and ſuch like accuſations they ſo preuailed with the aged man, whom they neuer ſuffered to reſt in quiet, that he at length reſolued to worke his ſafety (as he ſuppoſed) by the death of his owne ſonne; in this ſort:

Roxolana and Ruſtan together put Solyman in feare of his ſon Muſtapha

In the yeare 1552 he cauſed proclamation to be made almoſt in all the prouinces of his Empire, That foraſmuch as the Perſians without reſiſtance with a great army inuaded Syria, burning and deſtroying the country before them, he to repreſſe that their outragious inſolence, was inforced to ſend thither *Ruſtan Baſſa* with an army: which according to his appoint-
C ment was in ſhort time raiſed. Now when all things were in readineſſe, as if it had beene for ſuch a war as was pretended, he commanded *Ruſtan*, with as much ſecrecy and as little tumult as was poſſible, to lay hands vpon *Muſtapha*, and to bring him bound to Conſtantinople: which if he could not conueniently effect, then by any other means to take him out of the way.

Solymans ſends Ruſtan Baſſa with an army to take Muſtapha.

With this wicked and cruell charge *Ruſtan* with a ſtrong army marched towards Syria; *Muſtapha* vnderſtanding of his comming, without delay with 7000 of the beſt horſemen in all Turky made towards Syria alſo: whereof *Ruſtan* hearing, and perceiuing that he could not (as he deſired) conueniently execute the cruell command of the vnnaturall father, forthwith turned his backe, and treading the ſame ſteps he came, returned with his army to Conſtantinople with ſuch ſpeed, that he endured not to behold the very duſt raiſed by *Muſtapha's* horſemen,
D much leſſe his preſence: giuing it out, That he certainly vnderſtood that the prouince was in quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto *Solyman* he told another tale in ſecret, which he malitiouſly had deuiſed, That he by moſt apparant ſignes and manifeſt preſumptions had perceiued the whole army ſo inclined towards *Muſtapha*, that if he ſhould haue attempted any thing againſt him by plaine force, he ſhould haue bin vtterly forſaken, and had therefore in ſo dangerous a caſe left the matter as it was to his graue further direction. This tale ſuſpiciouſly told, raiſed in the wicked and vnnaturall father (nothing degenerating from the naturall cruelty of his anceſtors) new and great ſuſpitions, whereof to disburden his diſquieted mind, he conceiued with himſelfe a moſt horrible deuice. Wherfore the yere following, which was the yeare 1553, he raiſed a great army; giuing it out, That the Perſians had
E with greater power than before inuaded Syria, and that therefore he for the loue of his Country, and defence of his Empire, was determined to go thither with his army, and in perſon himſelfe to repreſſe the attempt of his enemies. Wherfore the army being aſſembled, & all things neceſſary orderly prouided, he commanded to ſet forward, and in few daies after followed himſelfe who comming at length into Syria, preſently by truſty meſſengers commanded *Muſtapha* to come vnto him at Aleppo, for there he lay incamped. And yet for all theſe ſhadowes, the matter was not ſo cloſely by *Solyman* conueied (although he was exceedingly carefull therof) but that his mortall and deadly hatred againſt his ſon was perceiued by the Baſſa's, & other great men about him: inſomuch that *Achmat Baſſa* by a ſecret and truſty meſſenger gaue him warning thereof, that ſo he might in time the better prouide for the ſafegard of his life. Nei-
F ther could *Muſtapha* himſelfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparant reaſon ſhould come ſo far with ſo great an army: yet truſting to his owne innocency, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he reſolued (although it were with the extreme danger of his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers command: for he thought it more commendable and honorable to incurre the danger of death, than liuing to fall into the foule ſuſpition of

The malitious deuice of Ruſtan.

Solyman goeth himſelfe with an army to kill his ſonne.

He ſendeth for Muſtapha.

Muſtapha perplexed in mind.

disloyalty. In so great a perplexity of mind, after he had with himselfe much discoursed too and fro, what course he were best to take, at length he boldly and resolutely asked the Doctor whom (as we haue before said) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the Empire of the World, or a blessed life were of man more to be desired? To whom the doctor frankly answered, That the Empire of the World, to him that would enter into the due consideration thereof, brought with it no felicity, more than a vaine shew and outer appearance of good, nothing being more fraile or vncertaine than worldly honor, bringing with it feare, vexation of mind, tribulation, suspition, murder, wrong, wickednesse, spoile, ruin, and captiuity, with infinit mischiefes of like nature, not to be desired of him that would attaine to true felicity, by which meanes the blessed life was to be lost and not gained: But they vnto whom God had giuen the grace rightly to consider and weigh the fragility and shortnesse of this our estate (which the common sort deemeth to be the only life) and to striue against the vanities of this World, and to embrace and follow an vpright kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place assigned for them in heauen and prepared by the great God, where they should at length enjoy life and blisse eternall. This answer of the great doctor wonderfully satisfied the troubled mind of the yong Prince, foreseeing as it were the approch of his owne end: and so staying not any longer discourse, forthwith set forwards toward his father, and making great hast, came at length to his fathers campe, and not far off pitched his tents in the open field. But this his so hasty comming the more increased the suspition in the mind of his wicked father: neither spared *Rustan* in the meane time with his crafty and subtile deuises to augment the same: for by a signe giuen he caused the Ianizaries and chiefe men in the army to go as if it had bin for honors sake to meet *Mustapha*; which they all without delay presently did at his command, and so all together set forward. In the meane time he the most crafty varlet, with troubled countenance (for he could notably dissemble) as a man halfe dismaied came in haste into *Solymans* pauilion, and falsly told him, That the Ianizaries and almost all the best souldiers of the army were of themselues without leaue gon to meet *Mustapha*, and that he feared what would ensue thereof. Which news so troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale for feare, and going out of his tent, and finding them gone, easily beleeued all to be true that the false Bassa had told him. Neither wanted *Mustapha* strange warning of his end so neere at hand, for the third day before his setting forwards toward his father, falling asleepe in the euening, he thought he saw his Prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparell to take him by the hand and lead him into a most pleasant place, beautified with most glorious and stately palaces, and most delicat & pleasant gardens; and pointing to euery thing with his finger, to say thus vnto him, *Here rest they for euer, which in this World haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue, and detesting vice:* and after that turning his face to the other side, to haue shewed him two great and swift riuers, whereof the one boiled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers of men wallowing and tumbling, some vp, some downe, crying horribly for mercy: *And there* (said he) *are punished all such as in this fraile life haue bin the malicious workers of iniquity*: the chiefe of whom (as he said) were Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other great men of the world. *Mustapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholy dreame, called vnto him his doctor: and hauing told him all the matter, asked him what the same might signifie? who standing a great while in a muse (for the Mahometans are exceeding superstitious, attributing much to dreams) full of sorrow and griefe at length answered, That this vision (for so it pleased him to terme it) was vndoubtedly to be feared, as presaging vnto him the extreame perill of his life, and therefore requested him to haue great care both of his life and honor. But *Mustapha* as he was of a notable spirit and courage, regarding nothing that answer, stoutly replied, What, shall I suffer my selfe to be terrified and ouercome with childish and vain feare? why rather haste I not couragiously and resolutely to my father? and so much the more boldly, because I know assuredly I haue alwaies (as reason was) so reuerenced his Majesty, that against his wil I neuer turned my eies or foot against his most royall seat, much lesse affected his Empire, except the most high God had called him to a better life, neither then, without the general good liking & choice of the whole army, that so I might at length without murder, without bloud, without tyranny, well & justly reigne, and in loue and peace inuiolate liue with my brethren: for I haue set down with my selfe, and chosen, if it be my fathers pleasure so, rather to die in his obedience, than reigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, especially my competitors, a rebell or traitor.

His talke with his Doctor.

Mustapha commeth to his fathers campe.

The exceeding treachery of Rustan against Mustapha.

The melancholy dreame of Mustapha in comming to his father.

Hauing

A Hauing thus ſaid, he came vnto his fathers camp, & pitching his tents (as we haue before ſaid) ſuted himſelfe all in white, in token of his innocency, and writing certaine letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, vſe to write, and alwaies to carry with them, for they are wonderfull fooliſh in their ſuperſtition) and putting them in his boſome, attended vpon with a few of his moſt truſty followers, came with great reuerence towards the tent of his father, fully reſolued to haue kiſſed his hand, as their vſuall manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of his tent, remembring that he had yet his dagger girt to him, he entred not vntill he had put it off; becauſe he would not come into his fathers ſight with any weapon, if happily ſo he might cleare himſelfe of his fathers needleſſe ſuſpition. So when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with ſuch honour as belonged
B to his ſtate cheerfully receiued by his fathers Eunuchs. But ſeeing nothing elſe prouided but one ſeat whereon to ſit himſelfe alone, he perplexed in mind, ſtood ſtill a while muſing; at length asked where the Emperor his father was? Whereunto they anſwered, That he ſhould by and by ſee him: and with that caſting his eie aſide, he ſaw ſeuen Muts (theſe are ſtrong men bereft of their ſpeech, whom the Turkiſh tyrants haue alwaies in readineſſe, the more ſecretly to execute their bloudy butchery) comming from the other ſide of the tent towards him: at whoſe ſight ſtrucken with a ſudden terrour, ſaid no more, but, *Lo my death*; and with that, ariſing was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuchs and Muts, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death: where without further ſtay, the Muts caſt a bow-ſtring about his necke, he poore wretch ſtil ſtriuing, and requeſting that he might
C ſpeake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is ſufficient ſignificantly to expreſſe his vnnaturall villany) both heard and ſaw by a trauers from the other ſide of the tent: but was ſo far from being moued with compaſſion, that thinking it long till he were diſpatched, with a moſt terrible and cruell voice he rated the villains enured to bloud; ſaying, *Will you neuer diſpatch that I bid you? well you neuer make an end of this traitor, for whom I haue not reſted one night theſe ten yeares in quiet?* Which horrible commanding ſpeeches, yet thundering in their eares, thoſe butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent Prince vpon the ground, and with the helpe of the Eunuches forcecibly drawing the knotted bow-ſtring both waies, by the commandement of a moſt wicked father ſtrangled him. With like barbarous cruelty, he ſhortly after cauſed *Mahomet* his nephew (*Muſtapha* his ſonne) to be ſtrangled
D alſo.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers tent.

Muſtapha moſt cruelly ſtrangled in his fathers ſight.

Mahomet Muſtapha's ſonne ſtrangled alſo.

This vnnaturall and ſtrange murther committed, he preſently commanded the Baſſa of Amaſia *Muſtapha's* Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne preſence to be ſtrucke off. Which done, he ſent for *Tzihanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in ſporting wiſe, as if he had done a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet his brother *Muſtapha*: which thing *Tzihanger* with a merry and cheerefull countenance haſted to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as ſoone as he came vnto the place where he ſaw his brother lying dead vpon the ground ſtrangled, it is not to be ſpoken how he was in minde tormented. He was ſcarcely come to the place where this deteſtible murther was committed, when his father ſent vnto him certaine of his ſeruants to offer vnto him all
E *Muſtapha's* treaſure, horſes, ſeruants, jewels, tents, and withall the gouernment of the Prouince of Amaſia; but *Tzihanger* filled with extreame heauineſſe for the vnmercifull death of his welbeloued brother, ſpake vnto them in this ſort: *Ah wicked and vngodly* Caine, *traitor (I may not ſay father) take thou now the treaſures, the horſes, the ſeruants, the jewels, and the Prouince of* Muſtapha. *How came it into thy wicked, cruell, and ſauage breaſt, ſo vngratiouſly and contrary to all humanity, I will not ſay the reuerence of thine owne bloud, to kill thy worthy, warlike, and noble ſonne, the mirrour of courteſie, and Prince of greateſt hope, the like of whom, the* Othoman *family neuer yet had, nor euer ſhall? I will therefore my ſelfe prouide that thou, nor none for thee ſhall euer hereafter in ſuch ſort ſhamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much ſaid, ſtab'd himſelfe with his owne dagger into the body, whereof he in ſhort time died: Which ſo ſoone as it
F came to the old Tigers eares, it is hard to ſay how much he grieued. His dead body was by his fathers commandement carried from Aleppo in Syria, to Conſtantinople, and afterwards honourably buried on the other ſide of the Hauen at Pera. For all this bloudy tragedy, his couetous minde was not ſo troubled, but that he could forthwith command all *Muſtapha's* treaſures and riches to be brought to his tent: which his ſouldiers in hope to haue the

Solyman offreth to Tzihanger all Muſtapha's treaſure and wealth.

Tzihanger for ſorrow killeth himſelfe.

the ſame giuen them for a prey, willingly haſted to performe. In the meane time the ſouldiers which were in *Muſtapha's* campe, not knowing what was become of their maſter, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of ſoldiers thruſting into their campe without all order; to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolency, ſtept out in their armour, and notably repulſed them, not without much bloud ſhed. G

A bloudy tumult betwixt the ſoldiers of Solyman and Muſtapha.

At length, the noiſe of this ſtir was heard by the reſt of the Kings ſouldiers, who ſeeing the tumult to increaſe more and more, ran in to helpe their fellowes; ſo that in ſhort time there began a hot skirmiſh and cruell fight on both ſides, inſomuch that two thouſand were ſlaine, and mo wounded: neither had the broile ſo ended, had not *Achomat Baſſa* a graue captaine, and for his long experience of no ſmall authority amongſt the ſouldiers, kept backe the Ianizaries, and ſtaied their fury; and turning likewiſe to *Muſtapha's* ſouldiers, by gentle and mild words and courteous perſuaſions, in this manner appeaſed their rage. H

The tumult appeaſed by Achomates Baſſa.

What my brethren (ſaid he) *will you now (degenerating from your antient loyalty, for which you haue beene for ſo many ages commended) impugne the command of the great Sultan our dread Soueraigne? Truely I cannot ſufficiently maruell what thing ſhould moue you whom I haue hitherto proued to haue beene moſt worthy and valiant ſouldiers, in this ciuill conflict to draw thoſe weapons againſt your fellowes and brethren, which you haue moſt fortunatly vſed againſt the the enemies of the* Othoman *Kings: except you meane thereby to make your ſelues a joyfull ſpectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to ſee themſelues ouercome by your victorious weapons, may yet rejoyce among themſelues to ſee you turne the ſame one vpon another. Wherefore my ſonnes, for your antient honours ſake, be carefull that you do not by this your inſolency loſe the reputation of your wiſedome, loyalty, and valour; for which you haue hitherto beene aboue all others commended: reſerue theſe your weapons which you haue now too too much vſed among your fellowes, againſt your enemies, of whom you may get more praiſe and honour.* This ſpeech of the old Baſſa, ſo mollified the ſtout ſouldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Muſtapha's* tents to be carried to *Solyman:* but as ſoone as the death of *Muſtapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the reſt of the army in *Solymans* campe, another tumult roſe among them worſe than the firſt, I

The Ianizaries vp in armes againſt Solyman for the vnworthy death of Muſtapha.

They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noiſe confuſed with teares and lamentation, as they were in rage and fury, brake violently into *Solymans* pauillion with their drawne ſwords: which ſtrucke the tyrant into ſuch a feare, that deſtitute of all counſell in himſelfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden by by his friends, and making a vertue of neceſſity, vpon the ſudden aduentured to do that which at better leiſure he would ſcarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but with a pale and wan countenance, he ſpake vnto the enraged ſouldiers thus: K

The ſtout ſpeech of Solyman to the Ianizaries.

What broile is this? what ſturre: what ſo great inſolency? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angry lookes? know you not your Soueraigne? and him that hath power to command you? Haue you ſo reſolued to ſtaine the antient and inuincible honour of your ſelues and your anceſtours, with the bloud of your Lord and Emperour?

The fierce anſwer of the Ianizaries to Solyman.

Whileſt he was yet thus ſpeaking, the ſouldiers boldly anſwered, That they denied not, but that he was the man whom they had many yeares before choſen for their Emperor: but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mighty Empire, and in like manner preſerued it; that was therefore of them done, that he ſhould for the ſame gouerne them vertuouſly and juſtly, and not to lay his bloudy hands without diſcretion vpon euery juſt man, and moſt wickedly embrue himſelfe with innocent bloud: and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they ſaid) moued with juſt cauſe to reuenge the vnworthy death of guiltleſſe *Muſtapha*; and that for that matter, he had no juſt cauſe to be angry with them. Wherefore they required, that they might publikely cleere themſelues of the treaſon whereof they were accuſed by *Muſtapha's* enemies, and that the accuſer might be brought forth to juſtifie his accuſation: proteſting that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, vntill the accuſer made his appearance in judgement, and commenced his accuſation judicially, vpon paine to endure the like puniſhment if he failed in proofe. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the hainouſneſſe of the late committed fact cauſed euery man to ſhed teares, ſo that *Solyman* himſelfe ſeemed to be ſorry for the murther ſo lately by himſelfe committed: wherefore he promiſed vnto the ſouldiers whatſoeuer they required, and did what he could to appeaſe their angry minds. For all that, they in the meane time, leſt he ſhould craftily ſlip away and deceiue them of that he had promiſed, and of the expectation of ſuch things as they had required, with a maruellous care and diligence all kept watch and ward. L M

Solyman yeeldeth vnto the Ianizaries.

Solyman

A *Solyman* to appeaſe this fury of the Ianizaries, depriued *Ruſtan Baſſa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his ſeale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates Baſſa*. But *Ruſtan* worthily ſtrucken with feare and horrour, ſeeing himſelfe now in no ſafety in his owne tenss, fled ſecretly to *Achomates*, asking his counſell what were beſt for him to do, and what courſe to take in ſo doubtfull and dangerous a caſe? To whom the Baſſa anſwered, that it were beſt for him to vſe the great Emperors aduiſe, and to do what he commanded. Which anſwer well ſatisfied *Ruſtan*: and ſo he which of late gaue other men acceſſe vnto the Emperour at his pleaſure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to prefer this poore ſute, To know his pleaſure what he would haue him to do: from whom he receiued this anſwer, That he ſhould incontinently without further delay get him out of his ſight, and out of the campe: B which the Baſſa ſaid he could not conueniently do, being by his diſpleaſure and the ſouldiers rage diſfurniſhed of all things neceſſary for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* ſent him anſwer againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were beſt for him without more ado to be gon for feare of further harme. Whereupon *Ruſtan*, guilty in conſcience of moſt horrible villany and treachery, accompanied but with eight of his moſt faithfull friends in ſtead of his late world of followers, poſted in haſt to Conſtantinople, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treaſon againſt *Muſtapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

Ruſtan diſgraced by Solyman, flyeth to Conſtantinople.

This young Prince *Muſtapha* thus ſhamefully murthered by his own father, was for his rare vertues generally beloued of the Turks: but of the ſouldiers moſt for his martiall diſpoſition, C and readines for the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. The opinion they had conceiued of him was ſuch, and their loue ſo great, that they neuer thought there was any in the *Othoman* family, of whom they expected ſo much for the enlarging of their Empire: inſomuch, that euer ſince, when in their priuat or publike actions they faile of any great hope, they vſe this prouerbe euen at this day taken from him, *Gietti Sultan Muſtapha*, Sultan *Muſtapha* is dead: as who ſhould ſay, our hope is all loſt, *Achomates Baſſa* the great champion of the Turks, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the ſmall aſſurance of the great honors of that ſtate, at ſuch time as he receiued the ſeale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly beſtow it vpon him, ſo he would at one time or other to his no leſſe diſgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* ſolemnly promiſed with an oath, not to diſplace him ſo long as he liued. For all that, he D had not long enjoyed that honor, but that *Solyman* falling in diſlike with him, & willing again to promote *Ruſtan Baſſa* to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks court, which by reaſon of his oath he could not do ſo long as *Achomates* liued; To ſaue his oath, and to prefer his ſon in law (whom he had indeed diſplaced only to pleaſe the tumultuous Ianizaries) reſolued to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpoſe *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuano in all his honour, vpon the ſudden receiued word from *Solyman*, that he muſt preſently die, and forthwith was the hangman ready to haue ſtrangled him, as was giuen him in charge: whom the ſtout Baſſa thruſt from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere in ſhew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, eſpied at laſt an honeſt man whom he had many times before pleaſured, whom he moſt E earneſtly requeſted for all the kindneſſe ſhewed vnto him, to do him that laſt fauor as to ſtrangle him with his owne hand, which ſhould be vnto him the greateſt good turne that he could poſſibly deuiſe, deteſting nothing more than to die vnder the hand of the executioner. Which thing, when he after much intreaty had vndertaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he ſhould not at one twich ſtrangle him out right, but letting the bow-ſtring ſlacke againe, giue him leaue once to breath, and then to diſpatch him: which is requeſt was by his friend accordingly performed, and he in that ſort ſtrangled: wherein it ſeemeth that he was deſirous, firſt to taſt of death, and not to die all at once. Immediatly after whoſe death, *Ruſtan Baſſa* was again reſtored to his place of chiefe Viſier, and had the great ſeale deliuered vnto him: which honour he enjoyed about ſix yeares after, and ſo at laſt died of the dropſie. This was the end of theſe two great Baſſaes *Achomates* and *Ruſtan*, who in that time ſwaied that great Empire, vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue ſo much ſpoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, ſhould ſay, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thouſand times, in ſeeing his honour taken from him and beſtowed vpon another.

The miſerable end of Achomates the great Baſſa.

The

1554 The Turks gallies by the ſolicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuſcan ſea, did much hame vpon the coaſts of Calabria and Sicilia in this yeare 1554, as they had the yeare before, and ſo did diuers yeares after. At which time alſo *Pandulphus Contarenus* the Venetian Admirall ſcouring alongſt the ſeas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Venetian eſtate, chanced to meet with the Baſſa of Callipolis, who in the yeare before had rifled certaine Venetian Merchants; in reuenge of which injury he ſet vpon him, and after a great ſpoile made both of the Turks and their gallies, he ranſacked Dirrachium then one of the Turks port townes in Dalmatia. G

1555 The next yeare 1555, the ſame Baſſa recouered his ſtrength, but not daring to be too buſie with the Venetians, ſurpriſed the Iſlands of Blumbis and Elba, ſubject to the Duke of Florence, and withall ſent letters to *Solyman*, to perſuade him to take vp armes againſt the Venetians, as they which had broken the league. H

At the ſame time, *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda by policy ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Baboza, in Hungary: and was in good hope by the like fineneſſe to haue taken the Towne and Caſtle of

1556 Zigeth, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpoſe, he came the next yeare 1556,

Zigeth beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda. with a great army, and the thirteenth day of Iune incamped before the towne, wherein was Gouernor *Marcus Horwath* a valiant Captaine, with a garriſon of notable ſouldiers. Shortly after he began a moſt terrible battery: during which time the Chriſtians ſallying out diuers times, ſlew many of his men; who for all that vſed ſuch diligence, that the twentieth of Iune they won the outtermoſt wall, and after fiue hot aſſaults were in hope at the ſixt to haue won the caſtle alſo: but the Chriſtians perceiuing the danger, reſolutely ſallied out, and hauing I ſlaine eight hundred of them, draue the reſt againe from the wall. Yet the Turks gaue it not ſo ouer, but with a great number of carts labored to haue filled vp the marriſh and ditches about the towne: which their attempt was by the induſtry of the defendants alſo defeated. The Baſſa perceiuing how hardly the towne would be won by force, attempted to haue perſuaded them to haue yeelded it vp by compoſition: but failing therein of his purpoſe, began againe

A terrible aſſault. the twelfth of Iuly to aſſault the city, which aſſault he maintained fiue daies together without intermiſſion, ſtill ſending in freſh men inſtead of them that were wearied or ſlaine: yet

Zigeth notably defended. was the city for all that by the valour of the Chriſtians notably defended. So when he had in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his forces, he raiſed his ſiege the one and twentieth day of Iuly and departed: but within ſix daies after, he returned from the city Quinque Eccleſiæ, and aſ- K ſaulted the city afreſh; but was at length glad to giue ouer the ſiege and be gone, when he had loſt of his beſt ſouldiers aboue two thouſand, and of the defendants ſlaine but an hundred and twenty. After his departure there was ten thouſand great ſhot found, wherewith he had battered the towne and the caſtle, which was for this time thus worthily defended. The Turks in the meane time after their wonted manner ceaſed not to do what harme they could in the Tuſcane ſea, and had again miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland of Corſica: for withſtanding of whom the Biſhop of Rome exacted of his people a great ſubſidue, and finely ſtript the Iewes of their mony, and ſeaſed vpon their rich Merchants goods in his territory. At whoſe earneſt ſute *Solyman* in their behalfe writ vnto the Biſhop as followeth: L

Sultan *Solyman*, moſt mighty Emperor of Emperors, the ſonne of *Selym*, Emperor of Emperors, to whom God giue eternall victory: to Pope *Paulus* the fourth greeting.

Solymans Letters to the Pope in behalfe of the Iewes Merchants. *Moſt excellent and moſt mighty Lord of the Profeſſors of the Meſsias Ieſu, and Lord of Rome, the Almighty keepe thee. At ſuch time as thou ſhalt receiue our Seale, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by out Letters, that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppreſſed of thee with too grieuous exactions, when they come to trafficke at Ancona: This burthen I requeſt thee to take from them, and to reſtore againe vnto them their goods, that therby they may be able to pay to vs our Tribute. which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) ſhalt do, thou ſhalt feele our fauour. Farewell. From Conſtantinople the laſt of* M *the bleſſed moneth* * *Rambeluch, in the yeare of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *nine hundred threeſcore and foure.*

* *The ninth of March, Anno 1556.*

Haly Baſſa beſieged Zigeth againe. *Haly Baſſa* grieued with the late repulſe he had receiued at Zigeth, came againe the next yeare,

A yeare, and beſieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* ſent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the county *Serinus* with a power raiſed in Sueuia and Auſtria, to recouer Baboza, a caſtle betwixt Sigeth and Stiria, before ſurpriſed by the Turkes: of whoſe comming the Baſſa hauing intelligence, roſe with his army and departed from Sigeth, which he had for certaine moneths hardly beſieged, and not far from Baboza met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who joyning battell with him, after a hard and ſharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victory with the comming downe of young *Ferdinand*, King *Ferdinands* ſonne, Archduke of Auſtria with new ſupplies, ſo terrified the Turks in that part of Hungary along the riuer Dranus, that they for feare forſooke Baboſa, Sammartin, San-Laurence, and diuers other ſmall caſtles which they had before taken, and fled to Quinque Eccleſiæ.

Haly Baſſa ouerthrowne.

B The Gouernour of Sigeth encouraged herewith, ſallying out with his garriſon, ſlew many of the Turks in their flight towards Quinque Eccleſiæ, and meeting by chance with a troupe of horſemen which were bringing the Turks pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the mony, and ſo with an exceeding rich prey returned to his caſtle. At which time alſo *Adam* the Gouernour of Rab, otherwiſe called Iauarinum, hauing burnt the ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis, and driuen away many thouſands of cattell, at a towne called Sian ouerthrew fiue hundred Turks, and as many fugitiue Chriſtians, and ſo with a great prey and little or no loſſe at all of his men, returned.

Henry the French King at the ſame time in warres with *Philip* King of Spaine, and troubled with the loſſe of his army ouerthrowne not farre from S. Quintins (at which time the Duke C *Montmorencie* Conſtable of France and Generall of the army, with his ſon and diuers other of the nobility of France were taken priſoners) by his Embaſſadour *Michael Condignac* ſolicited *Solyman* to haue by ſea inuaded Naples and Sicilia, ſo to haue withdrawne the Spaniſh forces out of France, to defend their owne frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the inſolency of the Embaſſadour, refuſed to doe: yet neuertheleſſe commanded his aduenturers all along ſt the coaſt of Affricke, to infeſt thoſe ſeas, and to do what harme they could vpon the coaſt of Italy and Sicilia; which they ſo diligently performed, that the Viceroy of Sicilia was faine for defence of thoſe countries to lie in readineſſe with his gallies in the ports of Caieta and Naples.

Henry the French king ſolliciteth Solymã to inuade the king of Spaine his territories.

In the meane time the *Guiſe*, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of S. *Iohns* in France (and D brother of *Francis* the Duke of *Guiſe*, Generall of the French Kings army in Italy, who vpon the ouerthrow receiued at S. Quintins, called out of Italy, ſhortly after tooke Calais) Admirall of the gallies of Malta, went out towards the Eaſt with foure gallies well appointed, to lie in wait for the Turks, and by fortune met with two great ſhips laded with the Turks merchandiſe, which he tooke; and by and by after, light vpon foure of the Turks gallies, with whom he had a great fight: yet at length hauing ſunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the other two. After which victory returning towards Malta to haue repaired his gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallies of the Turks: who deſirous to reuenge the loſſe of their fellowes, ſet vpon him, and he ſeeing now no remedy, but that he muſt needs fight couragiouſly, encountred them. But foraſmuch as he had in the two fights E before loſt ſome of his men, and 72 of the Knights in the gallies lay ſore wounded, he, by the counſell of the captaines retired towards Malta: but by the way one of his gallies was taken by the Turks, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the reſt and the prizes before taken, he recouered the Iſland of Malta, where he ſtaied that Winter; and the next Spring ſailed into France to be partakers of thoſe troubles, which beginning ſhortly after, haue but of late taken end.

The Guiſe, Lord Grand Prior in France, Admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turkes gallies.

The immoderat fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrary to his deſire, than in the proofe of thoſe his children, of whom the world held the greateſt expectation. *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſon the mirrour of courteſie, and rare hope of the whole Turkiſh nation, the ſuſpitious tyrant had moſt vnnaturally cauſed to be murthered in his own preſence, F to the griefe of all his ſubjects in generall, as is before declared: poore *Tzihanger* was dead for ſorrow: and *Mahometes* his eldeſt ſonne by his beſt beloued the faire *Roxolana*, was departed this life alſo. So that now remained vnto him onely *Selymus*, the vnworthy heire of ſo great an Empire, and *Bajazet* his younger brother, the liuely image of his father, both men growne, and the ſonnes of the ſame *Roxolana*: but ſo far differing the one from the other both in feature

Solyman in no thing more vnfortunate than in the proofe of his children.

of

of body and disposition of mind, as if they had not bin of the same kindred and line. *Selymus* the elder brother most like vnto his mother, was in the secret determination of the aged Emperor his father appointed heire of that most mighty empire. *Bajazet* much resembling his father, was on the other side strongly supported by the care and entire loue of his mother: which whether it proceeded of a secret commiseration of his ineuitable destiny, or that he had by loyalty or other means so won her fauor, is not knowne; but euery man saw, that if it had lien in her power, she would vndoubtedly haue preferred him before his eldest brother *Selymus*, and haue placed him in the Empire: but she must needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmly and irremoueably set down, that the Destinies so permitting, none should reigne after him but his eldest son *Selymus*. Of which his purpose and resolution *Bajazet* being not ignorant, began most circumspectly to looke about him, if he could by any means frustrat that forcible necessity, and exchange his certaine destruction with an Empire: in which his deep and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauor & loue of *Roxolana* his mother, & of *Rustan* the great Bassa his brother in law; who together had in any other matter bin able to haue ouerruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he resolutely set downe himselfe, rather to end his daies by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which by course of nature could not now be far off) to be as a sacrifice basely butchered by some vile hangman of his brothers. *Bajazet* so resolued, and now already fallen out with his brother *Selymus*, took occasion vpon the generall discontentment of the people and others, for the vnworthy death of *Mustapha* their late joy, to begin those stirs which he had before with himselfe plotted, and so to make a head, wherunto he might afterward joine the body also: for why, that worthy *Mustapha* had left behind him so great desire of himselfe, that now it wearied many to liue after him, they had so placed al the hope of their good fortune in him, vnto whom nothing was more desirous than to reuenge the wrong don vnto him, or els to run the same hard fortune with him: othersome guilty of the immoderat affection they had born vnto him yet liuing, and fearing to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any state better and more assured than that wherein they presently stood, and therefore sought all occasions of new stirs, and how to set all on a burly burly: only a captain was wanting, *Mustapha* could not be again reuiued, yet might he be strongly supposed to liue. This deuice pleased *Bajazet*, as best fitting his purpose, being not ignorant of this disposition of the people. Wherefore by certain of his most faithfull and trusty followers he found out a certaine obscure fellow of a notable audacity, which should take vpon him the name & person of *Mustapha*, whose stature also and countenance and proportion of body differed not much from *Mustapha* himselfe: he, as if he had by chance escaped, first began to shew himselfe in that part of Thracia, which is aboue Constantinople, and lieth toward Danubius, not far from the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, & was for that cause both fittest for rebellion, and also best stored with horsemen, who of all others most honored *Mustapha*. Hither he comes as if it had bin from a long journy, slenderly accompanied, and as if he had bin desirous at the first not to haue bin known; his followers being demanded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearefully giue them that asked occasion to ghesse, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Mustapha*: neither did he himselfe much deny it: wherby the people became more and more desirous to know him. Which beginning thus laied, he afterward began to rejoice of his fortunat comming thither, and to giue God thanks for his safe arriuall there amongst his friends: he tels them, That at such time as he was sent for by his father, he durst not come in his sight, or commit himselfe vnto him in his fury. but by the counsell of his friends to haue with great promises persuaded one that was maruellous like vnto himselfe to goe in his stead: by whose danger he might make proofe of his fathers mind towards him: who before he was admitted to the speech of his father, was without hearing miserably strangled, and so cast out before his pauilion: at which time there was many (as he said) which perceiued the deceit, but the greater part remained in errour, deceiued with the lineaments and countenance of the miserable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible paines of death, and supposing it to haue bin him indeed that was slaine. Which thing as soone as hee vnderstood, he thought it not good longer to stay, but presently to fly and to prouide for his owne safety: and so flying with a few of his owne followers, thereby the more secretly and safely to escape; and hauing passed aboue Pontus by the people of Bosphorus, was now come thither, where he was in good hope to finde much helpe and comfort

Bajazet Solymans younger sonne seeketh to aspire vnto the Empire.

The crafty dealing of the supposed Mustapha to deceiue the people.

A counterfeit Mustapha set vp to make a head of rebellion.

A fort in the fidelity of his friends, whom he requested not now to forsake him, or to make lesse account of him disgraced by the malice of his step-mother, than they had before in time of his prosperity, for that he was minded to reuenge the injury don vnto him, and by force of arms to defend himself. For what els had he now left; beeing by no other meanes preserued but by the death of another man. That he had sufficiently proued how his father stood affected toward him, and that he now liued by his mistaking, not by his kindnes. The cause of all which his troubles was his step-dame, who (as he said) with her inchantments led the silly old man (now almost doting for age, and mad for loue) whither she would at her pleasure: and by her agent *Rustan Bassa* forced him forward headlong into al kind of mischief. But that God be thanked he wanted not friends, by whose helpe he would find a way out of these miseries,
B and take reuenge of his enemies: for why, he had as yet couragious hearts, and the Ianizaries with the greater part of his fathers family on his side; and that great multitudes of people would flock vnto him vpon bruit of his name; and that they which now mourned for him as dead (being in number many) would by heaps run to help him being aliue: so that they there present would but only curteously receiue him as a gueſt, and protect him now distressed, till such time as his wel-willers and friends might repair vnto him. And this at last he gaue out not in secret, but openly to all men whersoeuer he came. The same things did they also report, whom he made the people beleeue to haue bin the companions of his flight: which was also confirmed by diuers of good credit and authority, whom *Bajazet* had before dealt with to that purpose. So that a great number of men altogether vnknown to *Bajazet*, were therby se-
C duced: for this matter was so cunningly wrought, that many who had known *Mustapha* aliue, & seen him ly dead before his fathers pauilion, yet listed not greatly to beleeue that which they knew, but easily suffered themselues to be persuaded that this was the true *Mustapha*. But the companions and followers of *Mustapha* (in whose mindes the liuely countenance and resemblance of him was fully ingrauen) nothing could deceiue; yet blinded partly with fear, partly with grief and desire of reuenge, and wishing rather to aduenture any thing, than longer to liue without *Mustapha*, were the first men that came to offer their seruice to this counterfeit *Mustapha*, and would not suffer other men to doubt but that he was the true *Mustapha*, which was falsly reported to haue bin slain. As for the deceiuer himself, he either kept with him, or entertained them that came, some with fair promises, some with curteous speeches, & many
D also with mony & rewards, which he made them beleeue he had reserued of the reliqus of his better fortune. For *Bajazet* had before notably prouided that he wanted nothing for countenancing of his credit. So within the space of a few daies such a multitude of men was resorted vnto him as might almost haue made a whole army. When *Solyman* vpon the sudden was aduertised by the fearful messengers and letters of the Sanzacks therabouts, what danger was like to ensue by the concourse of so great a multitude of people to this counterfeit *Mustapha*, he presently suspecting (as the truth was) that this was not don without the priuity of one of his sons, thought it not a thing to be neglected; and therefore by his Letters reproued the Sanzacks, That they had suffered the matter to run so far, and had not in the beginning (as their duty was) suppressed the same. Grieuously threatning them, if they did not with all
E speed send vnto him in bonds that counterfeit companion and the rest of his Complices: the which that it might be the easilier by them performed, he promised to send one of the chiefe Bassa's, namely *Partau Bassa* (who had maried the widow of *Mahometes* the eldest son of *Roxolana*, of whom we haue before remembred) and with him a strong power of the souldiers of the Court. But if they would haue themselues excused, they should of themselues dispatch the matter before the comming of that aid. This *Partau* led after him certain squadrons of souldiers, not so many in number, as notable for their fidelity. For *Solyman* had caused the most faithful of his Colonels, Captains, and Corporals, to be culled out; wisely doubting lest his soldiers, either led with affection, or corrupted with reward, might take part with him against whom they were sent. For the common sort of Ianizaries standing in suspence at the fame of
F *Mustapha*, and expectation of some grea nouelty, fauored that broil, and wished all on a hurly-burly: neither was the matter indeed without danger. The Sanzacks after they had receiued this streit charge from *Solyman*, considering how much it stood them vpon to make speedy dispatch, began now to incourage one another to bestir themselues, to make all the haste possible, and with all their power on euery side to oppose themselues against the attempts of this

Solyman sends Partau Bassa gainst the supposed Mustapha.

new found *Muſtapha*, laboring to ſtay ſuch as were comming vnto him, and to diſperſe ſuch as G
were already come, by ſhewing them the greatneſſe of the danger, and threatning them with all extremities. In the mean time *Partau Baſſa* came on with his army, and was not now far off: when (as in like caſe it often fals out in things not yet ſufficiently confirmed, and by celerity preuented) the ſoldiers of the counterfeit *Muſtapha* ſeeing themſelues beſet on euery ſide, began to fear, and firſt ſome few to ſlip away, but afterwards all without regard of ſhame or of their promiſe, to forſake their captain and fly euery man whither he thought beſt. The Captain ſeeking likewiſe to make ſhift for himſelf, was with the chief of his counſellors and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the Baſſa, who with a ſtrong gard ſent them all in bonds to Conſtantinople: where *Solyman* by moſt exquiſit torments drew from them al the ſecret deuices of his yong ſon *Bajazet*; and that he had purpoſed after ſuch a head made H
by this ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, as he thought conuenient, to haue vpon the ſudden ioyned himſelf with a great power, and ſo as ſhould beſt ſerue for his purpoſe, to haue gon directly to Conſtantinople, or els againſt his brother *Selymus*. But whilſt he goeth ſomewhat too ſlowly about his buſines, his vnripe counſels were by his fathers celerity oppreſſed. Of all which matter *Solyman* now thorowly aſſured, cauſed the ſuppoſed *Muſtapha* with his companions at mid-

Muſtapha and his companions drowned.

night to be drowned in the ſea; thinking it not good to haue theſe things commonly known, and to haue his domeſtical wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his neighbour princes. Neuertheles, being mightily offended with *Bajazet* for ſo great an iniury, he ceaſed not to caſt in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him; which his wife *Roxolana* a woman of great wiſdom was not ignorant of. Who after a few daies, at ſuch time as the old mans fury was I

At Roxolana's requeſt Solymã pardoneth Bajazet.

ouerpaſt, falling of purpoſe into talk with him about the matter, ſhe laid together in her ſons behalf, and alledged the indiſcreetnes of his youth, the neceſſity of the fact, and the example of his anceſtors in like caſe; that it was ſo prouided for by nature, that euery man ſhould bee careful of himſelfe and his, and that euery man did indifferently ſhun death; that young men were by euill counſel eaſily ſeduced and made to forget their duty. That it were reaſon hee ſhould forgiue him his firſt fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the father to haue ſaued his ſonne: but if he ſhould again fall into relapſe, there would not want time to puniſh him for both facts. And that if ſo be he would not pardon him for his owne ſake, hee would vouchſafe to pardon him for hers; intreating now for him for whom ſhe had before groaned, and not to be cruel vpon him, one of the pledges of their loue, in whom reſted the K
bloud of them both: for in what woful caſe ſhould ſhe be, if of thoſe two ſonnes (all that God had left her) the fathers ſeuerity ſhould bereaue her of the one. Wherfore ſhe requeſted him to moderat his anger, & to prefer his clemency before his iuſt indignation; foraſmuch as God himſelf of al power and might, did not alwaies deal with ſinners in ſeuerity, but for moſt part in mercy; wheras otherwiſe all mankind would not ſuffice his wrath. And would mercy in any place be more fitting, than in the father toward his child? She promiſed further, that *Bajazet* ſhould from thenceforth rtmain in dutifull obedience towards his Maieſty; and vpon his ſo great clemencie, to conuert the fear wherein he now liued, into a world of duty and deuotion. Honorable minds ſhe ſaid were retained with nothing more than with kindnes and curteſie; That the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiuenes ſhould be a ſtay vnto him, for euer do- L
ing the like again. At laſt, That ſhe would promiſe for him, and take vpon her, that he ſhould for euer afterwards ſatisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of duty and loyalty. Which words mingled with tears and other womanly geſtures, ſo wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwiſe too much in her power, that he reſolued to forgiue the fault, yet ſo, that he ſhould come and ſubmit himſelf, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother foreſlowes no time, but by letters ſecretly aduertiſed *Bajazet* not to feare to come to his father at ſuch time as he ſhould be ſent for. Aſſuring him that there was no danger, for that his father was by her means appeaſed, and he again brought into his fauor. With which good newes *Bajazet* well

Bajazet goes to his father in fear.

comforted, reſolued to go at ſuch time as he was ſent for: yet ful of fear, and oftentimes looking back vnto his brother *Muſtapha*, whoſe dreadful example ſufficiently warned him, what M
a danger he aduentured himſelfe vnto. Yet he came vnto the place appointed for his parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called Careſtran, a few miles from the city of Conſtantinople. For ſuch is the ſuſpitious maner of the Turkiſh Tyrants of theſe times, not to ſuffer any of their ſons that bee men growne, to ſet their foot within the gates of Conſtanti-

nople,

A nople, as dangerous for ſoliciting the ſoldiers of the Court, and ſo conſequently for altering the ſtate. *Bajazet* was no ſooner lighted from his horſe, but his fathers Gard was ready to receiue him, commanding him to lay aſide his ſword and dagger: which thing though it be a vſual matter in others that are admitted to the preſence of the Turkiſh Emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guilty ſon raiſe a great fear. But his kind mother (who had before foreſeen in what fear and perplexity he would come) had conueied her ſelfe into a Chamber faſt by the entrance of the ſame houſe as *Bajazet* was to paſſe; where out of a little caſement couered with a thin linnen cloth ſhee called to him paſſing by, in theſe few words, *Corcoma Oglan, Corcoma*; which is as much to ſay, *Fear not my ſonne, fear not*. With which ſhort ſpeech *Bajazet* was not a little both comforted and incouraged. But as ſoon as he was come into his

Solyman reproueth Baiazet of diſloyalty, and afterward pardoneth him.

B fathers preſence, and had done his duty, *Solyman* commanded him to ſit down by him. Then began the grim Sir grieuouſly to reproue him of raſhnes and want of diſcretion in taking vp Arms, which he could not otherwiſe conceiue of but as taken vp againſt himſelf. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the beſt that he could make of it, taken vp againſt his elder brother, yet was it neuertheles a great preſumption and moſt wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole ſtate of the Mahometan Religion (which at this day reſteth vpon the *Othoman* family) had by his domeſtical diſcord been ſore ſhaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruin, to the great iniury, reproch, and contempt of his Majeſty, a moſt deteſtable and horrible crime, which could not but with condign puniſhment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to ſhew himſelf rather a kind father, than a

C ſeuere judge; ſo that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: foraſmuch as uone of theſe things are done by our appointment, but that kingdomes and Monarchies are beſtowed as it beſt pleaſeth him. So that if it were his deſtiny to enioy the Empire after his death, he ſhould be ſure therof, as of a thing that would of it ſelf come to him, and could not by any mans power be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him. But if it were otherwiſe appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vain to ſtriue againſt the wil of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherfore he ought now (as one wel warned) to ceaſe to rage & ſtorm, and not moleſt his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he ſhould again fal and raiſe new ſtirres, it would aſſuredly fall vpon his own head, neither would any place of mercy be found for his ſecond offence; & that

D he ſhould then find him not as now, his gentle father, but a moſt ſeuere and reuenging judge. Which when he had ſaid, and *Bajazet* had thereunto briefly anſwered as the time would permit, rather crauing pardon for his treſpaſſe, than excuſing that was not to be excuſed, and promiſing from henceforth to liue moſt loyally at his command; *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commanded to be giuen to *Bajazet*, who not daring to refuſe it, although he had rather haue ſo done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting leſt that ſhould haue bin his laſt: of which fear his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the ſame cup. So *Bajazet*, though guilty, hauing with better ſucceſſe ſpoken with his father than had his brother *Muſtapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.

Baiazet returneth vnto his Charge.

E This hapned in the yeare 1555, from which time *Bajazet* ſo long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himſelf with al dutifull & brotherly kindnes both towards his father & his brother; and that rather for to keep her fauor, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindneſſe, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the only thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But ſhe dead about two yeres after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, & diſcharged of all bonds of duty, fell to his former courſe, & began more grieuouſly than before, to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him & his brother, ſomtime ſeeking by ſecret practiſes to haue him made away, and other ſomtimes by open force entring into his prouince, which was not far off, there euill intreated ſome of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their ma-

F ſters ſake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the diſgrace of him whom of al other he wiſhed dead: he had alſo certain of his fauorits at Conſtantinople, by whom he cunningly wrought by all means to gain the loue of the ſoldiers of the court, and doubted not as occaſion ſerued to paſſe ouer thither himſelfe, and there to lurk in ſecret with ſuch as were of his faction, and priuy to his deſignements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but

especially by letters from *Selymus*, wherin he was also aduertised to haue care of his own safety; for that he was far deceiued, if he perceiued not that these preambles of *Bajazets* wicked intentions would at last turn vpon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, so that hee might alone reign: vnto whose vntruly desires his fathers welfare was no lesse a bar than was his brothers, and therfore through his sides was his life shot at. Which treason had (as hee said) bin of long time plotted, and now occasion sought to haue the same performed. Wherfore he should take heed that he were not by such trechery ouerwhelmed before he were aware therof. That for himself, he could easily bear with the injuries of his brother *Bajazet*, yet could not chuse but be mooued with the greatnes of his fathers dangers. By which means *Solymans* hatred against *Bajazet* was more and more increased. Wherfore he by letters put him in remembrance of his duty, how curteously he had vsed him, and again what he had on his part promised: that there would not alwaies be place for forgiuenes; that hee should therefore cease to wrong his brother, and trouble his father. That he had but a short time to liue, and that after his death God would assigne each of them their fortune. But all this was to no purpose with *Bajazet*, fully set down resolutely to hasard any thing, than as a beast to haue his throat cut by his brother: which thing he as plainly saw would betide him in the reign of *Selymus*, as if it had bin euen then in execution. Yet he answered to his fathers commands not impertinently, but his deeds agreed not with his sayings, neither did hee alter any thing of his intended purpose. Which thing so soon as *Solyman* perceiued, he thought it best to take another course, and to remoue his sons both farther from himself, and also farther one from another. Wherfore he gaue them to vnderstand that it was his pleasure, That both of them within a certaine prefixed time should passe out of their gouernments (*Bajazet* being then gouernor of Cutai, and *Selymus* of Magnesia) and that now *Bajazet* should remoue to Amasia, and *Selymus* to Iconium. *Selymus* was without imputation, and altogether in fauor with his father; yet because no occasion should be giuen *Bajazet* to fal into extremities, if he should haue bin remoued alone, *Solyman* to seem indifferent commanded them both to remoue. Vnto which command it was adjoined, That the farther they were one from another, they should be so much the neerer in mind and brotherly loue: forasmuch as neernes of dwelling of the Great did oftentimes hinder their good agreement, whilst by forwardnes of officers many things are on both sides don to the grieuing of their masters. And that they should in any case do as they were commanded; and that he which stayd longest, should not be free from the suspition of contempt. *Selymus* made no long stay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be don for his sake. But *Bajazet* hung back, and being gon a little on his way, complained of the vnlucky prouince of Amasia, stained with the bloud of his late brother the noble *Mustapha*, to be assigned vnto him as ominous; and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatsoeuer than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miserable end of the neerest to him in bloud, should be euer before his eies, to the wounding of his heart. Wherfore he requested that he might at least Winter in those places, or els there from whence his brother was now of late departed: but *Solyman* would in no wise hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certain days journy, with such troups as his father had sent vnto him besides his own, for feare of *Bajazet*, who yet stayd loitering and trifling on the time, suddenly returning and fetching a compas about, shewed himselfe at his brothers back, marching toward Prusa in Bithynia, the antient seat of the Turkish Kings; which he did not without the priuity of his father, who liked not of the lingring of *Bajazet*: for what if he, hauing gained the good wil of the Ianizaries, should haue gon either to Prusa, or vnto Constantinople, what a danger might therby haue grown to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole State in generall? In this common fear, *Solyman* though it best for *Selymus* there to stay, from whence they might most conueniently help one another, if *Bajazet* should (as was feared) turn himself vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* so strong as to aduenture to join battell with his brother, whom he knew ready to put all vnto the hasard of one day. But when *Bajazet* (contrary to his expectation) saw *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother should be the vndoubted heire of the Empire if his father should die, (which was then by reason of his sickly constitution of body more and more feared) he writ vnto his father accusing his brother, That hee could not more manifestly in any thing declare how maliciously he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect course, which was to no other purpose but to aspire to the Empire, and to haue

Solyman remoueth his two sons farther asunder.

Bajazet delayeth by going to Amasia.

A haue a ſhort cut ouer to Conſtantinople, if hee ſhould haue any newes of his fathers death, which he ſtil gaped after. Which his longing if his fathers longer life ſhould delay, then by the ſecret miniſters of his treaſon to diſpatch him, and by murdering of him to poſſeſſe himſelf of the empire: and yet neuertheles this man, as a moſt dutiful and obedient ſon, to bee of him much made of, and as it were put in his boſom. Wheras he on the contrary part meaning wel, into whoſe conceit neuer any ſuch thought came, but was euer at command, was not had in any regard, but caſt off and contemned; whoſe greateſt requeſt was but to ſhun an vnfortunat ominous prouince. Then conuerting his ſtile to prayers, he intreated his father to gratifie him with ſome other prouince, if it were that from which his brother was gon, or with any other whatſoeuer, ſo that it were more lucky than that of Amaſia. For anſwer whereof, hee
B ſaid he would ſtay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his requeſt, hee ſhould not haue need farther to retyre. But if he ſhould not obtain his requeſt, that then he was ready to go whitherſoeuer his father ſhould command. It was not altogether for nought, that *Bajazet* found fault with Amaſia; being the manner of the Turks, of the ſmalleſt things of all to diuine vpon the greateſt. But *Solyman* vnderſtood the matter otherwiſe, who not ignorant of his ſons tears, knew right well, that he in them ſought for nothing els but a more commodious place for him to raiſe new ſtirs in, than was Amaſia, ſo far diſtant from Conſtantinople. So *Bajazet* by many delaies did what he could to fruſtrat his fathers appointment, ceaſing not in the mean time to augment his ſtrength with new ſoldiers, to prouide armor, mony, & whatſoeuer els ſeruing for the defence of himſelf, and impugning of his brother. Which *Solyman*
C took in no other part than as intended againſt his owne perſon: yet would he ſeem as not to haue any vnderſtanding of the matter. For why, the wary old Sir would not by taking knowledge therof, driue headlong his ſon, who was already running to faſt of himſelf. Beſides that, he was not ignorant that the eies of all Nations were bent vpon this diſcord of his two ſons; and therfore he deſired by all means, that theſe grudges might with as little ſtir as was poſſible be appeaſed. Wherfore he anſwered *Bajazet* curteouſly, that concerning his gouernment of Amaſia he could not alter it, as reſolutely ſet down as wel for his brother as himſelfe; and that therfore they ſhould do wel to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded. As for the reſt, they ſhould be of good comfort, for that hee would take ſuch order as that neither of them ſhould haue iuſt cauſe to complaine. *Partau Baſſa*, the fourth of the
D great Baſſa's of the Court, was appointed to go with this meſſage to *Bajazet*; and *Mehemet* third of the ſame great Baſſa's, with like charge to *Selymus*; becauſe the matter ſhould ſeem to be don with all indifferencie: and both theſe great men commaunded not to depart from them they were ſent vnto, before they were both come vnto the places of their gouernment wherunto they were aſſigned. Which *Solyman* wiſely did, to keep them both within the compas of duty, by the preſence of two ſuch graue Counſellors. Which thing *Selymus* tooke in good part, but *Bajazet* not ſo: who hauing reſolued with himſelfe to ſet all on a burly-burly, thought nothing more vnfit for his deſignes, than to haue one of his fathers greateſt Counſellors ſtill at his elbow as Cenſor of all his ſpeeches and doings; wherfore hauing curteouſly entertained him, and rewarded him according to his abilitie, he diſmiſſed him (though
E vnwilling to depart) making this excuſe, That he would vſe him as his patron and defender with his father, foraſmuch as he had no other in Court to defend his cauſe; promiſing not to be vnto him an vnworthy or vnthankfull Client: and to carry word back again vnto his father, That he would aboue all things haue care of his command, if he might ſo do for his brother *Selymus*, whoſe injuries and trecheries he had much ado to brook. *Partau* the great Baſſa thus ſent away, aſſured *Solyman* what the very mind and purpoſe of his yonger ſon was. And albeit that *Bajazet*, to make it ſeem as if ſomthing had bin don by that embaſſage, made ſhew as if he would haue preſently gon toward Amaſia; yet *Solyman* neuertheles fearing the worſt, made all the preparation he could againſt him: commanding the Beglerbeg of Greece, although then ſick of the gout, to make haſt, and with his horſemen with all ſpeed to paſſe ouer to ayd
F *Selymus*. And *Mehemet* Baſſa but lately returned, he ſent forthwith backe again to *Selymus* for the ſame purpoſe, with certain of the moſt truſty companies of the Ianizaries; and the old man in readines, made ſemblant as if he would himſelf in perſon haue gon ouer into Aſia. But the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court came with euill wil together, deteſting that Warre between the brethren, as altogether abhominable: for againſt whom ſhould they draw their ſwords?

Partau & Mehemet two Vizier Baſſa's ſent by Solyman to conduct his two ſons to their ſeueral Charges.

Bajazet ſends Partau Baſſa back again.

Solyman preparing to go againſt Bajazet, finds the Ianizaries vnwilling.

ſwords? was it not againſt the Emperours ſons, and haply the heire of the empire? Wherfore this war might (as they ſaid) wel enough be let alone, as altogether vnneceſſary; and not they to be inforced to imbrue their hands one in anothers bloud, and to pollute themſelues with ſuch impiety: as for that which *Bajazet* did, was to be holden excuſed, as proceeding from neceſſity. Which ſpeeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solymans* ears, he forthwith declared them to the Muphti (who in all matters of doubt they flee vnto, as vnto a moſt ſacred Oracle) demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, who of himſelf preſumed whilſt hee yet liued, to leuy ſoldiers, raiſe an army, ranſack towns, & trouble the ſtate of the whole empire? and what alſo he deemed of them that were his followers and took part with him? and laſt of all, of them alſo that refuſed to bear arms againſt him, and ſaid that he had in ſo doing offended nothing? Wherunto the Muphti anſwered, That both the man and his partakers were all worthy of death; and that ſuch as refuſed to take vp Arms againſt him, were as prophane and irreligious men to be accounted inteſtable. Which the great Prieſts anſwer was publiſhed vnto the people, and by the chiefe Chiaus ſent to *Bajazet*, to ſee if he might be therwith mooued. Within a few daies after there came to Conſtantinople one of the Chiaus (whom *Bajazet* had intercepted, being ſent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Bajazet* gaue his father to vnderſtand, that he was in al duty his, and that he had not taken vp Arms againſt him, neither refuſed to be vnto him in all things obedient: but that he had to do only with his brother, and with him to fight for his life, by whoſe ſword he muſt die, or els he by his, for that a miſchief was to be by one of them performed. Which quarrel he was reſolued to try while he yet liued, and that therfore he ſhould do beſt not to meddle in the quarel, or giue aid to either. But if ſo be he would needs (as the report was) paſſe ouer the ſea to aid *Selymus*, he ſhould not eaſily get him into his hands; for that he knew right well, if the worſt came, how to eſcape and ſaue himſelf, and would before he could get ouer into Aſia, make ſuch ſpoile with fire and ſword, as neuer had *Tamerlane*, or other the cruelleſt enemy that euer the Turks had. Which meſſage did not a little trouble *Solyman*; and withall it was reported, that the town of Axuar, where one of *Selymus* his ſons ruled as Sanzack, was already taken by *Bajazet* and ſhamefully ſacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was gon toward Amaſia, and now on his way as far as Ancyra, being out of all ſuſpition of danger which hee feared vpon the way ſo long as his brother was yet lingring in thoſe quarters, haſted now towards Iconium, which was with a ſtrong gariſon kept for him. For amongſt other cares wherwith *Solyman* was vexed, it was not the leaſt, that *Bajazet* intercepting Iconium, ſhould get into Syria, and from thence into Ægypt, an open country, and not yet thorowly eſtabliſhed vnder the Turkiſh gouernment; neither forgetful of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, & therfore deſirous of change: from whence it would haue bin an hard matter to haue driuen *Bajazet*, eſpecially the Arabians being alwaies ready and at hand at euery light ſtir, where any hope of prey was. Out of which prouince alſo in caſe of extremity he might eaſily tranſport himſelf into one of the Chriſtian kingdoms. *Solyman* therfore took great care, that this paſſage which might ſeeme the laſt refuge of *Bajazets* deuices, might be ſtopped vp: and concerning the ſame, had giuen commandement vnto moſt of his Commanders in Aſia, to be alwaies in readines to aid *Selymus* whenſoeuer he ſhould call. With them *Selymus* lay incamped vnder the wals of Iconium, attending euery ſtirring of *Bajazet*, reſoluing there to expect further aid from his father, & not by vntimely fight to commit his ſafety to the haſard of one doubtful battell. But *Bajazet* on the other ſide, not vnmindful what a matter he had taken in hand, ſlept not therupon, but firſt entertained a valiant ſort of horſmen which the Turks cal Chiurts, and are ſuppoſed to be of that people which were ſomtime called Gordij, men for their known valor famous. He yet lay in the plain and open fields by Ancyra, of the commodities of which city, which were indeed great, he made great vſe. In the caſtle therof he beſtowed his concubines and children: of the rich merchants he took vp mony, to be repaid with the vſe vpon the good ſucces of the War: and from thence he took whatſoeuer was needful for the arming and furniſhing of his men. Beſides his own family, which was very great, and thoſe Chiurts which we ſpoke of, many repaired vnto him, which in former time had bin beholden to his mother, to his ſiſter, & to *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa. Many alſo of the reliques of the valiant *Muſtapha* and *Achomates* the great Baſſa, valiant men and expert ſouldiers, who deſired to reuenge the vnworthy death of their Lords and Maſters euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding rabblement

Bajazet requeſteth his father not to meddle betweene him & his brother.

Bajazet ſtayes at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his Forces.

A rabblement of ſuch as weary of their preſent ſtate, deſired ſome new alteration and change. The commiſeration alſo of the ſtate of the vnfortunat *Bajazet*, eaſily drew many to take part with him, whoſe whole truſt was in his valor: they fauored the young prince liuely repreſenting his father. When as in *Selymus* appeared no likenes of himſelf, but the expres liniaments of his mothers face and body, a woman whilſt ſhe liued generally hated of all the people. He went heauily, as ouercharged with his greaſie panch, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced; ſo that the ſoldiers in ſport would ſay he was fed with green malt. He was altogether giuen to his eaſe, and ſpent his time in drunkennes and ſleep; neither was he curteous of ſpeech, nor willing to deſerue wel of any man: for he would not (as he ſaid) offend his father by being popular; ſo was he only of his father beloued, and of all other men hated. Of all kind of men hee
B moſt diſliked them that ſet al their hope in a bountiful and couragious prince. The ſame ſoldiers were alſo wont to cal *Bajazet*, *Softie*, that is to ſay, a man giuen to quietnes and ſtudy: but after they ſaw him take vp arms, and for the ſafety of himſelf and his children ready to aduenture any thing, they began to admire him as a man of valour and courage, and to ask amongſt themſelues, Why his father ſhould reject him of ſuch worth, the expreſſe image of himſelf, and prefer before him that gorbellied ſluggard, in whom no ſpark of his fathers valor was to be ſeen? This his entring into arms was no fault, being therunto by neceſſity inforced. For, had not *Selymus* their grandfather don the like? whereof no better example could be found, whom the force of neceſſity conſtrained not only to take vp arms againſt his brother, but alſo by haſtning the death of his father; and by ſo doing purchaſed vnto himſelf and his poſterity
C the empire: which ſo gotten, if *Solyman* did not vniuſtly poſſeſſe, why might not his ſon vſe the ſame courſe? why ſhould he ſo rigorouſly reuenge that in his ſonne, that was ſo lawfull in the grandfather? Although there was, as they ſaid, great difference betwixt that *Selymus* and this *Bajazet*; for that this man intended no harm againſt his father, but wiſhed him long to liue: neither yet againſt his brother, if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once ceaſe to do him wrong. That it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repel force by force, and to ſhun preſent death, if the deſtinies would ſo permit. By ſuch affections and motions *Bajazets* forces daily increaſed: which being now grown almoſt to the greatnes of a ful army, he thought it not beſt to vſe longer delay, but to march forthwith againſt his brother to fight with him one battel for his life, ſtate and empire: accounting it ſome commendation (though in vaine)
D to haue attempted ſo great an enterpriſe. His purpoſe was, as *Solyman* feared, to get into Syria: which if he could bring to paſſe, he then doubted not of the reſt. *Selymus* ſtrengthned with his fathers power, lay waiting for his comming before Iconium, wel appointed of al warlike prouiſion: his army was exceeding ſtrong, and in it many notable commanders, martiall men of great experience whom his father had ioyned vnto him; who all lay couered with their great ordnance, planted in places moſt conuenient. But *Bajazet* nothing terrified therwith, as ſoon as he came within ſight of his brothers Army, incouraged his ſoldiers in few words to play the men, for that now was come the time they wiſhed for, & place for them to ſhew their valor in: Wherfore they ſhould ſhew themſelues couragious and valiant, and he would make them all rich and fortunat. He told them, that their fortune was now in their owne hands, to
E frame it euery man as he would himſelfe; ſo that if any of them were weary of their preſent ſtate, there was the field wherin they might exchange it with better, and therin lay down the miſery of their former liues. That of him they ſhould if they ouercame, expect riches, promotions, honors, and whatſoeuer els, the rewards of valiant men. That with the victory of one battel, all their deſires ſhould be ſatisfied, were they neuer ſo great: which victory was by the valor that reſted in them to be gotten, and his brothers Army, the heartleſſe followers of a heartleſſe captain, ouerthrown: as for his fathers ſoldiers that were with his brother, they were in body preſent, but in mind altogether on his ſide. That it was only *Selymus* that withſtood his welfare and their felicity; whom they ſhould therfore valiantly ſeek for in field as their common enemy: and not to be afraid of his multitude: fora ſmuch as victory was to be gained
F not by number, but by valor: and the moſt mighty God of heauen and earth was ſtil preſent, not with the moſt, but with the beſt. Beſides that, he willed them to remember, with what a cruell enemy they were to fight, who thirſted after nothing more than their bloud. And to conclude, he willed them all not to looke vpon his words, but his deeds; and ſayd, If as you ſhall ſee me fighting for your profit, you ſhall likewiſe fight for myne honor, I dare then aſſure

The deſcription of Selymus.

Bajazet & his quarel generally fauoured of the ſoldiers.

Bajazet goes againſt his brother.

sure you of the victory. Which said, he with great courage charged the enemy, and fighting himself a long time among the formost, and there performing all the parts of a valiant soldier and worthy Captain, was for his notable valor no lesse commended of his enemies than of his own soldiers. The battell was bloudy and terrible, and many fell on both sides: but after that they with wonderfull obstinacy had a great while fought with doubtful victory, so that forty thousand Turks lay there did vpon the ground; at length the victory began to incline to that side wheron stood the greater strength, the iuster cause, and better counsel. Many of the enemies being slain, & many of his own people also lost, *Bajazet* was inforced to retyre; which he did so leisurely, and without shew of any fear, that it seemed to the beholders, he had welneer as wel gained as lost the field. Neither durst *Selymus* pursue him, but stood stil fast in the same place, neuer more glad of any thing than to see his brothers back. But *Bajazet* after hee had in contempt of his fathers command, thus run his own course, and satisfied his own desire, though disappointed of his purpose, and not able to perform the journey by him intended into Syria, turned now his course, and began in good earnest to go to Amasia his appointed prouince.

The battell betwixt Selymus and Bajazet.

Forty thousand Turks slain.

Solyman speedily aduertised of the euent of this battel, forthwith passed ouer into Asia: for as the great Bassa's his counsellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the streight before the victory, so after it was certainly known, they thought it not good longer to stay, lest the ouerthrow of *Baiazet* might giue occasion to such as secretly fauored his quarrel, to shew themselues, and so to raise greater troubles. Besides that, the fame of his passage ouer would (as they said) much auail both to the discouragement of *Bajazet*, and the terrifying of all his friends: and therfore it was by them thought good, hastily to pursue him, now ouerthrowne, and not to suffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather *Selymus*, *Solymans* father; who had bin more terribly vanquished than when hee stood in his own strength, and and might seem by that meanes especially to haue preuailed, for that he was at first vnfortunatly ouerthrown. Neither were these things without reason foreseen; for it is almost incredible, what admiration and loue this battel (though vnfortunat) did gain *Bajazet*; men wondred that he durst with so small a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, incounter with his brother far better appointed, and also supported by his fathers strength; neither fearing the great disaduantage of the place, nor the fury of the artillery: and to haue behaued himselfe in the battel not like a yong soldier, but like an old expert commander. *Selimus* might at his pleasure boast of himself (as they said) to his father for the victory; but *Bajazet* was the man that deserued to ouercome: and that *Selymus* might to any thing ascribe the victory, rather than to his own valor.

These and such like speeches, as they made *Bajazet* gratious among the people generally; so doubled they his fathers cares, and increased his hatred, to wish him the rather dead. For why, he was resolutely set down, not to leaue any other heir of the empire than *Selymus* his eldest son, always loial and obedient to him: wheras the other he abhorred as stubborn & rebellious, gaping after the empire whilst he yet liued; of whom he was therfore so much the more to stand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valor, and for the aid he had now so openly giuen to *Selymus*. For these causes he passed ouer the streit into Asia, with purpose not to go farre from the sea coast, but as it were afar off with his fauourable aspect to countenance *Selymus* his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his Army, to indanger himself by the sudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which he aboue all things feared.

I my self (saith the author of this history) saw him departing out of Constantinople the first of Iune, *Anno* 1559, when as within a few daies after, I my selfe was also sent for thither: for the Bassa's thought it not amisse to haue me in the camp, and to vse me curteously as their friend; for which cause I was assigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neer to the camp, where I lay very wel. The Turks lay in the fields round about: but lying there three months, I had good leisure and opportunitie to see the manner of their Camp, and in part to know the order of their martial discipline. So I attyring my self in such apparell as the Christians commonly vse in those parts, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my pleasure vnknowne. First I saw the souldiers of all sorts most orderly placed; and that, which he would scarsly beleeue that knoweth the manner of our war, there was in euery place great silence, & as a man may say, dumb quietnesse; no brawling, no insolencie, no not so much as a word or laugh-

Auger. Busb. Epist. 5. legat. Turcicæ.

A laughter passing in sport or drunkennesse. Besides that wonderfull cleanlines, no dunghils, no excrements that might offend either their eies or nose, for all such things the Turks do either bury or carry them far out of sight. They themselues so oft as they are inforced to discharge the burthen of nature, dig an hole with a spade and bury it, so is all their camp without filth. There was not to be seen any drinking or feasting, no dicing (the great shame of our wars) the losse of mony or time at cards and dice, the Turks know not. I met only with a rough Hungarian and his companion, a soldier, who heauy himself, to the Lute rather houled than sung a doleful ditty, containing the last words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds vpon the green banke of Danubius; wherein he requesteth the riuer, because it ran to the place where he was born, to carry news to his friends and countrymen, that he died an honorable death, and not vn-
B reuenged, for the increase of his religion, and honor of his country: wherunto his fellows sighing, bare a foot, *O happy and thrice happy wight, would Fortune with thee change we might*. For the Turks are of opinion, That no mens soules go more speedily to heauen, than of such valiant men as die in battell, for whose welfare their maidens daily make prayers and vowes. I would also needs go through their butchery, where their beasts were killed, to see what flesh was to be sold; where I saw but foure, or at most fiue weathers hanging ready dressed, and that was the butchery for the Ianizaries, which I deemed to be in that camp not fewer than foure thousand. I maruelled that so little flesh should suffice so many men: but I was answered, That few of them did eat flesh, for the most part of them had their victuals transported from Constantinople. Then I demanding what it was, they shewed me a Ianizarie sitting by, who in an ear-
C then dish had pilled a turnep, an onion, a head of garlick, a parsnep, and a cucumber, all sauced with salt & vineger, or more truly to say, with hunger; whereon he fed as sauorly, as if they had bin feasants or partridges: his drink was the common drinke of all liuing creatures, euen faire water. By which frugall kind of diet, they prouide both for the health of their bodies, and the sparing of their purse: and that I maruelled the more at, it was the time that their great fast, or to speake after our fashion, their Lent was at hand: at which time with vs Christians, euen in well ordered cities, much more in camps, all rings with playing, dancing, singing, crying, quaffing, carousing; and in briefe, with madding & phrensie. So that it is not vainly reported, That a Turke sent about that time Embassador into Germany, comming home, reported, That the Christians on certain daies did ryot, and became mad, vntill they, besprinkled with a certain
D kind of ashes in the Church, came to themselues againe, and so recouered; and that it was a wonderful thing to see, how much they were changed by the efficacy of that remedy, that they seemed not to be the same men: meaning indeed the disordered manner of the Christians at Shrouetide, and the Ceremonies vsed on Ashwednesday: Which thing they to whom it was told, so much the more maruelled at, for that the Turks haue many medicines which cause madnes, but few or none which presently easeth the same. And they vpon those daies that go before their great fasts, change nothing of their wonted maner of life to the worse: but rather contrariwise prepare themselues to abstinence, by taking somwhat from their vsuall fare, the better to endure the sudden change of their fast: which they so precisely obserue, that on their fasting daies they will not so much as taste a cup of water, or wash their mouths with water all
E the day long, before the starres appeare in the sky: which maketh their fasts, especially in Summer when the daies be long and hot, to be vnto them very tedious.

The opinion the Turks haue of them that die in their wars.

The spare diet of the Ianizaries.

The precise maner of the Turks in their fasts.

Whiles I thus lay in the camp, there came vnto me one *Albertus* a learned man with certain Presents from the emperor to *Solyman*, which were certain gilt plate; and a most curious clock, which was carried vpon an Elephant like a castle; and some crowns to be dispersed among the Bassaes: which *Solyman* would needs haue presented to him in the campe in the sight of the whole army, to make it the better known what friendship was between him and the Emperor, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Christian Princes.

Presents sent from the Emperor Ferdinand to Solyman.

But to returne againe to *Bajazet*, from whom we haue a while digressed: he after the battel at Iconium, had retired himselfe to Amasia, the place of his gouernment, as though he would
F haue now there quietly liued, if his father would so giue him leaue. He had now satisfied his youthfull desires & griefe, and seemed willing from thenceforth to satisfie his fathers better expectation: and therfore ceased not by letters & fit men to proue his fathers minde. Neither did *Solyman* shew himself strange from such a reconciliation: at first he easily gaue the messengers audience, read his sons letters, & courteously returned answer; so that it was commonly reported

Bajazet goeth to Amasia, and seeketh for his fathers fauour.

reported in the camp, that the father & the ſon would agree, and that the old man would par- G
don the youthfull pranke already paſt, ſo that he would from thenceforth remaine dutifull.
Solyman diſſembles with Bajazet. But all this was by the counſel of the Baſſa's, nothing but deep diſſimulation in the crafty old
ſire, vntill he had ſhut vp *Bajazet*, and ſo got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, leſt he
deſpairing of pardon, ſhould with ſuch a power break into the borders of Perſia (now the on-
ly place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon
thoſe frontiers: whom *Solyman* charged by continuall letters ſo to ſtop all the paſſages into
Perſia, as that there ſhould not be any crany for *Bajazet* to fly out by. In the mean time, if any
came within his reach that were ſuſpected to haue taken part with *Bajazet*, or fauored his pro-
ceedings, thoſe he cauſed to be tortured & ſecretly made away, and among them ſome whom
Bajazet had of purpoſe ſent to excuſe themſelues. For *Solyman* fearing leſt *Tamas* the Perſian H
King (more mindfull of his old quarrels than of the late inforced peace) ſhould hardly with
much ado ſuffer his ſon to be got out of his hands if he ſhould fly thither, and ſo again raiſe a
long & dangerous war; did therfore what he poſſibly might to oppreſſe him before he ſhould
come thither. Which his purpoſe although it was couered with al ſecrecy, yet was it not hid-
den from ſome of *Bajazet* his friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to truſt his fa-
ther, but to beware of treaſon, and in any caſe ſpeedily to prouide for his owne ſafety. But *So-*
lyman thinking he had now ſo prouided as that he could by no means eſcape, and happily the
more to deceiue his ſon, appointed to return with his army to Conſtantinople the day after
Bajazet flieth from Amaſia. their Eaſter day. But *Bajazet* vpon the very feaſt day, hauing performed the ſolemnities therof,
commanded al things to be truſſed vp at Amaſia, and ſo ſet forward vpon his vnfortunat jour- I
ny towards Perſia; knowing right wel that he went to the antient enemy of the *Othoman* fami-
ly, but yet fully reſoluing to proue any mans mercy, rather than to fall into the hands of his
angry father. Now were they all ſet forward, except ſuch weak ſouls as were not thought able
to endure the labor of ſo long a journy: among whom was left *Solyman*, *Bajazets* yongeſt ſon,
but then newly born; which guiltleſſe babe with his mother *Bajazet* thought better to leaue
to the mercy of his grandfather, than to take him with him, a poor companion of his wofull
and miſerable flight; whom *Solyman*, as yet vncertain of his fathers fortune, commaunded to
be nurſed at Pruſa. *Baiazet* ſo gon from Amaſia, vſed ſuch celerity in his trauell, that almoſt
in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, and lighted vpon many that were ap-
Bajazet deceiueth the Baſſas of Sebaſtia and Erzirum. pointed to ſtay his paſſage, before they were aware of him. The Baſſa of Sebaſtia he thus de- K
ceiued: There was two waies, wherof one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his
journy, and that the Baſſa had already taken. Wherfore he ſent certain as if they had bin fu-
gitiues, to tel the Baſſa that he was already gon the other way. Which the Baſſa beleeuing,
left the place he had before taken, and riſing with all his power ſpeedily to purſue him the
other way, whereby it was told him that he was gon, left that way free and open for him to
paſſe by.

The Baſſa of Erzirum he alſo deceiued by another not much vnlike ſhift. From whome
when he was not far diſtant, and knowing that in paſſing his Country he was to indure great
danger, he ſet vpon him with a wyle, ſending vnto him certain of his followers with commen-
dations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the yong princes calamity, to moue the L
Baſſa to pitty, at laſt requeſted that he would giue him leaue to ſhoo his horſes in his territo-
rie; telling him that he came vnprouided of all things, and therefore was deſirous in that
fruitful country to refreſh his horſes a day or two, and to new ſhoo them. Wherunto the Baſſa
curteouſly anſwered, That he would not let him to take whatſoeuer he needed. But whether it
was for the compaſſion that he had vpon the ſtate of *Bajazet*, or for the ſecret loue he bare him,
or that he thought by that means the eaſilier to intrap him, is vncertain; and haply preuented
by *Bajazets* quick ſpeed, had not as yet ſufficient time to draw his ſoldiers together. He ſent
alſo to *Bajazet* certain ſmal preſents, ſeeming to be glad of his welfare and comming. Who
neuertheles kept on his way, reſting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Baſſa
of Erzirum vnderſtanding that *Bajazet* came ſtil on, made what haſt he could alſo, and ioyned M
his power with the reſt of the Baſſa's which followed after: for many Baſſa's & Sanzacks hea-
ring that *Bajazet* was fled from Amaſia, purſued faſt after him, being charged by *Solyman*, vp-
on pain of their heads to bring him back either aliue or dead: but all in vain, by reaſon of his
ſpeedy departure, & for that he made more haſt to fly, than they did to follow. Yet it coſt no

man

A man dearer than this Baſſa of Erzirum of whom we haue now ſpoken, whom *Solyman* for this cauſe diſplaced: and *Selymus* afterwards ſlew, with two of his ſons young ſtriplings, whom hee before in deſpight ſhamefully abuſed againſt nature. Yea *Selymus* himſelf and *Mahomet* the great Baſſa, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia, followed alſo after *Bajazet*, though it were afar off. This his departure grieued *Solyman* aboue meaſure; aſſuring himſelf (as the truth was) that he was fled into Perſia: wherwith he was ſo much moued, that he could ſcarſly contain himſelfe, but would needs haue gon with his whole power in all haſt againſt the Perſian, to haue terrified him at hand from relieuing his rebellious ſon. But theſe his raging fits his graue Counſellors moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger he ſhould aduenture himſelf vnto, by reaſon of the doubtfull faith of his beſt ſoldiers: and what if *Bajazet* (as he was a deſperat and
B ſudden man) ſhould in the mean time turn about aboue Pontus and the fens of Mœtis, and ſo fetching a compas come to Conſtantinople, and proclaiming a general liberty in his abſence poſſeſſe himſelf of the empire. By which wholeſome perſuaſion *Solyman* ſtaid his ſo haſty a journy. But *Bajazet* all the way as he went writ on the gates & dores, that he would giue double pay to all ſuch as ſhould follow him: which cauſed *Solymans* captains to haue their owne ſoldiers in diſtruſt, and the more, for that they might oftentimes hear among them ſpeeches of gteat good wil and loue toward *Bajazet*.

After long flying, he was at length come to the riuer Araxis, which ſeparates the Turkiſh kingdom from the Perſian: which hauing paſſed ouer, and yet not ſo in ſafety, he left certaine of his followers vpon the bank of the riuer, to keep the Sanzacks (who ſtill eagerly purſued
C him) from paſſing ouer. Whom the Sanzacks eaſily repulſed, and ſo paſſing the riuer, entred a great way into the Perſian kingdom, vntil ſuch time as they were met by certain of the Nobility of Perſia with great troups of horſmen; who demanding what they meant, by that their purſuit, and what they ſought for in another mans kingdom; were anſwerd by the Turks, that they purſued their kings fugitiue ſon. To whom the Perſians replied, That they did not wel, contrary to the league with their lord & maſter, to come in arms beyond the bounds of their own kingdom: and that there was a ſtrong league betwixt king *Tamas* and *Solyman*, which it behooued them to regard. As for *Bajazet*, their king would conſider what was conuenient for him to do, and not in that point forget himſelf: in the mean time they ſhould doe well to get them out of that country wherin they had nothing to do. Wherupon the Turkes forthwith
D left this purſuit and departed. *Bajazet hardly purſued.*

But by and by came meſſengers from the Perſian king to *Bajazet*, to ſalute him, and to demand the cauſe of his comming, and alſo to ſee what ſtrength he brought with him, which as ſome account was about 20000. To whom *Bajazet* declared, That he by his brothers injurie & fathers hard dealing driuen out of his country, was fled vnto the ſacred majeſty of the Perſian king, as his moſt aſſured refuge; who as he wel hoped, in compaſſion of mans inſtability, would not reject him ſo diſtreſſed, and otherwiſe deſtitute of all help. Wherunto the Perſian anſwered, That he had don very vnwiſely to come to him that was in league and amity with his father; whereof one Condition was, That they ſhould account the enemies of the one the enemies of the other; and the friends of the one, the friends of the other. Which Law to
E break he counted a thing vtterly vnlawful. Neuertheles ſeeing the matter was ſo fallen out, he was welcom as vnto his friend, who in his behalf would leaue nothing vnattempted to reconcile him to his father, which he diſpaired not to bring to paſſe. So *Bajazet* meeteth with the Perſian king, but in an euill houre, although at their firſt greeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, chearfull lookes, mutuall kindnes, often conference, and great feaſting one of another: things wherby the ſecret thoughts of hollow hearts are beſt concealed. There was alſo a motion made of a ſtreiter bond of allyance, and one of the Perſian kings daughters promiſed to *Orchanes* one of *Bajazets* ſons; and he put in hope that the Perſian king would neuer reſt in quiet vntill *Solyman* had made him Gouernour either of Meſopotamia, Babylon, or Erzirum (which gouernments were by the Perſians greatly extolled) and that he might there
F liue without fear of his brother, far from him and his father alſo: where if any thing ſhould fal out otherwiſe than well, he might haue his brother the Perſian King as a ſure refuge to retire vnto, and ſo ſafe from all danger. Which ſpeeches were haply giuen out of purpoſe to auert *Bajazet* his thoughts from the feeling of the preſent danger. Who ſeemed vnto himſelf ſo aſſured of the loue and friendſhip of *Tamas* the Perſian King, that at ſuch time as hee ſent *Bajazets entertainment in Perſia.*

his

his Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, for a reconciliation to be made betwixt *Solyman* & him, (as was commonly ſuppoſed) he willed the ſame Embaſſadour to tel his father, that he had loſt a father at Conſtantinople, and found another in Perſia. But whether the Perſian dealt ſincerely in this behalf for *Bajazet* by his Embaſſadors, which were many, may well be doubted. Like it was, that there was more feined ſhew of double diligence, than of any true meaning therin; and rather to feel *Solymans* mind, than to do the poor diſtreſſed Prince any good: and the rather, for that in the mean time all things were ſeriouſly plotted that might tend to his deſtruction. Which were no ſooner grown to their full ripenes, but there was of purpoſe a motion made, That ſuch a multitude as followed this yong prince lay ſo cloſe together, that there was not in one place victual ſufficient for them: and that it was therfore more conuenient to haue them billeted in the country therabout; which would be more commodious as well for the better victualling of them, as for diuers other purpoſes alſo. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Perſian King, far vnlike his noble father *Iſmael*, ſtood in doubt leſt he brought vp a ſerpent in his boſom. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Perſians minde at firſt to haue deſtroyed *Bajazet*, but to haue bin therunto inforced by the practiſe of ſome of his familiars and followers: who not regarding the curteſie of the Perſian king, nor the laws of hoſpitalitie, perſuaded *Bajazet* to thruſt him out of his kingdom. Wherof there was many euident tokens; and among other things it was told King *Tamas*, that one of *Bajazets* chiefeſt Captains ſhould ſay, What mean we? why ſtay we to kil this heretical King, and to poſſeſſe his kingdom? for we ſhal no doubt by his trechery all come to deſtruction. And that vpon ſuch occaſion the King was conſtrained to condiſcend to a deuiſe more neceſſary than honorable. *Bajazet* had no great power, but moſt of them were valiant men, and ſouldiers of great experience, ready to aduenture vpon any thing; of whom the Perſian not without cauſe ſtood in ſome fear. He knew his kingdom to be neither antient, nor yet wel aſſured, as gotten by his father by a counterfeit ſhew of a reformed religion: and who could aſſure him, but that among ſo many Nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many weary of the preſent ſtate, and ſo deſired nouelties? vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the comming of *Bajazet*, a noble and valiant yong gentleman, and that more was, deſperatly ſet: and as yet he himſelf might of right rather ſeem in the power of his gueſt, than hee in his; and that therfore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his gueſt, but to coupe him vp as a moſt dangerous wild beaſt: which to do, the eaſieſt way was to diſperſe his power, and ſo to take him vnawares. For that he could not without much bloud ſhed be openly taken in the middeſt of his ſtrength, eſpecially by the dainty Perſian, of long time not vſed to War, and as yet not come together; againſt *Baiazets* ſoldiers, men of great actiuity and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted to him for the diſperſing of his ſouldiers, & all the commodities to inſue therof alledged. Which *Bajazet* might not wel gainſay, although many of his wiſe followers (men of great reach) did ſhrewdly ſuſpect the ſequell. But what could he refuſe, vpon whom neceſſity lay ſo heauy; where no hope was left; where hee liued as it pleaſed another man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelity of his hoſt might be imputed to him for the greateſt trechery. So theſe moſt valiant ſouldiers, the poor Princes faithfull followers, neuer again to ſee one another, are diſperſed into diuers countrey villages, and beſtowed where the Perſians thought good. Not many days after, at a time pickt out for the purpoſe, they in number few, and diſperſed in a ſtrange country, were incloſed by many and ſlain: their horſes, armor, apparel, and whatſoeuer els, became a prey vnto the murtherers. At the ſame inſtant was *Bajazet* and his ſons caſt in bonds alſo; and that to his greater grief, as many report, taken as he was ſitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The Perſian king ſeemed to haue foreſeen much in this his hard dealing with *Bajazet*: as that if he, being a valiant and couragious yong prince, and much better ſoldier than his brother, ſhould haue ſucceeded his father in the empire, much trouble and peril might haue growne thereby both to himſelf and his kingdome: and that it ſtood farre better with the ſafety of his eſtate that *Selymus* (a man wholly giuen to voluptuouſnes and eaſe) ſhould reign ouer the Turks: in whoſe time he might as it were promiſe vnto himſelf all peace and ſecurity. And therefore it was thought that he would neuer let *Bajazet* go aliue out of his hand, but rather make him away in priſon, as if he had there died for melancholy and grief. Well he was aſſured, that after he had ſlain his Followers, and impriſoned himſelfe and his ſonnes, hee would neuer bee

Tamas in feare of Bajazet.

Bajazets followers diſperſed and ſlain.

Bajazet impriſoned.

friends

friends with him that had so notably wronged him. *Bajazet* thus shamefully imprisoned, messengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongst the rest, the Persian King sent a solemne Embassadour vnto the Turke with Presents, namely, curious tents, costly carpets, an Alcoran containing the misteries of their superstition, and certaine strange beasts. The cause of his comming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and his Sonne; which Embassador was honourably entertained and feasted by his great Bassa's. Now was poore *Bajazet* in small hope of life, his cruell father still crauing to haue him deliuered into his hands to be slain: and the Persian yet denying to deliuer him, and seeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no means vnattempted to haue wrung him from the Persian; somtimes he spake him faire, putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they should both haue the same friends and the same enemies: otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of war, except he would deliuer him his sonne: he furnished with strong garrisons all the frontiers of his dominion towards Persia; he filled all Mesopotamia and the bankes of the riuer Euphrates with souldiers, especially with them of his owne guard, and such as he had before vsed in the battell against *Bajazet*; ouer whom commanded *Mehemet Bassa* the third of the Visier Bassa's, and *Selymus* the Beglerbeg of Græce (for *Selymus* was soone weary of the field, and so betime returned home:) he also incited the Georgian people to take vp armes against the Persians: who wisely answered, That they had not such confidence in their own strength, as to prouoke King *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himselfe come with his army, and whey they saw him present in the field, then they knew what they had to do, and that he should then well see that they wanted neither discretion nor valour. And because he would leaue nothing vnproued, he made shew as if he would in person himselfe haue gone to Aleppo in Syria, and so haue on that side inuaded the Persian: neither was the Persian King altogether out of feare, hauing to his cost many times proued what *Solyman* was able to do. But the vnwillingnesse of the soldiers, and their minds altogether estranged from that war, easily staied the raging Turke: they detested that war, and forsooke their ensignes, a great number of whom (especially horsemen) without leaue of their Captains returned to Constantinople: and being commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with such countenance and cheere as well declared how they were affected, and what they would do if occasion serued for them to reuolt.

The Persiã king sendeth Embassadors with presents to Solymã.

For which cause, after that *Solyman* perceiued that *Bajazet* could not aliue be got from the Persian (excusing himselfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had so grieuously offended, if he should by any meanes escape) he thought it best to follow that which was next, and to haue him there slaine; which he was in good hope to compasse, and the rather, for that the Persian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell to see him deale so slenderly in a matter of so great importance: That he on his part had sent him diuers embassadors; & that he on the other side had sent him nothing but common messengers with papers, which caused him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he should doe well to send vnto him men of account and place, with whom he might confer and conclude also according to the weightinesse and exigence of the cause: besides that, he was (as he said) not a little in his debt, for that *Bajazet* and his followers had beene vnto him no small charge before he could get him into his power: all which it was good reason he should haue consideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceiued, that mony was the thing the Persian King sought after; and therfore rather than he would in an vnfit time of his life intangle himselfe in a dangerous and vnnecessary war, he determined by the counsell of his Bassa's, rather with money than with the sword to fight with the Persian king. Hereupon was *Hassan Aga* (one of the chief gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embassador into Persia, with whom was joined the Bassa of Maras, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large commission almost in the depth of Winter, with great speed and wonderfull toile by those long and difficult waies, arriued at last at Casbin the seat of the Persian King, hauing by the way lost diuers of their seruants & followers. Being come to the Court, the first thing they desired was to see *Bajazet*, whom they found shut vp in a close prison, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard so long and ouergrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely resemblance of his wonted countenance and fauor, so that *Hassan* very well knew him to be him: for he had been brought vp with him of a

The cause why the Persian King would by no meanes let Bajazet go out of his hand.

The miserable estate of Bajazet.

The agreement betweene the Persian King and Solyman for the destruction of Bajazet.

childe in the Court, and for this cause especially had *Solyman* sent him thither to be assured that it was he. At length after long discourse and conferance betweene the King and the Embassadors, it was agreed vpon, that the king should receiue from *Solyman* full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him sustained since the comming of *Bajazet* into Persia, with such further reward as so great a good turne deserued: which things performed, that then it should be in *Solymans* power to haue *Bajazet* made away. With this news *Hassan* posteth to his master at Constantinople, who forthwith caused the promised reward, together with such charges as the Persian King demanded, to be made ready, and with a safe conuoy to be sent vnto the borders of Persia, where they were of the Persians receiued. Presently after returned *Hassan* the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat *Bajazet*: for so *Solyman* had streitly charged him to strangle him with his owne hands. Which thing this new made hangman accordingly performed, and with a bow-string strangled the vnfortunate Prince; who is reported to haue requested of the executioner, that he might but see his chilnren before he died, and take of them his last farewell: which poore request could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the wofull end of the vnlucky attempts of *Bajazet*, a Prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his brother, who in seeking to shun the death he feared, hasted the same before his time. Such as was the fathers end was also the end of his foure sons, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhomet*: of whom the three eldest were strangled at Casbin with their father, whose dead bodies together with his, were solemnly brought to Sebastia, and there buried. The yongest but new borne left at Amasia, and sent by his grandfather to Prusa (as is before said) to be there nursed, was now vpon the death of his father commanded by his said grandfather to be strangled also. The Eunuch sent by *Solyman* to haue done the deed, and loth to do it himselfe, tooke with him one of the porters of the Court, a desperat and otherwise a hard hearted Ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villany: he comming into the chamber where the childe lay, and fitting the bow-string to the childes necke to haue strengled him, the innocent babe smiled vpon him, and lifting it selfe vp as well as it could, with open armes offered to haue imbraced the villaine about the necke and kissed him. Which guiltlesse simplicity so wounded the stony hearted man, that he was not able to perfomre the intended butchery of the poore simple child, but fel down in a swoune and there lay for dead. The Eunuch standing without the doore maruelling at his long stay, goes in, & finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that the other could not find in his heart to do, and so strangled the guiltlesse childe as had bin giuen him in charge. Whereby it euidently appeared, that it was not the mercy or compassion of *Solyman* that so long caused the guiltlesse infant to be spared, but rather the opinion generally receiued amongst the Turks, who measuring all things by the good or bad successe, referre all things that fall out well, vnto God as the author thereof, be they neuer so vngratiously begun: and therfore so long as it was yet vncertain what successe the attempts of *Bajazet* would haue, *Solyman* spared the infant, lest vpon his fathers good hap he might seem to haue striuen against the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrel by the euill successe therof condemned as it were by the sentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to suffer him to liue, lest of an euill Bird might come an euill Chicke. I had sometime (saith the reporter of this History) great reasoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into talke with him of *Bajazet*, he began bitterly to enuigh against him for taking vp armes against his brother. Wherunto (saith this Author) I replied, That in my opinion he was worthy both to be pitied and pardoned, for as much as he was of necessity inforced either to take vp arms, or else shortly after to yeeld himselfe to the slaughter. But he still exclaiming against him, I said vnto him, You blame poore *Bajazet* of great wickednesse for bearing armes against his brother: but *Selymus*, *Solymans* father you blame not, who vpon like occasion tooke vp armes both against his father and his brethren; yet he therin did nothing amisse, nor in your judgement blame worthy. And rightly, (saith the Chiaus) for the euent of the matter sheweth sufficiently, that that which he did was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from Heauen predestinated thereunto: whereas in *Bajazet* the euent sheweth the cleane contrary. So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer so wicked means compassed or brought to passe, they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall otherwise, the judge it as a thing condemned by God himselfe; depending wholly vpon the good or bad euent of things,

Bajazet and his foure sons strangled.

The rare force of innocency.

A things, and therefore judging them to be well done, or otherwiſe.

This yeare 1558, *Charles* the fifth that noble Emperor (of whom we haue in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſo often ſpoken) who weary of the World, had two yeares before deliuered all his hereditary kingdomes and principalities to his ſon *Philip*, did now the 24 of February, on which day he was borne, by his Embaſſadors ſolemnly ſent for that purpoſe, reſigne that Empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother King *Ferdinand*, requeſting the Princes Electors to confirme the ſame vnto him, which they did the thirteenth of March next following. So liuing as a priuat gentleman in that ſolitary life whereunto he had to the wonder of the World certaine yeares before retired himſelfe from all worldly affaires, the 21 day of September following died of a feauer, when he had liued 58 yeares, and thereof reigned
B 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongſt the greateſt Chriſtian Emperors that liued before him. About which time died alſo his two ſiſters, *Mary* the Queene of Hungary, and *Elenor* the French Queene, both Ladies of great honour. 1558

Charles the emperor reſigneth the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, and ſhortly after dieth.

The Knights of Malta, who of long had beene ſuters to the great Biſhop and the King of Spaine, for the recouery of Tripolis in Barbary, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turks; at which time they alſo ſurpriſed the Iſland of Zerbi vpon the coaſt of Barbary betwixt Tripolis and Tunes, from whence they much troubled the Chriſtians trauelling by thoſe ſeas: had now at length ſo much preuailed, that the King commanded a great fleet to be now forthwith made ready in September in the yeare 1559, to meet together in Sicilia, and from thence to go directly againſt the enemy by Malta. Vnto which fleet, the great Bi-
C ſhop, the Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, joyned their forces alſo; ſo that at length there was a hundred gallies and ſhips met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* the Generall. But whilſt this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the Duke of Medina Cœli came before with part of the fleet to Malta, and in the hauen of Marza Moxet expected the comming of the reſt, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whileſt they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the ſouldiers fell ſicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their ſetting forward being come, the Captaines conſulted among themſelues, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet vpon Tripolis, or the Iſland of Zerbi, otherwiſe called Mening. The Knights of Malta being of opinion, that it were better firſt to beſiege Tripolis, and that
D with all ſpeed, before Dragut ſhould come thither to furniſh it with ſouldiers and prouiſion. Others thought it better firſt to inuade the Iſland of Zerbi, where the army might be relieued with plenty of all things neceſſary, and from whence they might at all times of danger in ſafety retire; and from thence afterwards as time ſhould ſerue, to go to Tripolis. Which vnfortunate counſell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in February the yeare follow- 1559

The Chriſtian Princes ſet out a fleet for the recouery of Tripolis in Barbary

1560

ing they departed from Malta, and ſailed directly to Zerbi. In the meane time *Dragut* the moſt famous pyrat at that time amongſt the Turks, and Gouernor of Tripolis, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably ſtrengthned the city with men, victual, and new fortifications; and preſently ſent meſſengers to *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, to certifie him of the arriual of the Chriſtian fleet in Affrick. But the Chriſtians comming
E to the Iſland of Zerbi, were at the firſt landing encountered by the Moores, whom they repulſed and ſo at pleaſure landed. This Iſland is not far from the maine, here and there full of bogs and mariſhes, other riuer hath it none, and in the middeſt is ſomewhat hilly. It was inhabited with about 30000 men, which dwelt in low cottages, ſimply apparelled: yet is the Iſland reaſonable fertile, yeelding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and ſuch like. When the Chriſtians were there landed, they ſent for *Caramanus* a poore King amongſt the Moores (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Iſland) to vſe his counſell for the better proceeding in that war. In the meane time they agreed with 8000 men to beſiege the ſtrongeſt caſtle in the Iſland: in going whereunto, the Spaniards went formoſt, the Germans next, and laſt of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light vpon 10000 Moores which lay in ambuſh in a wood, to haue
F vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them vnawares; but being diſcouered, and 700 of them ſlain in skirmiſh by the Spaniards, the reſt fled. So comming to the caſtle they planted their battery, and laid hard ſiege vnto it. The Captaine of the caſtle finding himſelfe too weake long to hold out, fled ſecretly with his Turks, leauing the caſtle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in ſafety depart, yeelded the Caſtle to the Spaniards: for keeping

The Chriſtian fleet arriueth at the Iſland of Zerbi.

The Caſtle of Zerbi taken by the Chriſtians.

whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda* two Spaniſh Captains were there left with their companies. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Carauanus* the Moore King came to the campe of the Chriſtians and there talked with the Generall; in whoſe hoary countenance reſted a reuerend Majeſty: his apparell was after the Moores faſhion of white linnen, with him came alſo the King of Tunes his ſon. In talking with the Generall his manner was to ſit flat vpon the ground, and wiſely diſcourſed how the Turks were to be remoued out of Affricke. But in the middeſt of theſe diſcourſes, when ſuch a thing was leaſt feared, ſuddenly a pinnace brought newes from ſea, That *Piall Baſſa* the Turks great Admiral was comming thither with a great fleet of eighty ſiue gallies, and that mo were daily repairing vnto him on euery ſide. Which was indeed true: for *Solyman* vnderſtanding from *Dragut* the Arch-pyrat, that Iſland to be by the Chriſtians now poſſeſſed and fortified, thought it not (in his ſo great power & flouriſhing eſtate) to ſtand with his honor to ſuffer, but rather to giue aid vnto the Moores of that Iſland, a people agreeing in religion with himſelfe: and therfore commanded *Piall Baſſa* his Admiral to take in hand that expedition. Who therupon rigged vp a great fleet wel appointed & ſtrongly manned with a number of the Turks beſt and moſt approued ſouldiers, as well Ianizaries as others: yet all both doubtfull and fearefull of the long journey, as alſo the fame of the enemies with whom they were to incounter: for why, the Turks had conceiued a great opinion of the valour of the Spaniards, as knowing great wars both of antient and later times to haue been by that nation (to the immortall praiſe therof) moſt happily performed: they remembred *Charles* the fift, and daily heard much of King *Philip*, the heire both of his fathers vertues and kingdomes; which made them ſo careful, that many of them before their ſetting forth (as in times of greateſt danger) made their wils, and ſo departed from Conſtantinople, taking their leaue of their friends, as if they ſhould neuer haue thither returned again. So that all the city was in a confuſed feare: neither was there any man, whether he went or ſtaid, that hung not in ſuſpence with the doubtfull expectation of the euent of that war. Howbeit *Piall* with his great fleet, with long ſailing and a proſperous wind was at length come welneere as far as Malta, and knowledge thereof (as aforeſaid) giuen vnto the Chriſtian fleet at Zerbi. With which vnexpected news the Chriſtians there were not a little troubled: neuertheleſſe they fortified the caſtle with new fortifications and bulwarks, and fell to agreement with the principall man amongſt the Moores of the Iſland, who commanded the reſt, and had before pluckt downe the enſignes of *Dragut*, and ſet vp the King of Spaines) that he would yearely pay vnto the King of Spaine (as he had before vnto *Dragut*) ſix thouſand crownes, one camel, foure Oſtriches, foure Sparrow-hawkes, and foure blew Faulcons: a tribute fit for ſuch an Iſland.

Piall Baſſa Solymans Admirall ſent to remoue the Chriſtians out of Zerbi.

But ſhortly after, *viz.* the ninth of May, the Great maſter of Malta by another pinnace gaue the Chriſtians at Zerbi again to vnderſtand, That the Turks fleet was euen now at hand, and already departed from the Iſland of Gozo, well appointed and ſtrongly manned: and that therefore he aduiſed them with ſpeed to hoiſe ſaile, & to get them to ſome place of more ſafety, or els to come to him to Malta, for feare of being by ſo great a power of the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed. Whereupon *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall ſent vnto the Generall, requeſting him to come abord, that ſo they might before the comming of the Turks fleet, retire themſelues to ſome place of more aſſurance. But he for all that ſtaid ſtill at the caſtle, where the Chriſtians had built foure ſtrong bulwarks: whereof they had named one *Auria's*, another *Gonzaga's*, the third the Viceroy's, and the fourth the Knights, not yet all perfectly finiſhed: as for the caſtle it ſelfe they called it *Philip Alcazer*, by the name of the King. But whileſt the Generall is thus buſie, and vainly hopeth to keepe both his caſtle and his ſhips, he the next day deſcrying from far the comming of the Turks great fleet, haſted with the Admirall to be gone: and putting twice at ſea, was both times by a contrary wind driuen againe into the hauen, ſo that he and the Admirall had much ado in time to get them into the caſtle: for the wind was ſo fauourable for the Turks, and brought them ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians diſmaied with their ſudden comming, knew not well what to do, or which way to turne themſelues. But by good hap, the greater part of the ſhips and 14 gallies were got out and gone the night before, and the Great Maſter had in Aprill called home his gallies, wherewith and ten others of his owne he afterwards defended the frontiers of his Iſland. As for the reſt of the fleet that ſtaied for the Generall and the Admirall, ſome few gallies eſcaped by flight, otherſome ran themſelues aground, ten of which were preſently taken by the Turks, as were the reſt alſo that were left, although

Part of the Chriſtian fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi by the ſuddē comming of the Turks.

A although they for a while did what they might to haue saued themselues. The night following, the Viceroy and the Admirall secretly stole out of the castle, and so by good fortune in two small frigots fled to Malta. *Caramanus* also the Moore King, with the Prince of Tunes, got them away into the maine. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy departing from Malta to Sicilia, prouided as he might for the safety of that country. *Auria* in the mean time gathered together the remainder of the dispersed fleet, hauing lost in this vnfortunat expedition seuenty gallies, with a great part of the ships.

Now in the castle was left as Generall, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, a valiant gentleman of great spirit and long experience, with fiue thousand footmen, some Germans, some Italians, but for the most part Spaniards: besides a thousand other that were no soldiers. So that the Turks be- *The castle of Zerbi besieged by the Turks.*
B ginning to besiege the same the seuenteenth of May, were by them many times notably encountered, and in their assaults repulsed. Vnto this siege at length came *Dragut* the pyrat, who with fifteene great pieces which he brought with him from Tripolis, encreased the fury of the Turks battery. Neither were the Christians in the mean time wanting vnto themselues, hauing in the castle forty great pieces of artillery, wherewith they slew a number of the Turks and Moores: and sometimes sallying out, fought with them hand to hand; and hauing slaine and wounded many, retired againe into the castle. In this manner the siege continued three moneths with many an hot and desperat skirmish: during which time, nothing more troubled the defendants than thirst in that hot & dry climat and intemperat time of the yere: for why, in the castle there was but one great cisterne, which although it yeelded some good store of
C water, yet was it not enough to suffice so great a multitude, but was by measure still sparingly giuen out to the soldiers so far as it would serue, no man hauing more allowed him than would suffice to keep him aliue: the quantity wherof some augmented by distilling of the same water, and mingling it with their allowance, and so wel eased their thirst, vntil such time as hauing spent all their wood they wanted that poore helpe also. There might a man haue seene many poore soules lying vpon the ground halfe dead, gaping and stil crying out nothing but Water, water; into whose dry mouths, if any man vpon compassion vouchsafed to poure a little water, they as men reuiued therewith would presently sit vp, vntil, that for thirst they fell downe againe, and so at length as men rosted gaue vp the ghost. Thus many died daily, beside them whom the chance of warre and other diseases without helpe consumed in so great a distresse.
D *Don Aluarus* the Gouernor considering the great extremity they were now brought vnto, at- *Don Aluarus with the rest of the chiefe commanders taken prisoners.*
tempted with *Don Sanchius de Leyua* Admirall of the Neapolitan gallies, *Belingerius de Requesenes* Admirall of the Sicilian gallies, & some others, by night to haue escaped away into a gally which lay vnder the castle; but in doing thereof were perceiued by the Turks, and so all taken. Whereupon such soldiers as sickenesse and the enemies sword had yet left aliue, pinched with extreame necessity, forsaken of their best captaines, and out of all hope of reliefe also, couenanting their liues only with the enemy, yeelded themselues into most miserable captiui- *The Castle of Zerbi yeelded vnto the Turke.*
ty. In this vnfortunat expedition perished about eighteene thousand Christians, some with sickenesse, some drowned, but most slaine, beside the losse of a great part of the fleet also.

Of this victory *Piall* sent news by one of his gallies to Constantinople, which for the more
E manifesting thereof, dragged at the poupe thereof a great ensigne of the Christians, with the picture of Christ crucified therein. Which was no sooner come into the hauen, but that the rumor of the ouerthrow of the Christians was forthwith blowne thorow the whole city, the Turks exceedingly rejoycing one with another for the news of so great a victory: yea many of them not so contented, came by heaps to the gate of the house where the emperor *Ferdinands* embassador lay, & there meeting with his seruants, by way of derision asked them, if they had any brethren, kinsemen, or friends, in the Spanish fleet at Zerbi; for if you haue (said they) you shall shortly see them here. Besides that, they with many words most insolently bragged of their own valor, & scorned the cowardise of the Christians; asking who were able to withstand them, now that the Spaniard was also ouercome. Al which with much more the embassadors
F men with great griefe were inforced to heare, but there was no remedy, seeing God had so appointed it. Shortly after, in September, the victorious fleet returned to Constantinople, drag- *The Turks with victory returne to Constantinople.*
ging with it the prisoners, spoiles, and gallies of the Christians, a sight no lesse pleasant vnto the Turks, than heauy vnto the Christians: and that night it lay at anker neer vnto the rocks in the face of the city, with the greater pomp and glory to come the next day into the hauen. At

which time *Solyman* himselfe was come downe into a gallery neere vnto the hauens mouth, G adjoyning to his garden, the better to see the comming in of the fleet, and the Christian captaines set there to shew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gally, namely, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, *Don Billingerus de Requesenes*, all of late great commanders: as for the Christian gallies all disarmed and vnrigged, so to seem the more contemptible in comparison of the Turks, they were towed at the taile of the Turks gallies. They which then saw *Solymans* countenance, perceiued not in him any signe at all of any insolent joy. I my selfe (saith *Busbequius*, then the Emperour *Ferdinands* Embassador there) saw him two daies after going to the church with the same countenance he had alwaies, with the same seuerity and grauity, as if this victory had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced strange or vnexpected: so capable was the great heart of that old sire, of any fortune, were it neuer so great; and his mind so H setled, as to receiue so great applause and rejoicing without mouing. Within a few daies after, the Christian captiues (before almost starued with hunger) were brought to the court: many of whom could scarce stand vpon their legs; some others for weakenes fell down and fainted, and othersome died out right: they were all scornefully led in triumph, with their armes disordered and scornefully put vpon them: the Turks in the meane time insulting round about them, promising vnto themselues the Empire of the whole world: and vainly asking, What enemy they were to feare, now that the Spaniard was ouercome. *Aluarus Sandes*, as chiefe of al the prisoners, being brought into the Diuano before the Visier Bassa's, and demanded by *Rustan Bassa*, What his master meant, being not able to defend his own, to inuade other mens? answered, That it beseemed not him to judge theron; and himselfe to haue done but his duty, with such I faithfulnes as was meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his lord, although he had no good fortune therein. After that, he besought the Bassa's vpon his knee, to speake for him vnto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poore wife, with certain small children, for whom he requested him to spare him. Wherunto *Rustan Bassa* (contrary to his manner) courteously answered, his soueraigne to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his pardon might be of him obtained: so was he commanded away vnto *Caradines* his castle, towards the blacke sea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called backe againe; for that the great Chamberlain, a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet seen him: for which cause he was sent for backe againe; wherwith he was not a little troubled, fearing lest the Bassa's hauing changed their minds, would haue put him to death. The rest of the captiues of the better K sort were committed to the castle of Pera, and amongst them *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, with his two base sonnes, and also *Don Billingerius Requesenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, were neuertheless afterwards with much ado and almost beyond all hope, at the request of the Emperour, and by the dexterity of his Embassadour, by *Solyman* set at liberty; although he had before denied them vnto *Saluiat* the French Kings Embassador, who had bin an earnest intercessor for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of prison, the Muphti or Turks great priest was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull, for a greater number of Turks to exchange a few Christian captiues (for the Embassador beside the rewards he had promised vnto the Bassa's to further the matter, had also vndertaken, that forty common prisoners of the Turks should be set at liberty for them) whereunto the Muphti answered, That the Do- L ctors of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that question, some saying that it was lawfull, and some not; howbeit as then it was by him resolued vpon vnto the more fauourable part, and the exchange allowed.

Augerius Busbequius Epist. 4. legationis Turcicæ.

The misery of the Christian captiues.

There were among the prisoners taken at Zerbi, besides these noblemen of whom we haue before spoken, two other noble gentlemen right honourably borne, *Don Iohn* of Cardona, *Don Billinger* his son in law, and *Don Gasto* the Duke of Medina his son, to whom yet but a youth his father neuertheless had giuen an honourable place in the army. Of these two *Don Iohn* had wisely taken order for a great summe of mony to be left in the Island of Chio, by the way as the Turks fleet went to Constantinople, from whence he afterward in safety got into Spaine. But *Gasto* was by *Piall Bassa* (vpon hope of a great ransome) purposely hid out of the way, M which had like to haue wrought his destruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an inckling therof by the instigation of *Rustan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gasto* found out, so to haue a more just occasion for the putting of *Piall* to death, being taken tardy in so manifest a fault. But all that labour was spent in vaine, *Gasto* being by death taken away, but whether by the

A the plague (as ſome report) or by *Piall* his meanes (as it were more like) leſt the truth ſhould be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care ſought for by the Duke his fathers ſeruants, he could neuer be heard of more: ſo that it was thought *Piall* for the ſafegard of his owne life, not to haue ſpared *Gaſto* his priſoners life. Who neuertheleſſe for a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to Conſtantinople, tooke occaſion with a few gallies to wander about amongſt the Iſlands of Ægeum, as if he had there ſomething to do: but indeed ſo ſhunning the ſight of his angry Lord, for feare he ſhould haue been compelled in bonds to haue anſwered the matter. Vntill at length he appeaſed at the requeſt of *Suleiman Baſſa* (the Eunuch and *Solymans* great Chamberlaine) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* ſon, granted him his pardon in theſe words well worth the marking, out of the mouth of an Infi-

Pial in diſgrace with Solyman, ſhunneth to come to Conſtantinople.

B dell Prince: *Well haue he from me pardon and forgiueneſſe for ſo great an offence: but let God the moſt juſt reuenger of all villanies take of him due puniſhment after this life.* So fully he ſeemed to be perſuaded that no euill deed ought to remaine without puniſhment, either in this life or in the life to come.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turks well acquainted with *Busbequius* the Emperors Embaſſador, then lying at Conſtantinople: into whoſe hands in that diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians, by chance was come the Imperiall enſigne of the gallies of Naples; wherein within the compaſſe of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the Prouinces belonging to the kingdome of Spaine. Which faire enſigne the Embaſſador vnderſtanding him to purpoſe to giue for a Preſent vnto *Solyman*, thought good to preuent the matter, and to get it from

One of the imperiall enſignes of Charles the fift redeemed from the Turke.

C him: which he eaſily obtained, by ſending him two ſutes of ſilke (ſuch as the Turks make reckoning of) for it: ſo prouiding that one of the Imperiall enſignes of *Charles* the fift, ſhould not to the eternall remembrance of that ouerthrow, remaine ſtill with the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. This ſo miſerable a calamity receiued by the Chriſtians at Zerbi, made that Iſland, before little or nothing ſpoken of, to be euer ſince famous.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the 25 day of Nouember died *Andreas Auria* (that ſecond *Neptune*) being ninety foure yeares old: a man in his time of great fame,

The death of the noble Andreas Auria.

and of the greateſt Princes of that age had in no ſmall reputation, but eſpecially of *Charles* the fifth, in whoſe ſeruice he did much for the benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, being for moſt part imploied in his greateſt wars againſt the Turks and Moores. Yet amongſt all the

D notable things done to his immortall glory, the kindeneſſe by him ſhewed vnto his natiue country was greateſt; which oppreſſed by the French, he ſet at liberty: and when he might haue taken vpon him the ſole gouernment thereof (as had diuers others before him) moderating his deſires, and reſpecting the only good thereof, appeaſed the great diſſention that had of long reigned therein; and eſtabliſhed ſuch a forme of gouernment, confirmed with ſo good and wholeſome lawes and orders (no mans liberty infringed) as that it hath euer ſince to his eternall praiſe, in great wealth, ſtate, and liberty, thereby flouriſhed. Vnto whoſe remembrance (for that we haue before of him much ſpoken in the courſe of this Hiſtory) I thought it not amiſſe to joyne the liuely counterfeit of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed anſwerable vnto his noble vertues.

ANDREAS

Genua quem genuit, genui quam deinde viciſſim,
Auria qui merui Carolo *ſub Cæſare quinto.*
Turcarum terror piratarumque Subactor,
Barbara quem ſenſit tellus, & capta Thuniſſa,
Arx & Aphrodiſium, Moriæque vrbs celſa Corone,
Mors rapuit Luſtris decies prope quinque peractis.

As Genoa did me beget, ſo I preſerv'd the ſame:
And ſeruing vnder *Charles* the fifth, exalted haue my name.
A terrour to the Turks I was, I brought the pyrats low:
And ſpoiling the Barbarian coaſt, made them my force to know.
Faire Tunes and ſtrong Aphrodiſe, both by my help were won:
And Corone in Morea, by me was ouerrun.
So hauing ſpent ninety foure yeares in treading honours trace:
Full fraught with honour and with yeares, I ended haue my race.

1561 *A great ſhip-wrecke.*

The Turks the yere following, with their gallies robbed and ſpoiled diuers places vpon the coaſts of Italy, Sicily, and Malta: againſt whom *Philip* King of Spaine ſending forth his gallies, by force of tempeſt loſt twenty fiue of them, the eighteenth day of September, together with *Mendoza* Admirall of that fleet. M

Ferdinand the Emperour, hauing with long ſute and much intreating obtained peace of *Soly-*

lyman,

A *lyman*, and being now well ſtricken in yeares, and carefull both of the ſtate of the Empire and of the aduancement of his poſterity, began to deale with the Princes Electors for a choice to be made of a King of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of Germany, ſucceed him in the Empire: commending vnto them his ſon *Maximilian*, a Prince of great hope, then King of Bohemia. Whereupon an aſſembly of the Princes Electors was appointed to be holden at Franckford: who there meeting at the appointed time, with generall conſent the 24 day of Nouember in the yeare 1562, choſe *Maximilian* the Emperors ſon King of the Romans, and with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities crowned him: who alſo the yeare after was at Presburg the eight of September with much ſolemnity crowned King of Hungary. Vnto this ſolemne aſſembly of the Empire at Franckford, *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor ſent
B *Ibrahim Baſſa*, otherwiſe called *Abraham Strozza* (a Polonian borne, of whom we haue before ſpoken) his Embaſſador with preſents and letters to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, to confirme the peace for eight yeares betwixt them before concluded; who the ſeuenteenth day of Nouember in preſence of the Emperour, the King of the Romans, and all the Princes Electors, had audience: where after much glorious ſpeech in ſetting forth his maſters greatneſſe, with his loue towards the Emperour and his ſon the new choſen King, as wiſhing vnto them all happineſſe, he deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperor: the coppy wherof I haue not thought amiſſe here to ſet downe, for that therein is notably to be ſeene the moſt inſolent pride of that barbarous Prince, and miſerable eſtate of the rent kingdome of Hungary, diuided as it were at his pleaſure betwixt him and the Emperour.

1562

Maximilian choſen King of the Romans, & after crowned King of Hungary.

Solyman by his embaſſador confirmeth a peace with Ferdinand the emperor for eight yeares.

C

Solymans proud Letters to the Emperor Ferdinand.

I the Lord of Lords, ruler of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, who am of power to do and not to do whatſouer pleaſeth me, Lord of all Grecia, Perſia and Arabia, Commander of all things which can be ſubject to King and command; the great Worthy of theſe times, and ſtrong Champion of the moſt wide World, Lord of all the white and blacke ſea, and of the holy city of Mecha ſhining with the brightneſſe of God, and of the City of Medina, and of the holy and chaſte City of Ieruſalem, King of the moſt noble Kingdome of Ægypt, Lord of Ionia, and of the City of Athens, Senan, of the ſacred Temple of God, Zabilon and Baſſio, Rethſan and Magodim, the ſeat and throne of the great King Naſhin Rettam, *and Lord of the Iſland of Algiers, Prince of the Kingdomes of Tartary, Meſopotamia, Media, of the Georgians, Morea, Anatolia, Aſia, Armenia, Valachia, Moldauia, and of all Hungary, and of many other Kingdomes and*
D *territories, whereof I am Emperour; the moſt mighty Monarch Sultan* Solyman, *ſonne of the great Emperour Sultan* Selym, *who hath power from God to rule all people with a bridle; and ſtrength to breake open the gates and barres of all cities and ſtrong places: into whoſe mighty hand are deliuered all the ends of the World, none accepted. I the ruler of the Eaſt, from the Iſland of Tſein vnto the fartheſt bounds of Africa, whom God hath appointed a mighty warriour in the edge of the ſword: amongſt whoſe moſt mighty kingdomes the impregnable caſtle of Ceſaræa is reputed for the leaſt, and in whoſe hereditory dominions the Kingdome or Empire of* Alexander *the Great is accounted of vs a trifle: with me is the ſtrength of the whole World and vertue of the firmament. Foraſmuch as thou King* Ferdinand, *which art the mighty Lord of Chriſtendome, and the choſen veſſell of the mighty Chriſtian Faith, created and Elected Emperour of the Roman people, of Bohemia, Vandalia, Crabatia, and many other Countries*
E *King and Lord, &c. Not long ſince ſent vnto our Court (which is the refuge of all Kings, the protection and ſanctuary of all that fly thereunto, and the throne of Grace for all Princes of theſe times which repaire vnto it) one* Augerius Busbecke, *thy faithfull Counſellour and Embaſſadour, with letters of conſideration, to renew with vs a peace, and to enter into a further league and bond of amity: Which letters beare date the yeare from the Prophet Ieſu (vpon whom and our Prophet* Mahomet *reſt the brightneſſe and peace of God)* 1562, *the firſt day of Iune, requeſting of vs, That granting you peace for eight yeares, we would not with any hoſtility hereafter moleſt your Cities, Caſtles, or Countries, ſubjects, but to ſuffer them to liue in ſecure peace and tranquility, &c. Vnto which your petition we anſwer you, That from henceforth for the whole ſpace of eight yeares ſhall be betwixt vs on both parts to be continued anew, true, and firme league: of which agreement, peace, and confederation, Theſe ſhall be the conditions. Firſt, That*
F *you our beloued ſhall be bound to ſend yearely to our Court as a pledge of this league thirty thouſand Hungarian Duckets, with that remainder which you owe vnto vs for the two yeares laſt paſt: For which we promiſe vnto you, that we from henceforth during this eight yeares league, will take no part either by way of hoſtility or friendſhip with King* Iohns *ſonne, foraſmuch as belongeth to his hereditary Countries,*

whether

whether they be in the hither part of Hungary, or on the further side of Teisse: All which for all that, by law of armes belong vnto vs. And the same King Iohns *sonne in time of this eight yeares league shall be also bound in such sort to performe vnto vs his obedience, as that from henceforth it shall not be lawfull for him to vse any war or hostility against you, neither to trouble your subjects with fire or sword, nor to surprise your Cities, Castles, or Townes; or by violence to take away or exact of your people or subjects, their sheepe, their cattell, their goods, mony or reuenewes. We also our selues shall haue no right, nor take occasion to driue away your people, to burne your countries, or carry away any captiues: but rather in this eight yeares space religiously keepe peace and concord with you. And vnder these conditions of peace shall also be comprehended* Michael Balascus, Nicholas Bathor, *with all their goods and territories, and diuers other such like, which shall be subject vnto you and King* Iohns *sonne. To be briefe, if happily any of yours or King* Iohns *sonnes subjects shall haue now before in time of warre thrust one another out of his goods, lands, or possessions, whereof new quarrels or discord may arise; We well and decree, that all such controuersies, quarrels, and claimes shall be deferred vntill this definite time of the league be expired. Beside, if by chance any dissention shall hereafter arise betwixt vs about our jurisdiction, which can by no meanes be composed and ordered; We will that yours shall in the meane time remaine as yours, and ours as ours; all contention and enmity set apart: also many Townes scituate here and there by Danubius and Tatta, shall be suffered to vse the same law they did in former time; so that the souldiers which are yet in garrison in the Castle of Tatta, shall haue no right to infest or vexe those townes scituate neere vnto Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace concluded, any of your Noblemen or Gentlemen shall fortune to haue any of our Noblemen by reuolt or other occasion whatsoeuer, captiues, they shall dismisse them and set them at liberty, to returne vnto their friends freely without hurt or ransome; that so the concord and peace begun betwixt vs, may be the more firmely kept, and our subjects liue in more security. All and euery one of these things we grant and promise to be of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforesaid eight yeares, without all fraud or guile religiously obserued and kept: and for that purpose haue caused these our letters of this peace and confederation to be published from our royall pallace: and moreouer, haue not onely prouided, that the coppy of the same should together with our edict be proclaimed to all and euery the Generalls, Captaines, Lieutenants, of our armies both by sea and land, in all the parts of our Empire, and to all our mercenary souldiers, but haue also streightly commanded, that it shall be firmely and sincerely kept. We will also, that this agreement of peace and amity shall comprehend and concerne our two chiefe Gouernours or Voyuods of Valachia and Moldauia, so that none of your people of Hungary, Crabatia, Sclauonia, or other your Countries or Islands whatsoeuer, shall in any sort be molested or grieued by our subjects. And if it shall fortune that some shall on your part out of their Castles set vpon our subjects, or by force take away their goods, the same men shall in any case be bound to make thereof restitution. Also if any shall fly from vs, and carry away with them the mony or goods of their Masters whom they serued, or if the like shall be done by any of yours flying to vs, then the same goods on both parts are to be of right demanded and recouered againe, and the fugitiues to the example of others to be corrected and punished: forasmuch as fugitiues goods of right appertaine vnto their Lords and Masters. Furthermore, it shall be lawfull for your Captaines and commanders to fortifie or build Castles, Cities, or Townes, in the borders of Hungary, and to put into the same victuall, armour, and such like, but so, that they doe none of these things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league, it shall not be lawfull to take or carry away any of your subjects prisoners either in Hungary or in other places of your jurisdiction: which for all that, if it shall by any chance happen, that then such captiues (without delay) be suffered safely to returne home againe. Furthermore, whatsoeuer Christian shall haue any businesse to do in our magnificent court or any part of our dominions, as are Embassadors, officers, seruants, and such others: vnto all these we not only grant and permit, that they may come and goe about their businesse, and so againe depart from our court or prouinces; but also haue willed and commanded, them to be well and courteously entreated by our subjects, and furthered with the interpretation of our language. And if it shall fortune any contention or discord to arise betwixt our subjects on either side, about the bounds and limits of Lands, or other such like causes: such controuersies we will to be decided and determined by discreet and indifferent men on both parts, and the authors of such discord and variance, to be punished as suspected persons and breakers of the league. We also prohibite those skirmishes or combats, which were wont to be sometimes on both sides made vpon the borders. And desire, that the forme of this league and peace, and euery article thereof, may be publikely read and set vp in sundry places of your Dominions; and commandement giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obserued and kept. Which we likewise*

G H I K L M

haue

A haue now before promiſed faithfully and aſſuredly to performe: and your Embaſſador whom a few moneths agone you ſent vnto vs, in your name requeſting the ſame of vs, and hath with earneſt praiers moued vs, by Imperiall oath and theſe Letters of credence to witneſſe, that we did ratifie and confirme the ſame; as if we our ſelues ſhould ſpeake to you in preſence. Wherefore we haue giuen vnto him theſe our Letters of Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, ſouldiers, and ſubjects, may be bound alſo to obſerue and keepe all theſe things: wherefore, ſo long as nothing contrary to this league ſhall be done on your part; ſo long in like maner all theſe articles of peace ſhall be of me excepted and aſſured. For witneſſe & confirmation whereof I ſweare this oath; By the true and liuing Creator of heauen and earth, by the true ſignes of our great and reuerend Prophet, by my Imperiall power, and by my true faith; that nothing contrary or repugning vnto the aforeſaid articles, conditions, and promiſes of the eight yeares league agreed vpon betwixt vs, ſhall be attempted or done by any our Gouernors, Generals, or Voyuods, &c. Commanding moreouer, all our ſworne Gouernors of our moſt mighty Empire in Valachia and Moldauia, and King Stephen himſelfe, and others which haue the Gouernment of our Empire confining vpon you, That they all and euery of them as well as our ſelues, ſhall juſtly, faithfully, and religiouſly accept, reuerence, and keepe theſe conditions of peace, towards your ſubjects, cities, caſtles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and in the leaſt things not to hurt, injury, or wrong any your ſubjects. In briefe, we ſhall as far as our part concerneth vs, giue vnto this moſt mighty and great new made loue and friendſhip, ſo great honour, reuerence, and authority, that that which may euen in the leaſt things be had, ſhall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof we haue ſuffered certaine Chriſtian captiues, whom by your Embaſſador you requeſted to haue ſet at liberty, franckely to returne vnto you without ranſome; out of which captiuity they could C neuer haue beene redeemed, if in regard of this our amity and friendſhip we had not granted them liberty: truſting that you will in like ſort ſet at liberty ſuch of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our Imperiall Palace and ſeat in the moſt mighty City of Conſtantinople, the firſt day of September, in the yeare of our great and reuerend Prophet 969.

The ſame Embaſſador after he had deliuered theſe letters, preſented vnto the Emperor the gifts he had brought from his great Maſter: which was two great cups of naturall Cryſtall curiouſly wrought and ſet with ſtones of great price; a couragious Turky horſe with a ſaddle and trappings wrought with gold, and ſet with pretious ſtones, and garniſhed with chaines of pure gold; and foure of the faireſt camels that were to be got in all Conſtantinople. In deli- D uering of which Preſents the Baſſa made his excuſe, that the horſe and camels had loſt their beauty, being with foure moneths trauell from Conſtantinople, growne ſomewhat leane and weary. *Preſents from Solyman to the Emperour Ferdinand.*

This peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperour *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firme vntill the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two yeres after in the yere 1564 vpon S. *Iames* his day died, being ſixty yeres old: whereof he reigned as Emperor not full ſeuen yeares. In whoſe place ſucceeded *Maximilian* his ſon, before choſen King of the Romans. But immediatly after the death of *Ferdinand*, the Captaines on the frontiers of that part of Hungary which was holden for the Emperour on the one ſide, and the Turks Captaines with the Vayuod of Tranſyluania on the other ſide, weary of their eaſe, began contrary to the forme of the League, to ſur- E priſe ſtrong holds and townes one in anothers confines, whereof enſued much trouble: The author whereof was *Melchior Balas* the Emperours lieuetenant in that part of Hungary which bordereth vpon Tranſyluania, who firſt ſurpriſed certaine townes vpon the frontiers thereabouts: in reuenge whereof, the Vayuod ſuddenly ſet vpon Sackmar a towne in the Emperors Territory, which he tooke, and therein *Balas* his wife and children. In deſpight whereof *Balas* rancacked and burnt Debrezin a great Towne of the Vayuods. But not long after, the Vayuod *Solymans* Vaſſall, and aided by him with foure thouſand Turks and three thouſand Moldauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of Hungary which belonged vnto the Emperour; and firſt tooke Hadad, and afterwards beſieged Vngar. In requitall whereof, *Maximilian* the Emperour ſent *Lazarus Suendi* a valiant Captaine; who with an Army of F eight thouſand beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of Tokay, which he tooke the fift of February, in the yeare 1565; and after that tooke the rich Towne of Erden. In the meane time *Solyman*, who had in himſelfe fully purpoſed to be reuenged of all theſe injuries (as well appeared by that he did the yeare following) to ſtay the Emperour from proceeding further, vntill ſuch time *The death of the Emperor Ferdinand.* *New troubles in Hungary.* 1564 1565

The Turks purposing warre, craftily sue for peace.

time as he were at better leisure to be reuenged, (for as then he was making great preparation for Malta) sent *Marcus Lilinesius* a renegat Transyluanian of Cibinum, his embassador to *Maximilian*, to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wish him to haue regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperour because he would not seeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his lieutenants and captains no more to inuade Transyluania or that part of Hungary which the Turks held. Howbeit that whilest this Embassadour was thus intreating of peace at Vienna, the Bassa of Temesware in the borders of Transyluania, made diuers incursions into the borders of Hungary, and with six thousand souldiers besieged the strong castle of Iula, and the Turks in great number came dayly into Transyluania. At which time also *Suendi* Generall of *Maximilian* his Forces vpon the frontiers, by messengers sent for that purpose, wished him not to giue any credit to the Turks Embassadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the colour of peace sought nothing else, but to take him vpon the sudden vnprouided. Neither ceased these troubles thus, but dayly grew from euill to worse: for in Iune the Transyluanians besieged Erden, before taken by the Imperials, and after two moneths siege had it yeelded vnto them. In the meane time *Chernouich* the Emperours Embassadour to *Solyman*, returned from Constantinople; assuring him that the great Turke for all his faire shewes of peace, meant indeed nothing but warres, for which he was (as he said) making great preparation both by sea and land. Whereupon the Emperor began to raise new forces: which thing diuers Noblemen both of Germany and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers: and amongst other *Romerus* one of the Knights of Malta, and diuers other of his brethren, with fiue companies of souldiers well appointed, sent thither by *George Hochenheime* grand Prior of that Order in Germany, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the same time also, the Turks being busie vpon the borders of Styria, and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the Archduke: who taking them at an aduantage, slew at one time three thousand of them. Yet for all, the Turkes Embassadour was still at Vienna treating for peace, and so cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma* a valiant Captaine, had corrupted the chiefe Iudge with certaine others of Alba-Regalis, to haue betraied the City vnto him; for performance whereof they had deliuered their wiues and children as hostages, and he was now vpon his way from Rab, which is but eight miles off, in an assured hope to haue surprised the City; he was suddenly by Letters in post from the Emperour, called backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and so was that notoble designement vnfortunately disappointed: of which practise the Turks hauing knowledge, afterwards most cruelly executed forty of the conspiratours, impailing some of them vpon sharpe stakes, and hanging others vpon yron hookes by the jawes vntill they were dead. Shortly after the Turks tooke Neostat, which was not long after recouered againe by the Emperour.

At the same time one of the Turks spies was taken at Zigeth, who but thirteen daies before was sent from Constantinople, of purpose to view the strength and scituation of that place: he being brought before *Charles* the Archduke, and examined, said, That *Solyman* would assuredly the next Spring come in person himselfe into Hungary, to besiege the strong castles ef Zigeth and Iula. At which time also County *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turks Spies, by whom he was certainely aduertised of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongst others, *Scapher Vayda* the Bassa of Buda his chiefe Counsellor. Besides this, the country-men contributors both to the Imperials and the Turks, were now streightly commanded by the Turks, to pay no more contribution mony vnto the Imperials: whereupon it was easily gathered, that all that talke of peace was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing els but to delay the time, and to put them in security. Beside that, the Turks made incursions daily into one place or other of the Emperors territories, shewing their antient hate, and sowing by those light skirmishes, as it were the seed of a greater war against the next Spring: which the Emperor now out of doubt of (being also warned thereof by many Letters from his friends) put strong garrisons into the frontier towns, especially into Rab and Zigeth. But knowing that to be but a poore helpe against so puissant an enemy, he resolued as his father and vncle had done before, to rest vpon the strength of the Empire, and against the next yeare to call a generall assembly

A assembly of the Princes of the empire at Augusta, for the better withstanding of the common Enemy. The wars thus beginning again in Hungary, *Solyman* at the same time in reuenge of the manifold harms don to his subiects by the Knights of Malta (whose hand he found euer against him in all his dealings with the other Christian Princes) made great preparation by sea and land, purposing, as seemed by the maner therof, to haue rased the memoriall of those worthy men from off the earth. Wherunto, beside the naturall hatred which he bare against all Christians in general, and them aboue the rest in particular, he was much incited by *Cassanes*, *Barbarussa's* son, King of Algiers, and *Dragut* gouernor of Tripolis, by whose persuasion he caused a strong fleet to be rigged vp, commanding the lieutenants and gouernors of his ports and hauens al alongst the sea-coast, to put to their helping hands, and to be ready against the B next Spring. And not long after, vnderstanding partly of his own certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardnes things were, hee calling together a great assembly of his chief princes and men of Warre, deliuered vnto them his mind as followeth:

Solyman prepares to inuade Malta.

Solymans oration to his captains for inuading of Malta.

What thing I haue these forty years always wished, which was to haue so much leisure from other wars, as to pluck out of their nests and vtterly to root out these crossed pyrats, which vaunt themselues to be the Bulwark of Christendom: that same me-thinks I haue by the fauor of God, and Mahomet *his Prophet, at this time obtained. For we haue so represt the attempts of the Persians, that they canot let vs. And in Hungary, from whence certain dreadfull motions were reported, we our selues wil shortly do those things* C *which shall inforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of Germany, and to sue to vs for peace. You your selues daily hear the pittifull complaints of our subiects and merchants, whom these Maltæses, I say not soldiers, but pyrats, if they but look into those seas, spoil and make prize of: whose iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man do require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleasing or more honorable, than if I may before I die accomplish those things, that is, to win Malta, and to leaue all things in order in Hungary and Polonia. Except perhaps some man thinke it an harder matter for vs to thrust these crossed Companions from the rocks of Malta, than for our Ancestors to haue driuen them out of Ierusalem, and so quite out of Syria: and for our selues to haue forced them out of the strong Island of the Rhodes. But this some will say is neerer vnto Italy, from whence aid may easily be sent, and the place defended by a Fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer aduenture to fight with vs at sea, who remember themselues to* D *haue bin there by vs so often ouerthrown: beside that, so little a place cannot contain any great garison, neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherfore vnto this expedition we haue determined with the first of the Spring to send a most strong fleet: and euen now we haue already commanded all our sea Captains and Aduenturers which acknowledge our command, to be there present with their ships. The King of Algiers will be there, the garisons of Alexandria are in readines, so also is* Dragut *with his appointed fleet. As for our own, it is by myne own appointment rigged vp: vnto which fleet I doubt not but that all the strength of the West will giue place. Which thing (worthy Captains) we speak, trusting vpon the help of almighty God and* Mahomet *his great Prophet, with your known and approued valor. Now remaines only, that euery one of you think with vs, how this war may best be managed, and so to referre your deuices vnto vs. Which that you may the better do, Lo, I here deliuer vnto you the scituation of the whole Island,* E *and project of all their fortifications, which we haue receiued of most expert and skilfull men.*

Solymans purpose thus made known, and the matter wel considered; after that they which best knew the strong places & maners of the Maltæses, had declared their opinions what they thought most expedient; it was decreed, That they should with al speed set forward. Wherfore victual and other things necessary for such an expedition being with wonderfull celerity prepared, they expected but wind.

The grand master aduertised of Solyman his purpose.

Of these things *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Grand Master of Malta, and one of the Knights of the Order, being both by Letters and Messengers aduertised (for he had alwaies fit men his F intelligencers at Constantinople, who warily noted the purposes and actions of *Solyman*) was not afraid; but knowing that of God depended the victory, and that men were to watch, labor, and foresee: he assembled a Councel of his Knights, and in few words spake vnto them in this sort:

Valetta's Oration vnto his Knights.

What Solyman *prepareth (most noble and valiant Knights) and what a great War he proudeth against vs, you with me of late right well vnderstand. Wherfore it is needles for me to vse any long speech with you concerning that matter. The Enemy is known, his insatiable ambition is known, his strength is known, and his mortall hate against vs and the Christian Name is sufficiently known. Wherfore let vs all as one first reconcile our selues to God, and then prouide all such things as shall be needfull for the War. In brief, noble Knights, to reconcile our selues vnto God, and to appease his displeasure, two things are of vs to be performed: wherof the one consists in amendment of life, with a holy conuersation; the other, in a religious worshipping of him, with a firm and constant trust in his help, with Prayer, which is called godlinesse. By these means our Ancestors obtained many victories against the Infidels in the East. Neither is it to be doubted, but that if we shall in these things ioyn together, we shall also frustrate all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But forasmuch as God vsually helps them which labor and take pains, and not the negligent and sloathfull, we must of necessity ioyn vnto them those helps, which both our profession and the course of war requireth: which partly consisteth in our selues, and partly in the other Christian Princes. For victuall, armor, mony, and other such things as in wars are requisit, we will so prouide, that no man shall iustly complain that we spared either cost or pains. I will poure out all my store, neither will I for desire of life refuse any danger. As for the Christian princes, I canot persuade my selfe that they will lie still in so fit an opportunity, and in so great danger, not of our estate only, but much more of their own. Verily I wil not spare to exhort euery one of them both by letters and messengers, which in part we haue already don: and I doubt not but we shall haue aid enough from the Pope, the Emperor, and the king of Spain (such is their Christian Zeal) and they I hope shall moue the rest. As for you, the Princes and very light of this sacred Order, and the rest of our brethren, most valiant Knights, I am well assured you wil so fight for the most holy Christian religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glory of the Latine name, against a most cruell Tyrant, the rooter out of all true Religion, of all ciuility and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that he shall feel the sting of the Crosse, which hee so much contemneth, euen in the city of Constantinople, yea in his houses of pleasure. For we shall not haue now to do with him in the Island of the Rhodes, far from the help of our friends, (from Asia, from Europ, from Egypt inclosed with our enemies both by sea and land) but in the eies of Italy and Spain, in places strongly fortified, from whence the Enemy may easily be circumuented. Which that it may so fal out, let vs not cease to pray vnto almighty God, and to craue his ready help.*

When the Grand Master had thus said, all that were there present promised with one assent, rather to lose their liues, than in any part to fail the Common Cause, or to fall into the power of *Solyman*. After that, publique prayer and supplication was made in euery Church thorow the Island; and three Colonels chosen out of all the Knights: one an Italian, syrnamed *Imperator*, another *Borneas* a French man, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all aduised men and most expert souldiers, which should with all diligence prouide all things necessarie and conuenient for the War. By whose appointment the suburbs and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrown; the fortifications were thoroughly viewed, the Garrisons strengthned, and all manner of prouision most plentifully distributed: and Letters from the Grand Master sent vnto the Great Bishop and sundry other Christian Princes, requesting their aid against the Common Enemy. Messengers were also dismissed into diuers places, to certifie both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turks great preparation.

The Knights prepare against the Turks.

Solymans fleet departeth from Constantinople.

Solymans Fleet departing from Constantinople the two and twentieth day of March in the year 1565, kept a direct course toward Peloponesus, and so came to Methon; where *Mustapha Bassa* one of the Turks greatest Captains, a man of seuenty fiue years old, and General of the land forces, mustred the army, wherein were numbred seuen thousand horsemen of them which are of the Turks called Spachi: out of the lesser Asia, conducted by the Gouernour of that country, and two Lieutenants of Cilicia, fiue hundred: and out of the Island of Lesbos, now called Metylene, four hundred: he had of the Ianizaries four thousand fiue hundred, led by two Colonels appointed by *Solyman*; for that the chief Captain of the Ianizaries (which they call the Aga) neuer departeth from the city but when the Sultan goeth himself. Besides these was a certain kind of men amongst the Turks, who liue of the reuenues of the Church; of them there was in the Army thirteene thousand, who had all at Constantinople vowed their

A their liues for their superstition. Out of Thracia and Peloponesus were come two Colonels, and one Lieutenant, with twelue hundred horsmen, and 3500 Voluntiers out of diuers Countries. There also *Pial Bassa*, *Solymans* Admirall, took view of the fleet, wherin were found an hundred and thirty gallies, two and twenty ships for burthen, some greater, some lesse, besides one that was cast away neer vnto Methone, where was lost 6000 barrels of pouder, 1300 great shot, and 400 Spahi. Besides these, there were ten gallies from the Rhodes, commaunded by *Halyport* a man of 70 years; two gallies from Mitylene, and 17 galliots and other small pyrats ships. With this strong fleet the Turks departing from Methone the 13 of May, arriued at Malta the 18 of the same month, and put into a hauen in the North-East part of the Isle, called by the inhabitants Marzasiroc: but perceiuing themselues not to be there in safety, they

The Turks fleet arriues at Malta.

B remoued to another port called Major.

The Island of Malta lying betwixt Africa and Sicilia, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in Africk or Europ, but that the antient cosmographers and the Moors language, which the Maltæses haue alwaies vsed, claime it for Africke: it is in length from the North-East to the South-West 20 miles; and in the broadest place 12. It regards Africk Southward, ouer against Leptis parva; and Sicilia toward the North, but more towards Pachinum than Lilybeum; and is in circuit threescore miles. It seemeth to take the name Melita of *Mel* or hony, wherof it yeeldeth plenty. The trees there bear fruit twice a year, & they haue oftententimes twice haruest, especially of Barly and Cotton wool; yet is the Island in some places stony, grauelly, and bare of wood. Neuertheles it beareth figs, apples, Almonds,

The description of Malta.

C Grapes, and other fruit trees planted by the industry of man, Date trees also, but not fruitful: it beareth thistles of such bignes that the inhabitants vse them for wood. Fresh water is there wonderful scarce, and such wels as they haue are filled with rain in Winter, for in Summer they are either clean dry, or els the water becomes brachy. The Inhabitants are so burnt with the Sun, that they differ little in colour from the Ethyopians: they are of a wholsom constitution of body, spare of dyet, industrous, rather painful than warlike, dying more for age than of sicknes. Their buildings, except it be in the city (which is in the midst of the Island) and suburbs, are long and low like vnto the Moors, couered with turf or reed. It is commonly sup-

Act 27 & 28

posed that Saint *Paul* was by shipwrack cast vpon this Island: but it is with greater reason to be thought that it was the other Melyta in the Adriatick, betwixt Corcyra and Illyria, and

D better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apostles trouble and shipwracke in the Adriatique, out of which sea it is not to be gathered by the Text that *Paul* and the rest were driuen. But again to our purpose; That side of Malta which respecteth Sicilia hath in it many good harbors and commodious hauens fit for shipping; where besides the port Marzasiroc toward the East, where the Turks fleet first landed, and the port of S. *Thomas*, with another called Scala not far off, it hath two other notable hauens, the one called Major, the other Marza Moxet, diuided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground, which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North almost in maner of an Island, hauing the hauen Major on the East, and Marza Moxet on the West. Vpon the head of this high ridge standeth the castle of S. *Elmo*, of great strength both by nature and art. As a man entreth into

E the hauen Major, on the left hand are four promontories pointing far into the hauen on that side, almost in maner of Islands, making so many Bayes. Vpon the first standeth the Gallows, wherof also it taketh name: vpon the point of the second, on a rough and high rock standeth a most strong castle, called the castle of S. *Angelo*, wherto adjoineth the town, separated from the castle only with a wall and a ditch, and is placed in a hollownes cut out of the main rock; strengthned also with the sea and the industry of man, and is of some called the Burg, of others the New City. In this Castle resideth the grand Master, and the souldiers in the Burg. Vpon the third promontory standeth another strong castle, which they call also the Burg of S. *Michael*. The fourth promontory is not inhabited; from whence the sea runneth alongst the winding banks almost into the midst of the Island, vnto a place called Aqua Marsia. A-

F gain, after the port Marza Moxet, Westward is the port of S. *George*: and after that another called Bennorrat: then followeth the port of S. *Paul*, no lesse than the port Marzasiroc. After which comes the port called Salinarum Sinus: but on that side of the Island toward Africke is only one port called Milliaria. Neer to the Island of Malta lie certain other little Islands,

as Gauloſa, now Goza, two other called Cuminia, and another called Piper, all ſubject to the Maltæſes. G

Thus much I haue thought good to ſet down concerning the Turks fleet, and for the deſcription of thoſe places wherin this great action was performed, the brute wherof then filled the World. Now ſhal it not be amiſſe in like maner to declare vpon what ſtrength, next vnto God, *Valetta* the Grand Maſter ſtood againſt ſo mighty and puiſſant an enemy. Firſt, there was in the Iſland 1300 Mercinaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines, and the reſt of Naples: there were alſo 1000 ſea men of the Knights, and 500 in the Town of S. *Angelo*, and of the country people which were fled into the ſtrong places fiue thouſand, men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars. There were alſo fiue hundred Knights of the Orders, beſides Prieſts and Squires; for of theſe three ſorts of men are they which are called Brethren of the H
Order. This was the number of them which defended the caſtles and towns of S. *Elmo*, S. *Angelo* and S. *Michael*; whereunto they were proportionably diuided, and in the city it ſelf, which is called Melita, being in the middle of the Iſland, was 200 ſouldiers and as many Citiſens, with three hundred of the Country people all horſmen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a valiant Captain. Beſides this, euery place was furniſhed with plenty of victual, armor, weapons, artillery, and whatſoeuer els was needfull for the induring of a long ſiege, and a war that ſhould want many things: and that which paſſed all the reſt, minds armed with inuincible courage againſt whatſoeuer ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed victors. All theſe things being in readines and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoon as they vnderſtood that ſeuen and twenty of the Turks gallies had put into the hauen Marzaſiroc, and were there landing their I
men; *Gyon* Admiral for the Order, a valiant and couragious Knight, marched thither with 500 harquebuſiers, to haue skirmiſhed with them. But as ſoon as the Turks perceiued them comming, they retyred again to their gallies. On the other part where the other fleet lay, two hundred of the Turks going on ſhore, met by chance with *Riuerius* a Frenchman, and eight Knights more, who hauing his horſe killed vnder him, and one of his Companions ſlaine, fell with the reſt into the hands of the enemy. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, a certain Chriſtian mariner fled out from the Turks to the City Melita, who diſcouered the enemies purpoſes, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Muſtapha* had determined to haue landed the greateſt part of their forces, preſently to haue beſieged ſome ſtrong place; had not *Pial Baſſa* the Admiral exclaimed againſt it, doubting to be left too weak at ſea, ſaying plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the comming of *Dragut*, who was euery houre expected. K
For *Solyman* had expreſly commanded that they ſhould do nothing without his aduice; ſo great an opinion had he of his policy and valor. But whether this his report were true or otherwiſe, the Turks for all that returning with their fleet to Marzaſiroc, landed twenty thouſand ſoldiers and fiue field pieces, and ſo intrenched themſelues. This don, *Pial Baſſa* with ſeuen hundred went to view the caſtle of S. *Michael*; but for fear of the great ſhot, durſt not come nigh it: neuertheles they of the town ſallying out, couragiouſly skirmiſhed with the Turks; in which conflict *Curfelinus*, ſyrnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, ſo furiouſly aſſailed the enemy, that he took from him one enſigne, and ſlew one of the Sanzacks a great commander, with diuers others. When *Pial* was come again to the Camp, L
the General began to conſult with the other Captains, whether it were better to lay ſiege to the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, or to the town of S. *Michael*. In concluſion it was agreed vpon, That they ſhould with all their forces beſiege the caſtle of S. *Elmo*. And going vp the hil to view the caſtle, they were incountred by the garriſon ſouldiers, in which fight ſome few were loſt on both ſides. Thus by degrees things growing hoter and hoter, the grand Maſter thought it good to certifie *Garzias* of Toledo viceroy of Sicily, how things ſtood, that he might the ſooner rig vp his fleet to come to their reſcue. Wherfore he commanded one gally to put out of the hauen by night, and to paſſe ouer into Sicily, with *Salvagus* one of the Knights ſent thither on meſſage. In the mean time the Turks caſt vp a mount to haue battered the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, and beaten the gallies in the hauen Major, and ſo to haue opened a way for their fleet M
to haue entred: but they were not able long to keep that mount; for they had ſcarſly well ended the work, but that it was forthwith by the continual thundring ſhot out of the caſtle beaten down again, which thing greatly abated the Turks courage. About that time, *Ochial* came

Riuerius with other Knights taken of the Turks.

The Turks land

They of the Caſtle S. Michael skirmiſh with the Turks.

to

A to the fleet with six ships, drawn out of them which were left for the defence of Alexandria, and in them 900 soldiers. The Turks beaten from their first mount, cast vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of Ordnance, wherewith they annoied not only the hauen wherin the fleet of Malta rid, but the castle of S. *Angelo* also, the Great masters seat, and with a rolling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the Castle of S. *Elmo*: which although they had at first in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the Castle; yet at last with much labour and trauell they brought it to perfection: for the Turks in that kind of worke, still performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others. Wherfore in short time they planted their great ordnance in such sort, as that they might batter both the castles of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michael*. There was in the Turks camp a gentleman of Spaine, but then a
B slaue vnto a Turke, who vnderstanding the enemies purpose for the besieging of the castle of S. *Elmo*, by a Christian fugitiue aduertised the Great master thereof: whereupon he forthwith sent *Cerda* and *Miranda* with two companies of Spaniards into the Castle, who were afterwards a great strength vnto the Castle, and hinderance vnto the enemy. At length came *Dragut* Gouernor of Leptis, long looked for of the Turks, with 13 gallies, and in them 1600 souldiers: after whom followed ten galliots from Bona, and in them two companies. In the mean time *Saluagus* the worthy Knight (sent before into Sicilia) came to Messana, and hauing certified the Viceroy of the State of Malta, was by him commanded to return to Malta in a Galliot, conducted by two gallies of the Great masters; which hauing brought him neer vnto the Island, returned again into Sicilia: but he with his galliot (not without most manifest
C danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne through the middest of the enemies fleet, with the losse of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the great master what he had in charge from the Viceroy, he was the same night sent back again by the Great master into Sicilia, to certifie the Viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requesting him with all speed to send him some supply, whereby he might the better hold out against the force of so great an enemy. *Saluagus* discouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, presently committed himselfe againe to sea, and in short time arriued in the port of Siracusa, where finding the two gallies we before spake of, he sent them to Malta, as he had in charge, with 400 soldiers, among whom were diuers Knights of the Order, and certain skilfull canoniers: willing them to shun the West part of the Island, wheras they must needs come into the
D enemies sight, and to passe by the East end therof, which was farther about, but safer; & turning Southward, to land in the port Miliare, and from thence by the low places of the Island to conuey the soldiers by night to the city Melita, which was but four miles off; from whence they might easily passe to the castle S. *Michael*. This order taken, he went to Messana, and there declared to the Viceroy the danger of the war, with the smal number of the defendants; requesting of him a thousand footmen, which with those already sent, he thought would suffice to hold out the siege til he with his whole fleet might come to relieue them. But whilst these things were slowly prouided (which with much difficultie and delay could hardly be brought to passe, the Christian Princes as it were sleeping in so great a danger) the Turks vpon the sudden the third of Iune assaulted the castle S. *Elmo*, in hope with short scaling ladders
E to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neerest vnto the bulwark of the Castle. But the defendants in the ditch (which before had no flankers to scour the same) had of earth and fagots made a large flanker, from whence the castle also helping them, valiantly resisted the enemy, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, trusting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour, they obtain so many victories) thrust stil on, vntill they had by obstinat force (although long first) gained the flanker: wherby they commanded all that part of the ditch toward the port Marza Moxet. In which place they with wonderfull celerity so fortified themselues, that they could not be hurt by the defendants. Wherin they were much holpen by their own great ordnance planted on the other side the hauen Marza; for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the
F corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwark, whose hight and greatnes troubled the enemy, but was not so commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without any flankers. But night comming on, fiue thousand of the nine thousand Turkes which gaue the assault, tarried there: wherfore the Christians constrained to forsake the place, retyred into the Castle. The Turks in the mean time couered with the darknes of the night, with sacks

The Turks besiege the Castle of S. Elmo.

Dragut comes to aid the Turks.

The Turkes assault S. Elmo.

filled with tow and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwark, but neither of any great wideneſſe or depth; which don, they gaue a freſh aſſault, wherin 800 of them were ſlain, part Ianizaries and part Spachi; and beſides them, many wounded, of whom the moſt part remained half dead in the ditch, where they periſhed and could not be relieued. Of the Chriſtians were loſt 45; amongſt whom were fiue Knights of the Order, *Guardampes* an Avergnois, *Maſius* a Colonel of Narbona, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neineo* a German. The ſame night the Great Maſter thinking, as reaſon was, that they in the Caſtle Saint *Elmo* might want help, ſent two hundred of his Knights and as many other ſoldiers into the Caſtle; who if they had bin more, together with the four hundred which were before in the Caſtle, might haply haue driuen the Turks both from the rampiers and the flanker, and alſo kept the place longer. But foraſmuch as the Great Maſter wanted ſoldiers, and had therfore ſent *Salvagus* into Sicily for new ſupplies (as we haue before ſaid) he in the mean time couragiouſly expected their comming, refuſing no labor or pain; yet bewailing ſomtimes with himſelf the vnfortunatnes of the Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe negligence ſo fit an occaſion for the ouerthrow of the barbarous enemy was let ſlip. But aboue all things, hee maruelled exceedingly that no help yet came, eſpecially thoſe two gallies, which (as we haue ſaid) were in all haſte ſent by *Salvagus*. But they by the Maſters default kept not the appointed courſe: For firſt, wheras they ſhould haue ſhunned the Weſt part of the Iſle, and haue turned toward the Eaſt, they ſhaped their courſe Weſtward to the Iſland of Gaulos; the Maſter vainly affirming, That he ſaw certain of the Turks Galliots lying before port Meleria. Which was afterward well known not to haue bin ſo: for the truth was, that he for fear (whereby notable deſignes are many times fruſtrated) durſt not go forward. Wherby it came to paſſe that the great maſter was diſappointed of ſo neceſſary a ſupply: which thing much grieued both the Viceroy & others, but eſpecially *Salvagus*. For he ſaw it would come to paſſe, that if the Turks ſhould take the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* (the moſt aſſured bulwark and defence of the Iſland of Malta) the other places muſt of neceſſity be brought into extream danger; all the way to relieue them being therby ſhut vp. And that it might be taken, ſeemed not to him impoſſible, the enemy hauing already taken one fort, and laying hard ſiege almoſt on euery ſide of that little pile. The due conſideration of theſe and ſuch like things grieued the minds of skilful men, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch ſlack preparation in a caſe requiring ſuch preſent relief. Yet in the meane time ſoldiers were taken vp at Rome by the commandment of *Pius quartus* then Biſhop, to be ſent to Malta. And by his example to ſtir vp other princes, he gaue 100 pounds of gold to *Cambianus* Legat for the Order, and commaunded gunpouder and other neceſſaries for that War to be taken out of his caſtle S. Angelo; that ſo he might ſeem to be wanting in nothing that was in him to performe. Ouer theſe ſoldiers, in number 600, he appointed *Pompeius Columna* General; and commanded *Camillus Medices* his Legat to accompany him. With theſe went many voluntary men, of purpoſe to lay down their liues for the eterniſing of their names in ſo religious a war; and that with ſuch an ardent deſire, as that euery little delay ſeemed a year vnto them. Wherfore comming to Naples, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eleuen ſhips, the Prince of Populonia with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others ſet forth by other priuat gentlemen. In theſe ſhips were imbarqued all thoſe footmen which came from Rome, and ſo tranſported to Meſſana, where the Kings fleet was prouiding. But whileſt the Chriſtians make ſlow preparation, conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger, the Turks not ignorant therof, reſolued to proue their vtmoſt, before the ſtrength of the Chriſtians were ready or drawn together. For the caſtle of S. *Elmo* once taken, they aſſured themſelues with more eaſe to cary the reſt; for that therby they ſhould firſt haue the hauen Marza Moxet in their power, wherin their fleet might ſafely ride as long as they pleaſed; and the riſing ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them, both to batter the Towne of S. *Michael*, and to keep the hauen Major, ſo that none could without their leaue paſſe in or out therat. Wherfore vpon theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations they began again to batter the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, as it had bin with thunder. Which furious battery they continued by the ſpace of four daies together without intermiſſion. The night following, they ſuddenly with great force gaue an aſſault, and with their ſcaling ladders had almoſt gained the top of the wall. When the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to come to handy blowes, draue them down again with ſuch violence, that neuer after they durſt ſet ladder to the Wall vntil

S. Elmo again aſſaulted.

New ſupply ſent into the Caſtle S. Elmo.

The Turks repulſed.

A vntil the very laſt conflict. Whilſt things were thus hot at the caſtle S. *Elmo*, *Draguts* ſoldiers vpon a brauery, as if they had bin the only men, went to a place called Martia Scala, which is betwixt the gallows & S. *Thomas* rode, as if they would haue don more than the reſt: which the Chriſtians beholding out of the town of S. *Angelo*, to repres their inſolencie ſallied out vpon them, and ſo welcommed them, that they were glad after they had receiued great loſſe, forthwith to retyre to the place from whence they came. Of the Chriſtians were ſlain *Bonnemius* a Frenchman one of the Knights, and ſeuen others.

The ſame time *Monferratus* was by the Great Maſter ſent into the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, to command there as Gouernor in ſtead of *Brolia*: for that he with watching and pains taking in defence therof was fallen ſick. The ſame *Brolia* had many times before written to the great ma-
B ſter, That the caſtle was ſo wel fortified and furniſhed of al things needful, as that he thought it impoſſible to be won by the enemy: and had with cheerful ſpeech and braue behauiour ſo incouraged the Knights & other the defendants, that they fought againſt their enemies with more than mens ſtrength, and greater courage than is to be beleeued. Neither were the Turks for that diſcouraged, although they were with great loſſe ſtill repulſed; but for certain dayes battered the caſtle with greater fury than before, and immediatly gaue an aſſault. For they had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of maſts & ſail-yards, of ſuch a bredth, that ten men might go theron in rank, and had placed about the ditch 4000 harquebuſiers, and brought all their fleet to S. *Georges* ſhore, not far from the caſtle. And when they had by the ſpace of 18 days fore ſhaken it, & torn the wals with 13000 great ſhot, and were now in hope euen preſently to *An horrible battery.*
C win the caſtle; ſee, *Beragamus* a Biſcane one of the Knights, and *Medranus* a Spaniſh captain, with certain other valiant men, ranne to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the beholders, oppoſed themſelues againſt the multitude of the miſcreants. The fight hand to hand was on both ſides fierce and terrible; when now one of the Turks had aduanced a Turkiſh enſigne vpon the bulwark, which whilſt *Medranus* layeth hand vpon, and the Turk on the other ſide ſtrugleth to clear himſelf from him, in ſtriuing together they fel down both dead, ſhot thorow with one bullet by one of the Turks. At which time the 400 which we ſaid were but a little before ſent thither by the Grand Maſter, ſtood in good ſtead; for ſeeing all brought to ſo great a danger, ſome of them (whilſt other-ſome fought with the enemy) thruſt barrells of gunpouder vnder the bridge; ſome caſt down wild-fire, ſtones, and whatſoeuer els came vnto
D hand, vpon the enemy; and others farther off with their harquebuſes ſore gauled the Turks; ſo in ſhort time the bridge was burnt and blown vp, which in the fall therof ouerwelmed 800 *800 Turks ſlain.*
Turks: the reſt as they might retyred, few whole, but moſt part wounded. In this conflict the Chriſtians pluckt down two enſignes, the one *Muſtapha's*, the other *Draguts*, which the Turks had ſet vp vpon the very battlements of the walls. On the other part toward the South-weſt a band of the Turks had got to the top of the higheſt rampier: which ſo ſoon as they in the caſtle of S. *Angelo* perceiued, thinking to haue beaten them off with a great ſhot, ſlew by chance ſeuen of the defendants vpon the ſame rampier, as they were going to and fro. But to recompence that error, at the next ſhot they rent in ſunder four of the Turks Captains, with twelue other of their moſt forward ſoldiers. Whilſt they were here fighting, other Turks in
E the mean time had caſt vp a trench on that ſide of the caſtle toward S. *Angelo*; out of which they were quickly driuen, with fire, ſtones, and other like things thrown down vpon them by the defendants. The Turks valiantly on euery ſide retyred into the Camp, when they had in *The Turkiſh retyre.*
this aſſault loſt two thouſand of their beſt ſoldiers, and of the Chriſtians ſlain almoſt a hundred, and wounded as many. The ſame day *Valetta* the great Maſter perceiuing the port Marza Moxet not to be very ſtreitly kept by the Turks, commanded a light Brigandine to be carried out of the hauen ouer land to the place called Martia Scala, that from thence hee might ſend into Sicilia. For he, as reaſon was, conſidering in what danger the caſtle S. *Elmo* ſtood, by letters certified the Viceroy and the Biſhop of Rome therof, and of ſuch things as were there don, requeſting their ſpeedy relief. The copy of the letters ſent to the Viceroy, I haue
F here ſet down: as for thoſe which were ſent to the great Biſhop, becauſe they were almoſt of the ſame purport, I haue purpoſely omitted.

To

G

To GARZIAS of Toledo, Vice-Roy of Sicilia, and Lord Admirall of the Fleet, Greeting.

The great Masters letters to the Viceroy of Malta.

SInce the time that I sent Salvagus, *I haue sent vnto you two Letters, which I caused to be sent by Melita into Gaulos; which I pray God be come vnto your hands. After that, when as neither letters nor messengers came vnto vs from you, I commanded a man with instructions to hast to Messana, who when he had certain nights attempted to go out, and was at last got out, he was scarsly gon two miles, but hee saw the Turks with might and main making after him; whom to escape, he was glad to run his pinnace on* H *ground, and casting his letters into the sea, to forsake his boat, and by flight to saue himself. Now the Turks hauing remoued their fleet out of the port Vulturnus, I considering how much it concerneth to certifie you of those things which are here don, commanded a Brigandine to be carried to Martia Scala: for seeing the Turks fleet is gon to another part of the Island, I hope my Letters will without let in short time come vnto you. And the things I would haue you to know are these: The fifteenth of this moneth all the Enemies fleet a little before night passed by this port (the comming on of the night hindered vs, that wee could not well perceiue the weakenesse therof) whilst the gallies almost vnarmed were with much difficulty towed forth: want of water caused them chiefly to depart out of the port Vulturnus, and peradnenture fear of your fleet. For as I haue heard, they haue intelligence that* 150 *sail lye at road in the port of* I *Messana: for which cause also they haue not put themselues into the port of S.* Paul, *but haue placed their fleet aboue the port Marza Moxet, yet a good part of their gallies lie at the port S.* George, *so to be neerer to their land forces: yet is not their neernes such, but that if your fleet come vpon the sudden, they will with the same fear retyre to their fleet that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to bee seen at Vulturnus, for they haue left their first camp at S.* Katharines *and Saint* Iohns, *hauing burnt all the country villages, and now lie with their fleet as I haue said; and with their army at the castle S.* Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will. Which thing is euen for this to be hoped for, which was but yesterday don; when as our most valiant soldiers by the help of God, for the space of four houres couragiously indured a most terrible assault. The Turks hauing also made a bridge Westward toward the Port Marza Moxet, we haue four times repulsed them to their great losse, yet not without some losse also on our part; amongst whom* Medranus *a worthy captain was to my great grief slain. With this victory our men* K *are so incouraged, that I am in hope the castle may be defended vntill your comming, especially the Enemies battery not so furiously now as before maintained. If I were relieued with certain companies of fresh soldiers, or at least with those our two gallies, I would neuer think that this Castle could be taken from vs: in defence wherof, whilst we euery hour look for help, we haue spent both our men, and whatsoeuer warlike prouision we had els. We are resolued, although it cost vs all our liues, to go thither, relying vpon you, who as we hope, for your deuotion and noble courage, wil not be vnmindfull of our health and welfare: But knowing the danger wherinto we must needs fall, if you shall defer to aid vs, will send vs out of hand some bands of men, especially when they may so easily be sent. For now that the Turkes are departed from the East part of the Island, our soldiers may be landed at the black rocks. Our liues lie in your hands, on whom* L *(next vnto God) resteth all our hope. Wherfore we beseech you most instantly not to forsake vs, committing our selues and all that ours is, to your compassion and protection. Fare you well.*

From Malta the 17 of Iune.

These letters receiued, and the distres of the besieged castle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as he rightly ought) greatly mooued, and made semblance as if he had bin desirous to haue brought forth his whole fleet against the Turks. But forasmuch as the supply of ships from Genoa & Spain were not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to aduenture the fortune of a battell, he forthwith sent *Ioh. Cordona* with four Gallies, wherof two were of Malta; and with *Cordona* joined one *Robles* Camp-master, with a select company of Spaniards, with whom went also about fourscore Knights of Malta, who stayed at Messana, awaiting some fit occasion to passe ouer. Amongst whom were these chief men of the Order, *Parisot* the Great Masters Nephew, *Vincentius Caraffa*, *Boninscana*, and *Maldonatus*, both Spaniards, *Cemius* of Aquitania, and some others. Who although letted by tempest and other occasions,

For gallies sent to relieue Malta. M

A casions, they came too late to Malta, as shall be herafter declared, yet serued they in great stead; and had they come in time before the castle S. *Elmo* was lost, haply it might haue been stil kept.

The Turks making no more account of so great a slaughter of their men, than of so many sheep, desperatly renued the fight, as men resolued to indure all extremities. And first they most horribly thundred day and night with their great ordnance vpon the Castle: afterwards they assaulted the breaches with such a multitude and force, that if true valour and hope of immortality had not excluded al fear out of the hearts of the defendants, the terror of the assault had inforced them either to haue fled or yeelded. Dreadful was the fight, and had they not bin obstinatly set down on both sides, the one to win the castle, and the other to defend it, *A terrible assault.*
B that day had ended the qnarrel. Fiue hours indured that most terrible assault; at length the Turks repulsed by the valor of the Christians, retyred: yet did they not for all that passe the night following in quiet, but with their great ordnance did so beat the defendants, that they had much ado to keep the Turks from scaling the walls: Which that they should not then dare to attempt, was with exceeding indeauour prouided for by the Christians; of whom in this assault was lost 200, and of the Turks a great number. And *Dragut* himself, whilest hee there performed the duty both of a General and most valiant soldier, got a blow on the head *Dragut slain.*
with a stone, wherof he in two daies after died. His dead body was afterwards caried to Tripolis, and there honorably buried.

The Commanders of the Turks Army stil more and more inraged with thi svalour of the
C Christians and slaughter of their men, gathering all their fleet together, commanded them to compas about the Castle, of purpose to giue therunto their last assault with all their forces both by sea and land; and to send new supplies of fresh soldiers one after another, vntill they had taken the castle. Wherfore they with great industry prepared bridges, ladders, engins, armor, weapons, shot, and what soeuer thing els was needful for the assault. Which *Valetta* perceiuing out of his castle S. *Angelo*, and fearing (as meet was) lest they in the castle should not be able longer to endure so great a fury, called together in counsel his knights, two daies before the Turks gaue their last assault; and told them, That they all as well as hee, saw in what danger they which defended the castle of S. *Elmo* were: and that he doubted not, but that euery one of them, vpon a godly zeal and compassion, was no lesse mooued with the slaughter and
D danger of their fellows and other their Christian souldiers, than with their own: wherfore he requested them to declare what they thought best to be don for their safety; yet so, as that hastily they should not determin any thing that agreed not with the antient valor and honor of their sacred military profession. Which motion once made, and their opinions in brief deliuered, a Decree was made, That forasmuch as the Castle could not longer be holden, regard should be had for the safegard of them that were therin: for which purpose it was agreed, that 12 pinnaces should be sent to fetch them away. But before, three knights were chosen, who should in hast the night following go thither, to tel them what was in the councel agreed vpon, & carefully to consider in what state the castle was; which if the defendants thought was to be abandoned, they should poison the water and cloy the great ordnance, that it might not
E afterward stand the Turks in any stead. The three knights sent thither was *Medina* a Spaniard, *Three Knights sent to view the state of the Castle S. Elmo.*
Rocca a Frenchman, and *Constantinus Castriot* an Italian: who not without danger of death (beeing oftentimes shot at by the Turks) got into the Castle, and declared vnto them that were there in garrison, how carefull the Great Master and the rest were of them. And they on their side first gaue thanks to the grand Master and the rest for the regard they had of them: and afterward concerning the castle said, That if they considered the streitnes of the place, the smal number of the defendants, and multitude of the enemy, they should wel perceiue the danger they were in, if the Turks should often with such obstinacy renue the assault: yet forasmuch as they had euer hitherto felt the help of God so present, who had stil mercifully defended them against the rage of the enemy, & wanted nothing needful for the defence of the place;
F the keeping wherof they had requested of the grand Master as an honor, although they knew right wel, it could not without most manifest danger of their liues be holden: yet would they for all that keep it to the last man; for that perhaps the like honorable occasion for them to shew themselues in should neuer again be offred: wherfore they had (they said) resolued there to spend their liues for Gods glory and the Christian Religion. The course of this life (they said)

ſaid)was but ſhort,but that honor and fame was for euer: and whereas death is to all men pre- G
fined,it were to be wiſhed,that the life which is to nature due, ſhould rather ſeem to be by vs
franckly giuen to God and our countrey,than reſerued as natures debt: which if it ſhould ſo
happen,they woould ſo vſe the matter,as that the barbarous enemy ſhould haue neither plea-
ſure nor ioy,which ſhould not coſt him much bloud euen of his beſt ſouldiers. This they wil-
led the knights to tell the Great Maſter,and to requeſt him not to be too careful of them,but
to promiſe to himſelfe thoſe things of them which beſt beſeemed reſolute men, eſpecially of
them who had vowed themſelues to that ſacred war. This anſwer of greater reſolution than
fortune, receiued; the three Knights, when they had diligently viewed the caſtle,returned to
the Grand maſter: who calling to counſel his knights,and hauing heard the anſwer of the be-
ſieged,would needs heare alſo what opinion the three knights themſelues were of concerning H
Diuers opinions concerning the keeping of S.Elmo. the keeping of the caſtle:of whom *Caſtriot* was of opinion,That the place was ſtil to be defen-
ded,and that if he were there to command,he would vndertake to perform it;and there rather
to loſe his life than to forſake it,after he had once taken vpon him the charge therof. But *Rocca*
the French knight was far of another mind,and ſaid plainly,that the place could not poſſibly
be holden againſt ſo ſtrong an enemy; and that if *Iulius Cæſar* himſelfe were aliue, and ſaw to
what ſtreight the place was brought(eſpecially all the rampiers being either beaten down or
ſore ſhaken,and ſuch a power of obſtinat enemies lying round about it)he would neuer ſuffer
ſo many valiant ſouldiers to be loſt,but quit the place, and reſerue his men to further ſeruice:
for why, it was the part of valiant men to performe ſo much as was of men to be performed;
but to ſtriue to do more,was no manhood at all:wherfore he thought it beſt to do that which I
men vſe with members mortified, whoſe recouery is deſperat; in which caſe we doubt not to
make a ſeparation,ſo to ſaue the reſt of the body with life. The Spaniſh Knight in moſt part
agreeing with *Caſtriot*,ſaid,That he thought it not good,that the place ſhould ſo eaſily be for-
ſaken;firſt,for that the ditches and bulwarks were yet defencible; and then becauſe he ſaw ſo
great a conſent among the defendants,and ſuch a cheerfulneſſe to withſtand the enemy,which
thing (as he ſaid) preſaged victory.

Theſe opinions of the Knights throughly in counſell debated, and euery particular well
weighed,it ſeemed good to the greater part,that they which were in the caſtle,ſhould for cer-
tain daies yet hold it out;eſpecially becauſe it was not the maner of the knights of the Order
eaſily to abandon their ſtrong holds,but rather to keep them to the laſt, that euen therein the K
barbarous enemy might perceiue with whom he had to do,and ſo ſee his pride abated. For if
they ſhould haue forſaken the place,they might haue been thought to haue done it for feare:
whereby the enemies inſolency might haue bin increaſed, and the honourable Order of thoſe
ſacred Knights diſgraced.

But the Turks intentiue to that they had before determined,the 23 day of Iune aſſembling
all their forces both by ſea and land round about the eaſtle, in the dead time of the night on
euery ſide ſet vp ſcaling ladders, made bridges,wrought mines, and with 32 great pieces of
The Turks furiouſly aſſault the City. artillery battered the reſt of the wals yet ſtanding, and preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault.
The defendans on the other ſide beat downe ſome, repulſed other, ſlew many, euer more care-
full how to wound the enemy, than to ſaue themſelues: and where he preſſed faſteſt on, there L
to ſhew their greateſt valour. Great were the outcries made on both ſides,mixt with exhorta-
tion,mirth,and mourning;the face of the whole fight was diuers, vncertain,cruell, and dread-
full: and now it was the third houre of the day, when ſtill the victory ſtood doubtfull; and
had not the fury of the great Ordnance been ſo terrible, that it now had beaten down all the
wals vnto the very rocke whereon the caſtle ſtood,the defendants might for ſome longer time
haue endured the enemies force. But the very rock bared both of wals & defendants,and more
than foure hundred ſlain,a man could now ſcarcely ſhew himſelfe,but he was preſently ſtruck
in pieces. *Monſerratus* Gouernour of the caſtle,and *Garas* of Eubœa,men of equall valour,in-
tegritie,and honour, were both ſlaine with one ſhot; for a ſhort and tranſitory life made par-
takers of immortality together. Yet the reſt which ſtood in defence of the caſtle,nothing ter- M
rified with ſo great a loſſe and ſlaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it were
with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before, ouerthrew the Turks
enſignes now ſet vp in the caſtle,ſlew the enſigne-bearers, captains, and colonels; now reſpe-
cting nothing more, but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtai-

ning

A ning of immortal fame. By this time the ſun was mounted to the middle of heauen, great was the heat, and men exceeding weary; the murthering ſhot neuer ceaſed, and ſuch was the multitude of the enemy, that he ſent in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or wounded. On the other ſide, the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and thoſe weakned with labour, watching, thirſt and wounds, did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a greater force, and ſo the caſtle by the Turks won, but with ſuch ſlaughter of their men, that it was a wonder ſo many ſhould be ſlain by ſo few. The defendants were all ſlain euery man in valiant fight. *The caſtle of S. Elmo taken by the Turks.*

Here may I not in ſilence paſſe ouer the inhuman and more than brrbarous cruelty of the Turks, againſt the dead bodies of the ſlain Knights; that therby may appear, that cruelty neuer wanteth wheron to ſhew it ſelf merciles, yea euen after death. The Turks after they had *Barbarous cruelty of the Turks.*
B taken the caſtle, finding certain of the knights yet breathing, & but halfe dead, firſt cut their hearts out of their breſts, and then their heads from their bodies: after that, they hanged them vp by the heels in their red cloaks with white croſſes (which maner of attyre they after an antient cuſtom vſe in time of war, as they do black in time of peace) in the ſight of the Caſtles S. *Angelo* and S. *Michael*. And yet *Muſtapha* the Turks General not ſo contented, commanded them afterwards to be faſt bound together, and ſo caſt into the ſea, whoſe dead bodies were in few daies after by the ſurge of the ſea caſt vp in the hauen Major, and known by their friends, were by the commandement of the ſorrowfull great Maſter honorably buried. With which barbarous cruelty of the enemy he was ſo mooued, that he commanded no Turk ſhould from that time be taken priſoner, but to be preſently ſlain. And therupon all that were before taken
C were forthwith put to the ſword, and their heads thrown ouer the wals on that ſide toward the enemy. From the beginning of the ſiege to the taking of the caſtle, of the Chriſtians were ſlain 1300, among whom were 130 of the knights of the Order, all worthy to be regiſtred in the book of euerlaſting Fame.

The caſtle of S. *Elmo* thus loſt, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cauſe) was exceedingly grieued inwardly; yet made ſemblant otherwiſe, becauſe he would not daunt his ſouldiers minds: telling them, *That nothing was hapned vnprouided for or vnforeſeen. This was* (as he ſaid) *the will of God, and the chance of war, that ſomtimes one, ſomtimes another ſhould be ouercome: and that cowardiſe, not ſuch valor as was in them that were gon, gaue occaſion to liuing friends to lament. Yet that the Enemy was not for that to be feared, who had alſo receiued ſuch a loſſe, as hee might thereby ra-*
D *ther ſeem conquered, than a victorious Conquerour: whereas the loſſe of his Knights was recompenced with honor and immortality, things of themſelues ſufficient to inflame all Noble mindes to behaue themſelues valiantly. As for himſelf* (he ſaid) *that truſting not in his own ſtrength, but in the help of Almighty God, he had not yet caſt off the hope of victory ouer the reliques of the diſcomfited enemy: & that he well hoped they were all of the ſame mind, wherin he moſt earneſtly requeſted them to perſiſt to the end.* When he had thus ſaid, he being a man armed againſt all fortunes, withdrew himſelfe a little aſide; where caſting many things in his troubled mind, he determined to ſend letters to *Petrus Meſquita* gouernor of the city of Melita, to certifie him and the Knights of the order that were at Meſſana, and the Viceroy, of the loſſe of S. *Elmo*. The copy whereof, becauſe in them euidently appeareth the Chriſtian mind of him the Great Maſter, I haue thought good here
E to ſet down as followeth:

Whilſt theſe Knights are ſetting forward, in the mean time chanced the miſerable misfortune of the Caſtle S. Elmo: *which although it brought vnto vs that grief you may eaſily imagin, yet for all that, as if it had hapned by ſome ſecret appointment of God, haue taken it in ſuch part, that he as a moſt mercifull father purpoſeth therby to warn vs but not vtterly to deſtroy vs. Neither do I thinke it lawfull to doubt of his mercy and power. Yet for all that, I may neuertheles complain, That we are of them forſaken, of whom it leaſt beſeemed. So that in the ſpace of ſeuen and thirty daies, wherin our moſt valiant ſouldiers endured all the force of the enemy (which truly was don rather by the power of God than of man) wee were holpen of our own (which owe ſo much vnto vs) not ſo much as with the leaſt help, which they often-*
F *times might haue ſent vnto vs. But I liſt to aſcribe it, what ſoeuer it is, to God, of whom alone as wee haue hitherto receiued ſo many good things, ſo reſt we in hope herafter to receiue alſo. For, for any thing that I can ſee, we muſt not now truſt to mans help; foraſmuch as wee could by no Letters, no diligence, no prayers, no admonitions, and to be briefe, by no commaunds moone them, who of all other ought moſt* *Valetta's Letters to the Gouernor of Melita.*

to

to haue obeyed it. The ſhortnes of the time ſuffreth vs not to write to the Viceroy of theſe things, it ſhall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends therof, who if they had obeyed our command, or aided vs with neuer ſo ſmall a ſupply of ſoldiers, haply we had not loſt the caſtle of S. Elmo, *in defence wherof we haue ſpent the beſt part of our ſoldiers. Wherfore except the Viceroy make haſt to deliuer vs from this ſiege, I fear that he canot in time come; but eſpecially if we bee here beſieged before the comming of thoſe our ſmall helps which we as in a dream haue promiſed vnto our ſelues, and which we now ſcarſe hope will be in time preſent. For all that, we do not diſtruſt of Gods loue and prouidence, by whoſe diuine inſpiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being ſhortly ſtirred vp, will haſten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare conſiſts in celerity. Our enemies hauing drawn all their fleet into the hauen Marza Moxet, are buſied in clenſing the caſtle and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward vſe them the better againſt vs. Wherfore vpon ſight of theſe our letters, ſend vnto vs the captains* Catherin, Belcacar, Belmeſt, *and* Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vſe their valiant and faithful ſeruice. God of his mercy ſend vs aid from ſome place, and keep you. Fare you well.*

From our Caſtle S. Angelo *the 24 of Iune,* 1565.

Meſquita hauing receiued theſe letters, commanded a Galliot forthwith to be launched, & therin imbarqued *Maſius Codonellus* one of the Knights, to whom he deliuered both the letters of the grand Maſter, and others of his own almoſt of the ſame purport, directed to the knights of the Order which lay at Meſſana, requeſting him with all ſpeed poſſible to paſſe ouer with them into Sicilia.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſends meſſengers vnto the Great Maſter.

In the mean time *Muſtapha* the Turks General ſent a meſſenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spaniſh captain, with promiſe of liberty if he would go with his meſſenger to the Town, to talk with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to try if he would by any meanes come to agreement. Who comming to the town, the Turk ſtill waiting at the gate, the Chriſtian was let in and brought to the Great Maſter, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Baſſa. But ſo ſoon as *Valetta* heard of the name of compoſition and yeelding, he was ſo filled with indignation, that had he not bin a Chriſtian, he would preſently haue commanded him to haue bin hanged. Wherfore he gaue him choice either to tarry ſtil in the town, if he thought ſo good, or els forthwith to return and tel his Companion, that if he got him not quickly packing, he would ſend him farther off with a great ſhot. With this ſhort anſwer the Turk ſuddenly returned into the camp. Wherupon *Muſtapha* fel into ſuch a rage, that openly he proteſted, neuer from that to forbear any kind of cruelty againſt the Chriſtians. There was then with *Muſtapha* one *Philip*, one of the noble Grecian family of *Laſcaris*, who of a boy taken priſoner by the Chriſtians in Patras a city of Achaia, & by them honeſtly & curteouſly vſed, was euer after wel affected toward the Chriſtians. He priuy to certain of *Muſtapha's* deſignes, by a certain diuine motion thought hee ſhould not a little profit the Chriſtians by reuolting vnto them: wherfore he reſolued to fly to the Caſtle S. *Michael*. Which thing when he had often attempted, at length the firſt of Iuly he caſt himſelf into the ſea (for by land he could no way eſcape) & ſwam to the caſtle, not without danger of his life; for diſcouered by the Turks, he was many times ſhot at both with their arrows and ſmall ſhot. Hee, brought to the Great Maſter, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies ſecrets, and alſo aduiſed him what was to be don at the point of S. *Michaels*, to fruſtrat the enemies purpoſe for aſſailing that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no ſmall help; and afterward as often as need was, during the ſiege, fought valiantly againſt the Turks.

The great Maſters anſwer.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Codonellus* (ſent as we haue before ſaid into Sicily) came in ſafety to Meſſana, where he found the Chriſtian fleet not yet ready to relieue the diſtreſſed Maltæſes; for the Spaniſh ſhips were not yet come, and *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eight and twenty ſhips was ready to return to take in four thouſand footmen, which were taken vp in Etruria by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnes the Knights of the Order conſidering, and what danger was in delay, after they had wel debated the matter amongſt themſelues, they reſolued by the power of God, by all means poſſible to help their brethren. And for this expedition choſe two moſt fit Generals of their own fellows (the Commanders of Meſſana and Baroli) who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the ſacred knights

A Knights of their Order had done, not for the King of Spaine only, but for the Christian commonweale, and also what great charge they had been at the yeare before in the Pinionian expedition, wherein they had neither spared ships, victual, nor munition, neither their own liues, to profit the King and the Christian commonweale. Besides this, they besought him well to consider, that the losse of Malta coucerned not the sacred Knights only, but all Italy, and especially Sicilia, for the neerenesse of so troublesome and puissant an Enemy. For these and other like reasons, which the shortnesse of the time suffered them not to rehearse, they requested of him 4000 footmen, with whom all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntary men would make all possible speed to relieue the besieged, which they had before in vaine attempted; with which strength they were in good hope, if not to re-
B pulse the enemy, or to recouer that was already lost, yet at least to stop & stay his further proceeding, vntill such time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet, might set vpon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish and disperse them. But whilst the Viceroy hauing heard their request, considereth what answer to make, a messenger came vnto him from Spaine, but with what command from the King (although men guessed diuersly) could not be knowne. But vpon his comming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold answer, That he could not grant what they requested, for that in so doing he should disfurnish his fleet, and not be able afterwards to relieue them as he desired: but if it pleased them to transport the Knights with part of the Bishops soldiers into the Island, they might so do with their own two gallies they had already, whereunto he would also joyne another of his owne. The Knights when
C they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The Knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold answer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilst these gallies were setting forward, those foure gallies whereof we haue before spoken, wherein were imbarked 80 Knights and 600 other soldiers, hauing at sea suffered many troubles by the space of twenty daies, could not as yet arriue at Malta: and becausse the Viceroy had commanded that they should not land, except they first knew whether the Castle S. *Elmo* were still holden by the Christians, they sent out a frigot to land, promising that day and the next to tarry in the sea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempest suddenly arising, it fell out, that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne: wherefore the gallies which expected her comming, fearing lest she had been either by tempest lost, or by the enemy intercepted, retired vnto Pozalo a port vpon the coast of Sicilia, neerest to Malta, there
D to expect some good newes: where as soone as they had put in, they vnderstood that S. *Elmo* was yet defended: whereupon they put to sea againe, with purpose to haue arriued at Malta. But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed, they saw a fire there, which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the enemy, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to Pozalo; where now vnderstanding of the French knight come from Malta, that that fire was made by his commandment, as a signe that they might without feare come forward; they with all speed made again for the same place, and at the length the 29 day of Iune about midnight landed at the Blacke rockes on the South side of the Island toward Affricke, and vnseene of any, got in haste to the city Malta, where they were joyfully receiued, and there staid to expect what the
E Great Master should command. In the mean time it fortuned, a great foggy mist (which seldome times there chanceth) to arise so thicke, that a man could hardly see for it: at which time a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the castle of Melita, suddenly as one afraid cried out, that he saw a Turke going from the city to the castle of Saint *Michael*. Which thing some of the Knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greeke of the city Melita, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouernors passe it was not lawfull for any man to go out of the city) confessed, That his purpose was to haue aduertised the Turks of the comming of those souldiers, that so they might haue intercepted them as they should haue come from Melita to the Grand master: for which treason he was, as he had well deserued, cut in foure pieces. Three daies after, this new supply
F come from Sicilia, in the first watch of the night came all in safety from Melita to the Grand Master, except two or three boies, who ouercharged with armor and other baggage, were not able to keepe way with the rest. It is not to be told, how much the besieged rejoyced at the comming of these their friends; and especially *Valetta*, who seeing the floure of his Knights and other souldiers, as it were by diuine prouidence come vnto him; with teares trickling

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The souldiers new come out of Sicilia, come to the Great Master.

downe his cheekes, and his eies caſt vp to heauen, ſaid : G

The prayer of Valetta.

I thanke thee, ô heauenly Father, which heareſt my praiers, and forſaketh not this thy little Flocke, beſet round with moſt rauening Wolues : theſe are the workes of thine euerlaſting goodneſſe, mercy and prouidence.

Theſe new come ſouldiers requeſted of the Great Maſter, as a reward of their paines, That they might be put in garriſon into the Towne S. *Michaël*, a place now moſt laid vnto by the Turks : which thing (he commending their forwardneſſe) eaſily granted; yet for all that remoued not his old garriſon. Theſe freſh and couragious ſoldiers deſirous of nothing more than to fight with the enemy, the next day ſallied out, and hauing ſlain 200 of the Turks, and wounded as many more, without loſſe of a man returned, euery mans ſword imbrued in the bloud of his enemy. Which thing *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall hearing, knew it was they which lately came into the towne; and thereupon fell in rage with his captains, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the ſuſpition grew moſt vpon them which were appointed for the keeping of the vttermoſt part of the Iſland : which was the more increaſed, for that three galliots of Algiers had withdrawne themſelues away ; ſo that he neither truſted them nor the renegat Chriſtians, who as occaſion ſerued fled daily from him. For which cauſe he gaue out proclamation, That none of them ſhould lie by night out of the gallies, and that ſuch as did otherwiſe, ſhould therefore be burnt, or impailed vpon ſharpe ſtakes : and changing his warders, appointed *Salec* with his galliots, whom he thought to be more faithfull, for the keeping of the Iſland. And that neither they nor the Chriſtians ſhould be able to attempt any thing, he chained together diuers gallies in the entrance of the hauen Marza Moxet, & cauſed the reſt of the fleet to ride neerer together than before. But becauſe exceeding many were at that time ſicke in the Turks camp, of the flix and other diſeaſes ; three places were aſſigned for them ; one for the wounded men neere vnto Aqua Martia, garded with 2000 Turks; another in the poups of their ſhips and gallies for the Turks voluntaries; and the third amongſt the bulwarkes, where the inforced Chriſtians were cured. At the ſame time, *Muſtapha* appointed *Ochiall Baſſa* Gouernor of Tripolis, in ſtead of *Dragut* before ſlaine : who going thither with fiue gallies, and hauing ſet all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. With him the Baſſa had ſent two ſhips loaded with corne to Tripolis, there to make bread, whereof they began to feele ſome want in the campe. He alſo ſent *Zaloch* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of the winning of the caſtle S. *Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the deſcription of the Iſland of Malta as they found it at their arriuall: and further to declare vnto him, That he found the Maltæſes ſtronger and better prouided, than was at his ſetting forth ſuppoſed: wherefore if it were his pleaſure longer to continue the ſiege, he ſhould ſend a new ſupply of men, victuall, and other warlike prouiſion : which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other ſtrong places of the Iſland alſo, though not ſo ſoone as was at the firſt ſuppoſed : and that in the meane time whileſt he expected anſwer, he would not faile to do what he poſſibly might. And becauſe he would not ſeeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his battery in foureteene places with 70 great pieces of artillery, amongſt which was three moſt huge baſilisks : for from the Gallows promontory to Aqua Martia, and from thence to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, wherein he had placed 300 Ianizaries, the Turks had incloſed all that compaſſe with ſundry bulwarks, trenches, and mounts, from whence they with their thundring ſhot day and night inceſſantly battered the townes and caſtles of S. *Michael* and S. *Angelo*, ouerthrew the walls, beat down the bulwarks, and brake down the houſes in ſuch terrible manner, that ſcarce any could be ſafe therein : which of all others moſt troubled the fearfull women and children. But the Turks in their trenches reſted in far more ſafety : yet ſo, as they durſt not ſtray far out of the campe, but truſting vpon their multitude, and not that many times without their loſſe, being cut off by the horſemen of the garriſon of Malta, who were euer ready at their heeles.

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Ochiall Baſſa made gouernor of Tripolis.

A terrible battery.

When the loſſe of the caſtle S. *Elmo* was knowne at Rome, the city was filled with mourning and heauines: ſome were ſorry for the diſhonour, other ſome feared leſt the calamities of the Maltæſes ſhould redound vnto themſelues. There was alſo amongſt others, a cerrain enuious and foule mouth'd kinde of men, altogether ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall affaires, who ſhamed not to lay the blame of the loſſe of S. *Elmo* vpon the Grand Maſter: whom both his owne valour, with the worthy teſtimony of ſo many famous and valiant men as were there preſent with him, as alſo this hiſtory gathered out of the true light of things then done,

M

ſhall

A ſhall both for the time preſent and for all poſterity ſufficiently acquite of ſo falſe a ſlander. *But he will eaſily blemiſh another mans name, that ſpareth not his owne: neither can Ignorance rightly judge of the counſels of the skilfull; or cowardiſe, of valiant deeds.*

But to returne againe to our purpoſe: we ſaid before, that three gallies were made ready at Meſſana; in ſetting forth whereof, they which had the charge vſed ſuch diligence, that the ſeuenth of Iuly they departed out of harbour. In them (beſides the Knights of the Order) was imbarked 600 Spaniards, and 300 of the Great Biſhops ſouldiers, conducted by *Pompeius Columba:* the mariners were part hired, part ſlaues, to whom liberty was promiſed, if they would luſtily do their endeuour to get into the hauen, and to be accounted of as the reſt of the ſouldiers were. And becauſe they would relieue the beſieged not with men only, but with victu-
B all alſo, they put into the ſame gallies fiue hundred buſhels of wheat, beſide gunpouder, ſaltpeeter, and lead for ſhot. And although it was thought a moſt hard matter, by the hauen it ſelfe to enter into the Iſland, the Turks poſſeſſing it and all the places therabouts, neuertheleſſe there was in the Knights ſuch an earneſt deſire to relieue their Brethren, that they promiſed both to themſelues and others, al things eaſie and ſafe. But when they began to approch the Iſland, they ſent a ſcout before, to vnderſtand by ſignes from the caſtle S. *Angelo*, whether they were to proceed forward or not: who comming ſo far that they might diſcouer the ſigne, perceiued thereby that they ſhould retire. Which things the Turks perceiuing alſo, preſently with the ſmoake of their great ordnance and other things, they ſo obſcured the aire as with a thicke cloud, in ſuch ſort as that thoſe ſignes were no more to be diſcerned: but all in vaine:
C for why, our men had already diſcried them: ſo thoſe three gallies returned againe into Sicilia. For, *Valetta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring ſo many of the ſacred Knights, ſo many noble gentlemen and valiant ſoldiers, into a moſt manifeſt danger: for he ſaw certaine of the Turks gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the hauen Marza Moxet, at a place called the Little ſands, to impeach the going in or out of the hauen Major. About the ſame time, they which lay in garriſon in the city Melita, hearing of the notable ſally made by the ſouldiers lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at ſuch time as the Turks were fetching in a certaine booty of cattell, the horſemen purſued them, and hauing ſlaine diuers of them, recouered the prey; and yet not ſo contented, chaſed them euen to their campe. But the other Turks ſeeing their fellowes flying in ſuch haſte towards them, raiſed an alarum, ran to their Generals tent,
D and for that time ceaſed their battery.

Three gallies depart from Miſſana with aid towards Malta.

The gallies vpon a ſigne giuen returne backe.

The Great Maſter probably conjecturing, that the Turks would in ſhort time aſſault both the towne and caſtle of S. *Michael*, thought good by his preſence to encourage and ſtrengthen the garriſon; and therefore was about to haue gone thither by a bridge made of boats from the one point of the land to the other, betweene S. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo:* but quickly vnderſtanding the certainty thereof, returned againe into his caſtle. Some there be that think, For him to haue ſo done, had been a venturous part, and full of danger, and therefore to haue been diſcommended: for that great things are performed, not ſo much by ſtrength of body as of mind, by politique counſell and direction, wherwith a Generall (although abſent) may yet with his forces be alwaies preſent; but the Generall once loſt (which may eaſily happen if he will preſent his perſon to the danger) we ſee moſt commonly all fall together with him, no otherwiſe
E than doth all parts of the body when the ſoule departeth. But other ſome are of contrary opinion, That the Generals preſence, eſpecially in great dangers, is both praiſe-worthy and moſt neceſſary; for that he, as the ſoule, cannot prouide for or rule the body, except it be preſent, yea placed therin: and that *Valetta* in ſo doing, had followed the examples of the greateſt kings & moſt famous Generals; as of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cæſar*, *Themiſtocles*, *Marius*, and others: whoſe words vnto their ſouldiers were theſe, *I my ſelfe will be your conductor in the field, in the battell partaker of the danger with you, you ſhall be in all things as my ſelfe.* Beſides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, ſo moſt of all in martiall affaires, all things are better, more orderly, and more eaſily done when the Maſter is preſent; neither was the learned Poet his meaning
F any thing els, when in the wars betwixt the Latines and the Rutilians, he ſaith, *Vrget præſentia Turni?* whereupon they concluded, That the Great Maſter in going had done both valiantly, wiſely, and according to his duty. But this we leaue for martiall men to determine.

At the ſame time the king of Algiers came to aid the Turks with 7 gallies and ten galliots, and in them 2200 ſouldiers: who ſorry that he was not there at the beginning, and deſirous

The king of Algiers commeth to aid the Turks

to do ſome notable act, and withall to make proofe of the valor of his ſoldiers, requeſted the great Baſſa to beſtow vpon him the firſt place in the beſieging the caſtle S. *Michael*: which he he not only granted, but joyned to his forces 2000 of his own beſt ſoldiers. Theſe things obtained, he commanded ninety ſmall veſſels by deuiſes to be carried ouer land out of the port Marza Moxet to Aqua Martia, for that he purpoſed on that ſide to beſiege the caſtle by water. But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, both by ſeeing that was done, and alſo aduertiſed thereof before by a Chriſtian fugitiue; preſently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull ſhipmaſters of Malta, and imparting the matter vnto them, demanded what they thought beſt to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it ſeemed they purpoſed at the walls foot. They quickly perceiuing the matter, anſwered, That in their opinion, if a chaine were made of maſts and ſaile-yards as ſpars joined together with yron rings, and ſo drawn all along ſt from the corner of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, to that place where the enemy thought to land, their purpoſe might be ſo defeated. This deuiſe ſo pleaſed the Great maſter, that the night following ſuch a chain was made, and faſt mored in the appointed place. The Turks ſo ſoon as it was day perceiuing this bar, ſtood as men doubtfull, not knowing how by any means to land their men, as they had before purpoſed. Whileſt they ſtood ſo abaſhed, a Chriſtian fugitiue a moſt deſperat villaine (in which kind of men fooliſh hardineſſe is accounted a vertue, and deſperation, conſtancy) came to the King, and promiſed him to breake the chaine, and ſo with a hatchet in his hand caſt himſelfe into the ſea; after whom followed two or three more to help him: who ſwimming to the chaine, got vp vpon it, and began to hew apace with their hatchets. Which the Chriſtians beholding, ſuddenly fiue or ſix of the Maltæſes ſwam thither with their drawn ſwords in their hands, and hauing ſlaine two of them, cauſed the other to fly: after which time none of the Turks was ſo hardy as to attempt the ſame. The barbarous king for all that gaue not ouer his purpoſe ſo, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the ſiege, which the fifteenth day of Iuly began both by ſea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordnance vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the fury thereof (in the ſpace of three houres, which the aſſault endured) ſlew two thouſand Turks, and ſunke twelue of the Galliots: the reſt comming as far as the chaine, when they could get no further, nor land their men, turned their prows vpon the corner of the caſtle, but were glad at laſt to retire and leaue that they came for vndone. The aſſault at land alſo endured fiue houres, wherein many of the Turks were ſlaine: and of the defendants 200, amongſt whom was *Fredericus* the Viceroy of Sicilia his ſon, ſtrucke in ſunder with a great ſhot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciſcus Sanoghera* and his nephew *Iohn*, Spaniards, all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was alſo wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* conſidering into what danger the ſtate of Malta was like to fall, if he ſhould be conſtrained to fight many ſuch fights, where his ſoldiers wearied day & night without reſt, were ſtill to encounter with freſh men, and heard nothing of any aid or new ſupply; the 17 day of Iuly he ſent a meſſenger into Sicilia, who ſwam from the caſtle to the fartheſt part of the bay to Aqua Martia, and from thence eſcaped vnknown thorow the midſt of the enemies, vnto the city of Melita, and ſo in a little frigot came to Meſſana. By him the Great maſter ſent letters to the Viceroy, requeſting him to ſend him his owne two gallies with thoſe Knights which were at Meſſana, and ſuch other ſouldiers as might in them be tranſported: willing them, that as ſoon as they came to the Iſland, they ſhould houer off aloof before the hauen, ready vpon a ſigne giuen to thruſt in. The ſame time that this meſſenger arriued at Meſſana, came thither alſo the fleet from Spaine, wherein were many of the Knights of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy deſirous to ſend theſe two gallies to *Valetta*, ſent letters before vnto him in ſecret characters by two frigots, wherin he certified him that he would ſend the gallies, requiring to haue from him ſome ſigne whereby they might at their comming know whether they ſhould enter or retire: which frigots taking diuers courſes, one of them laded with medicines, as was afterwards knowne, was intercepted by the enemy: the other although ſhe came in ſafety to Melita, yet for as much as all the paſſages betwixt the caſtle of S. *Michael* and the city Melita, were certaine daies before by the diligence of the enemy ſhut vp, and three which had vſed to paſſe too and fro, intercepted and moſt cruelly executed; and beſides that, the hauen ſtreightly kept; the the Knights of Meſſana could haue no further direction from the Great Maſter, for the ſafe ſending of the two Gallies: yet neuertheleſſe becauſe he had requeſted them, and they themſelues were of the ſame opinion (as he

A deſperat fugitiue.

The king of Algiers notably repulſed both by ſea and land.

A hard ſhift to carry newes.

A he had before written) that where all is in queſtion, the aduenture of a little part is leſſe to be feared; they thought it good to aduenture them, yet with this regard, not to expoſe all thoſe knights to ſo great a danger, but of them all to ſend only forty, with a conuenient number of other ſouldiers, and with them *Salazer* a Spaniſh captaine was ſent by the Viceroy to be landed in the Iſland Gaulos, who ſhould afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpoſe towed along by the gallies) paſſe ouer into the Iſland of Malta as a Spie, to take view both of the city and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the loſſe receiued in the aſſault of the caſtle S. *Michael*, and deſirous of reuenge, did ſo violently batter the caſtle with their great ordnance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they ſtill beat downe againe by day: and in time
B of battery made a bridge, which the 20 day of Iuly before the Sun riſing they laied ouer the ditch, ahat they might as if it had bin vpon euen ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians. Which ſeen, and quickly perceiuing what danger it might bring, by and by *Pariſot* the Great maſters nephew, and *Agleria*, both Knights, with certaine mercinary ſoldiers ſallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were ſo receiued of the Turks, that they were almoſt all ſlain together with *Pariſot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceaſing continued their furious battery vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly, which day in the afternoone they in diuers places aſſaulted the caſtle, thrice they with freſh and new ſupplies relieued their repulſed and wearied ſouldiers, and ſo fiercely maintained the aſſault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Caſtle. But the defendants with no leſſe reſolution
C withſtood them, repulſing them with their weapons, with ſhot, fire, and force, and at length inforced them with no ſmall loſſe of their men to retire from the wals. This victory ſo incouraged the beſieged, that now they made ſmall reckoning of the enemy: but foraſmuch as our men alwaies ſpared their great ordnance but in time of fight, and ſallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garriſon was but weake, and that ſhot and pouder grew ſcarce in the Caſtle. Yet deceiued in both, for that it was rather of purpoſe, than for want, ſo commanded by the Great Maſter; who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and ſeeing the enemy to giue daily more fierce aſſaults, would not vainly ſpend his moſt neceſſary helps. The Turks perceiuing what little good they had done with their often aſſaults, determined now to proue what might be done by vndermining the caſtle: and had almoſt brought one of their
D mines to perfection before it was of the Chriſtians diſcouered: and to the intent they ſhould the leſſe marke it, they cauſed two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, & to batter that place; in hope that whileſt our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they ſhould the leſſe regard what they were working in ſecret, that ſo they might in the mean time more eaſily get into the caſtle. But the beſieged carefull of all that was to be cared for, perceiuing their purpoſe, with a countermine defeated their mine, & by the couragiouſneſſe of certain of their ſoldiers, but eſpecially of one Ancient, draue out the enemy, who hauing caſt certaine pots of wild-fire before him into the mine, and following preſently after with a piece of fire-worke in his hand, forced him out. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great Maſter rewarded with a chaine of gold of fiue pound weight. And becauſe of vertue ſpringeth vertue, which ſtill re-
E ſteth vpon difficulties, the next day, which was the firſt of Auguſt, the bridge which we ſaid the enemy had made ouer the ditch, was by a ſally made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpouder caſt vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again aſſailing that part of the caſtle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulſed. This aſſault endured 3 houres, in which time 300 of the Turks were there ſlain: and of the knights, *Rufus* himſelfe and *Bareſus*, with certaine mercinary ſoldiers. At this time the Chriſtians were by the enemy ſo ſhut in with the multitude of great ordnance, that they could not ſo much as looke into the ditch or ſhew themſelues, much leſſe ſally out, but they were preſently ſet off. Yet did they not for all that make ſpare of their liues when occaſion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a
F Spaniard, who ſeeing ſome viewing that part of the wall which the enemy had moſt battered and ſhaken at the caſtle bulwarke, doubted not to ſally out, but was preſently taken with a bullet and ſlaine: which miſchance when it might ſeeme of right to haue terrified the reſt from attempting the like, did indeed the more inſence them; ſo that when they ſaw the enemy exceeding buſie in filling the ditch, they, reſolutely ſet downe to offer themſelues to moſt aſ-

A bridge made ouer the Caſtle ditch by the Turks.

The Turks repulſed.

A mine of the Turks defeated.

The bridge made by the Turks burns.

ſured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſſe enemy, agreed to ſally out by night, and to meet with his deſignes. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other ſouldiers, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemy to forſake the ditch and betake themſelues to flight, of whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne, ten men: amongſt whom were *Ioannes* and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vpon two ſpears vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians. G

The ſame day, they of the city of Melita at night made at one inſtant a number of fires, and as it were in triumph diſcharged great vollies of ſmall ſhot, with many other tokens of joy: which as well the beſieged as the Turks thought verily to haue beene done vpon diſcouery of the Chriſtian fleet, or els the landing of ſuch forces as were come to remoue the ſiege: wheras indeed it was neither, but done only to ſhew their cheerefulneſſe, and to keep the Turks in ſuſpence with the nouelty of the matter: who for all that were not ſlacke in their buſineſſe, but with earth filled vp the ditch at the caſtle bulwarke; wherby it came to paſſe that they could not be hurt by the flankers made in that place to ſcoure the ditch, but might thereby, as vpon plaine ground, without ſtay paſſe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with their continuall battery, and with two great pieces (which they had planted vpon a high mount which they had newly caſt vp on the right hand the bulwarke Sauoire) they began to play vpon the caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commanded. *Ioannes Bernardus Bodiuetius* a Spaniſh knight was there ſlaine with a ſmal ſhot. The ſame day *Franciſcus Aquilates* a Spaniard, one of the garriſon ſoldiers, perſuaded by feare and hope (in dangers two euill counſellors) fled out of the town S. *Michael* to the enemy; perſuading the Turks Colonels to giue a freſh aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the towne, becauſe there was but 400 ſoldiers left aliue in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and ſeeing faire breaches both in the wals of the new city and of the caſtle S *Michael*, wide enough for carts to go through, they determined with all their forces to aſſault both places at once, and to proue if there were yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe holds as again to repulſe them: ſo the 7 day of Auguſt at one inſtant they aſſaulted the new city at the caſtle bulwark, & the caſtle S. *Michael* at the breach, with ſuch a multitude, that all the earth ſeemed to be couered with men round about. The thundring of the great ordnance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of armour, and noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, with the cry of men on both ſides was ſo confuſed and great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue been confounded together. Which when the Knights in the city Melita heard, and ſaw the heauens obſcured with ſmoake, fearing that the Turks (as at the caſtle S. *Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the aſſault vntill they had won both the towne and the caſtle; preſently all the garriſon horſemen iſſued out of the city, and to auert the Turks from the aſſault, ſet vpon thoſe Turks which lay at Aqua Martia: who all ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, fled, the Chriſtian horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloudy execution, and they in their flight pittifully crying out vpon their fellowes for helpe. Whereby it came to paſſe, that they which were aſſailing the city and caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfited fellowes, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault: ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by the Chriſtians, they returned to their trenches, when they had loſt about fifteene hundred at the aſſault, beſide them which were ſlaine in the chaſe by the horſemen of Melita. Of the defendants of both places were ſlaine aboue an hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This fight endured about fiue houres. *Valetta* deliuered of ſo great a danger, that day and certaine others cauſed publike praiers to be made, and went himſelfe with the multitude of the citiſens to the Church, to giue thanks to Almighty God for that victory. H I K L

Aquilates a Spaniard flieth to the Turks.

The Turks at one time aſſault the new city and the caſtle S. Michael.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Melita ſallying out cauſe the Turks to giue ouer the aſſault at Saint Michaels.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Viceroy was aduertiſed from Calabria, that certaine ſhips laded with men, victuall, and other prouiſion neceſſary for the wars, were comming from Conſtantinople to Malta: wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada* two noblemen, with fiue gallies to meet them: who being come within thirty miles of Malta, met with no ſuch ſhips, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they took, but the galliot eſcaped to the enemies fleet at Malta. M

Muſtapha the Turks General now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continuall labour and watching be wearied and ouercome, reſolued not to giue vnto the beſieged any time of reſt, but commanded his ſouldiers againe to aſſault the breach at the Caſtle of Saint *Michael*,

A *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulſed: neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but rather to perform the duty of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſſely commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a galliot in haſte with letters to *Solyman*; wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the fleet, with what difficulties the army was diſtreſſed, what ſmall hope there was of winning the places beſieged; how well the Chriſtians were prouided, with many other ſuch things.

Muſtapha ſendeth a meſſenger to Solyman.

In the meane time thoſe two gallies of Malta (which we haue before ſpoken of) departing from Meſſana, came to Syracuſa, where they ſtaied a day. The next day after, in going out of the hauen, they met with one of Malta in a ſmall boat comming from Pozalo ſore wounded:
B he being demanded how he was ſo hurt; told them, That landing by night with his boat and one companion, he was requeſted by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to reſt there that night: which they doing, about midnight fiue Turks brake into the houſe vpon them, killed his companion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit of the night: moreouer, he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turks, that two gallies were come into that port, with ſouldiers and other warlike prouiſion bound for Malta. Whereby the knights perceiued, that their comming would be diſcouered vnto the enemy, and that it was a moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſſible to get into the hauen of Malta, as they had before purpoſed: neuertheleſſe, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their courſe. But as they were ſailing, they deſcried two gallies and one galliot going before them, who ſeeing
C the gallies comming after them, made with all ſpeed to Malta: and were no doubt thoſe gallies, from whence thoſe fiue Turks came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded Maltæſe reported. For all that, theſe gallies kept on their courſe as far as Pozalo, from whence they certified the Viceroy by letters of all that had hapned: and not daring to put to ſea, the South wind blowing with a ſtiffe gale againſt them, they returned backe againe to Syracuſa, expecting their farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one of the Knights to him to Meſſana; by whom they receiued anſwere, that they ſhould goe no farther, but to ſtay for the comming of the whole fleet, ready in ſhort time to paſſe ouer to Malta. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to Pozalo, reſolued with his little boat to go on: and although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thunder and rain,
D yet the daies following prouing more calme, he in ſhort time arriued in the Iſland of Malta, and came in ſafety to the city Melita; and there diſguiſed himſelfe in Turkiſh apparell, and taking with him one companion who could ſpeake the Turkiſh language, by night got into the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in al the Turks army of land ſoldiers ſcarce 14000; and of them many wounded and ſicke; and that the reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of warres had (as commonly it doth) conſumed their beſt ſouldiers. When they had thus viewed the camp, they returned again to the city; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous and valiant man, went to a certaine place neere vnto the watch tower of Maleca: which when they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſeruing the ſignes from the Iſland of
E Gaulos and the city of Melita, he might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his approch, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelfe, he in his little boat (which at his comming into the Iſle he had there left) happily returned to Meſſana, and there declared vnto the Viceroy all that he had ſeene: conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That the Turks fleet was but weake, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of men and munition, far vnable to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two frigots which were before ſent to Malta, returned with another Spaniard, and a fugitiue from the Turks campe: and foure gallies before gone from Meſſana, were alſo come in with foureteene Turks taken about the Iſland of Malta, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported: Which was, That the Turks army was with often aſſaults wonderfully weakened, both in
F number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which the Baſſa had with his owne hands ſlaine diuers of them: and that which more encreaſed their feare, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that, they ſaw the Chriſtians with inuincible courage to defend their ſtrong places, and not to ſpend one ſhot in vaine: Wherefore they were ſorry, and repented that they had euer tooke in hand that

Salazar a Spaniſh Captaine as a ſpy entreth the Turks camp.

expe-

expedition; they deteſted ſuch a war, ſhrinking as much as they could from the aſſault, and as they might ſteale quite away, which many of them did, ſpecially ſuch as had before abjured the Chriſtian Faith. For which cauſe diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement giuen by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolue with themſelues either to win the towne, or there all to lay vp their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commanded, whom to gainesay, was in it ſelfe death. Theſe and ſuch other like perſuaſions, cauſed the Viceroy ſomwhat the ſooner to thinke the bringing forth of the fleet: of his beſieged in the mean time did what men might for defence of the place and themſelues. There was in the caſtle one *Franciſcus Gauara* captain of the vauntgard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit, he about ten foot from the towne wall, which the enemy had with their great ordnance beaten downe, cauſed a curtain to be drawn 50 foot long, & fiue foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great help to the beſieged. The enemy in the mean time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Boningſegna* a Spaniard and a moſt valiant Knight had the charge: which the beſieged perceiuing, by a countermine defeated the ſame. It hapned in the mean time, that as a fugitiue was ſwimming to the towne he was taken by the enemy, which much grieued the beſieged, deſirous to haue vnderſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the enemies camp, and of their purpoſes. Now when the former mine had taken ſo euill ſucceſſe, part of the Turks aſſailed the caſtle S. *Michael*, & part with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the caſtle bulwarke: but by the carefulneſſe and courage of the defendants, all their attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turks were in both places ſlaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With theſe and other ſuch difficulties, *Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turks Generals diſappointed of their hope, conſulted with the other great captains of the army, Whether they ſhould their ſtill continue that deſperat ſiege, or depart? Where moſt were cleere of opinion, That it were beſt betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Baſſa ſaid, He would there ſtay, vntill the galliot which he had before ſent to Conſtantinople, were returned with anſwer from *Solyman*, and in the mean time both by force and policy to ſeeke after victory: which thing he oftner did, than ſtood with the broken eſtate of his army, or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelfe, nor ſuffering others to take reſt: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or els made bridges, ſomtime he caſt vp mounts, and then again filled the ditches; and euer and anon gaue one aſſault or another. In all which doing he vſed ſuch induſtry, that whatſoeuer he tooke in hand, was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might haue carried a ſtronger place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and politicke deuiſes.

The Turkes mines defeated by the Chriſtians.

Robles gouernor of the Caſtle of S. Michael, ſlaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp maſter, and Gouernour of the caſtle S. *Michael*, was by night viewing the ruins of the wall, he was ſtrucke in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlain; leauing behind him to his fellowes, the great deſire of himſelfe: for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the defendants in great ſtead) worthily beloued. In whoſe ſtead the Great maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelfe, a moſt expert and reſolute captaine, to take charge of S. *Michaels* caſtle; who by his valiant care and prouidence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turks attempted the place, ſo often they were with loſſe repulſed.

The two gallies with the galliots, deſcried by the gallies of Malta (as we haue before ſaid) told *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall, that the Chriſtian fleet was ready to come forth: wherefore he fearing the ſudden comming therof, cauſed ſeuenty gallies to be in readineſſe: beſides which, forty others lay in the hauen Marza Moxet vnſeruiceable, as wanting both men & other equipage; for that was ſpent in making bridges, mines, & other ſuch things neceſſary for the ſiege: as for the men, they were part with ſickeneſſe, and part with often aſſaults conſumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himſelfe by day in the port Major neere the ſhore, and by night put forth to ſea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when he ſaw no man appeare, he againe landed his ſouldiers: and becauſe at land the Baſſa began to want pouder, of euery thirty barrels of pouder in euery gally, he tooke out twenty, and of ſome twenty fiue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater fury than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes, eſpecially with thoſe great pieces which they call Baſiliskes, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound weight was ſeuen hands about; whereby the wals of the caſtle of S. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame time, the

A the Baſſa at the caſtle S. *Angelo*, had with continuall battery ſo ſhaken the caſtle bulwarke, that it was almoſt fallen quite downe. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turks ſaw both townes bared of wals and other defendants, and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let them to look vpon their enemies, they made no longer ſtay, but the 18 day of Auguſt (the Sun being now at the higheſt) with all their power fiercely aſſaulted both the towns. Thrice they were repulſed, and ſtill came on afreſh; yet at length beaten downe on euery ſide with greater ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to giue ouer the aſſault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this moſt cruell fight (which endured fiue houres) the inuincible courage of the Great Maſter notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold, was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the breach; whoſe preſence encouraged not the ſoul-
B diers only, but euen boies and women to fight: for ſo it is, that men are more moued with example, than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turks, part ſtood ſtill in the towne ditch, and to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of the caſtle bulwarke, had with wonderfull celerity caſt vp a defence of earth, fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpoſe to approch and to vndermine the walls, and had therefore incloſed the ſpace of fifteen elnes: which when the beſieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillery vpon it, and ſlew many of them, and with fire conſumed what was left. The next day the aſſault was at the ſame places by the enemy renewed, who by reaſon of his number of ſouldiers might eaſily ſend freſh men in ſtead of them which were wounded or weary: and firſt, after their wonted manner they battered both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards the Moone ariſing, about midnight
C with a horrible cry they began a moſt terrible aſſault, which at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians, who yet ſtill mindfull of their wonted valor, did ſo much with their weapons and fire-workes, that the enemy euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his trenches. The ſame day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the caſtle bulwarke, wherein a hundred Turks there found, were almoſt all ſlaine, and the mine deſtroied. Yet for all this did not the enemy reſt at all, but the next day ſeuen times aſſaulted the ſame breaches, vſing now not weapons only, but fire-workes alſo; wherewith *Boſninſega* had his face ſo burnt, that he loſt one of his eies. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks at a place called the Spurre, laboured mightily to haue gotten into the caſtle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage, got
D vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike couragiouſly thruſt them down that were climing vp, and thruſting thorow one diſcouraged the reſt; but was himſelf wounded in the arme with a ſmall ſhot: yet when he had a little withdrawn himſelfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came again to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight, vntill he had (as a valiant conqueror) preſerued the place. So the Turks with great ſlaughter on euery ſide repulſed, left the victory to the Chriſtians, of whom were ſlaine almoſt an hundred, and moſt of them (as at other times) with ſhot: among ſt whom were theſe moſt valiant Knights; at the caſtle *Angelo*, *Fragus*; at the caſtle of S. *Michael*, *Scipio Piatus*, *Ioh. Baptiſta Soderinus*, *Paulus Bomportus*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and certaine others, men worthy of longer life. The Turks had alſo at the ſame time wrought a mine at the caſtle S. Michael, which was at once both diſcouered and deſtroied.

The Turkes at once aſſault the towns S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulſed.

Another aſſault

With theſe ſo many & ſo great aſſaults, certain of the knights (and thoſe not of the meaneſt
E ſort) fearing leſt that which was ſo often attempted by the enemy, ſhould at length be effected; told the Great Maſter, That they thought it conuenient and neceſſary, to remoue all the records, al the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the caſtle S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great Maſter, although he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with that ſpeech exceedingly moued: wherefore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to do were nothing els but to appale and diſcourage the minds, not of the Maltæſes only, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themſelues, & don more than any man could haue hoped for; but alſo of the mercinary ſouldiers, if they ſhould perceiue it: wherefore he was reſolued, either together to keep all, or loſe all: and becauſe none ſhould from henceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength
F of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the garriſon out of the caſtle into the towne, that there they might together with others withſtand the enemy; & that he would leaue in the caſtle none but gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the enemy: an anſwer truly well beſeeming a man of his place, and to be to all poſterity commended: for how can the ſoldier hope, which ſeeth his captain deſpaire? or aduenture, where the chieftain ſeemes to be ſtrucke with

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter.

The Turks assault both the towns the fourth time.

with feare? Whileſt the Grand Maſter with this anſwer doth both aſhame them and alſo encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before ſhould not paſſe without aſſault) with the dawning of the day aſſailed the very ſame places with the greateſt fury poſſible, eſpecially at the ruines of the caſtle: where *San Romanus* an Auergnois, which had the charge of that place, loſt this ſhort and tranſitory life, winning thereby immortall fame: and at S. *Michaels*, *Adurnius* one of the knights, and *Fagio* with certain others, were grieuouſly wounded: for the enemy ſuddenly retiring from the aſſault, preſently ſo thundred into the breaches with their great and ſmall ſhot, that all the Iſland ſeemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkned with ſmoke. In the mean time *Valetta* thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himſelfe a little to breath himſelfe: when ſud- G

The Turks enter the new city.

denly a Spaniſh prieſt, with his hands caſt vp to heauen came running to him, roaring and cry- H
ing out, That all was loſt and forlorne, and that three or foure enſignes of the enemies were by the caſtle breach broken into the towne. Which the Great Maſter hearing, ſuddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand, ſaid vnto them that were about him, *Loe fellow ſoldiers, the houre is come wherein you may ſhew your ſelues the moſt valiant Champions of the Chriſtian religion, if it be ſo, that you now alſo retaine the ſame valour which you haue in other battels ſhewed. There is no cauſe wherefore you ſhould doubt of this laſt, for the enemy is the ſame; and the ſame God which hath hitherto preſerued vs, will not now forſake vs: Wherefore follow me, valiant hearts.* This ſaid, he haſted to the place where moſt danger was, and with him all the ſouldiers, all the citiſens men & women, old and yong, yea, the very children, all againſt the common enemy. There was fought a moſt dreadfull and dangerous battell: ſome kept the enemy from entring, ſome I
ſet vpon thoſe that were already entred, whom they wounded, chaſed, and ſlew, although they notably reſiſted. Within, without, all was couered with weapons, darts, dead bodies, and bloud. The Great maſter was carefull of all, and in euery place preſent, commending, exhorting, directing, as occaſion required, performing at once all the duties of a moſt valiant ſoldier and worthy Generall. At length the Turks with the ſetting of the Sun retired, and ſo the aſſault ceaſed. Thus was the Great Maſter the vndoubted victor, but not without much bloud of his people, conſidering his ſmall number: for in this fight he loſt aboue 200 men, whereas of the enemies, beſide them which were entred, whereof not one eſcaped, were ſlaine aboue 2000. Theſe are thoſe foure terrible aſſaults, preſently giuen one after another vnto the beſieged.

The comfortable ſpeech of the Great Maſter when the Turks were entred.

The Turks with great ſlaughter againe repulſed

Garzias the Viceroy in the mean time tarried for nothing els to tranſport his army to Malta, K
but for the comming of *Io. Cardona*, who with twelue gallies was gone to Panormo, to conduct thence foure ſhips laded with prouiſion: but when he ſaw him ſtay long, he ſent to him in poſt, That if he could not with ſuch ſpeed as was required tow forth thoſe ſhips, he ſhould ſpend no longer time, but take out the prouiſion into his gallies, and with ſpeed to come away. So the Viceroy with a fleet of 72 gallies the twentieth day of Auguſt ſet forward from Meſſana to Syracuſa, wherein he carried ten thouſand ſelect ſoldiers, amongſt whom were aboue two hundred Knights of the Order of S. *Iohn*, and aboue forty of the Order of S. *Stephen*, which is an Order of Knights inſtituted by *Coſmos Medices*, Duke of Florence, to the imitation of the Knights of Malta, in the yeare 1561, and haue their reſidence at Coſmopolis, a new built city in the Iſland of Elba in the Tuſcane ſea, ouer againſt Piombino. Beſides theſe Knights, in this L
fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of Italy, Sicily, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at Syracuſa, the Viceroy ſent *Auria* with one gally and a boat to Malta, to land a man, to know of *Paccias* (left, as we haue beforeſaid, for a watch in the Iſland of Maleca) what newes, or what he had ſeene. By whom it was vnderſtood, That no ſhip was ſeen at ſea, but one galliot, which the one and twentieth day of Auguſt in the morning made towards Gaulos, and the ſame day towards night as he was informed by the watchmen of Maleca, ſixteene gallies came to water at Saline, but what became of them afterwards, by reaſon of the comming on of the night could not be deſcried.

In this while the beſieged had notably repaired the breach at the caſtle bulwarke, and had in ſundry places aptly placed certain great pieces to flanker the ditches, & to beat the mount caſt M
vp by the enemy at the bulwarke of Boninſegna, that they might from thence annoy all the plain of the caſtle with their ſmal ſhot. But the Turks hauing determined with all their forces at once to aſſault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of ſpars and boords, able to couer thirty men, vnder the breach at S. *Michaels*: whereby it came to paſſe, that none of the defen-

A defendants could without danger ſhew themſelues in the breach: which when they could by no means endure, they ſuddenly ſallied out, and putting them to flight which were there couered, ſet fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which beſieged the new city, were repulſed at the caſtle breach, & another like engine burnt. The next night certain of the watch of the caſtle iſſued out, and hauing deſtroied the Turks engines prepared for the aſſailing of that place, and ſlaine them that were ſet for the keeping thereof, returned in ſafety into the caſtle. But when the enemies both that day and others following reſted not, but repairing their mines, mounts, and engines, laboured in both places to haue beaten the Chriſtians from the wals; all their endeuour and labour was by the induſtry and valor of the defendants made fruſtrate. The beſieged had at the caſtle breach made a mine, & laid in it eight barrels of pouder, *A mine of the Chriſtiãs found by the Turks.*

B that if the enemy ſhould againe aſſault that place, he might there be blowne vp: but whilſt the Turks were for like purpoſe working a mine in the ſame place, they chanced vpon the mine before made, which they ſpoiled, and carried away all the pouder. Thus whileſt they labour both on the one ſide and the other, *Muſtapha* the Generall, a moſt expert and famous commander, conſidering that Summer now ſo far ſpent, he was not to vſe longer delay; and withal, that reſolute perſeuerance oftentimes in war findeth out a way to victory; determined with all his power once againe to aſſault the caſtle S. *Michael*. Wherefore diſplaying the ſtately ſtanderd *The Turks deſperatly aſſault the Towne of S. Michael.*

of the Turkiſh Emperor, vpon the point whereof was faſtened a globe of Gold, he commanded his ſouldiers to enter the breach; who now like deſperat men attempted to haue performed his command, and were by the Chriſtians valiantly encountred: ſo that in the breach was

C made a moſt terrible & doubtful fight. But when the Turks had now bin twice rejected & beaten downe, *Muſtapha* perceiuing his ſoldiers as men halfe diſcouraged, but faintly to maintain the aſſault, came himſelf to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged, but that day to confirme their former labors and victories; and not to ſuffer their vanquiſhed enemies to triumph ouer them: he told them that the enemy had now no defence left wherewith to couer himſelfe, that all was beaten down flat, and that there remained only a few weary and maimed bodies, which were not able long to indure the edge of their ſwords; that with ſuch reſolution they had before won the caſtle S. *Elmo*: laſt of all, he by promiſing to ſome mony, to ſome honor and preferment, threatning ſome, and requeſting others, incouraged ſome one way, ſome another, euery one according to his quality and diſpoſition: who moued either with

D their Generals preſence, promiſes, or threats, gaue a freſh and fierce aſſault. The fight was on both ſides terrible, yet at length the Turks were againe inforced to retire: for the defendants *The Turks enforced to retire.*

had caſt vp a rampier, wherevpon they had fitly placed two field pieces, wherwith they ſore troubled the enemy, and at the firſt ſhot ſtruck in ſunder one of thoſe woodden engines, which the enemy had made ſtronger than the reſt, couered with raw hides to keep it from burning, and rent in pieces forty ſouldiers which were vnder it: and the ſame night they which were in the other towne and the caſtle bulwarke, ſallying couragiouſly out, deſtroied all the enemies defences, and draue them from a mount which they had made vpon the fortifications of the Chriſtians: whereby they perceiued plainly, what ſmall courage the Turks had to fight, for vpon that mount they were almoſt 300, wheras of our men were but 25, with which ſmall num-

E ber for all that, they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpoſe as before, made another mine at the caſtle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the enemy in repairing his fortifications without, they ſuddenly put fire vnto it, by force whereof threeſcore Turks which were within the danger of the place, were blowne vp and ſlaine.

Garzias the Viceroy, in the mean while that theſe things were in doing, departing with his fleet from Syracuſa, with a proſperous wind kept on his courſe toward Pachynum, where they deſcried a tall ſhip at ſea, driuen thither (as was afterward knowne) by tempeſt: ſhee out of the Iſland Mening was carrying a great ſupply of ſhot and pouder vnto the Turks campe at Malta; but now ouertaken by the Chriſtian fleet, eaſily yeelded, and was by the Viceroy ſent by other mariners to Syracuſa. And now the Chriſtian fleet carried with a faire gale towards

F Malta, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a tempeſt from the Eaſt, that they were driuen to the Iſland Ægu- *The Chriſtian fleet driuen by tempeſt to the Iſland Æguſa.*

ſa, two hundred and twenty miles Weſt of Malta, from whence the firſt of September letters were brought from the Viceroy to the Great Maſter, certifying him, That he would in ſhort time come with his fleet and relieue him. The ſame day alſo a Chriſtian fled out of the Turks gallies, wherein he was captiue, to the city S. *Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turks camp

were

were few men able to fight, moſt of the army being with wounds, famine, ſickeneſſe, and other miſeries brought to extreame weakeneſſe: and beſides that, that infinit numbers of them died daily: yet for all that he ſaid moreouer, that they were determined to beſiege the city of Melita, and had already for that purpoſe mounted fiue great pieces of artillery for battery; and that they had but a few daies before taken twelue, and the laſt day of all fourteene horſmen of the garriſon ſouldiers of that city. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we ſaid) to Æguſa, the rage of the ſea being now well appeaſed, came to Drepanum, and from thence toward Gaulos, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of Malta light vpon two galliots, and tooke them. G

The Chriſtian fleet commeth to Gaulos.

The fifth day of September the Chriſtian fleet came to Gaulos, where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed ſignes from Malta, whereby he might ſafely land, returned forthwith backe againe to Pozalo, whither *Auria* immediatly following him, told him, That he had ſeen the ſignes, and aſſured him of ſafe landing in the Iſland of Malta: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged, the next day towards night returned againe to Gaulos. H

A fugitiue diſcouereth the enemies purpoſes to the Great Maſter.

The ſame day a Chriſtian captiue fled from the Turks to S. *Angelo*, and told the Great maſter, That he was come to bring him good newes, how that the Turks had determined to proue their laſt fortune in aſſaulting the caſtle S. *Michael*, which they would do the next day: where if the ſucceſſe were anſwerable to their deſire, they would then tarry; but if not, then forthwith to be gone: and that *Muſtapha* the more to encourage his ſouldiers, had promiſed fiue talents of gold to the enſigne bearers, that ſhould firſt aduance their enſignes vpon the wals, and farther to promote them to greater places of honour; as for the reſt, he would reward euery one of them according to their deſerts, either with mony or preferment. *Valetta* thinking all theſe things to be by Gods appointment diſcouered vnto him by ſuch men, as they had from time to time bin: firſt gaue thanks vnto Almighty God; and after that, with all diligence prepared ſuch things as he thought moſt neceſſary for the repulſing of the enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great ordnance battered the new city, and the ſhipping in the hauen, in ſuch ſort that one of the great ſhips was there ſunke. I

The Viceroy arriueth at Malta, and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzias* the Viceroy with his fleet arriued at the Iſland of Malta, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces, and whileſt his gallies watered at Gaulos, went forward with the army about halfe a mile, inſtructing the Generals and Colonels, what he thought needfull to be done, commanding all proclamations and commands to be made in the name of the King of Spaine, vntill they came to the Great maſter, and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Aſcanius Cornia* the Generall, in all his actions to follow the counſell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, he left them marching towards Melita. About noone he retired to his gallies, and ſailing Eaſtward, came with all his fleet within the ſight of the city of Melita, about 3 miles diſtant from the South ſhore. They of the city vpon ſight of the fleet, in token of joy diſcharged all the great artillery, which was anſwered from the fleet, by diſcharging all their great ordnance twice. After that, he returned as he had before determined into Sicilia, to take into his gallies the Duke of Vrbins companies, which were come to Meſſana, and certain bands of Spaniards at Syracuſa, and ſo forthwith to return to Malta, to attend the departing of the Turks fleet, being now euill appointed, and already as good as halfe onerthrowne. K L

The Turks, who (as is before ſaid) had purpoſed to proue their laſt fortune vpon the towne of S. *Michael*, had now certaine daies before the comming of the fleet, begun to truſſe vp their baggage: but as ſoon as they heard that the fleet was come, and the army landed, there ſuddenly aroſe a wonderfull tumultuous confuſion amongſt them: ſome cried, Arme, arme, and other-ſome as faſt to be gone: and being generally all afraid, euery one according to his diſpoſition, betook himſelfe to his weapons or to his heels; the greateſt number thruſt together into their trenches as neere as they could vnto the great ordnance: and ſo burning the engines and fortifications, with all the ſpeed they could imbarked their great ordnance and baggage. Which they in the town of S. *Angelo* perceiuing, not expecting the commandement of the Great maſter in ſo ſudden an opportunity, couragiouſly ſallied out to Burmola, where certaine Turks kept a huge great piece of ordnance; who now hauing no mind to fight, betooke themſelues to flight, and forſooke the piece; which they of the town preſently drew within their wals: and if the new come forces had that day charged the enemy as they diſorderly ran to their gallies, M

happily

A pily they had found an occaſion of victory, or at leaſtwiſe taken from them the greateſt part of their artillery. But it may be they followed the old military ſaying, That vnto the flying Enemy a man ſhould make a bridge of ſiluer. Beſides that, they thinking it not conuenient to depart from the prouiſion and things which they had brought for reliefe of the beſieged, (which for the roughnes of the way and want of horſes were hardly caried) would not prouoke the enemy with any skirmiſh: wherby it came to paſſe that the Turks without let imbarqued their great ordnance, their baggage, and moſt part of their army. The 11 of September, whilſt the Turks fleet was brought out of the hauen Marza Moxet, a fugitiue of Genoa came in haſt to the Great Maſter and told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward Melita, to meet with the Chriſtians vpon the way. Which thing the Great Maſter hearing, preſently ſent a *The Turks forſake the ſiege.*
B ſufficient number of good ſoldiers to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, there to ſet vp one of the enſignes of the ſacred Order: who comming thither, found 24 great pieces, ſome for battery, ſome for the field, which they could not in ſo great haſt remoue thence.

The Turks fleet departing out of the hauen Marza Moxet to the port of S. *Paul*, there landed 7000 men, with *Muſtapha* their General, who was falſly informed, that the Chriſtians were not aboue 3000 ſtrong: and from thence incouraged with the ſmall number of the enemy (as they ſuppoſed) they marched directly toward Melita. The Chriſtians alſo marching orderly and ready to giue battel, held on their way to meet them; and at the riſing of a hil both armies meeting together they gaue a great ſhout, and withall the formoſt began the battell, where ſome few were at the firſt ſlain on both ſides. But the Chriſtians ſtil growing vpon *The Turks ouerthrown by the Chriſtians, depart frō Malta*
C them both in number and ſtrength, the Turks finding themſelues ouercharged, fled, the Chriſtians purſuing and killing them til they came to their gallies; where in ſtriuing who ſhould get firſt in, about 400 of them were drowned in the ſea, beſides 1800 ſlain in the battel at land. And had the Chriſtian ſouldiers wel known the Country, they had ſlain them euery mothers ſon. The Turks thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the hauen all the next day, and moſt part of the night following; but a little before day, vpon the ſhooting off of a great piece, the ſigne of their departure, they all hoiſed ſail for Grecia, leauing the Iſland of Malta ſore impoueriſhed and waſted. In this ſiege the Turks loſt about four and twenty thouſand, wherof moſt part were of their beſt ſoldiers. And of the Chriſtians were ſlain about 5000, beſides two hundred and forty Knights of the Order, men of diuers Nations, but all worthy of eternal
D fame; whoſe dead bodies the great Maſter cauſed to be honourably buried. The Turkes in their battery during the ſiege, ſpent as is truly accounted, threeſcore and eighteene thouſand great ſhot.

If a man do wel conſider the difficulties and dangers the beſieged paſſed thorow in theſe fiue months ſiege, the manifold labors and perils they indured in ſo many and ſo terrible Aſſaults; the ſmal relief to them ſent in ſo great diſtres, with the deſperate obſtinacy of ſo puiſſant an enemy; he ſhall hardly find any place theſe many years more mightily impugned, or with greater valor and reſolution defended. The late beſieged, but now victorious prince, honorably acquited of ſo great an enemy, firſt commanded publique prayers with thankſgiuing to be made vnto the Giuer of all victory. After that, he rewarded the valiant, commended the
E reſt, and gaue thanks to all: he charitably relieued the ſick and wounded, bewailed the ſpoyle *The great Maſters care.* of the Iſland, & carefully prouided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered: and yet in all this doing diligently inquired after the Enemies courſe and purpoſe, and was not in any thing remiſſe and ſecure, as in victory moſt men are. But becauſe ſo great harmes could not without great helps in ſhort time be repaired, and the returne of the proud Enemy not without cauſe the next year feared; he by letters to diuers great princes, and eſpecially to the grand Priors of the Order in diuers countries, requeſted help: amongſt whom *George* Grand Prior of Germany, and founder of the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, was one of the chiefeſt. The copy of which letters, becauſe they briefly contain what wee haue before in this hiſtory at large written, I haue thought good here to ſet down, that the ſame may in ſuch order be read, as it was
F by the Great Maſter himſelf reported.

G

Brother *Valetta*, Maſter of the Hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Chriſt, *George* of Hohenheim, called *Bombaſt*, Prior of our Priory in Almainie, greeting.

The letters of the great maſter to the grād prior of Almaine, concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the ſiege of Malta.

Although we doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you already vnderſtand of the comming of the Turks to inuade theſe Iſlands, or rather vtterly to ſubuert our Societie: And the happily and heauenly victory by vs obtained of it: yet if the ſame things ſhal by our letters alſo be brought H *vnto you, we haue thought the ſame will be vnto you a thing much more pleaſing. For ſeeing that we are certainly perſuaded, that you in this no leſſe happy than wholſome ſucceſſe will giue moſt hearty thanks to Almightie God, and that the fruit of this good ſhall moſt of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare in our Order; we haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainely and openly to proteſt, That we attribute this ſo notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Chriſt Ieſus, the greateſt King of all Kings, and author of all good things. Which that you may the more worthily and willingly do, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an Hiſtory) but briefly and in few words. Sultan* Solyman *the moſt mortall enemy of the Chriſtian name, and eſpecially of our Society, not contented to haue ſpoiled vs of the famous Iſland of the Rhodes, the caſtle of Tripolis, and almoſt* I *whatſoeuer we had elſe; commanded a great and ſtrong fleet to be made ready againſt vs; which departing from Conſtantinople the one and twentieth day of March, arriued here the eighteenth day of May: Which fleet conſiſted of almoſt two hundred and fifty gallies, galliots, and other ſhips. The number of the enemy that bare armes, according to the truth, was about forty thouſand more or leſſe: Generall of the land forces, was* Muſtapha Baſſa; *and of the fleet,* Piall Baſſa *was Admirall: who hauing ſpent a few daies in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and ſetting things in order (as the maner of war is) they began firſt to aſſaile the caſtle of S.* Elmo *(ſcituat in the mouth of the hauen) with great force and a moſt furious battery. Which when they had many daies don without intermiſsion, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons aſſaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and proweſſe of our Knights, and other worthy ſouldiers, kept and defended by the ſpace of thirty fiue daies, with the great* K *loſſe and ſlaughter of the enemy: although the caſtle it ſelfe, in the iudgement of many, ſeemed not poſſible to be but a few daies defended againſt ſo great a force. At length the foure & twentieth day of Iune, when our men could no longer endure the multitude and fury of the enemy, enuironed and ſhut vp both by ſea and land, and deſtitute of all help, the caſtle was taken by the Turks; thoſe few of our men which were left, being all ſlaine. Of which victorie they being proud, began to beſiege the caſtle and towne of S.* Michael, *and this new city, eſpecially at the caſtle and Portingall Bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillery and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the wals. Which ſiege, the dreadfull army of the Turks by ſea and land,* L *made to be moſt fearfull and terrible, with ſuch huge great Ordnance, as the like for bignes and force was in no place to be ſeene; day and night thundring out their yron and ſtone ſhot, fiue and ſeuen hands about, wherewith not the thickeſt wals, but euen the very mountains themſelues might haue bin beaten down and ouerthrowne: by fury whereof, the wals in many places were ſo battered, that a man might eaſily haue entred as on plain ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, ſo often were they with great ſlaughter and diſhonor repulſed and beaten back, many of their men ſlaine or wounded. Their Generals, as well at ſea as land, after that they had in ſo many places, with all their forces in almoſt foure moneths ſiege and aſſault, with exceeding fury in vain attempted the breaches, and loſt the greateſt part of their old ſouldiers, eſpecially Winter now comming on, wherein all warres by law of nations ought to ceaſe; thought of nothing elſe but of departure,* M *or rather of flight: which the comming of* Garzias *of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the King of Spaine his fleet, with ten thouſand ſelect ſouldiers (amongſt whom was at the leſt two hundred and fourteene of our Knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen; which only with a Chriſtian zeale, voluntarily met together from diuers parts of the World to help and relieue vs) cauſed them to haſten. So haue you ſummarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turks fleet, and the victory by vs (by the power of God) therof obtained. It ſhall be your part to conſider and coniecture, in what*

ſtate

A *ſtate our Order and this Iſland now ſtandeth, into what poor eſtate we are brought, how many things wee want; wherin except we be relieued by the help and aid of our brethren, eſpecially ſuch as you are, as wee well hope, and aſſuredly beleeue we ſhall, our State will quickly take end. Farewell.*

From Malta the ninth of October, 1565.

The great Maſter thus deliuered of ſo great a ſiege, and bountifully relieued by the Chriſtian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order; ſpeedily repaired the breaches & places battered, and with new fortifications ſtrengthned thoſe places as he had by the late paſſed dangers perceiued to be moſt ſubiect to the enemies force.

B After the return of the Turks fleet to Conſtantinople, *Solyman* being exceeding angry with the gouernor of the Iſland of Chios his tributary, as wel for that he had during the late ſiege of Malta had intelligence with the great Maſter, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes deſignes; as alſo for detaining of two years tribute, which was 20000 ducats; and had alſo neglected to ſend his wonted preſents to the great Baſſa's, who therefore the more inſenced the Tyrant; commanded *Pial Baſſa* his Admiral to make ready his fleet, and by force or policy to take that fruitful & pleaſant Iſland into his own hand. Who without delay with a fleet of 80 gallies the 15 of April, *An.* 1566, being then Eaſter day, arriued at Chios. The chiefe men of the Iſland vpon ſight of the fleet, forthwith ſent Embaſſadors to the Baſſa with Preſents, courteouſly offering vnto him the hauen, and whatſoeuer elſe he ſhould require. *Piall* C with kindnes accepted their offer, and preſently poſſeſſed himſelfe of the hauen in three places: and afterwards landing, ſent for the Gouernour of the City and twelue of the chiefe Citiſens to come to him, as if he had ſome ſpeciall matter to confer with them about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for Malta or Italy. Who hauing a little conferd together, went to him with great feare; and that not without cauſe; for as ſoone as they were come before him, he commanded them to be laid hold vpon & caſt faſt into yrons: which don, the ſouldiers forthwith took the towne hall, and without reſiſtance pulling down the townes enſigne (wherein was the picture of S. *George* with a red Croſſe) in ſtead thereof ſet vp one of the Turks: the like whereof was done with great reioycing of the Turks, through the whole Iſland. After that, they rifled the Churches, and again conſecrated them after their Mahometan manner. D The Gouernour of the City, and the Senators, with their families, the Baſſa ſent in fiue ſhips to Conſtantinople: as for the vulgar people, they were at choice, either there to tarry ſtil, or depart, as beſt ſtood with their liking. And ſo the Baſſa, when he had there placed a new Gouernour, one of the Turks, with a ſtrong garriſon, and ſet vp the Mahometane ſuperſtition in that moſt fertile Iſland, departed thence for Italy: where ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Apulia, he did exceeding much harm in burning and deſtroying the country villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuity; and ſo returned.

The Iſland of Chios taken by the Turks.

1566

At this time the kingdome of Hungary was moſt miſerably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperour, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſiluania *Solymans* vaſſall: who grieued with the harmes done vnto him by the Emperours Cap- E taines, whereof himſelfe was the cauſe, and vainly hoping to haue obtained at *Solymans* hands the greateſt part of the kingdome of Hungary, as had ſomtime king *Iohn*, ceaſed not continually to ſolicite him to come himſelfe in perſon to make a full conqueſt of the reliques of Hungary, yet holden by the Emperour and ſome of the Hungarian Nobility: and flattering himſelfe in that vain hope, called himſelfe the king of Hungary: and increaſing his ſtrength by letters vnto the Nobility and Burgeſſes of the city of Hungary, ſummoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they ſhould all the ninth of March meet together at Thorda, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing as ſoon as *Lazarus Suendi* the Emperours lieutenant vnderſtood, he forthwith by other letters countermined thoſe of the Vayuods; perſuading the Hungarians F not to liſten to the charmes of the Vayuod and Turk, tending to their deſtruction, but rather to yeeld their obedience to *Maximilian* the Chriſtian emperor, whoſe purpoſe was by the ayd of the Chriſtian princes to protect & preſerue them in peace: and hereby it came to paſſe, that the remainders of this ſore ſhaken kingdom, diuided into factions, and diuerſly caried, according to their affection, ſome to one ſide, ſome to the other, began afreſh to work one anothers

confuſion, which fitly ſerued the Turks to incroach more and more vpon them: Who at the G
ſame time ſurpriſed the towne of Ainatſch (the captaine whereof, with certain of the garriſon
ſoldiers being gon about their buſines to Agria) & put to the ſword all them that they found
in the town. They thought alſo to haue taken the ſtrong town of Sigeth, but were by the vali-
ant County *Nicholaus Serenus* gouernor therof, couragiouſly encountred, and after foure hours
hard fight ouerthrown and put to flight. Not long after, they ranged vp and down the country,
and fet in booties as far as Iula and Rab, and did the countrey people much harme. For which
cauſe *Maximilian* the Emperor about the later end of May brake vp the aſſembly of the Em-
pire then holden at Auguſta, and began carefully to prouide all things needfull for the war:
appointing his captains for the raiſing of ſuch forces in Germany, as were but a little before
granted vnto him by the Princes and States of the Empire, in their late aſſembly; but went H
himſelfe to Vienna. For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extreme age
was with a mighty army ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and marching through Bulgaria
and Seruia, was come directly to Belgrade; where *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſiluania met him,
and kiſſing his hand, had commended himſelf and all his ſtate vnto his protection. At which
time *Suendi* the Emperours lieutenant laid hard ſiege to the towne of Huſth in the borders of
Great troubles in Hungary. Tranſiluania. The Baſſa of Buda at the ſame time on the other ſide, by commandment of *Soly-*
man, with 8000 Turks and 25 pieces of great Ordnance beſieging Palotta (a ſtrong towne a-
bout eight miles from Rab) had with continuall battery by the ſpace of eight dayes brought
the ſame into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hea-
The good ſucces of the emperors captains. ring of the approch of *George* County of Helffenſtein, ſent by the Emperor with certain com- I
panies of Germans to relieue the ſame, he roſe in ſuch haſt from the ſiege, that he left certain
of his great Ordnance and a great part of his baggage behind him, and retyred towards Alba
Regalis. The County hauing relieued the towne, cauſed the breaches to be forthwith repay-
red, and with a new ſupply ſtrengthned the old garriſon. Thus was a moſt lamentable war at
once begun in diuers places of Hungary. After that, the County of Helffenſtein, ſtrengthned
by the comming of the County *Salma* with certain companies from Rab, departed from Pa-
lotta, and came to Veſprinium, a city about two miles off, then holden by the Turks: which
city he tooke by force the laſt of Iune; and left not a Turke aliue therein, becauſe that they a
few dayes before had cruelly ſlain certain Chriſtians whom they had taken priſoners. So lea-
uing ſtrong garriſons both in Veſprinium and Palotta, they returned to Rab. Shortly after, K
the County *Salma* laid ſiege to Tatta a ſtrong town, otherwiſe called Dotis, betwixt Rab and
Comara, which at length he took by aſſault the 28 of Iuly, and ſlew al the Turks except fifty,
who flying into one of the towers of the caſtle, yeelded vpon compoſition: among whom was
the late gouernor of Veſprinium, and the gouernor of this place, with the Baſſa of Buda his
nigh kinſman, who were all preſently ſent priſoners to Vienna. So the County following the
courſe of his victory (the terror of his former good fortune running before him into the Turks
ſtrongeſt holds) was on his way to haue beſieged Geſtes a town neer Palotta; when the Turks
there in garriſon, vpon the firſt ſight of his army left all and fled out at the farther ſide of the
town to Strigonium. After whoſe example other of the Turks Garriſons in Witha, Tſcho-
kiku, and Sambok, caſtles therabout, ſet fire on that they could not carry, and followed their L
fellows to Strigonium alſo. The Emperor vnderſtanding of the good ſucces of his captaines,
cauſed publique prayers with thankſgiuing to almighty God to be made in all the churches
therabouts.

County *Serinus*, Gouernour of the ſtrong town of Sigeth and the countrey thereabout, cer-
tainly aduertiſed of the comming of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſparus Alapianus* and *Nicolas Cobach*, two
of his Captaines, with a thouſand footmen and 500 horſe, to lie in wait for the forerunners
of the Turks Army; who drawing neer vnto the place where theſe Turkes lay, not farre from
Quinque Eccleſiæ, ſuddenly in the ſhutting in of the next day ſet vpon them, when they
doubted no ſuch matter, and put them in ſuch fear that they diſorderly fled, ſome one way,
ſome another, and were moſt of them ſlain or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Ha-* M
ly Beg one of the Turks great Sanzacks, and leader of that Company, ſore wounded, and ſee-
king to ſaue himſelfe by flight in the mariſhes, there periſhed. His ſon and many other no-
table men amongſt the Turkes, were taken and carried priſoners vnto Sigeth. The ſpoyle
the Hungarians there took was exceeding great; for beſides plate and coyne, whereof they
found

A found good ſtore, they took eight camels, fiue mules, ſixty horſes, and ſix carts laden with all maner of ſpoil, and many garments of great price; wherin the gentlemen attyred, returned to Sigeth in great brauery, with two fair red enſignes of the enemy.

Maximilian the Emperour long before aduertiſed of *Solymans* purpoſe for the conqueſt of the remainder of Hungary; to withſtand ſo mighty an enemy, had beſide the forces raiſed in his own dominions, procured great aid both of the ſtates of the empire and other Chriſtian Princes, which about this time met together at Rab. Firſt there repaired thither four legions of German footmen, and vpwards of 20000 horſemen, with 4000 Hungarians. The duke of Sauoy ſent thither 400 Argoletiers; and many noble gentlemen out of diuers parts of Europ reſorted thither, to ſerue the Emperour in thoſe Wars of their owne charge; eſpecially the
B Knights of Malta: and out of Italy *Proſper Columna* and *Angelus Cæſius*. Out of France, *Gniſe* the grand Prior, *Briſſack*, and *Lanſack*; who but a little before were going to Malta, of purpoſe to haue ſerued there, if the Turks fleet had come thither again, as it was reported it would: but vnderſtanding that it came not, returned directly into Hungary, with certain Knights of the Order. Many alſo of the Princes and free Cities of Italy declared their good wil toward the Emperor in this War; ſome ſending him men, as did *Coſmus Medices* Duke of Florence, who ſent thither of his own charge three thouſand footmen. Some mony, as Mantua, Genoa, and Luca. Thither came alſo *Alphonſus* Duke of Ferrara with a gallant company of Noble Gentlemen and other his followers. Beſide which land forces, the Emperour had alſo proui-
ded vpon the riuer of Danubius twelue Gallies, and thirty other ſhips for burthen, ſo made, as
C that the men could not be hurt by the Turks arrows. Wherin were imbarqued three thouſand ſouldiers, moſt part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a Germane and one of the Knights of Malta, who was afterwards receiued into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

Solyman comming to the riuer Dranus, commanded a bridge to be made ouer that great ri- *The Turkes with much la-*
uer, and the deep fens on the farther ſide of the riuer toward Sigeth, for the tranſporting of his *bor make a*
army; a work of ſuch difficulty, that being thrice vnfortunatly begun, it was again giuen ouer *bridge ouer the*
as a thing almoſt impoſſible. Wherwith *Solyman* was ſo mooued, that in his rage he ſwore to *riuer Dranus.*
hang vp the great Baſſa that had the charge of that work, if he did not with as much ſpeed as were poſſible bring it to perfection. Wherupon the work was again begun, all the boats that
D were to be found in the riuer taken vp, & timber for the purpoſe brought from far for the making of that bridge. In this work were imploied not the vulgar people only, in the Countrey which was tributary to the Turks, but the gentlemen themſelues alſo were by the imperious Turk (now commanding for his life) inforced to lay their fingers to work day and night without ceaſing, vntil the bridge (which before was thought ſcarſe poſſible to haue bin made) was by the reſtleſſe induſtry and labor of ſuch a multitude of men, in the ſpace of ten daies perfected. Wherein the ſeuerity the barbarous Tyrant vſeth toward his ſubiects is worth the noting; wherby he extorteth from them more than is almoſt poſſible for men to perform: ſo that it is not to be maruelled that he hath ſo good ſucces in whatſoeuer he taketh in hand. Ouer this bridge (a mile in length) paſſed *Solyman*, and incamped at a place called Mohatcz, where
E he ſtaied certain daies vntil his Army was all come ouer. The laſt of Iuly, ninety thouſand Turks (the vantgard of *Solymans* Army) came before Sigeth, and incamped within a mile of the Town. After whom ſhortly after followed an hundred thouſand more out of *Solymans* *The Turks in-*
camp; of whom many approching the town, were ſlain with great ſhot out of the Caſtle. The *camp before*
reſt for all that quickly incamped themſelues as neer vnto the town as they could, and began *Sigeth.*
the ſiege.

The town of Sigeth is ſtrongly ſcituate in a mariſh on the North ſide of Dranus, vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, commanding all the country round about, which of it takes name; and was at that time a ſtrong bulwark againſt the Turks, for entring farther into the countrey that way toward Styria. In this town was gouernor *Nicolaus Serinus*, commonly called the Coun-
F ty, a valiant man and a mortal enemy of the Turks, with a gariſon of 2300 good ſoldiers: who ſeeing the hugy army of the Turks, called together the Captaines of the Garriſon with the chief of the Citiſens into the Caſtle; where ſtanding in the midſt of them he ſpake to them as followeth:

Serinus his resolute and comfortable speech.

You see (said he) *how we are on euery side beset with the multitude of our enemies, wherin rests their chief hope. But let not vs be therof afraid or discouraged, for that victory dependeth not of a confused multitude of heartlesse men, but of the power of God, who hath by a few at his pleasure oft times ouercome the mighty armies of the proud; and will not in the midst of these dangers now forsake vs, if we putting our trust and confidence in him, doe what beseemeth valiant and couragious men. Besides that, our iust cause, with the strength of the place we hold, our own valour, and the help of our friends, who I assure my self will not fail vs at our need, counteruaileth their confused multitude, forced together by their imperious commanders out of far countries, and whatsoeuer els the Tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherfore let vs all as becommeth valiant men, for the truth of our Religion, and the honor of our prince and country, liue and die together: knowing whatsoeuer befall, that to a life so lost, beside neuer-dying fame, belongeth a most assured hope of ioy and felicity. As for my self, I am resolued (as I hope you are also) that as I am a Christian, and free born, so will I by the grace of God, in the same faith and freedome end end my daies. Neither shall the proud Turk, so long as I am able to hold vp this hand, haue euer power to command ouer me, or the ground wheron I stand.* G H

This said, he first took himself a solemn oath to perform what he had promised, & persuaded the rest to take the like. Which don, euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman comes to the camp at Sigeth.

The fift of August *Solyman* incamped within a mile of the Town, and the next day after came himself into the camp; at whose comming the great Ordnance and small shot so thundred out of the Turks camp, as if heauen and earth should haue gon together; the Turks after their wonted maner crying aloud, their *Alla, Alla, Alla:* and the Christians answering them with the name of Iesus. The seuenth of August the Turks cast vp a great mount, and theron planted certain great pieces of ordnance. The next day following they began most terribly to batter the new town in three places, and with incredible labor cast vp a mount in the midst of the marsh, as it were in the town ditch; from whence they the next day with certain pieces of great artillery day & night battered the inner castle of the town without any intermission, and did great harm both to the castle and desendants. The County perceiuing the new City to be now so laid open with the fury of the Turks battery, as that it was not possible to be defended, I

The defendants burne the new town.

caused his soldiers to set it all on fire, and to retyre into the old. The tenth of August the Turks furiously battered the old town in three places, and brought their ordnance into the new town, and with timber, earth and rubbish made a bridge, the more commodiously to go ouer the marish. For the speedier accomplishment wherof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carry wood, fagots, earth, and such like things without ceasing. There might a man haue seen all the fields ful of camels, horses, and of the Turks themselues, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, stones, or one thing or other to fill vp the marish. So was there with wonderful labor two plain waies made thorow the deepe fen, from the town to the castle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great shot with sacks of Wooll and such like things, did with the multitude of their small shot so ouerwhelme the defendants, that they could not against those places without manifest danger shew themselues vpon the wals. So that what by their vigilant industry, and the fury of their great artillery, the Turks (although not without great losse) by force entred the old town the 19 of August; vsing in their victory such celerity, that they slew many of the most valiant defendants before they could recouer the safegard of the castle. Both the towns thus lost, and so many worthy men slain, not without cause brought great heauines vpon the rest which were in the castle with the county. The Turks possessed of the old Town, the next day planted their battery against the castle in foure places, and with fagots, rubbish, and earth, made two plain ways to it, stil filling vp the marsh: and hauing with continual battery made it saultable, the 29 of August they began fiercely to assail the breaches: but when they had lost many of their men, and don what they could, they were inforced with shame to retyre. In this assault, among many other of their best soldiers, was lost one of their great Bassa's also. K L

The Turks win the old town.

Solyman dieth of the bloudy flix.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Solyman* far spent with years, and distempered with his long trauel, fel sick of a loosnes of his belly, and the better to recouer his health, retyred himself (the siege yet continuing) to Quinque Ecclesiæ a City neer to Sigeth, where shortly after he died of the bloudy flix the fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1566, when he had liued 76 years, and therof reigned six and forty. He was of stature tall, of feature M

slender,

A slender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his nose long and hooked, of nature ambitious and bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promise than were for most part the Mahometan Kings his progenitors; wanting nothing worthy of so great an empire, but that wherin all happines is contained, Faith in Christ Iesus. *Muhamet* the Vizier Bassa (who all commaunded in *Solymans* absence) fearing the insolencie of the Ianizaries, and lest some tumult should arise in the camp, if his death should be known, concealed it by all meanes; and to be sure of them that were of all others best able to make certaine report thereof, caused his Physitians and Apothecaries to be secretly strangled; and by a trusty messenger sent in post, certified *Selymus* (*Solymans* eldest son, and his father in law, then lying at Magnesia) of the death of his father; willing him in hast to repair to Constantinople, to take possession of the Empire: and
B that don, forthwith to come to the army in Hungary. But this could not be so secretly done, but that the Ianizaries began to suspect the matter: which *Muhamet Bassa* quickly perceiuing, caused the dead body of *Solyman* in his wonted apparel to be brought into his tent, sitting vpright in his horse litter, as if he had bin sick of the gout his wonted disease; & so shewing him to the Ianizaries, both deceiued and contented them, and so the siege went forward.

The Ianizaries hauing in the last assault lost many of their fellowes, began now to vndermine the greatest bulwark of the castle, from which the defendants with their great ordnance did most annoy them: wherin they vsed such diligence, that the fift of September they with gunpouder and other light matter prouided for that purpose, had set all the bulwarke on a light fire; and by that means possest therof, with all their force assailed the bulwark next vnto
C the castle gate, from whence they were with great slaughter twice repulsed by the County. But the raging fire stil increasing, he was inforced with those which were yet left aliue, to retyre into the inner castle, wherin was but two great pieces, and 14 others of small force. Thus the Turks stil preuailing, and taking one place after another, the 7 of September they furiously assaulted the little Castle, wherinto they cast such abundance of fire that in short time it caught hold of the buildings, and set all on fire. The county thus assailed by the enemy without, and worse distrest with the fire within, which stil increasing, left no place for him in safety to retyre to, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new suit of apparel, came presently out again with his sword and target in his hand; and finding his soldiers with cheerful countenance & their weapons in their hands attending his comming, spake vnto them these
D few his last words: *The hard fortune of this sinful kingdom hath together with our own ouertaken vs; but let vs, noble hearts, with patience endure whatsoeuer is to vs by God assigned. You know what we haue before promised, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like resolution perform this last. The place you see is not longer to be kept, the deuouring fire groweth so still vpon vs, and we in number are but few. Wherfore let vs as becommeth valiant men break out into the vtter castle, there to die in the midst of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer: I will be the first that will go out, follow you me like men.* This said, with his sword and target in his hand, without any other armor, calling thrice vpon the name of Iesus, hee issued out at the Castle gate, with the rest following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge, and hauing slain some of them, he was first wounded in two places of his body with a small shot, and
E at last strook in the head with an vnlucky shot, fell downe dead: the Turks for joy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The rest of the soldiers in flying back again into the Castle, were all slain by the Turks, except some few, whom some of the Ianizaries in regard of their valour, by putting their caps vpon their heads saued from the fury of the rest. In this siege the Turks (as themselues reported) lost 7000 Ianizaries, and 28000 other soldiers, beside many voluntary men not inrolled in their muster books, and three of their great Bassa's. *Serinus* his head was presently cut off, and the next day, with the heads of the other slain Christians, set vpon poles for all the army to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken down, and by *Muhamet* the great Bassa sent to *Mustapha* the Bassa of Buda his kinsman; who by two country men sent it wrapped in a red scarf couered with a fair linnen cloth, to County *Salma* in the Emperours camp at Rab,
F with this taunting letter thus directed;

The great Bulwark vndermined and fired by the Ianizaries.

The little Castle set on fire.

Serinus slain.

Serinus head sent to County Salma.

Muhamet Bassa to *Eccius Salma*, Greeting.

In token of my loue, behold here I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant Captain thy friend

the

the remainder of his body I haue honeſtly buried as became ſuch a man. Sigeth bids thee farwel for euer. G

The death of this noble and valiant Captaine was much lamented of all the Chriſtian Army, and his head with many tears by his ſon *Balthaſar* honorably buried among his Anceſtors in Tſchacaturna his own caſtle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mighty Army into Hungary, had purpoſed before his return, if he had not bin by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdom of Hungary, and to haue again attempted the winning of Vienna. For the accompliſhing of which his deſignes, he at his firſt comming ſent *Parthauus Baſſa* with forty thouſand Turkes to helpe the Baſſa of Temeſware and the Tartars, in the behalf of the Vayuod to beſiege the ſtrong town of Gyula, ſcituat vpon the lake Zarkad, in the confines of Tranſylvania; not far from whence *Suendi* had but the Auguſt before ouerthrown H
the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the aid of the Vayuod, and ſlaine of them ten thouſand. And at the ſame time he ſent *Muſtapha Baſſa* of Boſna, and *Carambeius* with a great power to Alba-Regalis; who joining with the Baſſa of Buda, ſhould keep the Emperour *Maximilian* buſie, whilſt he in the mean time beſieged Sigeth, as is before declared. *Parthauus Baſſa* comming to Gyula, and laying hard ſiege to the town, was ſtil notably repulſed by *Nicolas Keretſchen* Gouernor of the town: inſomuch, that in a ſally he had certain pieces of his great Ordnance taken from him by the defendants, and the reſt cloied. But this braue Captaine, not to haue bin conſtrained by all that the Baſſa could do, was at laſt perſuaded by his kinſman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had but a little before taken certain Caſtles, for reuolting from the Emperor to the Vayuod) for a great ſum of mony to deliuer vp the town to the Baſ- I
The gouernour of Gyula betrays the town to the Turks. ſa. Which he did, couenanting beſides his reward, that the ſoldiers ſhould with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. All which was frankly granted: who were not gon paſt a mile out of the town, but they were ſet vpon by the Turks, and all ſlain except ſome few which crept into the reeds growing in the mariſh faſt by, and ſo eſcaped. The Traitor himſelf expecting his reward, was caried in bonds to Conſtantinople: where afterward vpon complaint made, how hardly he had vſed certain Turks whom he had ſomtime taken priſoners, he was by the commandement of *Selymus*, who ſucceeded *Solyman*, thruſt into an hogſhead ſtuck full of nailes
A traitor well rewarded. with the points inward; with this inſcription vpon it, *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice and treaſon. Gyula thou ſoldeſt for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy Lord, neither wilt thou be to me.* And ſo the hogſhead cloſed faſt vp, he was therin rolled vp and down vntill he miſe- K
ably died.

The Emperors Camp then lying at Rab, & the Baſſa of Buda and Boſna with thirty thouſand Turks not far off at Alba-Regalis, and many hot skirmiſhes paſſing between them; it fortuned that the fift of September, the Turkes in hope to haue don ſome great piece of ſeruice vpon the Chriſtians, came forth of the camp in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the Army, of whom they ſlew ſome: the reſt flying raiſed an alarm in the Camp. Wherupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with ſome others iſſuing out, purſuing the Turks, ſlew diuers of them. In which purſuit *George Thuriger* deſcrying the Gouernor of
The gouernour of Alba Regalis taken. Alba-Regalis, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilſt hee liued, fiercely purſued him in the midſt of the flying enemies, and neuer left him til he had taken him priſo- L
ner: and at his return preſenting him to the Emperour, was for that good ſeruice knighted, and rewarded with a chain of gold. There was by chance then preſent a Spaniard, who had heard him ſay openly at Conſtantinople, That he alone with his own power was able to vanquiſh the Germane King (by which name the Turks commonly term the Emperor.) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the preſence of the Emperor; ſtil vrging him as it were to ſay ſomething for himſelfe: the Turke ſtraitway anſwereed him in theſe few words following; *Such is the chance of Warre, thou ſeeſt me now a priſoner, and able to do nothing.*

All theſe troubles, with many more like in ſhort time to haue inſued, were by the death of
The Turks Army returne with olymans dead body to Belgrade. *Solyman* within a while after wel appeaſed. *Muhamet* Baſſa after that hee had repaired the M
breaches, and placed a Turk Gouernour of Sigeth, with a ſtrong garriſon for defence of the place, and commanding of the Country, called back the diſperſed forces, and riſing with the Army, retyred towards Belgrade, carrying *Solymans* dead body all the way ſitting vp-

right

right in his horſe-litter caried by mules; giuing it out that he was ſick of the gout. Which thing the Ianizaries eaſily beleeued, knowing that he had bin many years ſo carried: yet ſtill wiſhing his preſence, as alwaies to them fortunat, although he were able to do nothing.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Soly-man,

Emperours of Germany	Charles the fifth,	1519.	39
	Ferdinand,	1558.	7
	Maximilian the second,	1565.	12
Kings of England	Henry the eight,	1509.	38
	Edward the sixt,	1546.	6
	Queen Mary,	1553.	5
	Queen Elizabeth,	1558.	44
Kings of France	Francis the first,	1514.	32
	Henry the second,	1547.	12
	Francis the second,	1559.	1
	Charles the ninth,	1560.	14
Of Scotland	Iames the fifth,	1514.	29
	Queen Mary,	1543.	20
Bishops of Rome	Leo the X,	1513.	8
	Hadrian the VI,	1522.	1
	Clement the VII,	1523.	10
	Paulus the III,	1534.	15
	Iulius the III,	1550.	5
	Marcellus the II,	1555.	22 dayes.
	Paulus the IV,	1555.	4
	Pius the IV,	1560.	5
	Pius the V,	1566.	6

Dissimilis patri, Selymus *regalia Sceptra*
Corripit, & dira concutit arma manu.
Fœdus cum Venetis frangit (Quid fœdera prosunt?)
Armataque manu Cypria regna rapit.
Instrauit tumidum numerosis classibus Æquor:
Vt Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldauum fœda mulctauit morte Dynasten:
Et magni fines prorogat imperij.
Obruit Hispanos multavi: Punica regna
Destruit: & regnis adjcit illa suis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoque sepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Vnlike his father, *Selymus* the royal Scepter takes,
And shaking arms with cruel hand, exceeding stirs he makes.
With Venice State his league he breaks (With Turks what league can stand?)
And Cyprus kingdom takes from them by force of mighty hand.
He couered the swelling seas with hugy fleets to see;
That vanquished, vnto those seas he might an honor be.
The Vayuod of Moldavia he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdom great so that he might extend.
In Gulet he the Spaniards ouerwhelm'd with mighty power;
And therby Tunes kingdom did the self same time deuour.
But wholly giuen to Venery, vnto excesse and play,
He posteth on before his time to hast his fatall day.

THE

THE LIFE OF *SELYMVS*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, FIFT EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

C *Selymus*, the only ſon of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Muhamet Baſſa* vnderſtanding of the death of his father, haſted from Cutai, a City of Galatia not far from Ancyra, toward Conſtantinople; & comming to Scutari, was from thence by *Boſtanges Baſſa* of the court, conducted ouer the ſtreit to Conſtantinople; where by him and *Scander Baſſa* (*Selymus* his ſon in law, and then *Solymans* Vicegerent) he was conueyed into the Imperiall palace the 23 of September, *An.* 1566; and there poſſeſſed of his fathers ſeat, was by the Ianizaries there preſent ſaluted Emperor. He was about the age of 42 years when he began to reigne, a man of an vnconſtant and haſty diſpoſition, wholly giuen to wantonnes and exces; ſo that he neuer went to Wars himſelf, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrary to the charge of *Selymus* his grandfather, giuen by him to his father *Solyman*, wherof he was neuer vnmindful. The next D day he came abroad and ſhewed himſelf in his majeſty; and in the temple of Sophia, after the maner of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemn prayers and ſacrifices to be made for his father: which don, he gaue to the Ianizaries a largeſſe of 100000 Sultanines, with promiſe to augment their wages. And all things being in readineſſe for his intended journy, he with a goodly retinue ſet forward from Conſtantinople the 27 of September; and the 20 of October a little from Belgrade met the Army comming from Sigeth, gallantly marching vnder their Enſignes, with the dead body of *Solyman*, whom the ſoldiers generally ſuppoſed to haue bin yet liuing, but troubled with the gout, to keep his horſ-litter, as his maner was to trauell. *Selimus* alighting, came in his mourning attyre to the horſ-litter, looked vpon the dead body of his father, kiſſed it and wept ouer it, as did all the great Baſſa's alſo. And that the death of E *Solyman* might then be made known to all men, the enſignes were preſently let fal and trailed vpon the ground, a dead march ſounded, and heauy ſilence commanded to be kept thorow all the camp. Shortly after, *Selymus* was with great applauſe of the whole Army proclaimed emperor, his enſignes aduanced, and euery one of the great commanders of the Army in their degree admitted to kiſſe his hand. So marching forward, he returned again to Conſtantinople the 22 of Nouember: but thinking to enter his palace (commonly called the Seraglio) he was by the diſcontented Ianizaries but now come from the Wars, prohibited ſo to do; they with great inſolencie demanding of him a greater donatiue, together with the confirmation both of their antient and new priuiledges, before they would ſuffer him to enter. Againſt which their great preſumption, the Vizier Baſſa's together with the Aga oppoſing themſelues, and F ſeeking by all means to appeaſe them, were by them fouly intreated, and wel rapped about the pates with the ſtocks of their caliuers: but eſpecially the two great Baſſa's, *Muhamet* and *Partaw*, as the chief authors that their lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which ſo ſudden and vnexpected a mutiny of his beſt ſouldiers *Selymus* not a little troubled, and calling

Selymus ſaluted Emperor of the Turks in the yeare, 1556.

ling vnto him the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, demanded of him the cause therof. Who G
with tears trickling down his cheeks for grief, told him it was for mony. Which by *Selymus* now promised vnto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties; and the Aga with fair words and heauy countenance most earnestly intreating them, not to blemish the reputation of their wonted loyalty with so foul a disorder, nor to oppose the life of him their louing captain vnto the heauy displeasure of their angry Sultan; and further assuring them, that hee would not fail them in the least of his promises, but content them to the ful of their desires; the mutiny was at length appeased, the insolent Ianizaries again quieted, & *Selymus* into the Seraglio receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet* chief of the Vizier Bassa's, for certain dayes after went not out of his palace, neither came as he was wont into the Divano, but kept himself close, for fear of some greater mischief from them. This tumult thus ouerpassed, and all again wel pa- H
cified, *Selymus* with all roial solemnity buried his father in a chappel which he after the man-
Solyman buried, ner of the Mahometan kings had in his life time most stately built, with a colledge & an hospital. Where fast by his side is to be seen the tomb of *Roxolana* his best beloued wife, and of certain others his murthered children: and by him hangs his scimiter, a token that he died in wars; an honor not otherwise granted to the Mahometan princes. The reuenues arising of the country about Sigeth, of late won from the Christians, at his death were giuen to maintaine the houses by him built of deuotion; which for the magnificence therof exceed al the rest before built by the Mahometan Kings and Emperours, except those of *Mahomet* the Great, and *Bajazet* the second. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as purposing that year to haue wintred in Hungary, and the year following to haue done great I
matters against the Christians both by sea and land.

1567 This great army of the Turks thus drawn out of Hungary by the death of *Solyman*, in some part assuaged, but altogether appeased not the endlesse troubles of that vnfortunat kingdom.
Troubles in Hungary. *Maximilian* the emperor on the one side, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transylvania with the Turks captains on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had sworne the destruction thereof. The Vayuod desiring to recouer the strong castle of Tocay in the frontiers of his Countrey, but lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant, laid hard siege to it, & had brought it to great extremity, although it was notably defended by *Iames Raminger* the Captain ther-
of: when suddenly news was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his country to haue aided him against the Emperour, did with all hostility after their barbarous K
maner, burn and destroy his Country before them, making hauock of all things, so that the country people were glad in defence of themselues to take vp arms against them. Wherupon he forthwith left the siege, and went to aid his distressed subiects against the Tartars. With whom he had many a hot skirmish, and after much bloud shed at last ouercame them, & with much ado rid himself of such bad guests. Now in the mean time, *Suendi* strengthned with new supplies sent vnto him from the Emperour, had taken the castle of Zackmar in the borders of Transylvania, and with like good succes had the castle of Muncatz yeelded vnto him, and after that besieged the town of Husth: so that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the Turkish Emperor *Selymus*, vnder whose protection he was. Who presently commanded *Partau* one of his chief Bassa's, and then his great Lieutenant in Romania, to go with his Forces L
into Transylvania to relieue them. But hearing that Embassadors were comming from *Maximilian* the Emperor, he called him back again, vntil he had heard the effect of that embassage. At which time also the Bassa of Buda inclining to peace, sent Presents vnto the Emperour, requesting him to remooue certain of the Hungarian Captains from off the frontiers, lest haply they should interrupt the treaty of peace, then on both sides purposed; promising for his part to punish all such Turks with death, as should make any further inuasion, or raise any new troubles. He writ letters also to County *Salma*, That hee could not but maruell, to what end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his lord and master of peace, whilest *Suendi* in the mean time was raging in Transylvania, then vnder the Turks protection; which if he proceeded stil to do, *Selymus* would therof take occasion (as he said) to turn all his forces M
that way. Wherfore hee requested him to persuade the Emperour to take some more easie course in that behalf. Promising also, That he would for his part effectually trauel with his Master to haue better liking of peace than of wars, wishing him also to do the like. Which thing

A thing as ſoone as the Emperour vnderſtood, he commanded *Suendi* to giue ouer the ſiege of Huſth, and to keepe himſelfe quiet vntill he might by his Embaſſadors vnderſtand what the Great Turke purpoſed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Maximilian & Selymus both deſirous of peace

Now indeed theſe two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably diſſembled the matter) were both of them in heart deſirous of peace, and that for diuers great and vrgent conſiderations. *Maximilian* for want of mony ſaw it was not poſſible for him to ſend into the field ſuch an army the next yeare as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beſide his other troubles, was to take order for the appeaſing of a great & dangerous rebellion in the furtheſt part of his dominions in Arabia Fœlix; where the people riſing vp in armes, and hauing ſlain the Baſſa's and Sanzacks their gouernors, were ready to haue caſt off the Turkiſh obedi-
B ence: neither was he out of feare of the Perſians, ready (as was reported) to make warre vpon him. For which cauſes he wiſhed rather for peace with the Emperour *Maximilian*, than wars: and ſo much the more, for that it was impoſſible for him to ſend an army of any puiſſance into Hungary, for want of many neceſſary prouiſions for the maintenance there, in a country ſo much impoueriſhed by reaſon of his late wars, wherin no victuals were to be found for the reliefe of ſuch a multitude of men as he was to ſend, if he would do any good there. And truth it was (as the Turks themſelues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he had in field the laſt yere, might haue eaſily recouered the greateſt part of that kingdom before loſt: but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether enclining to peace;
and by County *Salma* aduertiſed from the Baſſa of Buda, That if he would ſend Embaſſadors
C to Conſtantinople, with the tribute wont to be there paid for Hungary, a peace vpon reaſonable conditions might be eaſily obtained; he reſolued vpon that point. And ſo certain meſſengers being ſent vp and downe to Conſtantinople to the ſame effect, it was concluded, That if the Emperor would ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople with the tribute yet behind, and a large commiſſion for the treaty of peace, *Selymus* ſhould giue them his ſafe conduct, with liberty at their pleaſure to returne in caſe either of peace or war. Which agreed vpon and faithfully promiſed on both ſides, *Selymus* ſet at liberty the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who ſix yeres Lieger in Conſtantinople, firſt for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now beene ſtreitly impriſoned in his owne houſe by the ſpace of 22 moneths, in ſuch ſort that neither he nor any of his houſhold could go abroad, watch and ward being kept both day & night about
D his houſe, and his windowes alſo boorded vp, to the end that he ſhould not ſo much as looke out into the city or any whither elſe more than the court of his houſe only. So the Emperour *Maximilian* now reſolued to ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople with the tribute mony and diuers other rich gifts & Preſents, as well to the Great Turke himſelf, as the Viſier Baſſa's his Counſellors: and conſidering with himſelfe, whom to be moſt fit, with wiſedome and honor to bring this ſo weighty a matter about, hauing to do with ſo barbarous, couetous, and mighty a people, made choice of the lord *Anthonius Varantius* of Agria (of his Counſell for the kingdome of Hungary) a Prelat of great eſtimation, who being a man of 63 yeares old, beſide his great learning, had the experience of 27 Embaſſages; wherin he alwaies ſo diſcreetly bare himſelfe, as well contented his Prince, and purchaſed vnto himſelfe the reputation of a moſt
E graue & wiſe man: and about ten yeres before this Embaſſage, being ſent by the Emperor *Ferdinand* Embaſſador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian* to *Selymus* at Conſtantinople, returning with good ſucceſſe, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Biſhop of Agria. Vnto which ſo honorable a perſonage, hauing the charge of this ſo weighty a matter, the Emperor the more to ennoble this embaſſage, as alſo to purchaſe the greater credit to his embaſſador, joyned vnto him a moſt honorable Baron called the lord *Chriſtopher Teufenbatch* of Stiria, one of his Counſellors alſo for the warres: who with full inſtructions both taking their leaue of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Presburgh) departed, and being attended vpon with a great and honourable Retinue, ſet forward the firſt of Iuly 1567, and ſo came to Comara a ſtrong town in Hungary not paſt a league from the Turks frontiers. In which place
F the Embaſſadors ſtaying vntill the ſeuenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of their comming vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium, demanding for their ſecurity in the enemies country, to be met and receiued by ſome of his garriſon: which granted, they tooke their barks brought from Vienna and Poſſonium, ſufficient for their greatneſſe to haue carried them downe the riuer to Belgrade, with horſe and waggon and their whole furniture: and

Maximilian the Emperor ſendeth Embaſſadors to Selymus

ſo entring vpon the Turks dominion about a league or a little more from Comara, being ſo G
far waſted by the ſoldiers and gallies of Comara, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with
a Chiaus called *Becram* (ſent by the Baſſa of Buda) in certain gallies armed with Turkiſh ſol-
diers. To whom the Embaſſador at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his perſon,
giuing them to vnderſtand, that they were with all ſafety to conduct both him and all his to
the Baſſa of Buda: which they anſwered they were ready to accompliſh; and courteouſly in-
uited by the Embaſſadours, they came aboord their barke, and there dined together. Here
they that were ſent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turks, hauing licence to de-
part, returned to Comara: and they that day after fiue leagues ſailing arriued at Strigonium,
where they were by the Gouernor of the city denied landing: for which ſo diſhonourable a
part he was afterward ſharpely rebuked by the Baſſa of Buda. Yet as they lay that night vpon H
the water, certain Turkiſh minſtrels, to do them honour and to get a largeſſe, with their barba-
rous bawling inſtruments plaied them vp many a homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with
ſundry ſorts of vauting and tumbling, ſometime leaping one vpon anothers ſhoulders, and
ſometime doing their trickes on the earth, all the euening ſhewed them great ſport and pa-
The Embaſſadors come to Buda. ſtime. From Strigonium they with fiue leagues ſailing came to Buda, leauing behind them
the caſtle of Vicegrade, two leagues diſtant from Strigonium. In this city of Buda lieth the
great Baſſa by whom all Hungary, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turks power)
is gouerned. This city, ſometime the regall ſeat of the Hungarian Kings, is ſcituate vpon a
little hill on the South ſide of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a caſtle, much
higher than the city, and of a moſt braue proſpect: in which caſtle lieth a captain with a gar- I
riſon of fiue hundred ſouldiers (as the Turks ſay) howbeit it is thought that they are not alto-
gether ſo many: it is the loſſe of his head to ſtir out of his charge; and beſide, he hath com-
miſſion to deny the Baſſa himſelfe entrance, vnleſſe he come very ſlightly accompanied: ſo
jealous are the Turks of that caſtle, as if the ſtate of Hungary depended thereon. Herein ſtan-
deth the kings palace, which taketh vp moſt part of the place, greatly beautified by *Matthias*,
and ſhewing outwardly to haue bin a very ſtately thing: for there are in it both large halls and
faire galleries, and chambers built in moſt royall manner; where amongſt other roomes, the
Embaſſadors found a decaied Library full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which
things when they preſent themſelues to the eies of the Chriſtian beholders, offer a juſt conſi-
deration of noble and reuerend antiquity, and withall, ſtrike into their hearts a certaine com- K
paſſion joyned with horror, to ſee the renowned glory of ſo many great Kings all waſted and
brought to nothing. The next morning the Embaſſadors went to ſpeake with the Baſſa: whoſe
houſe was reaſonable faire (conſidering their guiſe and cuſtome, not much delighting in the
beauty of their priuat buildings) ſcituat vpon the riuer ſide at the bottome of a hill whereon
Preſents giuen by the emperors Embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda. the city ſtandeth. Vnto this Baſſa the Embaſſadors preſented two great gilt cups, a clocke all
curiouſly wrought in gold, and a thouſand dollars: which Preſent the Baſſa receiued in his Di-
uano (being a large hall) where he ſate with his counſellors, officers, and other Turks in their
places and order; ſome on his right hand, and ſome on his left, all richly attired in garments
of ſilke of diuers colours and faſhions, reaching downe to their anckles after their manner:
their heads couered with their paſſing white and well made turbants: in which aſſembly no- L
thing being then to be ſeene but goodly order and graue ſilence, they ſeemed to the ſtrange
beholders ſo many counſellors of exceeding grauity and reputation. Round about the Hall
wherein the Embaſſadours had audience, were many ſeats couered with Turky carpets; the
reſt of the roome being all vacant. The Baſſa in a place more apparant than the reſt, ſitting in
great majeſty: before whom was ſet two little chaires, on which (after he had ſtood vp a while
and embraced the Embaſſadors) he cauſed them both to ſit downe. Whoſe ſpeech deliuered
in the Italian tongue, after they had diſcharged themſelues of the Emperors letters and gree-
tings, was to this effect, *viz.* That his Imperiall Majeſty (for the common benefit of their ſub-
jects in Hungary) requeſted him to continue in his good purpoſe and dealing for peace: and
further, to giue ſafe conduct vnto them his Embaſſadours with their retinue, vntill they were M
come vnto the Turks court, where they were to intreat and conclude a peace, to the ending
of all troubles, and the publique benefit of their ſubjects in generall. Which ſpeech with
cheerefull and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embaſſadors followers were admit-
ted to kiſſe the Baſſa's hand, accounted no ſmall fauour amongſt thoſe Barbarians. The Inter-

preter

A pretor of these things was a Iew of Padua, who declared all, that was spoken, in the Turkish language vnto the Bassa, and in the Italian vnto the Embassadors. And although (if it had bin their pleasure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Crouatian tongue without an Interproter; yet the Bassa standing more vpon his reputation; & for some other respects beside, would haue the matter propounded and likewise answered in the Turkish. In which sort they also conferred continually afterward with the Bassa's at Constantinople, vnles it were in some particular and priuat talke of smal importance, or els in some point beside the matter; for then the Interpreter spake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to most of the Turks, but especially to the men of war. Before this hall where the Embassadors were entertained by the Bassa, in the base court stood all the Ianizaries in goodly array, and his
B slaues with their red zarcul on their heads, and other souldiers with high and long plumes of feathers standing vpright: all which made a beautifull shew, & gaue all great grace to the Bassa's court. These men stir not one foot in their standings, and if the consultation do last foure houres long, so long are they to continue standing without mouing. The Embassadors hauing staied two daies at Buda, were by the Bassa dismissed, sending with them his Checai (the Steward or gouernor of his house) a man of great reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus, the same that came to meet them at Comara, with a sufficient guard & certain Ianizaries, sent for their more safe trauelling, and to prouide for them from place to place, of all things necessary for their diet, as also for their horses, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they imbarqued the tenth day of the aforesaid moneth, towed vp the Turks gallies, which holpen by the swiftnesse
C of the riuer, carried them downe in eight daies to Belgrade, where they arriued the eighteenth of Iuly. So hauing staid at Belgrade, & there leauing their boats, and taking their coaches, they set forward by land the twentieth of the said moneth, and with great paines trauelling thorow Rascia, Bulgaria, and Thracia, and passing a part of the great mountain Scardus, and after that, the mountain Rhodope, so by the way of Philippopolis and Hadrianople, the two and twentieth of August gathered fast vpon Constantinople: where many of the Spahies and Chiausais of the court, with a number of the Ianizaries and other soldiers, for their greater honour came to meet them a great way without the city. By whom the Embassadors honourably mounted on horseback, were by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the midst of the city; where the Lord *Albert de Vuis* the Emperours Embassador Leiger (not long be-
D fore inlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now most joyfully receiued them. It was then Fryday the Turks Sabath, and a day of them aboue all other daies in the weeke regarded, and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone; at which time the Embassadors were no sooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion, in the Moschy of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was somtime to do) passed along before the gate where the Embassadors lay, with the whole traine of his Court; and peraduenture somewhat more than ordinary, to shew the magnificence of his power and state, to the end that the Embassadors (aboue the former opinion by them conceiued) might hold him in the reputation of a most puissant and mighty Monarch. He passing by, vouchsafed not once to giue them a regard, or so much as to cast his eie aside vpon them, although they were strangers, and but euen
E then arriued: but with a countenance as if he had knowne not so much as any thing of their comming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chief Visier Bassa, with the other Bassa's and great Courtiers, in most gracious manner as they passed by cast their eies vpon them; all the courtesie they could then shew them. Six daies after, being the eight and twentieth of August, the Embassadors all three went to visit and salute *Muhamet* (or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*) the chiefe Visier Bassa, as the maner was, presenting him from the Emperor, with foure cups of siluer all guilt, of most faire and curious workemanship; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three spans high, the two other being not so high by a span, but hauing in them two thousand duckats of gold: beside which, they gaue him also a clocke, being a most curious piece of worke, and all ouer double gilt. After which greetings and presents de-
F liuered, beside the contents of his Majesties letters, they declared vnto him in generall points, the cause of their comming, and the mind of the Emperor well disposed to a peace; and what great benefit would arise thereby to both parties: and lastly turning ouer the blame of the late wars, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, sweetned thereby the sowre of their former dealings. Neither was the Bassa likewise for his part to seeke of good words, but an-

The Emperours embassadors honourably receiued by the Turks at Constantinople.

Presents giuen by the Emperors Embassadors to the great Bassa's.

ſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chiefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latine or Italian, according as the Embaſſadours had before vttered theirs: which parley ſo ended, certain of the chiefe of the Embaſſadors followers were admitted into the Diuano to kiſſe the proud Baſſa's hand. The ſame day the Embaſſadors alſo ſaluted *Partau* the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferrat* the third in order and authority. To *Partau* they preſented two cups of ſiluer all gilt, beſide a clocke of the ſame making with the afore named, and two thouſand dollars: and the like to *Ferrat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſa's, *Achomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, preſenting euery one of them with two faire cups and a thouſand dollars. Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſa's to *Selymus*, then lying at court with him, men that for wealth and authority went before all other in the Turkiſh empire, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appeare. And ſo hauing viſited them in generall, the Embaſſadors to ſet their affaires on foot, the fourth of September cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Eſtate-matters was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt conference, becauſe it was neceſſary before ſo weighty affaires were broached, firſt to do the Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the preſents, with the Emperors letters to him written; for ſome few daies there was not any point at all of the Embaſſadors buſineſſe handled.

Selymus not long after the Embaſſadors were arriued, went out for his diſport and pleaſure on hunting: ſo that in the mean time, after the preſents were giuen to the Baſſa's, matters ſtood ſtill altogether vnaduanced, vntill the 21 of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his diſport) it was appointed that the Embaſſadors ſhould haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers, of thoſe that ſhould attend vpon them, which were not in all aboue twelue perſons: for they to whom this charge was committed, ſaid it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great traine ſhould come before ſo great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon they appointed but ſix apiece to attend them; and of fifteen cups of ſiluer and gilt, being moſt curiouſly and cunningly engrauen, one of the faireſt among the reſt was giuen to each of thoſe twelue to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the reſt, that came after in order with the reſt of the Preſents; which was two exceeding pretious clocks, like in bigneſſe to them before giuen to the Baſſa's, but far aboue them in value; & 45000 dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpaied. The greateſt of thoſe cups was ſix ſpans and a halfe, and the leaſt two ſpans in height: ſome of them being double cups, after the high Dutch manner. The Embaſſadors (whoſe comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging (beſide many of the Spahi's and Chiauſi's, and others of good ſort (which were come to honor them with their preſence to the palace) putting themſelues in readineſſe betimes in the morning, and taking horſe ſet forward toward the court. The formoſt were they that did beare the preſents in their hands, the people of the city in euery ſtreet flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they paſſed: and verily there had beene ſeldome times ſeene the like embaſſage in thoſe parts: for beſides the fame that was blowne abroad in euery quarter, That they were men ſent from one of the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendome; the diuerſity of their attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the Majeſty of the Chriſtian Emperor to them that gazed vpon his Embaſſadors and their traine, the people conceiuing thereby, that he was lord and ruler ouer many prouinces and countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the Biſhop of Agria (the chief embaſſador) being attired in long & ſober garments of very fine purple cloath, hauing their ſhooes pieced ouer the ſoles with yron plates, and halfe their heads ſhauen, ſeemed to differ from them but little: but on the other ſide, the high Dutch attired in black, with their veluet caps, and ſhort cloaks laied with ſiluer lace, & long breeches little leſſe than Rutter wiſe, and chaines of gold about their necks, appeared very ſtrange & vncouth to the Turkiſh people: ſo accompanied in this honorable wiſe, the embaſſadors entred the firſt gate of the great Turks palace. This gate is built of marble in moſt ſumptuous maner, & of a ſtately hight, with certain words of their language in the front therof ingrauen and gilt in marble. So paſſing thorow the baſe court, which hath on the right ſide very faire gardens, & on the left, diuers buildings ſeruing for other offices, with a little Moſchy, they came to the ſecond gate, where al ſuch as came in riding, muſt of neceſſity alight: here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at the ſecond gate, they came into a very large ſquare court, with buildings & galleries round about it, the kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with other

Preſents ſent vnto Selymus by the Emperour.

The Emperours embaſſadors honorably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

The firſt gate of the great Turks Palace.

The ſecond gate.

A other lodgings for ſuch as belonged to the court, and on the left hand likewiſe roomes deputed to like ſeruices. There are moreouer many halls and other roomes for reſort, where they ſit in counſel, handling and executing the publike affaires eirher of the court or of the empire, with othet matters, where the Baſſa's and other officers aſſemble together. Entring in at this ſecond gate in one part of the court, which ſeem'd rather ſome large ſtreet, they ſaw the whole company of the Solaches ſet in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwaies neere vnto the perſon of the great Turke, & ſeruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vſe high plumes of feathers, which are ſet bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there ſtood the Capitzi in like array, with black ſtaues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and warders of the gates of the palace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who
B ſtood in ranke likewiſe in another quarter. And beſides all thoſe, with many more that were out of order, as well of the court as of the common people, thoſe Knights of the court which accompanied the embaſſadors thither, with other great ones alſo of like degree, were marſhalled all in their ſeueral companies. And among the reſt, the Mutfaracha's, men of all nations and all religions (for their valour the only freemen which liue at their owne liberty in the Turkiſh empire) ſtood there apparelled in damaske, veluet, and cloath of gold, and garments of ſilke of ſundry kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it ſelfe, made a moſt braue and goodly ſhew well worth the beholding. In briefe, whether they were to be conſidered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their ſumptuous preſence, altogether with-
C out noiſe or rumor; they made the Embaſſadors and the reſt of their followers there preſent, eye-witneſſes both of their obedience, and of the great ſtate and royalty of the *Othoman* court. Paſſing through them, the Embaſſadors were led into the hall, where the Baſſa's & other great men of the court were all ready to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the ſame time brought into a roome that ſtood apart vnder one of the aforeſaid lodgings all hung with Turky carpets. Soone after (as their vſe and maner is) they brought in their dinner, coue-
A homely feaſt giuen to the embaſſadors Followers in the Turks court.
ring the ground with table-cloathes of a great length ſpred vpon carpets, and afterward ſcatte-
ring vpon them a maruelous number of wooden ſpoons, with ſo great ſtore of bread, as if they had bin to feed 300 perſons: then they ſet on meat in order, which was ſerued in 42 great platters of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, ſome of
D them ſeaſoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; ſome with ſoure milke, and white of colour; and ſome with ſugar: they had fritters alſo, which were made of like batter; and mutton beſide, or rather a dainty and toothſome morſell of an old ſodden Ewe. The table (if there had any ſuch bin) thus furniſhed, the gueſts without any ceremony of waſhing, ſate downe on the ground (for ſtooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen diſhes, water prepared with ſugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But ſo hauing made a ſhort repaſt, they were no ſooner riſen vp, but certain young men, whom they call Giamoglans, with others that ſtood round about them, ſnatcht it haſtily vp as their fees, and like greedy harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embaſſadors in the meane time dined in the hall with the Baſſa's. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were ſent for the twelue of
E the embaſſadors followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their Preſents being already conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an aſcent into the hall, where the Baſſa's were ſtaying for the Embaſſadors: who ſoone after came forth, and for their eaſe ſat them downe vpon the benches, whileſt the Baſſa's went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of dinner, and was remoued in all his royalty, into one of his chambers, expe-
cting the comming of the Embaſſadors. All things now in readineſſe, and the Embaſſadors ſent for, they ſet forward with their traine, and came to the third gate, which leadeth into the *The third gate.*
priuy palace of the Turkiſh Emperor, where none but himſelfe, his eunuchs, & the yong pages his minions, being in the Eunuchs cuſtody, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of
F the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Baſſa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the Ceſigniers (that ſerue in the Turks meat) with the Baſſa's and ſome few other great men; and that only when they haue occaſion ſo to do by reaſon of ſome great buſines, or ſent for by the Sultan. Being entred in at this gate, which is of a ſtately and royall building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted ſuddenly cauſed them to ſtay, & ſet them one from another about

fiue paces,in a little roome,which neuertheleſſe was paſſing delicate,al curiouſly painted ouer G
with diuers colours,and ſtood between the gate and the more inner lodgings.On both ſides of
which roome,when all things els were whiſt & in a deep ſilence, certain little birds only were
heard to warble out their ſweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the greene trees of the gar-
dens(which al along caſt a pleaſant ſhadow from them)as if they alone had obtained licence to
make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelfe was in great majeſty ſet in an vnder chamber, parted only with
a wall from the roome wherein the Embaſſadours followers attended, whereinto he might
looke through a little window, the portall of his ſaid chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with
The Embaſſadors brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of thē and their followers. the third gate aboue mentioned. The Embaſſadors entring in,were led ſingle,and one after a-
nother,to make their reuerence vnto the great Turke. And in the mean time certain of the Ca-
pitzi with the Preſents in their hands fetching a compaſſe about before the window, muſtered H
them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the world being raiſed, but a ſacred ſi-
lence kept in euery corner,as if men had bin going to viſit the holieſt place in Ieruſalem.Yet
for all that,the embaſſadors followers placed one from another(as is aforeſaid)were not aware
that the great Sultan was ſo neere,looking ſtill when they ſhould haue bin led on forwards all
together: howbeit they were fet in one after another, neither did they that were ſo fet out,re-
turn again into the roome,but hauing ſeuerally done their reuerence,were all(except the Em-
baſſadors,that ſtill ſtaid in the chamber)by one and one ſent out another way into the court:
neither could he that came after,ſee his fellow that went before him, after he was once taken
in to do his reuerence:but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduanced forward
to the doore,where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa and the Odda-Baſſa,taking him by both arms and I
by the necke,the one at the right hand,and the other at the left,& ſo leading him apace,by the
way ſoftly felt his wriſts with their hands,leſt peraduenture he might haue ſome ſhort weapon
Itineratio Di. Marc.Antonio Pigafetta.ca,5. in his ſleeue.Yet were they not all thus groped,as *Marc. Antonio Pigafetta* (the reporter of this
negotiation)ſaith of himſelfe and ſome others alſo.Howbeit this hath bin,and yet is the man-
ner of giuing of acceſſe vnto the perſon of the Great Turke, euer ſince that *Amurath* the firſt
was after the battel of Caſſoua murdred by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men;who admitted to
his preſence, in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his Maſter, with a ſhort poinard that he had
cloſely hidden about him,ſo ſtabbed him in the belly, that he preſently died. And thus like
men rather carried to priſon by ſergeants, than to the preſence of ſo mighty a Monarch, they
were preſented vnto his Majeſty: he ſitting vpon a pallet, which the Turks call Maſtabe, vſed K
by them in their chambers to ſleepe and to feed vpon,couered with carpets of ſilke, as was the
whole floore of the chamber alſo.The chamber it ſelfe being not very great,was but darke, al-
together without windows,excepting that one whereof we haue before ſpoken,and hauing the
wals painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and liuely colours by great cunning,and with a moſt de-
licat grace:yet vſe they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The ſix
Viſier Baſſa's before mentioned,were ſtanding at the left hand as they entred in at the chamber
dore,one by another in one ſide of the chamber,and the Embaſſadors on the right hand on the
other ſide ſtanding likewiſe,& vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the cham-
ber,neere the place where the Sultan ſat gorgeouſly attired in a robe of cloth of gold all em-
broidred with jewels: when as the Embaſſadors followers by one & one brought before him, L
(as is aforeſaid)and kneeling on the ground,a Turke ſtanding on his right hand,with all reue-
rence taking vp the hem of his garment,gaue it them in their hands to kiſſe.*Selymus* himſelf al
this while ſitting like an image without mouing,and with a great ſtate and majeſty keeping his
countenance,dained not to giue them one of his looks.This done,they were led back again,ne-
uer turning their backs towards him,but going ſtill backwards vntill they were out of his pre-
ſence. So after they had all thus made their reuerence,& were departed out of the chamber,the
Embaſſadors deliuered vnto *Selymus* the Emperors letters, and briefly declared vnto him their
meſſage:whom he anſwering in foure words,as,That they were to confer with his Baſſa's;pre-
ſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on
horſebacke, and took ethe way toward their lodging, being at their return accompanied with M
the whole order of the Ianizaries,with their Aga & other captains:among whom were certain
of their religious men called Haagi (which vſe to follow the Ianizaries)who continually tur-
ning about,and in their going,ſinging or rather howling out certaine Pſalmes and praiers for
the welfare of their Great Sultan; gaue the Embaſſadours and their followers occaſion to

wonder,

A wonder, that they either left not for wearineſſe, or fell not downe like noddies for giddineſſe. All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompany the embaſſadors to their lodging: and beſide theſe, many more on horſebacke that attended them at their forth comming: in regard whereof, the embaſſadors when they were come to their lodging, to requite their greedy courteſie, franckly diſtributed amongſt them aboue foure thouſand dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The Embaſſadors after this entertainment at court, had diuers times conference with the great Baſſa's concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commanded: wherin by reaſon of the Turks vnreaſonable demands (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded: ſo that *Selymus* himſelfe being ſhortly after to depart for Hadrianople, where he was
B to continue for ſome moneths (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon a point of great conſequence) the treaty for peace was intermitted, vntill ſuch time as a meſſenger diſpatched in poſt, might return vnto the Turks court, with ſome reſolute anſwer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the reigne of the late Emperour *Ferdinand*, that the Turke his ſubjects in Hungary paied all their taxes and tributes vnto their old Lords and maſters, abiding and liuing in the Emperors juriſdiction, as did the ſubjects of *Ferdinand*, to their lords that dwelt in the Turkes dominion and territories: now in this treaty for peace, the Turks (amongſt other their vnreaſonable requeſts) demanded to haue their ſubjects freed, and yet the ſubjects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a requeſt nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſſe prejudiciall and hurtful vnto the Emperor his ſub-
C jects in Hungary: for which cauſe the Embaſſadors would not by any meanes conſent thereunto, before they knew the Emperors farther pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of Mantua, very skilfull in the Turkiſh language and in ſuch like affaires, by reaſon that as well about this buſineſſe, as at diuers times before about other the like, he had beene emploied from Vienna to Conſtantinople in the Emperours ſeruice. So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *Viz.* the twentieth of October, departing from Conſtantinople, in great magnificence paſſed by the gate where the Embaſſadors lay, with his whole court in armes, and in the ſame order that is vſually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great journey. After whoſe departure the embaſſadors hauing ſufficiently viewed the city of Conſtantinople, and then at good leiſure, to paſſe the time and to ſee the countries they had ſo of-
D ten both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both ſides that narrow ſea which diuideth Europe from Aſia; embarking themſelues, & croſſing the mouth of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, paſſed all along ſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, vnto the Euxine or blacke ſea, and ſo backe againe by the other ſide of that ſtreight ſea: curiouſly noting the great ruins of the antient city of Bythinia, with ſome others along ſt the Aſian ſhore, together with the pleaſant ſcituation they in former times had, whileſt they yet flouriſhed in their glory, but now for moſt part (or rather altogether) laid in the duſt and brought to nought: and ſo returned againe to Conſtantinople. But whileſt they thus deceiued the time, and lay long expecting the returne, as well of their owne meſſenger ſent vnto the Emperour, as of *Selymus* himſelfe: they were aduertiſed in all haſte to repaire vnto him to Hadrianople, whether the
E aforeſaid meſſenger was now come with full inſtructions of all things concerning the treaty for peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelues ready, and taking their leaue of *Piall Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at Conſtantinople) ſet forward the firſt of Ianuary in the yeare 1568; and ſo after nine daies trauell, at length 1568
arriued at Hadrianople about an hundred fifty three Italian miles diſtant from Conſtantinople. Here they ſtaied vntill the peace was concluded, which was the ſeuenteenth of Februa-
ry: the chiefe capitulations wherof were, That either of thoſe great Princes ſhould ſtill hold what they had got each from the other in the late wars: That the Emperor ſhould yearely pay thirty thouſand duckats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a tribute for Hungary, the tribute to begin in the beginning of Ianuary laſt paſt this yeare 1568: That the ſubjects of the Turks ſhould
F pay nothing to the ſubjects of the Emperour, neither the Emperours any thing to the Turks, but to be both of thoſe paiments free. And that vpon theſe conditions there ſhould be a firme and ſure peace betwixt thoſe two great Monarchs for eight yeares next following: wherein the Vayuod of Tranſyluania was (as the Turks tributary) to be alſo comprehended. Neuertheleſſe, all things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turks after their ſubtile manner finding

The principall point wherupon the embaſſadors differed from the Turks in the treaty of peace.

The chiefe capitulations wherupon a peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the Emperor, & Selymus.

ſundry

ſundry cauillations,and raiſing many doubts about the aforeſaid capitulations,did what they might to haue in ſome part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of themſelues and the hurt of the Chriſtians:and ſo with many their vnreaſonable demands ſtayed the departure of the embaſſadors vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time hauing their diſpatch,and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Baſſa's,accompanied with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embaſſador vnto the Emperour) they by land returned towards Vienna; where they with the joyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the court moſt honourably receiued. And fiue daies after,audience was giuen vnto the Turks Embaſſador; who well heard and better rewarded, ſhortly after returned with a full concluſion of peace from the Emperour, to Conſtantinople. G

Embaſſadours ſent from Tamas the Perſian king,to Selymus

But whileſt this peace was thus in concluding,and the embaſſadors yet reſident at Hadrianople, the ſixteenth of February came an honourable embaſſage from *Shach Tamas* the Perſian King,vnto the great Sultan *Selymus*, to intreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the ſame, being before agreed vpon the controuerſies, for which they afterwards fell to open war. Which embaſſage for that it is no leſſe truly than plainely ſet downe in a letter ſent from Erzirum (a city then in the confines of the Turks dominions towards the Perſians) written by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes;which Chiaus was of purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople, to meet the ſaid Perſian embaſſador: I thought it not amiſſe for the better vnderſtanding thereof,to ſet downe the effect of the ſame letter as it was tranſlated out of the Turkiſh into the Italian by the Emperors embaſſadors interpreter. H

I

The effect of the Letter written to *Muhamet Baſſa*, the chiefe Viſier, by a Chiaus ſent of purpoſe to meet the Perſian Embaſſadour.

*After due ſalutations, this is the effect of that which wee thought good to make knowne vnto your Lordſhip. Now at this preſent (to wit in the beginning of the moneth Giuma Sulacchir) is in good health ariued the Embaſſador of Perſia, the Kings chiefe counſellour, called** Schach Culi Soltan, *attended vpon with a hundred ond twenty Gentlemen, with guilt Turbants on their heads, and well furniſhed with ſpare horſes led in mens hands. Beſides whom he was accompanied alſo with two hundred knights all apparelled in cloath of gold, with foure hundred Perſian Merchants, in all aboue ſeuen hundred perſons; with a thouſand nine hundred beaſts, Camels, Mules, and Horſes; fiue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a ſeuerall Camell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other inſtruments, in all about thirty muſitions, playing vpon theſe inſtruments: There were alſo two Choriſters or chaunters of the Alcaron, one Organiſt, one playing vpon a Turkiſh inſtrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other muſitions, eight in all. There were alſo foure bondwomen ſeruing in the Embaſſadors own chamber. Who when he was with all this magnificent pompe come within one daies journey of Erzirum, the* **Sayms and Spahies aſſembling themſelues together to the number of eight thouſand men, went to meet him: amongſt whom were an hundred more, all apparelled in cloath of Gold and Sattin: two thouſand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauery we marching forward, the Perſian Embaſſadour amazed to ſee ſo great majeſty and pompe, ſaid, that all the army of Conſtantinople was come to meet him: and ſo being come into the city, cauſed all the inſtruments to be plaied vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning, the Embaſſador inuited the Baſſa with all the Lords and officers; who being come, he entreated them to heare his muſicke: and in like manner the Lord Baſſa inuited the Perſians. But as the Embaſſadour was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought vnto the ſame Embaſſador a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he cauſed him to put on by the way. By this Embaſſadour the Perſian King hath ſent all the armour of Sultan* Bajazet, *with all his Camels and other wealth. The cauſes of the long ſtay of this Embaſſadour were ſpecially two: the one for that the Perſian King had cauſed to be made two pauilions of one piece, the curtanes being interlaced with gold, and the ſupporters imbroidered with the ſame: beſides this, he ſent two bookes of Hiſtories, and two Pearles, which in weight weighed ten* * *Meſcaly: one Balaſſo as big as a little Pearle; foureſcore and two times an hundred* * *Tumenlich of ſtuffe, amounting to foureſcore and two ſummes of Aſpers, and forty Falcons: all which the Perſian King hath ſent vnto the Great Sultan, as to the only Monarch and Patron of the World. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authority to the King, and ſo was in the* K L M

* *Schach Culi Soltan, was not the proper name of this embaſſador, but a title of honour, and ſignifieth as much as a prince ſeruant to the King.*

* *Sayms are ſoldiers of greater honor than the Spahi, hauing for their ſtipend yearely 2000 Aſpers at the leaſt, out of the reuenues of certaine Townes and villages.*

* *A Meſcali is foure drams.*
* *Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turks after.*

time

A *time of great King* Hysmael. *These two Persian Sultans are the Kings chiefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore set themselues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithstanding all their brauery, being come to Erzirum within the view of our army, the Persians were amased to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of the Persians are returned againe into Persia. And if it please God, at the comming of my messenger vnto you, your Lordship shall vnderstand of what condition and state these two Princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely six Tumoni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *six thousand Aspers. Your Lordship after this account may judge of the rest. The other cause of the long stay of this Embassadour, was for that in Syruan the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were slaine: to the appeasing of which sedition, this* Schach Culy *was sent, and now at last is come. From Erzirum in the beginning in the moneth of* * *Giuma Sulacchir, in the yeare* * December.
B *of the Prophet* Mahomet, 975.

This the Persian embassador was with the greatest pomp that might be entertained by the Turks at his first comming to Hadrianople, al the braue courtiers with the Ianizaries & other souldiers of the court going forth in most seemely order to meet him. Who now entred the city, and come before the house where the Emperours Embassadors then lay, and seeing certain of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Isnam* the Capitzi Bassa, what people they were; who told them that they were the followers of an Embassador that there lay, sent from one of the greatest Princes of the Christians, namely, the Emperor, who was desirous to make peace with the great Sultan his master. Whereunto the Embassador replied, that he would willing-
C ly salute them: which *Isnam* hearing, streight way turned his horse towards the place where they stood. Now the Emperors embassador being secret within a lettice, & seeing them come towards him, went forth and stood vpon the doore threshold, and so with signes and words saluted one another. Among the others the Persian embassador said vnto the Emperors, That he would gladly talke with him, if it might so please the grand Seignior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors embassadors, being interpreter. So hauing courteously saluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two daies after, the Persian embassadors (according to the manner of that barbarous nation, who with empty hands salute not one another) by his Checaia or steward of his household, presented all the Visier Bassa's with diuers rich gifts and presents, euery one of them according to their degrees & places: and
D the day after went himself to visit them; where by the way fel out a strange matter, like enough to haue cost him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embassador was going to visit *Muhamet* the chief of the Visier Bassa's for the first) meeting him, shot at him with an harquebuse, with purpose to haue slain him; but as God would, missed him, and hurt but one of his chiefe followers in the arme. Wherwith the embassador not a little dismaid, as supposing himselfe to haue bin betraied, turning his horse, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Bassa in the mean time hauing knowledge therof, presently sent out men to guard him, and to excuse himselfe of the fact. Whereof the embassador being assured, held on his way. In the meane space, the fellow who shot the harquebuse, being apprehended, was brought before the Embassador and the Bassa; who asking him for what cause he discharged the shot against the embassador?
E he without change of countenance boldly answered, That he did it for no other cause but for that the embassador was an heretick, and sent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient he should come to intreat of peace with his lord; adding further, that he was not worthy of any peace. Which the Bassa hearing, adjudged the desperat villain the next day to be drawn at an horse taile thorow the city, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Persian embassador the 22 of the same moneth went to deliuer the presents sent from his master vnto the grand Seignior, and to kisse his hand: sending first before him the Presents vpon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Persia, and the other ten his owne. The
F Kings Presents was an Alcoran, with the authority of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their custome, alwaies to present one such Alcoran vnto the Princes to whom they send their Embassadours. It was couered with gold, and garnished with most pretious stones. He presented also a booke of Histories, couered as the other: he gaue also a box, wherein was a very faire precious stone called Balasso, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatnesse, with two purses of an handfull long, full of jewels. Besides these, he presented also eight Firuari or Porcellaine

The Persian embassadour honourably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople.

The Persian embassador in going to visit Muhamet the Visier Bassa, in danger to haue been slaine.

The rich presents sent by the Persian King vnto Selymus.

dishes

dishes (which we call China dishes) made of most pure earth, kept aboue fifty yeres buried vnder the ground, to the end so to be fined and purified, which (as some say) wil milt and dissolue if any poison be put into them. He gaue also two most stately pauilions, 20 great carpets of silke, and many other lesser of silke and gold; also nine faire canopies to hang ouer the ports of their pauilions, things not vsed among the Christians. He gaue also nine very faire carpets of camels haire, nine saddles set with stones after the Persian fashion, seuen staues of siluer, seuen scimiters with red scaberts, seuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and pretious stone; he presented also many other carpets called Teftich, made of the finest lawne, and so large, that seuen men could scarcely carry one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way. The presents which the Embassadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, were also these: an Alcoran, a pauilion faire and large, certaine scimiters, bowes and arrowes richly garnished, with certain carpets of silk, and Camels haire. After which presents so deliuered, & reuerence don vnto the great Sultan by the embassador, and thirty of his followers al in cloth of gold, he returned to his lodging, very honorably accompanied, as well by the Turks as them of his own retinue. First besides many others, there were a great company of the Spahies and Chiausies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horses, well furnished & in decent order: here might a man haue seene store of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, & other kinds of silke. After these there followed about three hundred Persian horsemen, apparelled after their manner, some with gownes made of diuers little pieces of taffata of sundry colors, representing the pictures of men, women, horses, and other beasts; and some of them imbroidered with floures and fruits of sundry sorts; some had also gownes of cloth of gold, but not so faire as the Turks; and some of veluet, but very few of cloth; for that the Persians had no great plenty either of veluet or yet of cloth, except such as they haue from the Portingals that trauel into those Eastern countries; yet of silk & wool it appeareth they haue great plenty, most part of their gowns being of wooll quilted with bombast. After these horsemen followed many Persian footmen, peraduenture all seruants; after whom came the Turkish horsemen; and last of al came a horse of the embassador led by a Persian; after which horse followed 200 Ianizaries: and in the rereward of all came the embassador alone, gorgiously attired both himselfe and his horse. He himselfe was inuested with crimson veluet, mingled with some other colors: his saddle and bridle were all bedeckt with jewels: the caparison of his horse, was all imbroidered with Turquoies and other pretious stones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call Meteuenchia) was altogether wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones: in briefe, vpon euery part of his body hanged jewels of great price. After the Embassadour, followed about 140 Persian horsemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, some well, some ill, according to their ability. Now although the Persians (as is to be thought) shewed all their pomp, yet they made nothing so faire a shew as did the Turks; neither are they so faire men of complexion, being for the most part of a swart and browne color, and rather little men than otherwise, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embassador being departed, the Presents were all brought and shewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary charges 500 ducats a day, for that indeed their number was great and their beasts many. These expences bestowed vpon the embassadors, do presently begin as soone as any of them enter into his dominions; and end, so soone as the businesse for which they come is finished. But long it was not, but that this embassador hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamas* and *Selymus*, & dispatched such matters as he came for, returned home again into Persia. The Venetians also now at this same time, by their embassadors sought to renue the league they had made with the great Turke, now expired: which as it was easily obtained, so was it of small assurance; *Selymus* the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raising new wars, to the great hurt and disturbance of that State, as shall forthwith appeare.

The Embassadours present to Selymus.

An honourable allowance.

1569 *Selymus* now at peace with all the World (a thing of the Turks not much desired) began to thinke of workes of charity: and purposing to build a magnificent temple at Hadrianople for his owne sepulture, with a Monastery, a Colledge, and an Almes-house (as had his father, and other his ancestours before him at Prusa and Constantinople, led thereunto with a vaine and superstitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endow the same with lands and reuenues sufficient for the maintenance of so great a charge: for that the Mahometan Kings, are by their superstition prohibited to conuert any lands or possessions

to

A to ſuch holy vſes, other than ſuch as they haue with their owne ſword won from the enemies of their religion, which they may (as they are perſuaded) as a moſt acceptable ſacrifice, offer to their great Prophet: which diueliſh perſuaſion ſerueth as a ſpur to pricke forward euery of thoſe ambitious Princes to adde ſomething to their Empire. This his deuout purpoſe once knowne, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuiſing ſome one thing, ſome another, as they thought beſt fitted his humor. But amongſt many things to him preſented, none pleaſed him ſo well, as the plot laid for the taking of the rich Iſland of Cyprus from the Venetians: a conqueſt of it ſelfe ſufficient, both for the eterniſing of his name, and performance of his own charitable works intended; with a large ouerplus, for the ſupplying of whatſoeuer wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at Conſtantinople. But that which moued him moſt
B of all, was the glory of ſuch a conqueſt, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equall with any his predeceſſors; who in the beginning of their reigne, had vſually done or attempted ſome notable thing againſt the Chriſtians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus* propounded to the great Baſſaes to be conſidered of: without whoſe aduiſe and counſell, the Turkiſh Emperors ſeldome or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongſt theſe graue counſellors, *Muhamet* the chiefe Viſier Baſſa, a man of greateſt authority (vnto whom *Selymus* was beholden, that he had ſo quietly obtained the empire) and a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, ſeemed much to miſlike of that motion, perſuading *Selymus* not to yeeld thereunto: alledging beſide the danger and vncertainty of the expedition, that his father *Solyman* at the time of his death had charged him ſtreitly, that the league with the Venetians ſhould be religiouſly kept,
C and that he could not with his honour without juſt cauſe ſo quickly breake the league, which he himſelfe had but a little before moſt ſolemnly confirmed. But *Muſtapha* the ſecond Baſſa, ſometime *Selymus* his tutor, and therfore of him much honoured, with *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall (both enuying at the great honor of the Viſier Baſſa) ſo mightily impugned that he had before ſaid, and ſo importuned *Selymus* with the ſhew both of honor and profit attending that action, as alſo with the eaſineſſe therof (a great part of the Venetian Arſenall being but a little before burnt, and their forces much weakned) that he rejected the counſell of *Muhamet*, calling him in his choler, Chriſtian (which among the Mahometans is a word of no ſmal diſgrace:) and yeelding wholly to the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* and *Piall*, preſently cauſed preparation to be made both by ſea and land, for the performance of that his reſolution. Which was not ſo couertly
D carried in the Turks court, but that it was diſcouered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian embaſſador; and not without cauſe ſuſpected by the Venetian Merchants, whom the barbarous Turks began now to cut ſhort in their trafficke, looking big vpon them, as men ſuddenly changed, and euill intreated them with hard ſpeeches, the vndoubted ſignes of greater troubles to enſue. The Venetian Embaſſador now out of doubt of the Turks purpoſe for the inuaſion of Cyprus, came vnto *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, complaining of the breach of the league: and putting him in mind of the fidelity of the Venetian State toward the Turkiſh Emperour; requeſting him, that *Selymus* might not make too much haſt to begin that war, which would ſet all Europe on a broile; but rather by his embaſſadors firſt to declare his mind to the Senat, for that ſo it might haply come to paſſe, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parts without
E war. Which the politicke Embaſſador requeſted not of the Baſſa for any hope he had to auert the war, for which the Turke had now all things in readineſſe, but only by ſuch an hope of compoſition, to hinder the Turks endeauors, & to win time, vntil that the State (being fully certified of all theſe matters) might make ready their fleet and forces, and ſo in armes be ready to anſwere their armed foes: neither did he euer leaue the Baſſa, vntill he had by his meanes procured, that one *Cubates* ſhould be ſent Embaſſador to Venice, to proue the minds of the Senators, whether they would willingly deliuer the Iſland, or aduenture to haue it taken from them by force. Theſe things and ſuch like as were then done at Conſtantinople, being by Letters ſent in poſt from the Embaſſadour, made knowne at Venice, brought a generall heauineſſe vpon the city: for why, that vnderſtanding and prouident State, warned by their
F former harmes, of all others moſt dread the Turks forces. *Cubates* the Embaſſadour accompanied with *Aloyſius Barbarus* the Embaſſadors ſonne, and *Bonricius* his Secretary, departing from Conſtantinople, came by long journies to Raguſium, where *Angelus Surianus* ſent from Venice to meet him, was ready to receiue him; who being taken into his gally, brought him to Venice.

Muhamet Baſſa diſſuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus.

Selymus ſendeth Cubates his embaſſador to Venice.

In

In the mean time the Senators ſitting oftentimes in counſell, were diuided in opinions concerning the chiefe matter they conſulted vpon: ſome there were, that thought it not good to wage war againſt ſuch an inuincible enemy, nor to truſt vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of ſuch fortune as was vnto them in that war by the enemy propounded: they alledged, That they had alwaies vnfortunatly taken vp armes againſt the Turks, and that therefore they ſhould ſet before their eies, what harmes they had ſuffered, and how that beſide the loſſes already ſuſtained, they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres loſt ſomething more: that it were better to part with Cyprus, ſo that they might quietly injoy the reſt, rather than to enter into armes: Time they ſaid, would at length giue them ſome one fit occaſion or other to recouer that they had loſt, and to reſtore their ſtate vnto their former honour; which for the preſent, was aboue their power to maintaine: To put their truſt in their confederats (they ſaid) was but to deceiue themſelues: they ſhould remember how often euen ſmall cauſes of falſe ſuſpition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly fruſtrated and broken in ſunder the moſt ſolemne capitulations of the ſtrongeſt leagues: how often deſtruction had come thence from whence ayd was alwaies to haue bin hoped for, they needed not to ſeeke farther for examples, than from their own domeſticall affaires. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Iſland was by force of armes to be defended: ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable, than without fight to depart with ſo notable a part of their ſeigniory; neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no aſſured league could be made (as they ſaid) hold themſelues content with this yeelding vp of the Iſland, but by intreating of them and giuing them way, become more inſolent: and when they had taken Cyprus from them, would alſo ſeeke after Creet & Corcyra, and ſo yeelding them one thing after another, ſpoile themſelues of all together: Ambitious and greedy Princes (they ſaid) grew more bold and inſolent by other mens feare: and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merry endings: that the fauor and good will of that inſatiable and greedy nation, was not to be gained but with ſo great loſſe and charge as that ſuch a coſtly piece would be much more hurtfull than war it ſelfe: beſide that, it much concerned other Chriſtian Princes to haue the Venetian State preſerued, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermoſt of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end reſolued vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, and by plaine force to withſtand the Turke.

Hard to truſt vpon confederations.

So when *Cubates* the Turks Embaſſadour came to Venice, neither did any man of curteſie meet him, neither was any honor done vnto him, or ſo much as common courteſie ſhewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat houſe with his two interpreters only, he deliuered *Selymus* his letters, incloſed in a little bag wrought with ſilke and gold; and ſo whilſt the ſame letters were in breaking vp, and tranſlating out of the Turkiſh language into Italian, deliuered alſo his meſſage by word of mouth, as followeth:

The Turks embaſſador homely entertained at Venice.

Cubates the Turks embaſſadors ſpeech in the Senate at Venice.

What greae account the mighty Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwaies made of your moſt honourable friendſhip, is therein right well declared; that in the very entrance of himſelfe into his Empire, he forthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which he hath on his part alwaies kept moſt faithfully and vnuiolate; worthily grieuing the like kindeneſſe not to be ſhewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you; who by harbouring of Pyrats in your hauens, and murthering of his ſubiects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which injuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged; yet hath he, ſo mighty a monarch, hitherto beene alwaies more mindfull of your honour and friendſhip, than of his owne majeſty and profit. But foraſmuch as there is no end of theſe injuries and wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbeare, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardiſe than courteſie, as alſo that it much more concerneth your ſtate than him, and that therefore you ought no leſſe than he to deſire, that all cauſes of vnkindneſſe might be cut off, and order taken, that in ſo great and mutuall good will, there ſhould be no falling out by new quarrels dayly ariſing: the only remedy thereof is, if you ſhall deliuer vnto him the Iſland of Cyprus, the cauſe of all theſe grieuances. Now it beſeemeth you for your great wiſedome, to make ſmall reckoning of ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the fauour of ſo great a Prince; which if you willingly of your ſelues yeeld vnto him, you ſhall right wiſely prouide for your affaires, and haue him ſo great a

monarch

A *monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: whereas if you shall shew your selues obstinate, and not to yeeld to this his so small a request, his purpose is, by strong hand not only to take from you the Island, the cause of the war, but also to prosecute you with most cruell war both by sea and land. And therupon I take God to witnesse, all the blame of the calamities to ensue of so mortall a war, to be imputed vnto your selues, as the worthy reward of your wilfulnesse and breach of faith.*

Which said, he in the name of *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa told the Senatours, That he was right sory that this breach was fallen out betwixt the Emperor *Selymus* and them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wisely consider of all things; yet he could
B not for the good will he bare vnto them, but admonish them of such things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholesome: and therefore did most instantly request them, and withall aduise them, not to enter into armes against so mighty a Prince, neither wilfully to plunge themselues into such dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their strength was nothing answerable vnto his, and that the euent of that war would be vnto them deadly: and therefore he tooke God and the loue that he bare vnto them to witnesse, that he had in friendly sort forewarned them of their harms, and aduised them for their good. Giuing them further to vnderstand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out most cruell threats against their State; which his indignation was raised of the manifold complaints brought against them to his court at Constantinople.

C *Selymus* his letters answerable to his Embassadours speech, was also full of false surmised grieuances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike maner entred into the frontiers of his Empire in Dalmatia, and there had don great harme; that they had put to death certain Turkish pyrats whom they had taken aliue: that the Island of Cyprus was an harbor for the pyrats of the West; and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, & surprised his subjects trauelling that way for deuotion vnto the Temple of Mecha, or otherwise about their affaires. And that therefore those causes of discord might be taken away, and the hinderance of trafficke remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the Island of Cyprus: which if they refused to do, he would by force of armes take it from them; and by force of strong hand cause them to do that which they might the better haue done frankly and of their owne accord; and
D further, to make them vnderstand how far the Turks did excell all other men in martial prowesse. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he said he had renewed the same, not because he had auy liking thereunto, but because he had as then set downe with himselfe, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peaceably to endure all things.

The effect of Selymus his letters to the Venetians.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embassadours errand before his comming, hauing now read his Letters, gaue him such answer as they had before resolued vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at al times inuiolably kept their leagues with the *Othoman* Emperors, and had in regard thereof let slip many opportunities and fit occasions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themselues, haue destroied the Turks fleet both at the Rhodes and Malta, and other places also; but that they more re-
E garded their honour; and alwaies thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themselues. And therfore had dissembled and put vp many grieuous and bitter indignities, lest they might be thought to haue first broken the league: That they had neuer passed their owne bounds, or inuaded the Turks; only to haue taken order, that no pyrats should at their pleasure roame vp and downe the seas. Now whereas all duties being on their parts sincerely and most religiously kept; *Selymus* complained himselfe to be wronged, whereas he himselfe had done the wrong, and had contrary to the league, denounced war against them, expecting nothing lesse: sithence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of armes defend that Kingdome, which they by antient and lawfull right possessed, deliuered vnto them by
F their Ancestors. That God, in whose helpe they trusted, would weigh in indifferent balance, all mens words and deeds; whom they tooke to witnesse, that they were the authors of peace, and *Selymus* the cause of warre: and that the same God would be now present vnto their just complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them, which falsifying their faith and promise giuen, and violating the sacred league, had enforced them to take vp

The answer of the Venetians to the Turkes demands.

moſt juſt and neceſſary armes, which they would with the ſame courage mannage, that they had taken them in hand. G

The Turks Embaſſadour ſent away in ſecret from Venice.

With this anſwer the Embaſſador departed, let out by a ſecret poſtern, for feare of the people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number aſſembled to the Court gate, muttering among themſelues, that it were wel don to rend in pieces that accurſed Turke, the meſſenger of his faithleſſe Maſter. Which outrage it was thought they would in their fury haue performed, had not ſuch as by the commandement of the magiſtrats garded him, better aſſured him of his ſafety, than either regard of duty or the law of nations; he by the way as he went ſtill ſtorming, and ſwearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that ſo great an indignity reuenged.

The reſolution of the Senat for war diuerſly liked, and diſliked of others.

This anſwer of the Senat vnto the Turks Embaſſador concerning war, was of ſome well liked and highly commended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed it too ſharpe, liking of nothing that was ſaid or don to the further incenſing of the Turkiſh Emperor: being of opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by curteſie, than by rigor. As for the decreed war, they vtterly diſliked, foraſmuch as all wars were wofull, but eſpecially thoſe that were to be maintained againſt them that are too ſtrong for vs. In ſuch diuerſitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat ſhould of that ſo honorable a decree reap ſuch commendation, as the euent therof ſhould afford (than which nothing is more vnreaſonable:) if things fell out well, then was it wiſely and worthily done; if otherwiſe, then was it like to be reputed a fooliſh, a raſh, and wofull reſolution. H

The greater the danger was now feared from the angry Turke, the more carefull were the Venetians of their State: wherefore they forthwith ſent meſſengers with letters vnto the Gouernors of Cyprus; charging them with all carefulneſſe and diligence to make themſelues ready to withſtand the Turke, and to raiſe what power they were able in the Iſland, not omitting any thing that might concerne the good of the ſtate: and at the ſame time made choiſe of their moſt valiant & expert captains both by ſea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence of their diſperſed Seigniory, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admirall, *Lucas Michael* was ſent into Creet, *Franciſcus Barbarus* into Dalmatia, *Sebaſtianus Venerius* into Corcyra, all men of great honour, experience and valour. Other meaner captains were alſo ſent with leſſe charge into the aforeſaid places, as *Eugenius Zinglitus* a noble gentleman with 1000 footmen into Cyprus, who had alſo the leading of all the horſemen in the Iſland: after whom County *Martinengus* promiſed to follow with 2000 footmen moe. I

The ſtrong cities were now by the Venetians in al places new fortified, armor, ordnance, and victuall prouided, aud whatſoeuer els they thought needfull for defence of their State. K

And for as much as they well knew they had to do with too mighty an enemy, they by their Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, earneſtly ſolicited moſt of the Chriſtian Princes to joyne with them in league, and to giue them aid againſt the common enemy, who as he was too ſtrong for any one of them, ſo were he not able to ſtand againſt their vnited forces.

The Emperour, the French king and the king of Polonia intangled with their leagues, refuſid to aid the Venetians againſt the Turks.

But the Emperor *Maximilian* excuſed himſelfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke for eight yeares, which he ſaid he might not breake: yet he had before his eies a moſt pregnant example, what ſmall reckoning the Turke made of his faith and league, which he without any juſt cauſe had broken with the Venetians. The like excuſe vſed alſo *Charles* the French King, and *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia; who both ſeemed to be very ſorry for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turke, but could not help them, for that they were in league with the Turkiſh Emperor. L

Neuertheleſſe the French King did them the curteſie, to offer himſelfe to be a mediator, if they ſo pleaſed, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The yong King of Portingall *Don Sebaſtian* pretended alſo for his excuſe the great plague which had but a little before raged in his kingdome, and much diminiſhed his people; as alſo that he was to maintaine wars by ſea againſt the Turks in the Eaſt-Indies, to the no leſſe benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, than if he ſhould aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean.

What Chriſtian Princes promiſed to aid the Venetians.

Only *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* king of Spaine, with certaine of the Princes of Italy; namely, *Philebert* Duke of Sauoy, *Guido Vbaldus* Duke of Vrbin, *Coſmus Medices* Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, promiſed them aid, which they afterward moſt honourably performed. M

Selymus of himſelfe angry with the Venetians, and firme in his reſolution for the conqueſt of Cyprus, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his Embaſſadors bad entertainment at Venice, further inraged: he deemed the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperor contemned, and himſelfe in the perſon

A perſon of his Embaſſador diſgraced: ſeeing that they whom he had thought would haue yeelded vnto any thing, rather than the league ſhould haue bin broken, had ſent him ſuch a ſhort anſwer, and ſo contemptuouſly vſed his embaſſador, vnto whom they had not afforded ſo much as common curteſie. It did not a little moue him alſo, that the Venetians had in their letters ſent by his embaſſador, omitted the glorious titles vſually giuen the Turkiſh Emperors: wherfore in ſome part to ſatisfie his angry mood, he cauſed *Marcus Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embaſſador, and all the Chriſtian Merchants of the Weſt thorowout his Empire, to be clapt vp in priſon, and their ſhips ſtaied vnder an arreſt. And ſetting all other things apart, ſet himſelfe wholly for the preparing of ſuch things as ſhould be needfull for the intended war.

But foraſmuch as the Iſland of Cyprus was the prey whereafter the greedy tyrant ſo much
B gaped, and for which tbe bloudy wars betwixt the Turke and the Venetians, with their Chriſtian confederats, preſently enſued; it ſhal not be from our purpoſe to ſpend a few words in the deſcribing thereof, as the ſtage whereon the bloudy tragedy following was as it were acted: as alſo how it came firſt into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them ſo long poſſeſſed (although it be in ſome part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the Great Turke, againſt all right injuriouſly demanded, & at length by ſtrong hand wreſted from them. This Iſland lies in the fartheſt part of the Cilician ſea: it hath on the Eaſt Siria, on the Weſt Pamphilia, Southward it regardeth Ægypt, and Northward Cilicia, now called Caramania. *The deſcription of Cyprus.* It is worthily accounted among the greateſt Iſlands of the Mediterranian, containing in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the deſcription of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth not
C aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton wooll, ſaffron, hony, roſin, turpentine, ſugar canes, and whatſoeuer els is needfull for the ſuſtentation of man, whereof it ſends forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe again. It was in antient time called *Macaria*, that is to ſay, bleſſed. The people therin generally liued ſo at eaſe and pleaſure, that thereof the Iſland was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there eſpecially worſhipped, & therof called Cypria. *Marcellinus* to ſhew the fertility thereof, ſaith, That Cyprus aboundeth with ſuch plenty of al things, that without the helpe of any other foraine country, it is of it ſelf able to build a tall ſhip from the keele to the top ſaile, and ſo put it to ſea furniſhed of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, ſaith, *Cyprus famoſa diuitijs paupertatem populi Romani, vt occuparetur ſolicitauit, ita vt jus ejus inſulæ auarius magis quam injuſtus ſimus aſſecuti: ſc.* Cy-
D prus famous for wealth, allured the pouerty of the people of Rome to lay hold vpon it, ſo that we haue rather couetouſly than juſtly got the Rule thereof. In the heart of the Iſland ſtandeth Nicoſia, ſometime the regall and late metropoliticall city thereof. And in the Eaſt end therof Famaguſta, ſometime called Tamaſſus, a famous rich city, the chiefe and only port of all that moſt pleaſant Iſland. Other faire cities there be alſo, as Paphos, Amathus (now called Limiſſo) and Cyrene. This Iſland of it ſelf long time maintained the majeſty of a kingdome, as then when *Richard* the firſt, King of England, paſſing that way with his fleet for the reliefe of the Chriſtians then diſtreſſed in the Holy land about the yere 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certain of his people by force of tempeſt there caſt on ſhore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly ſlaine or taken priſoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard* tooke in ſo euill part, *King Richard in England.*
E that he there by force landed his army, and reſted not vntill he had taken *Iſaac* the King priſoner, and ſubdued the Iſland. The king he ſent in chains of ſiluer to Tripolis, there to be kept in cloſe priſon; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not long after he gaue, or as ſome ſay exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of Ieruſalem: for which cauſe the Kings of England for certain time afterwards were honored with the title of the Kings of Ieruſalem. This kingdome by many diſcents came at length to *Ianus* ſon of King *Peter*, who in the yeare *How the Kingdome of Cyprus came to the Venetians.* 1231, was by *Melechel* a Sultan of Ægypt taken priſoner; but afterwards for the ranſome of 115000 Sultanins was ſet at liberty and reſtored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his ſucceſſors a yerely tribute of 40000 crownes. This *Ianus* left a ſon called *Iohn*, who after the death of his father maried the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-ferrat: after whoſe death,
F he married one *Helena* of the moſt noble houſe of the *Paleologi* in Græcia, by whom he had one only daughter called *Carlotte*; but by another woman a baſe ſon called *Iames*. This King *Iohn* was a man of no courage, altogether giuen to pleaſure, and according to the maner of his effœminat education, ſhewed himſelf in all things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman of a great ſpirit, quickly perceiuing, tooke vpon her the ſoueraignty and whole

gouernment of the Realme, gracing and diſgracing whom ſhe pleaſed, and promoting to the Eccleſiaſticall dignities ſuch as ſhe beſt liked; aboliſhing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greekes, and tooke ſuch further order as pleaſed her ſelfe in matters of ſtate concerning both peace and warre; her husband in the meane time regarding nothing but his vaine pleaſure: wherby it came to paſſe that all was brought into the power of the Greeks the queenes friends. Now the queene her ſelfe was much ruled by the counſell of her nurſe, and the nurſe by her daughter: ſo that the people would commonly ſay, The daughter ruled the nurſe, the nurſe the queene, and the queene the king. The nobility aſhamed and weary of this manner of gouernment, by generall conſent of the people, ſent for *Iohn* the king of Portingals couſin german (whom ſome call the king of Portingall) to whom they gaue *Carlotte* the kings daughter in marriage, with full power to ſupply that want of gouernment which was in king *Iohn* his father in law. He taking the authority into his hands, quickly reformed the diſordred kingdome, as well in matters concerning religion, as ciuile policy. The Latine ceremonies were againe reſtored, and the gouernment of the daughter, the nurſe, and the Queene, brought to an end. But the miſchieuous daughter doubting the countenance of the yong king perſuaded her mother, as ſhe tendred her own life, to poiſon the King. Which thing the wretched woman (by the conſent of the queene mother, as was reported) in ſhort time performed, and ſo brought that noble prince, wel worthy longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the gouernment was again reſtored vnto the Greeke queen, who in the name of her weake husband commanded again at her pleaſure. But aboue all, the nurſe and the daughter inſulted vpon the yong queene *Carlotte*: which ſhe not well brooking, grieuouſly complained thereof to *Iames* her baſe brother, requiring his helpe for redreſſe thereof: who not long after ſlew the nurſes daughter, not ſo much in reuenge of the wrong by her done vnto his ſiſter, as to prepare a way for himſelfe for the obtaining of the kingdome: grieuing inwardly, that ſhe or her husband ſhould be preferred before himſelfe. Which thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiuing, perſuaded the King her husband to cauſe his baſe ſon to enter into the order of prieſthood, and ſo to become a Church-man, thereby to cut off all his hope of aſpiring vnto the kingdome: which the king at her inſtance did, and made him Archbiſhop of Nicoſia. In the meane time *Carlotte* by the perſuaſion of her mother and the nobility of the country, married *Lewis* ſon to the duke of Sauoy: who being for that purpoſe ſent for, came with all ſpeed to Cyprus. After that, the queene mother and the old nurſe (deſirous nothing more, than to reuenge the death of of the nurſes daughter, vpon *Iames* now Archbiſhop) deuiſed firſt how to thruſt him out of all his ſpirituall promotions, which were great, and afterward quite baniſh him the kingdom. Hereupon the queene wrote letters againſt him to the Pope, to haue him degraded, for that he being a man baſe borne, with his hands imbrued with guiltleſſe bloud, was vnworthy of holy orders. Which letters by chance came to *Iames* his hands: who inraged therewith, accompanied with a number of his friends and fauourits, ſuddenly entred the court, ſlew ſuch of his enemies as he found there, diuided their goods amongſt his followers, and as king poſſeſſed himſelfe of the regall city. In this broile the Greeke queene *Helena* died, and ſhortly after her huſband alſo. All things being thus in a hurley and out of order, certaine of the nobility for redreſſe thereof, ſent for *Lewis* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that kingdome in the right of his wife moſt juſtly belonged: who vpon his arriuall was of all ſorts of men joyfully receiued & welcommed as their king. *Iames* the vſurper vnderſtanding before of the comming of *Lewis*, and perceiuing the inclination of the people towards him, fled with diuers of his friends to Alexandria to craue aid of the Ægyptian Sultan: in whoſe court he found ſuch fauour, as that he was by the Sultans commandement royally apparelled and honoured with the title of the king of Cyprus, which he promiſed for euer to hold of the Sultans of Ægypt as their vaſſal and tributary. At which time the Sultan alſo by his embaſſadors commanded *Lewis* to depart the Iſle: who by all means ſought to haue pacified the Sultan, declaring vnto him his rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to allow vnto *Iames* a yerely penſion of 10000 duckats during his life. But all in vaine; for *Iames* ſtill preſent in the Sultans court, and wiſely following his owne ſuit, at laſt concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a king, than to confirme a king) and receiuing of him a great army, returned into Cyprus: where in ſhort time he ſo diſtreſſed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forſake the Iſland, with his wife, and to return into his country; leauing the kingdome of Cyprus

againe

A again to *Iames*: who now by the ſupportation of the Ægyptian Sultan poſſeſſed therof, yet liued not without care of *Carlotte* & her husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cipriots wonderfully affected. Wherfore for the more aſſurance of his eſtate, he thought it beſt to joine in league and friendſhip with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at ſea, and of all other fitteſt to croſſe whatſoeuer *Lewis* ſhould in the right of his wife attempt againſt him. Which league he afterwards made, and the better to confirme the ſame, tooke to wife *Catherin Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of Venice, being before adopted to the Senat, and euer after their reputed daughter. Not long after this marriage, *Iames* died in the yere 1470, leauing the Queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire ſon; vnto whom with the mother the Venetian State became tutors, as their adoptiue fathers, & in their
B behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This childe ſhortly after died alſo, not without ſome ſuſpition of poiſon; after whoſe death great troubles aroſe in the kingdom, inſomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the queens vncle, a moſt graue counſellour, and gouernour of the Realme vnder the queene, was by the conſpiracy of certaine noble men ſlaine, and all the Iſland ready to reuolt from the queene. For appeaſing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to ſend their admirals with their gallies into Cyprus, to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length perſuaded by *George Cornelius* her brother, whileſt it was yet in her power, as a louing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdom vnto her adoptiue fathers, which ſhe deſtitute both of counſell and power, could not long hold ſo far from her friends, beſet on the one ſide with the Great Turke, and on the other with the mighty Sultan of Æ-
C gypt: She, I ſay, thus perſuaded by her brother, came to Venice, where ſhe was with the greateſt honor that could be deuiſed, receiued by the Duke & whole State at ſea in their great and goodly ſhip the Beucentaure, and ſo with all royall triumph brought thorow the midſt of the city vnto the place moſt richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where ſhortly after, attired in all her royall habiliments ſhe came in great Majeſty vnto the Senat houſe, and there before the tribunal ſeat of *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* then Duke of Venice, laied downe her crowne and ſcepter, and as a moſt louing daughter reſigned vp her kingdome, to the great honor and profit of her country. Thus the kingdome of Cyprus was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473; which they peaceably held from that time, paying vnto the Sultan of Ægypt ſuch tribute as had the late King *Iames*: which yearely tribute they in like
D manner payed vnto the Turkiſh Emperors, after that the kingdome of Ægypt was by *Selymus* the firſt conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto him by law of Armes: with which yearely tribute both *Selymus* himſelfe, and *Solyman* after him, held themſelues well contented. But now this Turkiſh Emperour *Selymus* the ſecond, of whom we ſpeake, deſirous both of the honour of ſuch a conqueſt, and of ſo rich a prey, made no account of the accuſtomed tribute, but of the fruitfull Iſland it ſelfe: whereof he, as is before declared, hath by his Embaſſadour made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

Sabellic. Ennead. 10, lib. 8.

Selymus throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the inuaſion of Cyprus, in the be- 1570
ginning of February ſent a great power both of horſe and foot into Epirus, and the frontiers of *Selymus inuadeth the Venetians.*
Dalmatia, to forrage the Venetian territory, eſpecially about Iadera; of purpoſe by that war
E ſo neere at home, to withdraw them from the defence of Cyprus ſo far off. About the mid- *Piall Baſſa ſent againſt the Venetians.*
dle of Aprill following he ſent *Piall Baſſa* with foureſcore gallies and thirty galliots to keepe the Venetians form ſending aid into Cyprus. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of baſe parents, but turning Turke, and giuing himſelfe to armes, was firſt preferred for his valor ſhewed againſt the Chriſtians at Zerbi, and afterward by many degrees riſe to the honour of one of the greateſt Baſſa's. He departing from Conſtantinople, and cutting thorow Peloponeſus and Heleſpontus, came to Eubœa, and there for certaine daies lay in ſuch order, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen the enemy battell: but vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Venetians grieuouſly viſited with the plague, and ſlowly relieued by their friends, were not like in haſte to come out, he took his courſe to Tenos an Iſland of the Venetians, to haue taken it from them.
F This Iſland is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature ſtrong, but ſtronger by the induſtry of the defendants; who liuing far from the Chriſtian countries, and compaſſed about with ſuch cruell and warlike enemies, as people far diſtant ſtood in dread of, could neuer for any feare or danger be remoued from the Chriſtian religion, or induced to ſubmit themſelues to the Turks gouernment, as moſt of the other Iſlands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, ſought both

by faire meanes and foule to haue perſuaded the Inhabitants to haue yeelded vp the Towne: but when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, he began by force to aſſault the ſame. Two daies the Towne was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended: but at length the Turks perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were reſolutely ſet downe for the defence of themſelues and their Country; ſhamefully gaue ouer the aſſault, and abandoning the Iſland, directed their courſe toward Cyprus. For *Muſtapha* authour of that expedition (for his antient hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Piall Baſſa* at a time prefixed to meet him at the Rhodes, and that he that came thither firſt ſhould tarry for the other, that ſo they might together ſaile into Cyprus. G

Muſtapha hauing before ſent a great part of his army by land into Pamphilia, embarqued the reſt with *Haly Baſſa* Generall of the forces at ſea, who yet ſtaied for him with the reſt of the fleet at Conſtantinople. This *Haly* was one of the chiefe Baſſa's, a man of great account, and ſometime an eſpeciall and noted follower of *Muhamet Baſſa*; but now (as it is oftentimes elſewhere ſeene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their minds and affections alſo) was become a great fauorite of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong and breach of the Turks faith, *Muſtapha* the Generall, according to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his arriuall in Cyprus, gaue the Venetians there to vnderſtand by letters of his comming, as alſo of his purpoſe for the taking of that Iſland from them: for that without ſome ſuch ſlender denouncing of war vnto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turks generally account their expeditions not to be altogether ſo lawfull or fortunate as otherwiſe; and therefore writ vnto them in this ſort: H I

Muſtapha Baſſa, vnto the Venetians.

Muſtapha Baſſa his Letters vnto the Venetians.

THat the Kingdome of Cyprus by antient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of Ægypt, you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, is together with it become of right a part alſo of the Othoman *Empire: that Iſland we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thouſand valiant ſoldiers. vnto which power, and the wealth of the* Othoman *Kingdomes (all which, the moſt mighty Emperor is about, if need ſhall be, to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength thereon) all the vnited forces of the Chriſtian Kings are not comparable; much leſſe the Venetians, ſo ſmall a part of Europe, forſaken of their friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore we will and exhort you, for the antient amity which hath beene betwixt your State and the victorious* Othoman *Family, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the moſt puiſſant Emperour, whoſe very name is become dreadfull to all the nations of the World; and quietly and without reſiſtance to leaue the Iſland, with the loue and friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch to be for euer inuiolably kept betweene him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholeſome counſell, fondly prefer your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of war, with ſuch dreadfull examples as the angry Conquerours vſe to make of their vanquiſhed enemies. For reſolution whereof, we yet giue you halfe a moneths ſpace to bethinke your ſelues in: and ſo fare you well.* K

Muſtapha Baſſa goeth for Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſſe, and a moſt royall gally of wonderfull greatneſſe and beauty by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the Generall; he together with *Haly Baſſa* and the reſt of the fleet departed from Conſtantinople the ſix & twentieth of May, and at the Rhodes met with *Piall*, as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time conſiſted of two hundred gallies, amongſt whom were diuers galliots, and ſmall men of war, with diuers other veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of horſes: with this fleet *Muſtapha* kept on his courſe for Cyprus. They of the Iſland in the meane time carefully attending the enemies comming, from their watch-towers firſt diſcouered their fleet at the Weſt end of the Iſland, not far from Paphos: from whence the Turks turning vpon the right hand, and paſſing the promontory Curio, now called Del Le Gate, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and ſpoiled certaine villages, and with ſuch ſpoile and priſoners as they had taken, returned again vnto the fleet; which holding on their former courſe, came at length to a place called Salinæ (of the abundance of ſalt there made) where they knew was beſt landing, and there in an open roade came to an anchor, where the Baſſa's without any reſiſtance vpon a plaine ſhore landed their army. L

The Turks fleet deſcried in Cyprus.

The Turks land in Cyprus. M

Now

A Now all the hope of the Christians, was to haue kept the Turks from landing, which they should with all their strength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great difficulty, for had the defendants but kept the shore, and from the dry and firme land valiantly repulsed their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their shot and weapons haue kept them from landing, or els had done them greater harme: knowing in the mean time, that in all the Island was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road subject to al wind and weather, they could not long without danger of shipwracke ride it out: but they either terrified with the greatnesse of the fleet, or preuented by the celerity of the enemy, to their great hurt omitted so faire an oportunity, as the wofull sequell of the matter declared. It exceedingly incouraged the Turks that they had so easily footed the Island, which they
B thought they should not haue done without a bloudy fight.

The Bassa now landed, presently intrenched his army, and forthwith sent the fleet to transport the rest of his forces out of Pamphilia into the Island. And at the same time sent out certaine scouts to take some prisoners, of whom they might learne the scituation of the country, the best waies to passe them with his army, the strength of his enemies, and what they did, and many other such like things which it concerned him to know. But the greatest question among the Turks themselues was, Whether they should first set vpon Famagusta or Nicosia? Famagusta standeth low, altogether subject to the scorching heat, which was then great, according as the time of the yeare, and nature of the country required: wherefore the Bassa for feare of diseases to arise in his army of the immoderate heat and vnwholesome scituation of the place,
C thought it better to begin his wars with the siege of Nicosia, and to make that city the seat of the war, for the conquest of the rest of the Island. So hauing put all things in order, and well viewed the country, and finding nothing he needed to stand in doubt of, he set forward with his army toward Nicosia, which was about thirty miles distant, being the chiefe and richest city of all the Island. Which way soeuer the army marched, it spread a great deale of ground; and the neerer it came, the greater was the slaughter of the country people, and the number of prisoners taken of all sorts. But when news of the enemies approch was brought into the city, a generall feare presaging future misery possessed the hearts of all men. There was not in the city any valiant or renowned captaine, who as the danger of the time required, should haue taken vpon him the charge: neither any strong army in the Island to oppose against the ene-
D my: the Gouernor of the city was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a man too weake for so great a burthen; who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to seek how to defend a siege. Of the citisens and country people he had taken vp foure thousand footmen, and a thousand horsmen, all raw soldiers, commanded by the gentlemen of the country, men of all others most courteous: but as well the captaines as the souldiers, as men brought vp in a plentifull country, fitter for pleasure than for war. The greatest hope and strength of the city, was reposed in twelue hundred Italian footmen, and six hundred horsemen. The whole number of the souldiers in garrison for defence of the city, was deemed about 8000 horse and foot: too weake a company against so fierce and strong an enemy; and the more, for that the Bassa an old and most expert Generall was there in person himselfe present, a most seuere and absolute commander, whom
E it would haue beene a hard matter to haue withstood with equall power. The Venetians had euer had great care of the Island of Cyprus, as lying far from them, in the midst of the sworne enemies of the Christian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified the same: yet fearing therby to seeme to distrust or dread the Turks, and so giue them occasion of offence, left it still vndone. This city of Nicosia standeth in the middest of the Island, in a plaine and champaine country, compassed round with a wall, as if it had been drawne with a compasse, and is in circuit about fiue miles: for the maner of the scituation, and magnificent buildings, as well publique as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull city of Florence in Italy: and was for the wholesome and commodious scituation thereof notably peopled. This city had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and eleuen
F strong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raised three great fortresses for defence of the wall, which they furnished with a strong garrison, great store of artillery, and other warlike prouision. Neuertheless, they found by experience in this war, That fortifications are strengthened by the defendants, rather than the defendants by the fortifications.

Mustapha Bassa marcheth towards Nicosia.

Nicholaus Dandulus Gouernor of Nicosia.

The description of Nicosia.

The

The Turks beſiege Nicoſia.

The 22 of Iuly, the Baſſa with his army incamped within a mile & a halfe of the city, when G
preſently the Turks by troups iſſuing out of the campe, rid contemptuouſly before the walls and gates of the city, and with often and loud outcries vpbraided the defendants: which by them being anſwered with ſilence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Muſtapha* himſelfe comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and ſcituation of the city. Shortly after, the enemy drew neerer vnto the city into a more open plaine, and with their tents filled the lower part of the hill, which they call Mandia: but the Baſſa's tent they ſet aloft vpon the hill, to the terrour of the defendants and incouragement of the Turks. The campe being fortified, the Turks with incredible labour and celerity brought their trenches from far, and at the firſt caſt vp ſome few forts, but afterwards, as their army increaſed, many mo; which they raiſed ſo high, that they ouertopped the wals of the city, and made the place H
more dangerous for the Chriſtians to defend. There hauing placed 70 great pieces of battery,

Nicoſia battred and aſſaulted, & by the Chriſtians valiantly defended.

they began to batter the city both day and night without intermiſſion; with ſuch an horrible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houſes ſhooke as if they would haue fallen down: at which time many were ſlaine, both with the deadly ſhot, and the broken pieces of ſtones beaten out of the wals: neuer was ſuch a feare as then within the city of Necoſia: euery day the enemy brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and reſted not vntill he had with reſtleſſe labour brought them vnto the very brim of the towne ditch, which the citiſens before the comming of the Turks had not well ſcoured. Being come ſo nigh, they firſt skirmiſhed a farre off with their ſmall pieces: but afterwards, they not onely battered the walls with their great artillery, but with ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and ſtones, ouerwhelmed the defendants, as if it had bin a ſhower I
of haile; ſo to haue driuen them from off the wall and rampires. In few daies, not only all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the fury of the great ordnance beaten downe, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the aſſailants and defendants. For although the Chriſtians fought at great diſaduantage, both for the number of men, and indifferency of the place: yet deſperation joyned with extreame neceſſity, of all other the greateſt weapon, gaue them ſuch courage, as with ſhot, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, to keep down their enemies, and defend their wals; and oftentimes to make great ſlaughter of them, with their artillery & murthering pieces, bent vpon them as at a certain marke, who the thicker they ſtood the greater was their harme. They alſo oftentimes diſmounted many of the great pieces and made them vnſeruiceable; and with feather beds and ſacks of cotton, wool, made vp their breaches: which the Turks labored again to burn with pitch barrels, and earthen pots full of wild fire. After long fight the Turks entring the ditch, made themſelues two waies to the walls, which they fortified on both ſides with faggots & earth; in ſuch ſort, as that they were ſafe from the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, ſome preſently ſet vp ſcaling ladders: others filled the ditches with rubbiſh, wood, faggots, & earth; and others in the meane time with mattocks and leauers were digging down the foundations of the bulwarkes Conſtance and Padocatera, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge in the building therof. The Chriſtians right valiantly endured the firſt aſſault of the enemy, and ſtrucke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climing vp the ladders: and had in ſhort time ſlain mo than they were themſelues in number, and inforced the reſt to giue ouer L
the aſſault. Theſe things were done in the beginning of the ſiege, whilſt yet both parties were ſtrong: in which hard conflicts a great number of ſoldiers were loſt, and moſt of the canoniers ſlain. After this aſſault, both parties for a while buſied themſelues and ſpent their time in their ingenious deuiſes: wherein it appeared that the Turks were much cunninger in deuiſing of meanes to take the city, than were thoſe Chriſtians in defending the ſame.

Now had the Venetians in the firſt motions of theſe warres, praied aid of diuers Chriſtian Princes, from moſt part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet now at length (though ſomewhat late) they had drawn into the confederation of this war, the Pope and the King of Spain: by whoſe example ſome other princes of Italy moued, put to alſo their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter moſt concerned, had in good M
time put their fleet to ſea; but knowing themſelues too weake to encounter the Turks, they lay ſtill vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia, about Iadera, expecting the comming of the Spaniſh Admirall with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now paſt in this expedition, and yet no newes of his comming: ſo that what the ſpeed and induſtry of the

Venetians

A Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniards, marred. Beſides that, the plague began to ariſe in the fleet, lying ſo long in one place; which at length grew ſo hot, that many of the gallies had neither marriner nor ſouldier left in them: neither did this mortality ſo ceaſe, vntill there were twenty thouſand dead thereof; amongſt whom were many noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their country good ſeruice, had they been in time imploied.

The Venetian fleet of an hundred and ſeuenteene ſaile at Corcyra.

Summer now almoſt halfe ſpent, and the plague well ceaſed, the Venetian Admirall weary of expecting of the comming of *Auria* the Spaniſh Admirall; gathering together his fleet which he had before diſperſed to auoid the infection, ſailed to Corcyra, where he met with *Venerius*, another of the Venetian commanders, who there ſtaid for him, hauing but a little be-
B fore taken from the Turks Ceſtria, now called Suppoto, a town vpon the ſea coaſt ouer againſt Corcyra. The whole fleet of the Venetians being aſſembled together, was an hundred and ſeuenteene ſaile, amongſt which were 12 great galeaſſes; but all too weake to giue battell to the Turks, as being themſelues ſtronger in ſhipping than in men. Neuertheleſſe, the Admirall ſorry and weary to ſee the ſpoile of the Venetian territory, and moued with the diſtreſſe of the beſieged in Nicoſia, rather than for any hope he had with that ſtrength to do any good againſt the Turks fleet, departed from Corcyra towards Creet, and the twelfth of Auguſt landed at Suda, a port of that Iſland. In the latter end of this month, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and *Auria* Admirall for the king of Spaine, arriued there alſo, whom the Venetian Admirall welcommed with great joy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat Princes now at length
C met together, conſiſted of an hundred ninety two gallies, and twelue galleaſſes, beſide victualers and other ſmall veſſels, laded with munition and other neceſſary prouiſion for the fleet. Of theſe gallies the Pope had ſet out twelue, the King of Spaine forty two, the reſt with the galeaſſes were the Venetians. In this fleet were imbarked thirteen thouſand ſix hundred threeſcore ſouldiers: of whom the Pope ſent eleuen hundred, the King of Spaine three thouſand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. Theſe three great com-
The Chriſtian fleet ſetteth forward toward Cyprus.
manders entring into counſell, what courſe to take in their proceedings in this war; after long diſcourſe too and fro, at length by the perſuaſion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, reſolued to
D go directly for Cyprus, and to giue the Turks battell, in hope thereby to raiſe them from the ſiege of Nicoſia. About the middeſt of September, this great fleet furniſhed with all things needfull for ſuch an expedition, looſed from Creet, and with a faire gale of winde ſet forward for Cyprus; in all their courſe keeping ſuch order, as if they ſhould preſently haue met with the enemy. In the middeſt of theſe troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of Venice, leauing the reſt of the care of that warre to *Aloyſius Mocenicus*, who ſucceeded him in the Dukedome.

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus ſlowly proceed in their ſo weighty affaires, *Muſtapha* in the mean time laid hard ſiege to Nicoſia: and diuiding his army into foure parts, aſſaulted foure of the bulwarks of the city, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the ſiege. The aſſault was both long and terrible: fury, and the very ſight of the warlike Generall, who was there a preſent witneſſe, and beholder of euery mans forwardneſſe or cowardiſe (a
E matter of great moment) beſides their natural fierceneſſe, carried the Turks headlong without any perill or danger. And on the other ſide, the greatneſſe of the danger, the feare to loſe both life and liberty, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: ſo that the Turks could not approch the wals, or mount their ſcaling ladders, but they were preſently ſlain, or together with their ladders thrown to the ground. Many of the Turks were there ſlain, but eſpecially ſuch as were moſt forward: and of the defendants were alſo more loſt, than ſtood with the ſafety of ſo ſmall a number: and foraſmuch as few or none eſcaped out of that fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a ſmall number. Many skilfull men were of opinion, that the city might haue bin that day taken, if the aſſault had by the Baſſa bin longer maintained, by bringing ſtill on freſh men: but ſuch was his loſſe, as that he was glad
F for that time to giue ouer the aſſaut, and ſo with diſhonour to retire.

The Chriſtians ſally out of the city vpon the Turks.

After this aſſault, it was by ſome of the captaines thought good, that they ſhould (whileſt they were yet of ſome reaſonable ſtrength in the city) ſally forth vpon the enemy: ſo to make ſhew, that they had yet ſome good hope in themſelues, and withal by ſo ſudden an eruption to performe ſomething vpon the ſecure enemy. Of which motion *Dandulus* the Gouernor in no caſe

caſe liked, as loth by ſuch a dangerous piece of ſeruice to diminiſh the number of the defendants,and ſo to giue the enemy an eaſier means to take the city. Yet ſeeing all the captaines generally of another mind,he yeelded vnto their deſire. So in the hotteſt time of the day,when as the Turks leaſt thought that the Chriſtians would haue ſallied out,certain Italian companies vnder the conduct of *Cæſar Plovianus* of Vincentia, and *Albertus Scotus*, iſſued out by the gate that leadeth to Famaguſta,and vpon the ſudden brake into the enemies trenches: where they found the Turks ſome playing, ſome ſleeping, but fearing nothing leſſe than that the Chriſtians whom they dayly braued,durſt to haue aduentured to come forth. At the firſt entrance the Italians preuailed, and brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turks army, and ſlew many. But when the Turks, awaked with the alarme, came running in on euery ſide, the Italians oppreſſed with the multitude,were glad to retire: in which retreat diuers of them were ſlaine,and amongſt them their two leaders *Cæſar* and *Albertus*: ſo that this ſally ſerued to no other purpoſe than to weaken the defendants themſelues, and to cauſe the Turks to keepe better watch and ward againſt ſuch ſudden eruptions. G H

Scouts ſent out of the city, taken by the Turks and executed.

All hope of long defending the city now almoſt loſt,and that the defendants could hardly ſtand vpon their wals,or ſhew their heads without preſent danger;they for want of better counſell,rather than for any hope of good ſucceſſe,ſent out certain ſcouts,men skilfull of the waies and paſſages of the country (whom they had for great reward induced to vndertake the matter)to craue aid of the country people,that were in great multitude fled into the ſafety of the mountains: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their reliefe, their wiues and children,whom they had before ſent into the city, muſt needs in ſhort time fall into the enemies hand,or periſh with hunger: but theſe meſſengers were by the vigilant enemy intercepted,and in the ſight of the beſieged tortured to death. I

Letters ſhot into the city.

About the ſame time diuers letters were ſhot with arrows into the city,to perſuade the beſieged Chriſtians to yeeld themſelues;for that in ſo doing they ſhould find the Baſſa a mild and mercifull conqueror: wheras otherwiſe if they ſhould by wilfull holding out delay his victory,they were ſure to indure whatſoeuer could be indured or ſuffered. But when *Muſtapha* had thus in vaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley certaine ſouldiers that were ſtanding vpon the bulwarke called Conſtantius, of whom ſome were by the conſent of the Gouernor ſent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Muſtapha* by his interpretor complained, That no anſwer was giuen vnto his letters; he ſet forth vnto them the glory,power, and greatneſſe of the Turkiſh empire; and debaſed the ſtrength of the Venetians: then he perſuaded them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miſeries that would fall vpon them if the city ſhould by force be taken; which he threatned would be far greater than the danger the Turks were to vndertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned none ſo much as themſelues, whether the city were giuen vp by compoſition, or els woon by ſtrong hand: he ſhewed vnto them the profit that ſhould ariſe vnto them by yeelding of it vp, and offered to them large entertainment,if they would ſerue him: and to conclude, told them, that they ſhould neuer afterward find at his hands ſo great grace as was at that inſtant offered them. The crafty Baſſa did what he might to haſten the winning of the city, both for that he doubted the comming of the Chriſtian fleet,& that his great army was exceedingly troubled with contagious and grieuous diſeaſes,ariſing of the immoderat heat & drought in that ſo hot a country. But the ſouldiers thinking any thing more aſſured than the Turkiſh faith;anſwered him, That they did not as yet doubt their own ſtrength,& that they were ready to indure any thing that could happen,rather than to prefer the vncertain friendſhip of an vnknowne prince, before the gracious fauour of ſuch worthy Princes as they had ſo good experience of.

Muſtapha Baſſa in vain perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld K

This anſwer cut off all the Baſſa's hope for taking of the city by compoſition: wherewith being both grieued & enraged,he commanded all things to be made ready for the aſſault: and the more to encourage his ſoldiers,promiſed vnto them great rewards and honors that ſhould firſt or ſecond mount the wals. After that,he gaue a generall aſſault vnto the city with all his power: wherein both he as a moſt worthy captaine,and his ſoldiers,fought moſt fiercely. You haue to do(ſaid he)with the ſmall and laſt remainders of your enemies;which are ſcarce able to ſtand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than with enemies indeed: ſhall you not then eaſily ouercome them, being but few and feeble, that haue vanquiſhed them when they were many and luſty? The end of all your labor is at hand,your hoped rewards approch; only L M

Muſtapha encourageth his ſouldiers.

play

A play you the men,and faint not in this assault;the spoile of this rich city shal be the worthy reward of your labours;the fruit of all your trauell consisteth in this one moment. Whileſt he thus incourageth some,and reproueth others, they mindfull of his promises, and these of the disgrace,altogether with their thick shot suffer no man to stand in safety vpon the wals;& out of their forts also with their great ordnance greatly annoied the defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruines of the wall, and in other places by scaling ladders to haue entred the city. Which terrible assault was by the cruell enemy maintained,not for some few houres,but for diuers daies together without intermission, fresh men still comming on in stead of them that were wounded or slain. Yet did the defendants valiantly indure all that storm,and in such weake case as they were, worthily performed what was possible for so few to doe: yet still in
B hope (the poore comfort of men in misery) that relieſe might come by the approch of the Christian fleet. At length,when the matter was brought to this point,that the Turks were in great hope to haue gained the wals,and *Mustapha* himselfe probably guessed, that the Christians were now weary of the long assault,and sore weakned with wounds and other infinit miseries, not to seeke in a city so hardly distressed, and was in that his opinion also confirmed by certain fugitiue Christians:he neuertheleſſe vpon the sudden caused a retreat to be sounded,& so retiring into his trenches,lay stil all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants thinking that he had giuen ouer the assault, because of some aid that was comming to their relieſe,became more careleſſe of the enemy,& vpon the vain hope of such aid, with leſſe diligence repaired their breaches and prouided for the repulsing of their enemies. But the Bassa
C in the mean time had chosen out of his whole army about 200 of his best captains & soldiers, all men of aproued valour and agility of body, whom the next day after, he sent early in the morning, to make proofe if they could by scaling ladders secretly and without any noise set vp, get into the foure bulwarkes which he had before sore shaken with his great ordnance. These resolute men leading the way, got first vp, after whom followed diuers others, and so tooke the aforesaid bulwarks: when presently after, other companies of their fellowes which stood ready for the purpose,comming on forward,did with their scaling ladders in diuers places recouer the top of the wals: for now the matter was not done by secret surprise, but by open force. In euery one of these bulwarkes were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept watch and ward;these men part asleep,as fearing no such danger, and part lying lasily vp-
D on the ground, were there surprised on the sudden and slain: otherſome of them awaked with the strange and vncouth noise,betooke not themselues lustily to their weapons,but forsaking their stations leapt down out of the bulwarks at such places as were next vnto them, some for feare ran vnawares into the middest of their enemies. Vpon this alarme some of the Christian captains came speedily to the walls with their companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whileſt he in vain crieth out to such fearefull souldiers as he met, that they should not so cowardly fly, and staieth others that were flying, was himselfe shot thorow with a small shot and slaine. Other captains in other places likewise labored in vain to haue staid the flying souldiers, whose persuasions, requests,and authority in so generall a feare,nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicosia most terribly assaulted by the Turks

The Turks gain the bulwarkes and walls of Nicosia.

The defendants thus beaten from the wals and bulwarks,gathered themselues into the mar-
E ket place: but the citizens stealing home to their owne houses,there stood in the entrances of the same,fearefully expecting the destruction of the country,together with their owne. In the meane time the Gouernor of Aleppo with his regiment scoured the walls of the city round about,as he had in charge from the Generall:and without respect put to sword all that he met, armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called Barbarus,it fortuned him to light vpon a company of Italians,who for a while fought desperatly, but were in the end ouerthrowne and slaine. When he had thus cleared the wals, & left such companies as he thought good in places conuenient for the keeping of them, he came down into the more open places of the city:and seeing them that were gathered together into the market place to haue cast themselues into a ring and to fight as men altogether desperat,he caused certain murthring pieces to be bent vp-
F on them: which they perceiuing,laied down their weapons, and yeelded themselues vnto the mercy of the enemy. By and by all the gates of the city were strongly guarded by the enemy, to the intent that no man should go in or out. *Dandulus* the Gouernor, and *Contarenus* the Bishop of Paphos,with the rest of the nobility,and better sort of the citizens,had got themselues into the towne hall,and their stood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Mustapha* sent word, that he would

Nicosia taken by the Turks.

would take them all to mercy, if they would without further resistance yeeld themselues. But whiles messengers run to and fro, the Turks violently brake in vpon them, and there slew them euery man. After the death of these noblemen, the cruell enemy spared none: and hauing slain such as they found abroad in the streets, brake into the houses, where they made hauocke of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the hands of their mothers, virgins were shamefully rauished, and honest matrons before their husbands faces despightfully abused, churches were spoiled, and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies: the streets were in all places stained with bloud, for in the city was slain that day fourteen thousand eight hundred threescore and six persons. Neither was there any end of the spoile, vntill the greedy enemy had carried away all the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the prey there taken, amounted to twenty hundred thousand millions of duckats: 200 of the most goodly and beautifull youths were chosen out of purpose to be sent to Constantinople for a present for *Selymus*. In the city were taken also 250 pieces of great ordnance: whereof some were by the enemy carried away, and the rest left for defence of the city. Thus the famous city of Nicosia, sometime the regall seat of the Kings of Cyprus, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570, in whose power it still remaineth.

A great slaughter.

Mustapha hauing as he thought best disposed of all things in Nicosia, with the very terrour of his name, rather than by any force, brought most part of the rest of the townes in the Island vnder his obeysance; and by faire intreaty and promise of good vsage, brought backe again vnto their wonted dwellings the rude country people, who by the comming of the Turks were fled with all that they had into the mountains: them as men not to be feared, he commanded to till and sow their land as they were wont. The city of Cyrene is strongly scituated, not far from the sea, and was then well furnished of all things needful for the induring of a long siege. Hither the Bassa sent one of the Sanzackes to summon the city, more to proue the courage of the defendants, than for any hope he had to haue the city deliuered vnto him. But *Alphonsus Palacius* then Gouernour of the city, terrified with the losse of Nicosia, no sooner saw the enemy, but that without any further deliberation or force vsed against him, he deliuered vp the towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardise, That he might in safety depart from thence with all his garrison souldiers: which was easily granted, and the city surrendred.

Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turks.

Not long after, *Mustapha* leauing a thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot in garrison in Nicosia, marched with the rest of his army to besiege Famagusta. And the more to terrifie them of the city, he by a poore country fellow, whom he had for that purpose set at liberty, sent vnto them in a basket the head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Gouernor of Nicosia, and at the same time sent before him diuers horsemen, who vpon their horsemens staues carried the heads of many of the noblemen slaine at Nicosia, wherewith they rid as in triumph about the wals of the city. Which thing he did, in hope that they of Famagusta terrified with such a spectacle, and the late ouerthrow at Nicosia, would for feare of like misery yeeld themselues. But deceiued in this his expectation, he encamped his army about three miles from the city. Afterwards hauing taken view of the city, and well considered of the scituation thereof, he with wonderfull celerity cast vp diuers mounts against the same, and at the same time caused battery to be laid against the great tower which defended the hauen: he himselfe also in the meane while battering the gate that leadeth to Amathus. But perceiuing by the desperat sallies of the defendants, their great courage, and that it was like to haue much more to do in this siege than he had in the winning of Nicosia, and Winter also now drawing fast on (being about the latter end of September) he thought it best betime to prouide, that by lying there he hazarded not the honour he had with so much labor and danger before gained: and the rather, for that it was commonly reported, that the Christian fleet was at hand: wherefore he rise with his army, and retired himselfe further off into the country, where he shortly after bilited his souldiers in the villages round about for that Winter.

Famagusta besieged.

Mustapha raiseth his siege.

The Bassa's at sea, *Haly* & *Piall*, lying before Famagusta, doubting the comming of the Christian fleet, which then lay at Creet, sent out six galliots to discouer the doings of the Christians: who returning with certaine prisoners taken in the Island of Creet, declared vnto the Bassa's what they had learned concerning the Christian fleet, and that it was already vpon the way to Cyprus. Vpon which intelligence the Bassa's put their fleet in order of battell, and set forward

The Turkes at sea aduertised of the comming of the Christian fleet, prepare themselues for battell.

A forwards towards Limiſſo to haue met with the Chriſtians: who with a proſperous wind were comming betwixt the Iſlands of Caprathos and the Rhodes: but there vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that Nicoſia was loſt, and that the Turks were come to beſiege Famaguſta; they called a Councell of all the chiefe Commanders in the fleet, to conſult what were beſt to do in ſo dangerous a caſe. *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and then chiefe Commander in the fleet, with *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral, were of opinion, That it were beſt to hold on theer courſe for Cyprus, and to relieue Famaguſta: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late victory, were for deſire of prey, for moſt part gon aſhore into the Iſland, and ſo left their fleet but ſlenderly manned. Beſide that, they alledged, That the Venetian Senat had expreſly decreed, That they ſhould giue the Turks battell. But *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral thinking it, B as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficulty and danger, was quite of another mind, ſaying, That he could not but maruel, how the Venetian Senators ſitting at their eaſe in counſel, could before they knew their own ſtrength, and power of the enemy, the nature of their country, and purpoſe of their foes, determine what were fit for martial men to do; vnto whoſe actions no certaine rule could be preſcribed. All the ſhores (he ſaid) were kept with the enemies garriſons; ſo that what need ſoeuer they ſhould haue, they could neither get water or wood, or put into any harbor. Beſides that, the enemy would giue them battell at his own pleaſure, and not at theirs: for that they were not of ſo much power, as to inforce him to fight. And that if the Senat, which vſed to do al things warily, and with great aduiſement, did but ſee the weakneſſe of their gallies, wanting both ſoldiers and mariners, they would be of another mind. He C alledged further, That they were to wage war in the enemies country, where there was no port to receiue their fleet, no peaceable place, no confederate city, nor King to friend: whereas the time of the yere grew euery day worſe and worſe, when as they had neither harbor to put into, neither were able to abide the ſea. And now that Nicoſia was loſt, for the relief whereof they were come ſo far, there was no reaſon longer for them to ſtay, the enemy ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſing the Iſland with his great army, as that there was not any hope to do any good againſt him: and that to keep him from victuall, and ſo to diſtreſſe him, was not poſſible, lying in a moſt fertile Iſland, and in the midſt of his own dominions: wheras they, who were ſtill to be relieued from far, ſhould ſooner feele the want than the enemy. He was victualled (as he ſaid) when he came from home, but for three months, in hope to haue made a ſhort diſpatch, & had now two thou- D ſand miles home. He ſaid moreouer, that he had expreſſe commandment from the king, to return to Meſſana before Winter, and that therefore ſo ſoon as the month was out he would depart. The Venetian Admirall deſiring nothing more, than by battell at ſea to ouerthrow the Turks, and ſo to relieue the diſtreſſed Cypriots, vrged the Spaniſh Admiral to proceed in the voyage; ſaying, That ſo great aid was not ſent from the Pope and the King, only for the relief of Nicoſia, but to deliuer the whole Iſland from the danger of the Turk. Of the ſame opinion with the Spaniſh Admirall were diuers other great captains in the fleet; namely *Sfortia*: who ſaid, That nothing was to be ſo done, as might raſhly expoſe to caſualtie or power of the enemy, the publique fortune and majeſty of the Chriſtian commonweale, which was in that fleet greatly hazarded: That longer ſtay might bring futther danger: that in that fleet conſiſted the E whole welfare of the commonweale, wherin more might be loſt, if any miſhap ſhould chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieuing of Famaguſta. The great commanders thus diffring in opinions, the Councell was in a heat diſſolued, and nothing concluded. Vpon which ſo foule a diſagreement, the fleet began now to return back again, but ſo, that it was not now as before, one, but three fleets, euery Admirall by himſelf drawing after him his fleet. *Auria* the Spaniſh admiral, who firſt returned, after he had bin 2 daies wonderfully with tempeſt toſſed at ſea, came at laſt to Carpothos, and departing thence, with much ado arriued with his fleet in the Iſland of Crete: from whence he by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe, requeſted leaue of *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, that he might with his good will preſently returne home. Whereunto *Columnius* anſwered, That he would giue him no ſuch leaue: but rather charged F him, in the duty he ought to the good of the Chriſtian Commonweale, not to depart, but to keep company with the reſt of the fleet vntill it were paſt Zacynthus, that ſo with their vnited forces they might more ſafely paſſe by the enemies countries: wheras otherwiſe, if any thing ſhould by his haſty departure fall out otherwiſe than well, it ſhould be imputed to the diſ-

The commanders of the chriſtian fleet of diuers opiniõs for giuing of the Turks battell.

The Chriſtian fleet returneth vpon the foule diſagreement of the ſommanders.

honour of him that had forsaken his friends, and not of them that were so by him forsaken. G
But to this *Auria* answered, That the welfare of the kingdomes of Sicily & Naples consisted in the safety of this fleet: and that therfore hauing hast home, he could not stay to keep company with their heauy galeasses & other ships of burthen, which must oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly pretended for his departure; yet secretly sought (as it was deemed) occasion wherby to withdraw himself (being as he accounted the better man at sea) from the to find an command of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full sore against his will subiect.

After they had thus a while spent the time with reasoning the matter to and fro, *Auria* of himselfe without further leaue hoised saile, and so at length came to Messana in Sicily: neither did *Columnius* and *Zanius* stay in those quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at sea, arriued at last, *Columnius* in Italy, and *Zanius* at Corcyra. Thus this mighty fleet H
which had all this Summer filled the Mediterranian with all the countries thereabout, with the expectation of some great matter, was by the discord of the Generals dissolued, hauing don nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thousands of right valiant men lost their liues, being dead of diuers diseases proceeding of change of diet, and vnseasonablenes of the weather in that hot clymat; amongst whom was the valiant County *Hieronimus Martinengus*, sent by the Senat with three thousand soldiers for the defence of Famagusta, who also most of them perished in that voyage. The Venetian fleet was no sooner arriued at Corcyra, but *Augustinus Barbadicus* was sent from the Senat to discharge *Zanius* the admirall of his office, and to send him prisoner to Venice: in whose room was placed *Sebastianus Venerius* Gouernor of that Island. I

Zanius the Venetian Admirall discharged of his office, and sent in bonds to Venice.

The Turks Bassa's at sea certainly aduertised of the departure of the Christian fleet, were not a little proud therof; as by the confession of their enemies, their betters. Yet forasmuch as the seas began then to grow rough, and no enemy appeared, they thought it to no purpose to keep the seas with so great a fleet, and therefore resolued to leaue *Mustapha* with his army in Cyprus, the next yere to make an end of his conquest so haply begun; and seuen gallies at sea before Famagusta, that no reliefe should that way be brought into the City, and so to depart themselues with the rest of the fleet to winter in more safer harbors: *Piall* with the greater part of the fleet to Constantinople, and *Haly* with the rest to the Rhodes. And because they would for their greater credit prepare some worthy Present for their great Lord and Master *Selymus*, they fraughted a great galliot of *Mahumates* the chiefe Bassa's, and two other tall ships, with K
the richest of the spoil of Nicosia, and the choice of the prisoners there taken. But when they were ready to hoise saile & depart, as they were carrying out of the gallion, certain barrels of gunpouder which *Mustapha* the Generall had commanded for his better prouision to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wishing rather to die with honor, than to liue dishonored, secretly fired the pouder; by force wherof the said gallion with the other 2 ships, were suddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therin blown vp into the aire. Of all that were in those three vessels, none escaped with life but the master of the gallion, & two Christian captiues, but perished together with the rich spoile. But the Bassa's following their former resolution, departed from Cyprus, and afterwards in safety ariued at Constantinople: where both then and all the Winter following, such preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next L
yeare purposed some far greater matter than the conquest of Cyprus.

A desperat fact of a woman.

Whilst *Sebastianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at Corcyra, the rude Acroceraunian people, more famous for nothing than for their theft and want of all things; by trusty messengers promised to deliuer into his power the strong castle of Chymera, kept by a garrison of 300 Turks, if he himself with a few gallies, and a conuenient number of footmen, would come into the bay of Ambracia: offring him good hostages for the better assurance of their promise. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a company of horsemen, three thousand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were no sooner landed, but that presently a thousand of those rough mountaine people came vnto them: with which power taking the hill, and repulsing the Turks garrison comming to the M
reliefe of the Castle, he so discouraged them that were in the Hold, that the next night they let themselues downe with ropes into the valley below; but being descried, were there all either taken or slain. And so in a very short time was that strong Castle taken by the Admirall;

The strong Castle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

and

A and a ſtrong garriſon of Chriſtians put into it in ſtead of the Turks.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Vice-Admiral a man of great courage, landed with 24 gallies in Peloponeſus neer the Bay of Maine, and there vpon the ſudden both by ſea and land beſieged a ſtrong caſtle, which the Turks but two yeres before had built to trouble the Chriſtians paſſing that way. Which caſtle he took in fiue hours, and put to the ſword fiue hundred Turks which lay there in garriſon; and razing it down to the ground, carried away with him four and twenty great pieces of Artillery into the Iſland of Zacynthus. *Quirinus taketh a caſtle of the Turks in Peloponeſus.*

At ſuch time as *Muſtapha* before lay at the ſiege of Famaguſta, *Bragadinus* gouernor of the
B town, and *Baleonius* a moſt expert Captain, from out of the high places of the city beholding the great army of the Turks (which couered the ground almoſt as far as they could ſee) with the cunning manner of their fortication, were therwith much moued: and therfore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in ſo great a danger to craue their aid. And that their requeſt might be of more weight, and haue the better hearing, they intreated *Hieronimus Ragazonius* Biſhop of the City, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge; vnto whom they ioyned *Nicholaus Donatus* a noble gentleman of Cyprus. The Biſhop at the firſt was very vnwilling to go, as loth in ſo great danger to leaue his flock: but at length ouercome with the intreaty of the Gouernor, and tears of the beſieged, ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated: and embarked in a gally about the going downe of the Sun, looſing out of the haven, and hoiſing ſaile, with a faire gale of wind paſſed through the Turks fleet, which then lay at anchor before the city; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way he made,
C got him quickly out of ſight. After foure daies ſailing he came to Crete, and ſo at laſt to Venice: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, ſo there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous eſtate of the City, the ſtrength of the enemy, the weakneſſe of the defendants againſt ſo great a multitude, and the wants of many things needful for the holding out of the ſiege: and to be briefe, that except they ſent ſpeedy reliefe, the City could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the beſieged, cauſed foure tall ſhips to be loded with all maner of victual and a great quantity of gunpouder, and put into them 1700 ſele& ſoldiers, al which he ſent from Crete to the reliefe of them of Famaguſta; appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the beſt gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the ſame thither. This *Quirinus* was a *Quirinus a valiant gentleman.*
D moſt valiant and expert Captain, meanly deſcended, but by ſeruice grown to be a man both of great reputation and wealth: and therfore *Zanius* at his departure to Venice, although he knew the matter required haſt, yet preſuming vpon his wiſedome and carefulneſſe, left it to his diſcretion, when and how to performe that piece of ſeruice. *Quirinus* (not without cauſe) doubting to ſet forward, the ſeas as then full of the Turks gallies, ſtaid vntil Winter was wel ſpent, and then ſetting forward the ſeuenteenth of Ianuary, kept aloofe from the ſhips, which with a 1571
proſperous wind came directly before Famaguſta; in hope that the Turks gallies which lay in the mouth of the hauen, might ſo be drawne farther into the ſea, in hope of ſome good booty, he himſelfe ſtaying with his gallies in place conuenient out of ſight. Neither had the euent deceiued his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the ſame: for the Turks vpon the dawning of the day deſcrying the ſhips, made haſtily toward them: but *Quirinus* not able lon-
E ger to ſtay himſelfe, and before deſirous to fight with them, ſhewed himſelfe too ſoon in the open ſea, before the enemy was come neer the ſhips: whom as ſoon as the Turks had ſeen, and that there was no hope to withſtand him, they ſtayd their oares, and with all ſpeed retyred. But *Quirinus* following faſter vpon them, they were glad for ſafeguard of their liues, with all the power they could to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to ſhoare themſelues: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great Ordnance beat all to pieces, and ſore gauled the other foure. The hauen thus cleered, he returned again vnto the ſhips, and brought them with the ſupply in ſafety to Famaguſta: vpon whoſe arriuall was great reioicing both among the garriſon ſouldiers and the Citiſens: for the Turks thought nothing leſſe, than that the Chriſtian gallies durſt at that time of the yeare haue put into thoſe dangerous ſeas: which
F *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth again with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleaſure, took two of the enemies ſhips richly laded comming to the camp; with which booty he inriched his ſouldiers: and further incited by occaſion, landed his men in diuers places alongſt the ſea coaſt in Pamphilia, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the countrey with terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to Famaguſta; where he notably

encouraged the garriſon ſouldiers, perſuading them to remember their wonted valor: and filling them with hope that the Chriſtian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Summer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raiſe the ſiege. So hauing in twenty daies diſpatched that he came for, and done what good ſeruice elſe he could, he departed from Famaguſta, and within fiue daies after arriued at Crete. G

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late ſupply put into Famaguſta, and of the harms don by *Quirinus*; wherwith he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he commanded the gouernor of Chios his head to be ſtruck off, and the Gouernour of the Rhodes to be diſgraced, whoſe charge it was to haue kept thoſe ſeas, ſo that nothing ſhould haue been conueied into Famaguſta. Neither ſpared he *Piall Baſſa*, but depriued him of his Admiralty, and placed *Partau Baſſa* Admirall in his ſtead, for that he had not the yeare before diſcomfited the Chriſtian fleet at the Iſland of Crete, as it was ſuppoſed he might haue done. H

From the beginning of this warre, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope, who greatly fauored their cauſe, had moſt earneſtly from time to time ſolicited *Philip* King of Spaine, to enter with them into the participation & fellowſhip of this war; which their requeſt ſtanding indeed with the good of his ſtate, he ſeemed eaſily to yeeld vnto: and therfore ſent *Auria*, his Admirall the laſt yere, with his fleet to aid them, but with ſuch ſucceſſe as is before declared. As for to ioin with them in perpetual league and confederation (as it was termed) againſt the common enemy, that he referred vnto the diſcreet conſideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuellan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his Embaſſador, ſent for that purpoſe to Rome: promiſing to performe whatſoeuer they ſhould on his behalfe agree vpon or conſent vnto. I At the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe lay alſo *Surianus* the Venetian Embaſſadour at Rome: vnto whom the Pope ioined Cardinal *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, & *Ruſticucius*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compoſe ſuch differences & difficulties as ſhould ariſe betwixt the aforeſaid Commiſſioners for the king and the Venetians, concerning the intended league: but theſe graue men, ſent from ſo great princes about ſo great a matter (as well there could not be greater) were no ſooner met together and ſet in conſultation, but that forthwith they began to jar about the capitulations of the league. Neceſſary it was thought that a league ſhould be agreed vpon againſt ſo puiſſant & dangerous an enemy, but to find the way how the ſame might be concluded to the contentment of al parts, ſeemed a matter almoſt impoſſible: oftentimes theſe commiſſioners ſat, but the oftner the farther off: K if one difficulty were by the diſcretion of ſome appeaſed, in ſtead therof at the next meeting ariſe three others. The chiefe command of the army to be raiſed, the proportion of the forces, the maner of the war, with many other like circumſtances incident to ſo great actions, made great differences among them: but moſt of al, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spaniſh commiſſioners ſeeking to return the greateſt part therof vpon the Venetians, and the Venetians vpon them: which was don with ſuch earneſtneſſe and ſtudy of euery man towards his own part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular ſtate from which they were ſent, rather than for the common good. For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keep the frontiers of his large dominions in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, Majorca, Minorca, yea and of Spain it ſelf, with ſtrong garriſons, for fear of the Turke; now that the war L was riſen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof tranſlated far off into other mens territories; enioied now in his own an vnwonted quietneſſe, to the great content of his ſubiects, and eaſing of his own charge in maintaining of ſo many garriſons as before: wherof many were now thought needles. Beſides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raiſed ſuch great ſummes of money vpon his Clergy, as was thought by many, ſufficient to diſcharge the charge of the war: For which cauſes he cared not for entring in any further league with the Venetians, but as it were in courteſie to ſend them a yearely aid, to maintaine a defenſiue lingring war, and ſo to keep the Turks buſied vpon the Venetian, a farre off from his owne Territories. But the Venetians, in whoſe Dominions the fierce enemy daily raged, as well in Dalmatia as in Cyprus, were euen for the ſame reaſons mooued to haſten and ſhorten the war, M that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beſide the neereneſſe of the danger, and the infinit calamities by them ſuſtained, their yerely reuenues ariſing for moſt part of their cuſtomes, were greatly impaired, and their traffick (the maintenance of their ſtate) almoſt quite cut off: which cauſed them more earneſtly to confederate themſelues with the Spaniard. But hard it was

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A to ioyn in one, States ſo far differing in reſpect of their particular profit, and almoſt by nature contrary. Thus was all the laſt yere, and a great part of this alſo, ſpent by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners in turbulent and fruitleſſe conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themſelues too weake for ſo mighty an enemy as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certain ſtrength from their friends to reſt vpon. But whilſt they ſtood thus doubtful of the league with Spain, and quite out of hope of any attonement with *Selymus*; on the ſudden when it was leſt expected, it was by good fortune layd as it were in their laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before moſt earneſtly deſired) ioyne in league with the Pope and the King of Spain, or els fall to agreement with *Selymus*: and that by this means.

B *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long time honored, had no great liking of the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Muſtapha* in Cyprus, and therfore deuiſed night and day, how to croſſe the riſing of him, the competitor of his honor; and withall to help the Venetians, vnto whom he was much beholden. He by ſecret meſſengers had before oftentimes founded the mind of the Venetian Embaſſadour, and put him in hope, that if ſuit were made vnto *Selymus* for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and further promiſed, to be himſelfe a helper and interceſſor for the ſame. But finding the Embaſſador to caſt many perils, and to giue ſmal credit vnto their talke, who had before by truſting them deceiued him: he did not ſo giue ouer the matter, but referring the further tempring with him vnto a more fitter time, for the preſent he took opportunity to enter into diſcourſe with *Selymus* himſelf concerning the Venetians; and told him that it was reported, That they weary of the long alteration they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, & now deſtitute of all hope and aid, would now haply of their own accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare ſo of them, he proceeded further in the matter, to know his pleaſure what he would haue done therin, cunningly by the way of good counſell perſuading him vnto that which he moſt wiſhed himſelf to be don. Immediatly after, he ſecretly aduertiſed *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embaſſador, That there was great hope of peace, and that therefore the Senat ſhould vnder the colour of exchanging of priſoners, and redeeming of Merchants goods, ſend ſome fit man to Conſtantinople, with whom he would in ſecret confer of al ſuch matters as might further the pacification. This vnexpected news from the Embaſſador brought to Venice, was well heard of the Senat: for they thought it much to concern their State, to haue a way opened wherby vpon tolerable conditions to make peace with rhe mighty tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the King of Spain could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Iacobus Ragazonius* to goe about the matter to Conſtantinople. This *Ragazonius* was a man of great ſpirit and dexterity of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deep iudgement in the managing therof; and withall exceeding rich, and of ſo good carriage of himſelfe, as that he was therfore famous: al which things were thought of great moment to win the fauor of that couetous and barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proof what men thought of the matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the ſending this notable man, men would thereof diuerſly diuine, euery man according to his own fantaſie; and that many of the wiſer ſort would indeed furmiſe, as the truth was, that he was ſent for to intreat of peace, although the exchange of priſoners, and redemption of Merchants goods, were the only things were openly pretended: and the Senat, although they thought it not amiſſe to haue it ſo vnderſtood, becauſe ſuch a ſuſpition was like enough to ſtir vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of ſuch conditions of the deſired league, as they had before reiected; yet leſt the hope of the league (which they for many cauſes thought good to cheriſh) thereby cut off, might cauſe the Pope & the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Chriſtian princes, of the ſending of *Ragazonius*; yet of purpoſe concealing the ſecret drift of his going. *Ragazonius* throughly inſtructed by the Senat, was in a gally conducted to Raguſium: which *Caſſan Beg* (the great Baſſa *Mahometes* ſon, Gouernor of Liburnia) vnderſtanding, met him vpon the frontiers, & told him, That he was ſent by his father, both to meet him and ſafe coduct him: which the martial man, contrary to the maner of the Turks courteouſly performed, honorably entertaining him, & afterward ſending him with a ſafe conuoy till he was out of all danger. *Ragazonius* comming to Conſtantinople, was there by night ſecretly receiued

Muhamet Baſſa a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, puts the in hope of peace.

The Venetians ſend an Embaſſador to Selymus to intreat with him of peace.

Ragazonius the Venetian Embassadour commeth to Constantinople.

ued into the city, and at first brought into a little base Inne, and a guard set ouer him that he should speak with no man. But after three daies he was remooued to a much better place, and presented with diuers kinds of dainty dishes of sundry kinds of meats. The effect of his message was, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embassador, to intreat of peace. At length hauing accesse to the great Bassa *Muhamet*, after he had deliuered vnto him (as he had in charge) his message concerning the exchange of prisoners and merchants goods; *Muhamet* asked him, If he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to be made? Wherunto he answered, that he had, but that he must first speak with the Embassador, without whose aduice and counsel he was not of himself to do any thing. At that first incounter, the Bassa to terrifie the messenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks horsmen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainly boasted) was able by force or policy to withstand: also his great and inuincible fleets at sea, with whom all the power of the Christians ioined together, was not able to encounter; and much other such like strength and wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withstand *Selymus*, than they were in times past to resist his father & his ancestors. Yet he discoursed of this matter in such sort, as not therby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but said, That the Venetians should best haue prouided for the safety of their state, if at the first they had listned vnto him, friendly & faithfully aduising them not to haue entred into arms, in which doing they shewed more courage than power: and that yet, as the case now stood, and that *Selymus* was in a most assured hope, in short time to become lord and master of the whole Island, it should be to their great good to prefer the fauour and good will of the Turks before war, and by the voluntary yeelding of Cyprus, gain to themselues perpetuall peace and tranquility. As for the Isle it selfe, it was not now worth the hazarding of so many dangers, being destitute of inhabitants, which were almost all either slain or fled, the cattell driuen away, the townes ransackt and burnt, and the whole country, of late most pleasant and beautifull, now so spoiled and vnpeopled, that it could not of long time yeeld vnto him that should haue it, any profit or commodity. *Ragazonius* being a coole and aduised man, and withall perceiuing that the Bassa was not to be contraried in his talke, so tempred his answer, as that he shewed no token of feare, neither let any word fall that might offend his ears, saying, That he was right glad that he had found so much fauor in his sight, as to haue accesse and leaue to talk with so great a Prince, who for wisdome and grauity excelled all the rest of the Princes of the great Emperors Court, who so far as he might with his loyalty towards his soueraign, had alwaies most gratiously fauored the Venetian state: who also not ignorant of the vncertainty of worldly things, knew of all others best, that on both sides were both men & arms, and that most mighty Princes had oftentimes with small forces bin ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of war: no power vpon earth being sure, which could not within some bounds containe the strength of it self: and that therefore he was in good hope, that he so worthy a man, knowing best what belonged both to peace and war, would deuise some such course as might sort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkish Empire; in which doing he should find sufficient matter for his eternal praise and glory, if by his discreet wisdome a pacification might be made. Such talk hauing passed at their first meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to speake with the Embassador, who then lay at Pera vnder safe keeping. In passing ouer to Pera, *Ragazonius* might see a fleet of Turkish gallies encountring one with another in maner of a fight at sea, which the Turks had prouided of purpose to shew vnto him as a strange sight. Whereat *Ragazonius* smiling, said vnto the Turks that were present with him, That it was a pretty childish sport for him that had neuer seen the like before: but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with these matters in earnest; as the Turks should well know whensoeuer they had a mind to make proof what they were able to do at sea. *Ragazonius* comming to the embassador, had conference with him at large, and resolued with him what to do in his negotiation. And so returning to *Muhamet*, easily dispatcht with him for the exchange of prisoners and Merchants goods: but when they came to talk of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the first they were so far off, as if they would neuer haue met: but after much and often conference, somtime the one yeelding, sometime the other, the matter was brought to some conformity, so that there was no such great difference betwixt them, but that they were like enough to haue agreed. *Pius* the Pope, & *Philip* king of Spain, aduertised of the sending of *Ragazonius*

The conference betwixt Muhamet the Great Bassa, and Ragazonius.

to

A to Constantinople, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was sent about some treaty of peace, what colour soeuer the Senat pretended to couer the same. And therfore doubting lest the Turkish Emperour hauing once made peace with the Venetians, should turn his great forces already prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that peace, now with all speed to hasten the league, which they had so long before delayed. For which purpose the Pope sent the noble *Columnius* to Venice: who admitted into the Senat, declared at large how matters had passed at Rome concerning the league: and afterward, what profit might arise of such a league concluded, and what harms might insue of the same, neglected. And to hasten the matter, set as it were before their eies, how much it concerned the common good, but them especially, to haue the same with speed confirmed. As for to giue
B any trust vnto the Turks, was (as he said) not beseeming their deep wisdome and iudgement, seeing they so often had bin by them rather deceiued than vanquished. In conclusion, he requested them, That for his Holinesse sake, moderating in some part their hard demands, they would with speed ioin with him and the King in a most firm and Christian league. Although this speech of *Columnius* had much moued the minds of the Venetians, so that many inclined to the league, yet were there many doubtfull therof, and could not be resolued whether it were better to imbrace peace with the Turk, or the league with the Pope and the King. Peace pleased them, neither did the league displease them: it seemed a matter most difficult, whether to resolue vpon. They were fearful of the league either receiued, or reiected: the hope of victory, the inconstancy of the Turks, their owne strength at sea, the large promises of the Christian
C Princes, the certain hope of the league, and vncertainty of the peace, persuaded them to embrace the league. On the other side, the bad successe of the yere before, their forces shaken, and almost spent in Cyprus, the suspected and doubtfull faith of the confederats, with the vncertainty of the successe, induced them to prefer the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in suspence betwixt both, gaue the Embassador daily more doubtfull answers than other, neither by promise binding themselues, neither by flat denial cutting off the hope of the league, by examples and arguments rather refelling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themselues thought. Somtime they alledged such things as might make a man beleeue, that they were willing to ioin in league, and by and by again, they would seem neither to reiect nor accept of the same. In which doubtfulnesse many daies passed. At
D length the matter being propounded in the Senat, there found not vnlike disposition of minds that it had among the meaner sort: for some of the Senators inclined to the league, whose reasons were grounded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit & honor also, which they wished to be chiefly regarded: declaring also, what great security, honor and glory, should redound vnto them, by entring into such an honourable league. But the remembrance of former losses, the strength of the Turk possessing a great part of the world, compared to their own, the terror of the enemies name, the feare of euill successe, the small hope of preuailing, induced others to like better of peace: whose opinion was also confirmed by this, That the confederation with those Christians, was of no more assurance or continuance than the Turks peace: besides that, they alledged, That leagues were therfore of lesse assurance, for that confederations and amiE ties were seldom or neuer sincerely & faithfully kept on both sides, euery man commonly seruing his own turn, without care of other men. They also set as it were before their eyes what great occasions, euen small suspitions might giue princes to break their leagues, what strange effects the fear of the losse of goods, or some part of their territory might work. After this so weighty a matter had bin thus with great contention throughly debated on both sides in the Senat, it was at last put to voices: and so by consent of the greater part, the league was as more honorable receiued, & the Turks peace reiected; & a decree of the Senat to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by secret letters from the Senat vnderstanding of all these matters, began to deale more warily with *Muhamet* the great Bassa in matter concerning the peace, and more hardly to yeeld to his demands; & propounding many difficulties of purpose deuised, requested of him,
F That he might by his good leaue return to Venice, to be resolued of many things by the Senat, wherof he was not able himself to iudge, & so to return to him again with more certain instructions: assuring him, that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace do and deuise many things for the furtherance of the same; which could not so well be don by letters, as if he were there himself present to resolue them vpon euery particular. This his request

The Pope & the K. of Spain fearing lest the Venetians should make peace with the Turk, hasten the confederation.

The Venetians resolue to accept of the League with the Pope and the King.

queſt obtained, he with great ſpeed got him out of Conſtantinople: but was ſcarcely got out of the gates, when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the King of Spain, was brought vnto the Court, and had in ſhort time filled the city: which made all the way as he trauelled more troubleſome, and fruſtrated that alſo which was before concluded concerning the exchange of priſoners & Merchants goods. *Ragazonius* being come to Venice, declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpoſe of the Turk, and what conference he had had with the great Baſſa, and in what forwardnes the peace was: for which his diſcreet carriage of the matter, his wiſdome was highly by the whole Senat commended, and he himſelfe afterward honourably rewarded. G

A perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the K. of Spaine, and the Venetians.

In the mean time the commiſſioners of Rome after long conſultation concluded a league, which they would haue to be perpetuall, as well for for inuaſiue as defenſiue wars againſt the Turke: and was by ſolemne oath confirmed by the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetian Senat the 24 day of May, in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league, it was agreed vpon, That the ſea and land forces ſhould conſiſt of two hundred gallies, an hundred ſhips, fifty thouſand footmen, and foure thouſand fiue hundred horſmen; with a proportionat quantity of great artillery, victuals, and other things neceſſary, to be euery yeare ready in March, or at fartheſt in Aprill, to meet together at ſuch a place in the Eaſt, as ſhould be to them for that purpoſe appointed; to be imploied as the Admirals ſaw cauſe, & as the preſent ſtate of things ſhould require: for maintenance of which charge it was agreed, that the king of Spain ſhould defray the one halfe, and the other halfe to be diuided into three equal parts; wherof the Venetians ſhould beare two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it ſhould be too heauy for him, then that remained by him vndiſcharged, to be diuided into fiue parts; wherof the King was to diſcharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they tooke order alſo for the prouiſion of victuals, to be at a reaſonable price taken vp in any the confederats dominions, where the army or fleet ſhould chance to ſtay: yet ſo, that it ſhould be at the King of Spain his diſcretion, out of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, firſt to take his prouiſion for the victualling of Guletta, Malta, and his own nauy. It was alſo agreed, That if the King of Spain ſhould at any time, when as the confederats had no common war, inuade Algiers, Tripolis, or Tunes, that then the Venetians ſhould of their own charge, aid him with fifty gallies well appointed: as alſo, that the king ſhould in like manner and with like forces ayd them as oft as they ſhould by the Turks be inuaded. But if it ſhould fortune the Roman territory to be inuaded, that then the aforeſaid Princes ſhould be bound with all their forces, to the vtmoſt of their power, to defend thoſe places, and the perſon of rhe Pope. And that in managing of the confederat war, the three admirals ſhould confer vpon all matters, and whatſoeuer the greater part agreed togther vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon by them all: That *Don Iohn* of Auſtria, *Charles* the fifth his naturall ſon, and brother to the king, ſhould haue the chief command of the forces both at ſea and land: but not to diſplay his own enſigne, but the common enſign of the confederats. Alſo, that ſuch places as ſhould be gained from the Turk by the confederat army, ſhould be diuided amongſt the confederat princes, excepting Tunes, Algiers, and Tripolis, which ſhould remain only to the King of Spain: That all controuerſies ariſing amongſt the Generals ſhould be decided by the Pope, to whom the Venetians ſhould lend twelue gallies, furniſhed of al things ſauing men and victuals, which the Pope ſhould of his own charge ſupply: Which gallies at the end of the war he ſhould again deliuer, in ſuch caſe as they then were: That an honorable place ſhould be left for *Maximilian* the Emperour, the French King, the King of Polonia, and the King of Portingall to enter into this league, whom with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, it ſhould beſeem the Pope to ſtir vp in ſo good a quarrell: and that it ſhould not be lawfull for any the confederat Princes to intreat of peace, or enter into league, without the knowledge and conſent of the other confederats. And for the better proceeding of all things, it was agreed, That euer in Autumn the confederat princes ſhould by their embaſſadors at Rome conſult of the next wars, and according as the time and currents ſhould require, to determine, whether their forces were to be increaſed or diminiſhed. This league thus at length with much ado concluded, was not long after in Iune with great pomp and triumph openly proclaimed in Rome, Venice, and Spaine, to the great ioy of the greateſt part of Chriſtendome. H I K L M

The proportioning of the charge of the warres against the Turke: and the other capitulations of the league.

The league proclaimed.

Whilſt

A Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Venetians the more to intangle the Turke, thought it good to make proofe, if they might by any means ſtir vp *Tamas* the Perſian king to take vp armes againſt him: who as he was a Prince of great power, ſo did he exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Perſians and them about matters of their vain ſuperſtition, as for the manifold iniuries he had oftentimes ſuſtained. There was one *Vincent Alexander*, one of the Secretaries for the ſtate; who hauing eſcaped out of priſon at Conſtantinople, was but a little before come to Venice, a wary wiſe man, and of great experience, who for his dexterity of wit, and skilfulneſſe in the Turkiſh language, was thought of all others moſt fit to take in hand ſo great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and inſtructions for the Senat, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, trauelling through Germany, Polonia, and the
B forreſts of Mœſia, in Turkiſh attire, came to Moncaſtron, a port towne vpon the ſide of the Euxine or blacke ſea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boriſthenes: where he embarked himſelfe for Trapezond, but was by a contrary wind driuen to Sinope, a City of great traffique; from whence he trauelled by rough and broken waies to Cutay, keeping ſtill vpon the left hand, becauſe he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks army (which was then marching towards Cyprus through all thoſe countries) neuertheleſſe he fell vpon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himſelf being taken for a Turke, and by blind & troubleſome waies, through rocks and forreſts, arriued at length at Erzirum, a ſtrong city of the Turks, then vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This iourney of *Alexanders* was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was vented at Conſtantinople by a ſpie, who vnder the colot
C of friendſhip, haunting the Venetian Embaſſadors houſe at Pera, had got certain knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into Perſia. Wherupon certain courrors were ſent out with al ſpeed to beſet the three ſtreit paſſages into Perſia, wherby it was ſuppoſed he muſt of neceſſity paſſe with certain notes alſo of the fauour of the man, of his ſtature, and other marks, wherby he was beſt to be knowne. But he in ſo dangerous a countrey doubting all things, and fearing ſuch a matter, leauing his company behind him, with incredible celerity poſted from Erzirum to Tauris, and was a great way gone before the Turks currors came into thoſe quarters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as far as they durſt, but could not ouertake him. *Alexander* comming to Tauris, vnderſtood that the Court lay at Casbin, about twelue daies iourney farther vp into the country; comming thither, the fourteenth of Auguſt of this yeare 1571, he chan-
D ced to meet with certaine Engliſh Merchants, with whom he had before bin acquainted: by whoſe help he not only got to ſpeake with *Ayder Tamas* the Kings third ſonne, but learned of them alſo the manners and faſhions of the Perſian Court, and how to beare himſelfe therein. The Perſians by reaſon of the intollerable heat, do moſt of their buſineſſe at that time of the yeare by night. Wherfore *Alexander* about midnight brought into *Aider*, declared vnto him the cauſe of his comming: and the next night admitted vnto the ſpeech of his aged father, deliuered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkiſh Emperour was about to take away Cyprus from the Venetians, with what greedineſſe and pride he had ſet vpon the Chriſtians, and that diſcharged of that war, he would of all likelyhood ſet vpon the Perſians; hauing the ſelfeſame quarrel vn-
E to the Perſians that he had vnto the Venetians, that is, an ardent and inſatiable deſire of ſoueraignty: a ſufficient cauſe for the greedy Turke to repute euery King the richer that he was, the more his enemy. After that, ſetting forth to the full the proweſſe of the Chriſtians, the wonderfull preparation they had made both at ſea and land, he perſuaded the King with all his power to inuade the Turke, now altogether buſied in the wars of Cyprus; and to recouer again ſuch parts of his Kingdome as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Wars he ſaid were more happily managed abroad than at home: that ſince he alone (the Chriſtian Princes all then at quiet) had withſtood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, the Chriſtian Princes now ioyning with him. That he was much vnmindfull of his former loſſes and wrongs, if he thought he enioyed an aſſu-
F red peace; which he ſhould find to be nothing elſe but a deferring of war vnto more cruell times: and that the Turke if he ſhould ouerrun Cyprus, would forthwith turne his victorious armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as he ſaid) but the beginning of another: and that the Turkiſh Empire could neuer ſtay in one ſtate: and that he ſhould obſerue not the Turks words, but his deeds; and how that the *Othoman* Emperours according to the opportunity

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, ſeeke to ſtir vp Tamas the Perſiã king to take vp arms againſt him.

Alexander the Venetian Embaſſadour hath audience with the Perſiã king.

tunity of the times, vſed by turnes, ſomtime force, ſomtime deceit, as beſt ſerued their purpo- G
ſes: That no Princes had at all times by diſſembled peace & vncertain leagues more deluded ſome, vntill they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning dealing might appear to the world: and that Princes would think, that being combined together, they might more eaſily ouercome the Turk, than being ſeparated, defend their own: That in former times, ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to vnite their forces: and that therfore they ſhould combine themſelues for their common good againſt the common enemy: That it concerned no leſſe the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to haue the power of the Turk abated: and that this taking vp of arms, ſhould be for the good of the Perſian king howſoeuer things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recouer what he had before loſt, with much more that was the Turks: if otherwiſe, yet by voluntary entring into armes to counte- H
nance himſelf, and to giue the Turk occaſion to think that he feared him not: which was (as he ſaid) the only way to preſerue their common ſafety, which would be vnto al the confederat Princes eaſie enough, if they themſelues made it not more difficult than the power of the enemy. The ſpeech of the Embaſſador was willingly heard: wherunto the king anſwered, That he would conſider thereupon what he had to do: and in the mean while, a faire houſe was appointed for the Embaſſador and his followers, and bountifull allowance of the Kings charge. He was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the noblemen, whom he ſtil requeſted to be mediatours to the King, to take that honorable war in hand. The King had at that time a ſon called *Iſmael*, a man of great ſpirit, whom he kept in durance, for that he with too much inſolency I
made roads into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, to the diſturbance of the league his father had before made with the late Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*: vnto him *Alexander* hauing acceſſe, was of him courteouſly heard; who fretting and languiſhing for very griefe of reuenge vpon the Turks, wiſhed, that either the king his father had his mind, or he himſelfe the power of a king: and ſaid, That if euer it were his good fortune to obtain the kingdome, he would indeed ſhew what he then in mind thought. But of him more ſhal be ſaid hereafter. Whilſt this matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian Court than the Embaſſador would haue had it, news was brought to the Court, of the great victory which the Chriſtians had much about that time obtained of the Turks at ſea: vpon which occaſion the Embaſſador ſolicited *Tamas* more earneſtly than before, to make himſelfe partaker of the victory of the Chriſtians, by en-
tring into confederation with them, and by taking vp of arms, rather than to hold vncertaine K
friendſhip with the Turks in their miſeries, by whom he had bin ſo often wronged. This he ſaid was the only time for the Perſian king to recouer his former glory, the like offer whereof would neither often chance, neither long ſtay: and that if he ſuffered ſo fit an opportunity to ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vain wiſh for the ſame, when it were too late. This ſo wholſome counſell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to ſtir vp the aged King: who then troubled with rebellion in Media, or weary of the former wars he had had with the Turk, and glad
The anſwer of Tamas the Perſian King vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour. of ſuch peace as he had then with him, anſwered the embaſſador, That foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Princes had made a perpetuall league amongſt themſelues, he would for 2 yeres expect the euent, and afterward as occaſion ſerued, ſo to reſolue vpon peace & war. This improuident reſolution of the King, brought afterward vnprofitable and too late repentance to the whole L
Perſian kingdom; when as within a few yeres after, all the calamities which the Senat had by their embaſſadors (as true prophets) foretold, redounded to the great ſhaking therof. For the Cyprian war once ended, and peace concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the ſon of *Selymus*, ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh Empire, inuading the Perſian King, tooke from him the great countrey of Media, now called Siluan, with a great part of Armenia the Great, and the regal city of Tauris, as ſhal be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Perſian, who now refuſed to take vp arms, or ioyne in league with the Chriſtian Princes, repented that he had not before hearkned to the wholſom counſell of the Venetians: and taught by his own harms, wiſhed in vain, that the Chriſtian princes would again take vp arms and ioine with him againſt the Turke. M

Muſtapha Baſſa returneth to the ſiege of Famaguſta. *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa and General of the Turks army, furniſhed of all things that could be deſired for maintenance of his ſiege; and ſouldiers in great number dayly repairing vnto him out of Cilicia, Syria, the leſſer Aſia, and the Countries thereabout, beſide great ſupplies brought vnto him by *Haly Baſſa* from Conſtantinople; inſomuch, that it was thought

A thought he had in his army two hundred thouſand men: began now that Winter was paſt, in the later end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto Famaguſta, and with incredible labour to caſt vp trenches & mounts againſt the City, of ſuch height, that the defendants from the higheſt places of the city could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks ſpears, or tops of their tents, as they lay incamped: which was no great matter for the Baſſa to perform, hauing in his camp forty thouſand pioners alwaies ready at his command.

The City of Famaguſta is ſcituat in the Eaſt end of the Iſland, in a plain and low ground betwixt two promontories, the one called S. *Andrews* head, and the other the head of Græcia. It is in circuit two miles, and in form foure ſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer and more winding than the reſt, doth much deform the exact figure of a quadrant: it is almoſt *The deſcription of Famaguſta.*

B on two parts beaten vpon with the ſea, the other parts toward the land are defended with a ditch not aboue fifteen foot broad, a ſtone wall, and certain bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the gate that leadeth to Amathus ſtandeth a ſix cornered tower: other towers ſtand out alſo in the wall, euery one of them ſcarce able to contain ſix pieces of Artillery. It hath a hauen opening toward the Southeaſt, defended from the iniury of the weather by two great rocks, betwixt which the ſea commeth in by a narow paſſage about forty paces ouer, but after opening wider giueth a conuenient harbor to ſhips, whereof it cannot contain any great number, and was now ſhut vp with a ſtrong chain. Neer vnto the hauen ſtandeth an old Caſtle with foure towers, after the antient manner of building. There was in the city one ſtrong bulwark, built after the maner of the fortification of our time, with paliſadoes, curtains, caſements, and ſuch

C like, in ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made ſhew of a ſtrong and well fortified city, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weak long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turk: but what wanted by reaſon of the ſcituation and weak fortification, that the Gouernour and other noble captains ſupplied in beſt ſort they might, with a ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſouldiers, the ſureſt defence of ſtrong places. There was in the city two thouſand and fiue hundred Italians, two hundred Albanois horſmen, before entertained by the Gouernour; and of the Cypriots themſelues were muſtred two thouſand and fiue hundred mo, all men reſolutely ſet down to ſpend their liues in defence of their country. *The number of the defendants of Famaguſta.*

Muſtapha with wonderfull celerity hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted

D his battery of 64 great pieces; amongſt which were foure great Baſilisks of exceeding bignes, wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the wals of the City in fiue places, but eſpecially that part of the wall that was between the hauen and the gate that leadeth to Amathus. And with great morter pieces caſt vp huge ſtones, which from high falling into the City, with their weight brake downe the houſes they light vpon, and fell oftentimes through their vaults, euen to the bottome of their cellars, to the great terror of the beſieged. The wals in diuers places ſore ſhaken, and the houſes beaten down, he began to aſſault the city: which the defendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not only defended their wals and draue the Turks from the breaches, but furiouſly ſallied out vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their fortifications, & abated their courage: nei- *Famaguſta aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians.*

E ther did the enemy with greater fury maintain the battery or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians the defence of the city, ſtill ſending their deadly ſhot into the thickeſt of that great multitude; inſomuch that in few daies the Baſſa had loſt 30000 of his men: and the captains themſelues wondring at the valor of the defendants, as if they had not now to do with ſuch Chriſtians as they had before ſo oftentimes ouerthrown, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began to deſpair of the winning of the city. The Turks thus doubting, & almoſt at a ſtand, the Chriſtians in the mean time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool-ſacks, and ſuch like, not ſparing their very beds, and bed-cloths, cheſts, carpets, & whatſoeuer els might ſerue to fil vp the breach. Among many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of pouder which with continuall ſhooting began greatly to diminiſh: wherefore to reſerue ſome part therof

F againſt al extremities, they thought it beſt whilſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to vſe the ſame more ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldome. But the Turks ſtill drawing neerer and neerer the city, & caſting vp mounts higher than the wals of the city, with earth & faggots filled vp the ditch: which done, they of the broken ſtones made wals on either ſide, to ſaue themſelues from the flankring ſhot of the Chriſtians; then giuing a freſh aſſault, they vſed not only their ſhot and *Famaguſta againe aſſaulted by the Turks.*

other

other missiue weapons,but came foot to foot,and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. G
Which manner of fight (as if it had been so agreed vpon) they euery day maintained for the space of six houres. And although the Turks by reason of their multitude were diuided into many parts,and fresh men still succeeded them that were weary; yet such was the courage of the defendants, that euery man requested to haue the places of most danger, and from thence with couragious hand repulsed the Turks with exceeding great slaughter. But for all that,the furious enemy maintaining the assault,not only by day,but by often alarms in the night also, kept the Christians continually in doubtfull suspence and readinesse, as if they should haue receiued a present assault: and as soon as it was day, with fresh men that had slept their sleep, desperatly assailed the Christians almost spent and megre for lack of sleep and rest. Force not preuailing, the restlesse enemy leauing nothing vnattempted, by a queint deuise was like to H
haue taken one of the gates of the city: there was growing in the Island great plenty of a kind of wood much of the nature of the Firre or Pitch tree, easie to be set on fire, but hardly to be quenched,but diffring in this,that in burning it gaue forth such a noisom smell, as was not by any man well to be endured: of this kind of wood the Turks brought a wonderfull quantity to one of the gates called Limosina, which once set on fire, could not by the defendants by any means be quenched,although they cast whole pipes & tuns of water at once into it,but most terribly burning close vnto the gate by the space of foure dayes, with the vehemencie of the heat and lothsomnesse of the smell,so troubled the defendants,that scarce any of them could endure to stand vpon the wall, but forsaking the same, were euer and anon like to haue giuen the enemy leaue to enter. I

Bragadinus encourageth the defendants.

Bragadinus the Goueruour,more careful of the common safety than of his own danger,ceased not still to be going about from one place to another; telling the Italians, That now was giuen the fittest occasion they could desire, for them to shew their valor in,and to gaine great honour of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glory, if by their onely means without any other help, the city so far off from the reliese of the Christians might be defended,and the great power of the Turks defeated: this (he said) was the only time wherein it stood them most vpon to play the men; for if they could keep that little was left, the rest of the Isle would be easily recouered: and although the Turks army exceeded far in number, yet did they excell them in prowesse and valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handfull of men,had oftentimes preuailed against most infinit multitudes: now all the eies of the world, K
as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, so that if they held out against so great a power, both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Christendome extoll their inuincible courage and prowesse, and that they themselues should therby reap both great profit and honour: neither that any thing could be alledged, why they should not be compared with the worthy knights of Malta, who to their eternall fame deliuered themselues out of the mouth of the Turke,and left to the world a most faire example for men valiantly to stand in so good a quarrell vpon their own defence: Nicosia (he said) was lost rather by the cowardise of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemy. He also praised the fidelitie and courage of the Græcians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Venetians, or induced to submit themselues vnto the Turks gouernment: and persuaded them,with the same re- L
solution to defend their owne city, that they saw in the Venetian soldiers, fighting for them, and for their own honour to striue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their countrey, their wiues, and children, against the tyrannie of the Turks; forasmuch as aid would in short time come,and set them free from all danger. The Senat also in like maner had sent letters to Famagusta,willing them to be of good cheere,and yet a while to hold out the siege, and that they should be in short time relieued. *Baleonius* also Generall of the garrison souldiers, himselfe in armes was present at euery skirmish,carefully foreseeing what was in euery place and at all times to bee done; and by encouraging of his souldiers, and aduenturing of his person, shewed himselfe to be both a worthy commander and a valiant soldier. Neither did the soldiers alone,but euen the women also what they might, striuing aboue the power of the strength M
both of the minds and bodies; some bringing meat, some weapons vnto the defendants,and others, stones,beds,chests,and such like stuffe to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now to wax scant, 8000 of the vulgar sort of people were turned out of the city,who al in safty were suffred to passe through the midst of the Turks army,to seek their liuing in the country.

Baleonius a valiant captaine.

Thus

A Thus whilst open force preuailed not according to the Turks desire, they began in foure places to vndermine the City, in hope to haue found entrance: but the defendants doubting such a matter, by diligent listning, and great vessels set full of water neer vnto the wals, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof discouered their works, and with countermines frustrated those of the enemy: yet in so great a stir and hurly-burly all things were not possibly to be discouered; wherby it came to passe, that whilst the defendants were altogether busied in defending the wals, a mine not perceiued was suddenly blowne vp neer to the tower standing vpon the hauen; by force wherof a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a most horrible noise ouerthrown. With the fall therof the Turks thinking the City as good as taken, with an horrible shout and outcry mounted the wall, and in the breach set vp
B their ensigns; County *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the same, so suddenly ouerthrown: which *Nestor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came speedily from his own station, to repulse the enemy now ready to haue entred. The fight became there most fierce and terrible, on the one side hope, on the other side desperation, inraged their minds: the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themselues but a little they should forthwith win the city; and the defendants propounding nothing vnto themselues but shamefull death and torture, fought as men altogether desperat. The Turks trusted to their multitude, and the Christians to their valor. In the mean time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certain great pieces aptly placed, out of the castle slew a number of the Turks as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in hast with a company of couragious soldiers,
C to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and cheering vp his followers, thrust himself with the formost into the face of the breach; and there not only appointed what was to be don, and with cheerfull countenance encouraged his soldiers, but with his own hand, hauing slain many, took one of the Turks ensigns, when as he had before slain the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the sight therof others incouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, as men fighting for their last hope. In fine the Turks were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thousand carkases of their slain fellows in the town ditch, with fourteen of their ensigns which were brought into the city. Neither was this victory gained without some losse of the Christians; about a hundred were slain, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid Nocius*, *Celsus Feto*, *Erasmus Firmo*, all Cap-
D taines.

The Turks seek to vndermine the City.

The breaches notably defended.

For all this, they in the city, took small rest, the Turks great shot stil thundring in amongst them; & that in such furious sort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of Iune) were numbred about fiue thousand great shot, shot into the city. With which continuall battery, one of the round bulwarks of the towne was so shaken, as that a part of the front therof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part stood leaning ready to fall, in such sort as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Christians perceiuing, presently vndermined the same bulwark, and in the mine placed certain barrels of gunpouder. The Turks comming to assault the place they had so sore battered, the defendans after some small resistance feigned themselues to retire for feare, so to draw the enemy the faster on; who was no sooner come to the
E place desired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwark with al them that stood thereon; of whom some were ouerwhelmed with the earth it selfe, other some were blowne vp in the aire, and falling downe again, miserably perished; and other some shot (as it were) out of a gun, fell down a great way off, and so were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a most pleasant sight. About six hundred of the Turks perished at this assault, amongst whom were *Mustapha* Generall of the voluntary soldiers, and *Fercgates* a man of great marke amongst the Turks. But by the hasty firing of the mine, there perished also about an hundred of the Christians, ouertaken in their owne deuice, amongst whom were also some of great account.

They of Famagusta blow vp one of their own battered bulwarks with 600 Turkes theron.

The Turks inflamed with their losses, were more inraged with the speeches and persuasions
F of *Mustapha* their general; who most earnestly exhorted them, with one consent to assaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the Iland, spoiled of al their country, trusting more vnto the strength of the place, than of themselues, intreating for nothing more, than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (said he) is there impregnable for the Turks? Nicosia, Zigeth, and such other strong Townes woon, what are they but the monuments and testimo-

nies of the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians,and the proweſſe of the Turks? This day (ſaid he) wil confirm your former labors & victories,which you before vndertook for honor,but here ſhal you haue honor mixt with gold,and prey ſufficient to make you all rich. The Turks incouraged with this ſpeech of their General,as men forgetfull of all dangers, began a more terrible ſiege than before;and hauing with incredible labor made three great mines, and firing them, ouerthrew a great part of the caſtle wall,the notable defence of the hauen. Which don, they with all their force oftentimes aſſailed the city,as if it ſhould haue bin their laſt labour;neither ceaſed they ſo to do night or day. At which time alſo that part of the city which is beaten vpon with the ſea,was aſſaulted by them in the gallies alſo.

Famaguſta hardly aſſaulted.

The poor Chriſtians ſpent with deadly wounds,continual labor, perpetual watching both night and day,and now brought to ſmal number, hardly withſtood the furious enemy, aſſayling them in ſo many places at once, and held out that tempeſt rather with courage than ſtrength. In the mean while the enemies army increaſed daily,the Turks in hope of the like ſpoil they had at Nicoſia,continually repairing out of the countries therabout,to the camp. The Chriſtian captains ſeeing their men with continual aſſaults ſore ſpent (inſomuch that how many ſoeuer they ſeemed to be,there was not aboue 300 ſound men left) but 7 barrels of pouder remaining,want of al things daily increaſing,and hope of aid decreaſing,& the Venetians,their only comfort,ſo far from them;the captains (I ſay) themſelues began to quaile in courage: and the rather, for that the relief ſent from Venice could not poſſibly be brought them,but ſtaid at Crete; the Turks gallies ſtil lying before Famaguſta,ſo that nothing could in ſafety be brought thither. This fear of the Captains could not long be hid or diſſembled, but that it was of the Citiſens perceiued: who hauing neither power to hold out the ſiege, neither place left to fly vnto, ouercome with neceſſity,came flocking to the Gouernour, crauing of him aid and comfort; and with aboundance of tears beſought him,in this Common deſperation to take compaſſion of them,their wiues,and children,a people that had always ſo wel deſerued of the Venetian State. Their Walls (they ſaid) were beaten down, their Bulwarks ouerthrown, the ſoldiers that remained ſpent with wounds, watching, and famin; the Enemies ſtrength increaſing daily; ſo that they muſt needs in ſhort time all periſh with the ſword,if the city were by force taken. Wherfore they beſought him,that yeelding to neceſſity,which no power was euer able to withſtand, he would at laſt whilſt time yet ſerued, prouide for the ſafety of ſo faithfull and kind a people,and not to refuſe any conditions,how hard ſoeuer.

The requeſts and tears of the Citiſens of Famaguſta, with the due conſideration of the diſtreſſed ſtate of the City,mooued *Bragadinus* to compaſſion; who comforting them vp in beſt ſort he could,perſuaded them to be of good cheer,for that he had care both of them and their ſtate, and would ſo prouide for them, as that they ſhould neuer repent themſelues of their fidelity and loialty toward the Venetian State. Hee in the mean time conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger which preſently hung ouer all their heads,propounded the matter in a general councel called together for the ſame purpoſe;where after a little debating the matter, they all agreed to yeeld: only *Baleonius* at the firſt diſſenting, as doubtful of the Turkes faith;but afterwards yeelding vnto the opinion of the reſt. So an herauld being ſent vnto the Baſſa,a truce was taken for certain daies to parle in, and hoſtages giuen on both ſides, during which time not ſo much as a dart was thrown,or an arrow ſhot from either ſide. After a few daies parly the conditions were agreed vpon, wherupon the City ſhould be yeelded into the power of the Baſſa;which were theſe: Firſt, That the inhabitants in the city yet aliue,ſhould in ſafety injoy their liues,liberty,and goods,with the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. That the Gouernour with the reſt of the Captains and ſouldiers might in ſafety depart with bag and baggage; and at their departure to take with them fiue great pieces of ordnance and three horſes, which ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them to make choice of;& that the Turks ſhould ſafely conduct them into Crete,finding them both victuall and ſhipping. All which things were with more kindnes promiſed,thanwith fidelity performed: yet all theſe matters agreed vpon and conceiued into writing,as alſo by ſolemn oath on both ſides confirmed;the gouernor ſending a meſſenger before,requeſted that he might haue leaue to ſee the Baſſa,and to deliuer vnto him the keyes of the city. Leaue being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouernor, *Baleonius*, *Andreas Bragadinus*, *Laurentius Theupolus* Earle of Paphos, *Io. Antonius Quirinus*, *Aloiſius Martinengus*,

They of Famaguſta parley with the Turks

A *tinengus* with a great sort of other Captains came into the Camp: but before they entred into the Bassa's pauilion, they were commanded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did. At the first meeting *Mustapha* entertained them curteously, and with many glorious words, as if it had bin in admiration, extolled their worthy valour and courage; saying, That he was glad now to know them by face, whose valiant minds he had before known by their most valiant deeds. Now prowesse and valor seemed not only in safety, but also honoured of the Enemy: when after a long discourse, the false Bassa revolved vnto the mischief and trechery he had before resolued vpon; complaining, that certain of his men taken at the siege, had bin afterward against all reason and order slain. Which the gouernor and the rest vtterly denying, hee start vp as in a rage, and with high words and stern countenance vrging the fact, commanded them
B all to be forthwith cast in bonds; and so bringing them out of his pauilion, in the sight of the Army, contrary to his oath and promise caused them all to be slain. At which time *Bragadinus* and *Theupolus* were oft times commanded to lay down their heads to haue had them struck off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reserued, not to saue them, but with more exquisit punishment and torture to satisfie the barbarous cruelty of the faithlesse and vnmercifull Tyrant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his ears before cut off in despight, was brought forth to be wondred at, and tortured with the most extremest kind of torture that Tyrannie it self could haue deuised: for dispoiled of his jewels and attyre, and a basket laid vpon his shoulders filled with earth, he was inforced oftentimes to carry the same, to repair the rampiers that were ouerthrown; and euer as he passed by, the proud Bassa insulting
C vpon him, to fall down and kisse the ground at his feet: and so buffeted with the Turkes fists, and spurned as a dog with their feet, was in great derision and despight asked, whether he hoped that Christ his God would come to helpe him or no? Which indignity of it self bitter and miserable, the dignity of the man made much more miserable; whose comly and stately countenance, with his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extremity added vnto him a certain majesty and grace. In this so foul a sight of vertue troden vnder foot, the poor Christians could neither wel stay their tears, nor let them fall for fear of the Turks displeasure. But the forsworn Bassa, not only forgetfull of all humanity, but inraged rather with extream cruelty, caused that noble and worthy *Bragadinus* to be set in a chair, and his skin flain off from him quick: a punishment vnworthy of him that suffered it, but most worthy him that inflicted the
D same. Yet in so great & horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word not beseeming a faithfull Christian, and the honor of his country; only he called vpon God for mercy, and detested the Turks perfidious trechery, and so breathed out his life. But the Tyrant, worthy of eternall infamy, not satisfied with the torture of the liuing man, caused the head to be cut off from the dead body, and vpon the point of a spear to be set vp on a high place for all men to look vpon. His skin also stuffed with chaffe he caused to be hanged vp at the yards arm, and so to be caried about; not so true a trophy of his victory, as a testimony of his perfideous tyrannie. Two daies after, County *Theupolus*, after he had bin most shamefully intreated, ful of the marks of the Turks cruelty, was (to make an end withall) shamefully hanged in the market place. With what cruelty the Bassa had tyrannised vpon the Nobility, with the same he
E also raged vpon the meaner sort of citisens, of whom some he slew, some he chained in the galies, and caried away the rest into bondage: 300 Christians, some soldiers, some citisens, that came forth with the gouernor to see the Turks camp, were there also slain. *Nestor Martinengus* a famous captain escaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Bassa's Eunuchs; who by the help of a Greek fisherman got to Leptis, and from thence to Crete, and so afterwards to Venice; where he faithfully reported to *Aloysius Mocenicus* the Duke, the whole proces of that War, with the losse of that City: and that in the space of threescore and ten daies there was aboue a hundred and forty thousand great shot discharged against the city. Such Noblemen and gentlemen as escaped out of this so general a slaughter, banished their Country, and in misery, dispersed without hope of return, led afterward a miserable and vagrant life, though
F some of them euen at this day (as I haue bin credibly informed) are by the Venetian State right wel maintained. The country people and artificers were generally by the Turks spared, for the peopling of the Country. This was the fatal ruin of Cyprus, one of the most fruitfull and beautiful Islands of the Mediterranian. The losse wherof not without cause grieued many Christian princes, as sometime a kingdome of it selfe, but now a prouince of the Turkish

The treachery Bassa breaketh his faith, and cruelly massacres Bragadinus and diuers others.

Cyprus lost.

Empire: our ſins, or the euil agreement of Chriſtian princes, or both the cauſe therof, I know not; neither if I did, durſt I ſo ſay. G

Whilſt *Muſtapha* yet lay at the ſiege of Famaguſta, the other two Baſſa's, *Partau* and *Haly*, (the one the Admiral, and the other General of the ſoldiers appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping of the ſea, that no relief ſhould be ſent by the Venetians to Famaguſta: and further, as occaſion ſerued to infeſt their dominions) about the midſt of May arriued in Eubœa, with 230 gallies: whither *Vluzales* Viceroy of Algiers, with diuers other the Turks notable pyrats reſorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from Eubœa, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Myſia, Ionia, Caria, and ſo directly toward the Rhodes, they were met with 30 gallies of the Turks aduenturers. After that, hauing left certain gallies to lie before Famaguſta, they directed their courſe for the Iſland of Crete, and the thirteenth of Iune put in- H
The Turk with a great fleet arriues at Crete. to the bay of Amphimalea, now called Suda, and there landed 12000 men.

Crete deſcribed The Iſland of Crete, now called Candia, is greater than Cyprus, but leſſer than Sicilia or Sardinia: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the Iſlands of the Mediterranian. It was in antient time famous for many things, but eſpecially for a hundred cities which ſtood therin, as witneſſeth amongſt others, *Seneca*, *Vrbibus centum ſpecioſa Creta*: but at this time it hath only three, Candia a Colony of the Venetians, wherof the Iſle now taketh name; Canea, and Rhetimo. The circuit of the Iſland is fiue hundred and twenty miles, ful of hills; for which cauſe people of the Country are much delighted in hunting; in it is no nauigable riuer or venimous creature. It is now moſt famous thorow a great part of the World, for the good Malmſey which there groweth, and is from thence in great aboundance ſent into many far I
countries. Therin grows alſo great plenty of Cypres trees, ſeruing for ſhipping. It is at this day ſubject to the Venetians. The Turks being landed, and ranging vp and down the Country, did what harm they poſſibly could, burning and ſpoiling all as they went; vntil that at laſt they were vpon the ſudden incountred by *Franciſcus Iuſtinianus*, who but a little before their landing was come into the Iſland with a thouſand ſouldiers, and now joining with the Iſland people, notably charged them, being altogether diſperſed and ſeeking after prey, and hauing ſlain many of them, inforced the reſt to retyre to their Gallies. The next day the Turks landing again in great number, burnt diuers towns, and ranſacked Setia and Rhetimo, where they took a rich prey, and caried away many priſoners. But loded with their booty, diſperſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than to be at that time ſet vpon, they were aſſailed by *Lucas Michael* a K
valiant Captain, two thouſand of them ſlain, and with the loſſe of their booty and priſoners
The Turks driuen from Crete. glad to retyre vnto their Gallies. Thus repulſed from Crete, they took their courſe to Cythera, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Iſlands ſubject to the Venetians; where beſides other harmes by them don, they carried away with them ſix thouſand poor Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuity.

Departing thence, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Epirus, they came to Suppolo an hauen town in Epirus, which *Venerius* in the beginning of theſe wars had taken from the Turks, but was now again by them recouered. After that, they came to Dulcigno, which the Turks had but a little before beſieged by land, for that the Gouernor therof and of Antivari (another town of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia) had compacted with three hundred L
Epirots to ſtir vp the country into rebellion, and to reuolt to the Venetians. For the effecting wherof the Epirots requeſted of the Venetians ſix thouſand ſoldiers to make head; which the Venetians promiſed to ſend them. Wherupon the aforeſaid Epirots forthwith took Arms, and raiſed moſt part of Epirus into rebellion: vnto whom was ſent at the firſt a captain with a hundred Italians from Catora. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promiſed aid, ſaw themſelues on euery ſide hardly beſet with their enemies; diſpairing of any good ſucces, they yeelded themſelues to the mercy of *Achmetes Baſſa*, *Selymus* his great Lieutenant in Grecia, (who to repreſſe that ſo dangerous a rebellion was come thither with an Army of fourſcore
A fair occaſion let ſlip. thouſand Turks.) So was a moſt fair occaſion loſt, when as the reſt of the Epirots, inflamed with the hope of liberty, were ready to haue come vnto their friends already in Arms, and by M
their example like enough to haue raiſed all Grecia into rebellion. But now deceiued of their expectation, they bewailed their miſery, and truſting to the promiſe of the Venetians, they had caſt themſelues and al theirs into moſt manifeſt danger. They of Dulcigno ſeeing themſelues hardly beſet both by ſea and land, ſent to *Partau Baſſa*, and couenanting with him, That they

A they might in safety depart, deliuered vnto him the town; and so *Sara Martinengus* gouernor of the town, with the garison soldiers, were in four ships conueyed in safety to Ragusium. As for the citisens, promise was kept with them after the Turkish maner. In the same hurly the Turks took also the towns of Antivari and Budua. Antivari was both by scituation and fortification strong, and furnished with a good garison. Neuertheles *Alexander Donatus* gouernor therof, a man of no experience in martial affairs, ouercome with the present fear, & dispairing to be able to hold the town, cowardly yeelded the same vnto the enemy. Which his beastly cowardise the Senat suffered not vnpunished, but confiscating his goods, and remooving him from the Senat, cast him into exile. From Antivari, the Turks following their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the Bay called Rizonicus, but now the Bay of Catharo, and
B both by sea and land layd hard siege vnto the strong Town of Catharo, called in antient time Ascrivium: against which they cast vp two great bulwarks, and planted theron nine great pieces of Artillery, wherwith to haue battered the Town and Castle. But the defendants as resolute men sallying out, put them from their Ordnance, and inforced them againe to their Gallies.

Certain strong townes of the Venetians yeelded vnto the Turks.

Cowardise punished.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Vluzales* and *Caracoza*, both men of great account and name among the Turks, got leaue for ten days of the Admiral, with 60 Gallies to spoile the Islands neer therabouts subiect vnto the Venetians. Who comming to the Island Curzola, about eighty miles Eastward from Ragusium, landed their men, with purpose to assault the town of Curzola, of the same name with the Island. Which *Anthonius Contarenus* the gouer-
C nor therof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for fear out of the town, into the rocks and places of more safety, after whom the townsmen followed also: so that in the town were not left aboue 20 men, and about 80 women; who with weapons in their hands, after the rest were fled, came to the walls, as wishing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous enemy. But at such time as the Turks began to approch the town, and the women with stones, fire, and such weapons as they had, were beating them off, and with greater courage defending the place, than was to haue bin in their sex expected; by the goodnes of God a great tempest arose suddenly out of the North, which so outragiously tossed the gallies, that *Vluzales* & *Caracoza* were glad to giue ouer the assault, and to get them thence into a place of more safety. Sailing alongst the coast, they by the way spoiled Lysna, Bracia, and Lissa,
D little Islands vpon the coast of Dalmatia, out of which they carried away 1600 poor Christians into captiuity. These arch-pyrats at their pleasure roaming vp and down the sea, fortuned to light vpon a ship of the Christians, bound from Messana to Corcyra, which they took, and in rifling therof found certain letters directed to the gouernor of Corcyra, certifying him of the league then but lately concluded among the Christian Princes. Which letters they sent in post to *Selymus*, to giue him knowledge therof: who therupon writ to his Admirals, With all hostility to infest any of the dominions of the Christian Confederats.

Curzola forsaken by the men, is defended by women.

The Turks fleet thus raging and reigning in the Adriatick, brought a great fear not onely vpon the coasts of Dalmatia, Istria, and the Islands therabouts which were by them most afflicted; but also vpon the sea coast of Apulia, and all alongst that side of Italy, yea and vpon the
E city of Venice it self: insomuch as they were glad to fortifie as wel the City, as the frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and garisons; as did also the King and the pope in Italy: for why, no ship or gally could now look out of any port but it was presently surprised and taken by the Turks. Which with the sundry calamities before receiued, so confounded the Venetians, that they in their assemblies and consultations seemed rather to quake for fear, than after their wonted maner, grauely to consult how the enemy was to be repulsed. Yet for the more safety of their city, and for fear lest the Turks fleet should forcibly break in vpon them, they strongly fortified the passages through the rock or bank which defendeth the city from the sea, and kept continually twelue thousand men in readines in the City, for the more assurance therof.

F All the Turks fleet being again met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from Aulona, the 26 of August, and sailed directly to Corcyra: which little Island seemed to be compassed in round with the great enemies fleet. *Partau Bassa* at his first arriual there landed 800 horsemen and a thousand foot; who ranging vp and down the Island, did great hurt, and burnt the very suburbs of the city. At which time the garison soldiers sallying out vpon them with a thou-

sand horsmen and 500 foot slew a great number of them, and among the rest one *Paphus Rays* a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet hauing don wonderful harm in the Venetian territory, as wel in the Islands as vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia; inriched with the spoile of those countries, and carying away with them fifteen thousand most miserable captiues; departing from Corcyra, arriued al in the bay of Corinth, now called the gulf of Lepanto, where we wil for a while leaue them to ride in safety. G

The Turkes put into the Bay of Lepanto.

At such time as this great fleet (the terror of that part of Christendom) first put into the Adriatique, *Venerius* the Venetian Admiral then lying with fifty gallies at Corcyra, and fearing if he should longer stay there, to be inforced with so small a power to fight against so strong an enemy, or els so to be shut vp, that he could not joyn his forces with the Spanish fleet, which was daily expected; vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to Messana, there more commodiously and more safely to attend the comming of *Don Iohn* of Austria, general of the Spanish forces. At his comming *Columnius* met him with 12 gallies (which the great Duke of Florence had sent in the aid of the Confederats) and three gallies of Malta, who only were yet come thither, and with great honor receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither also with 62 gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the relief of Famagusta, but now called back again to join with the rest of the fleet: and in short time the gallies of Sicily arriued there also. At last after long expectation in the later end of August came *Don Iohn* with his Spanish fleet; a man then about 24 yeares old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemish only excepted: who although he was most dear vnto his father *Charles* the fift, yet left he him nothing by his Wil, but only commended him to his son *Philip* as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his comming, went to meet him, and that with such triumph and joy, that all the former heauines before conceiued of his long staying, was turned into gladnes, with most assured hope of triumphant victory; their doubled forces, and two great fleets joined in one, encouraged them aboue measure, filling all the West with expectation of some great matter. The Venetian fleet consisted of 108 gallies, six galliasses, two tall ships, and a great number of small galliots. Vnto them were joined 12 gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was admiral. And with *Don Iohn* the General, and *Auria* the Spanish Admiral, came 81 Gallies, of whom three were from the Knights of Malta. In this fleet, beside mariners, were reckoned to be twenty thousand men; an Army not only beautiful for shew (as consisting of most choice bodies) but indeed strong and puissant, old beaten souldiers almost throughout it, in euery place intermixed with others of lesse skil: many known to be men of great experience, rich and lusty bodies, were by name called forth to this so honorable seruice; and diuers others of great nobility, as wel old men, as yong and lusty gallants, for the naturall hatred they bare against the Common Enemy, came, and as voluntary men cheerfully thrust themselues into that religious War: euery of which Noblemen as they were greater by birth or power, so had they drawn after them a greater number of their fauorits and followers, strong and able bodies of their own charge brauely armed; who sought for no other pay for their pains and danger, but by some notable victory to eternise their names, or honourably to spend their liues in so iust a quarrel, as for the defence of the Christian faith and Religion. Among these most honorable and resolute men were three of greatest mark, *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma, in time to be the honor and glory of Italy his natiue country; whose vntimely death in the low Countries euen his honorable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cause and worthy desert accounted among the most politique and famous leaders of our age. The second was *Franciscus Maria* prince of Vrbin, a yong man honorably descended, and of an inuincible courage. And the third *P. Iordanus Vrsinus*, an honorable gentleman of the family of the *Vrsini* in Rome. H I K L

The forces of the confederats meet together at Messana.

Don Iohn of Austria General.

All the power of the confederat princes thus met together at Messana, and al things now in readinesse, a Councel was called by the General, to resolue what course to take in those most dangerous wars, against so puissant an enemy: vnto which Councel were admitted onely *Don Iohn* the General himself, and *Aloisius Rechezenes*, of some called *Requesenius*, great Commendor of Castile, the Generals lieutenant, or rather director of his actions: *Sebastianus Venerius* the Venetian Admiral; and *Augustinus Barbadicus* General proueditor, of equal authority and reputation with the Admiral; and one Secretary. *Marcus Antonius Columnius* the Popes admi- M

rall,

A ral,with *Pompeius Colonna* his kinſman. The chief point wheron theſe great Commaunders were to reſolue,was,Whether they ſhould aduenture the general fortune of a battel againſt ſo ſtrong an enemy,or only ſeek to defend the frontiers of their own dominions. Which queſtion(as all others of like ſort)was of diuers diuerſly fanſied,euery man pleaſing himſelfe with his own reaſons. *Requiſenius*, *Don Iohn* his chief Counſellor(without whom he willingly did nothing,and vndoubtedly a man of great valour and experience) ſpeaking firſt, ſaid,That the Enemies ſtrength was neceſſarily to be known,before they committed all to the fortune of a battel; and that therfore delay was to be vſed,leſt improuident haſt ouerthrew all. Matters of War that were to be decided by the ſword,were (as he ſaid) with great and ſound aduice to be adminiſtred,for that the errors of battel,wherby all was to be put in haſard, were not again
B to be amended. He highly commended *Scipio Africanus*,who counſelled great Commanders not to fight with the enemy but vpon ſome great advantage, or els therunto forced by neceſſity. But as things now ſtood,what opportunitie could be miniſtred,or aduantage taken,the enemy keeping himſelf cloſe within the bay of Corinth,and no apparant means how to draw him out from thence. Neither that he for his part was of ſo great ſpirit,as within the harbor in place of diſaduantage,without hope,to ſet vpon an enemy in common eſtimation ſtronger than himſelf. For what diſhonor ſhould they incur, if hauing receiued ſome notable loſſe, they ſhould be inforced with ſhame to giue ouer the enterpriſe begun? And to beſiege Orichus,Dirrachium,or Caſtrum Novum,frontier Towns of the Turks, ſo to draw them out to battel; what were this more, than to ſhew a certain fear & diſtruſt in themſelues, and to diſ-
C courage the minds of the ſouldiers? For as well the Enemy, as the common ſouldior,would forthwith deem ſuch a poor attempt to proceed of a meer fear,as to make a vain ſhew of ſomthing doing,when as they durſt not incounter the enemy in his ful ſtrength. As for the other reaſon drawn from Neceſſity; What neceſſity had they,ſo deſperatly to ſet vpon the enemy, who vpon the approch of Winter muſt needs in ſhort time lay vp his Gallies; and being already in ſafe harbor, would neuer be drawn to the haſard of a battel, eſpecially like hope,like ſtrength, like danger appearing on both ſides? Wherfore it were beſt in his opinion, only to make a great ſhew of their forces, ſo to terrifie the barbarous Enemy; but in no caſe to hazard the hope of the whole Chriſtian Commonweal vpon the fortune of one battell. He further alſo propounded vnto him the vncertain euents of things, the common chances of War,
D the ſtrength of the Enemy as wel by ſea as by land,with whom they themſelues were not (as he ſaid) indeed comparable. Then what an infinit heap of miſeries was like to ouerwhelm the Chriſtian Commonweal,if they ſhould in any thing miſcarry. And that therefore ſafe aduice was in this caſe to be preferred, before that which was attended vpon with great and imminent danger.

On the other ſide the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State,were far of another opinion. Where *Venerius* and *Barbadicus* not only vehemently perſuaded,but moſt inſtantly requeſted the Generall, with the reſt of the great Commanders, That as ſoon as opportunity ſerued they would commit the matter to the trial of a battel,and not make that Councel,which their couragious minds might make moſt glorious &
E fortunat,by declining of battel to become diſhonorable & fruſtrat. If deſire of honour (ſayd they) mooue vs not,ſhal neither theſe things mooue vs? the loſſe of ſo great and chargeable a preparation, the ſpoiling of our frontiers,and the inſolencie of our enemies, which we increaſe by delay? We defend our ſelues and ours, we inuade not them: We go not about to driue the Turk out of his Empire;but that we our ſelues be not by him driuen out of our own countries. Wherfore we ought ſo much the more readily and ſpeedily to think of battell,by how much the neceſſity of him is greater that repulſeth a danger,than of him that offreth the ſame. What are our weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? Shall the Turks ſo often prouoke vs,& we ſtil be vnreuenged? Shall we alway ſhew our weapons, & neuer fight? One fortunat battel is able to blot out the infamy of former time, & to fil vs with hope of future hap-
F pines. If nothing els, let the very indignity of the matter ſtir vs vp to battell. And what doubt is there but that the Enemy ſwelling with pride,wil come forth with his fleet and giue vs battel? Think you that a ſmal diſcredit wil inſue to our honour and reputation,if contented with a vain brag,hauing not once skirmiſhed with the Enemy, or ſo much as ſeen him,we ſhall return home,to the generall ſhame of Chriſtendom? See how many peſtilent incon-

The Venetians vrge battell.

veniences

ueniences will insue, if we shall take this course. This manner of proceeding wil fil all mens G
minds with dispair; the people wil murmure, That they are to no purpose oppressed with exactions and tributes. The confederat princes (carefull of this war) will say, That they haue in vain wearied themselues with often embassies and care thetof. The proud enemy wil account our departure, or declining of battel, for a manifest victory. The next year we may looke for him again with a greater and stronger fleet, which wil not only make a more heauy War, but destroy and bear down all before it. At which time who can assure vs that the Christians will haue the like preparation, if we shal now delay to fight. What labor is to be taken? what cost to be bestowed, to set forth again so great a fleet? Vnto these causes which impose vpon vs a necessity and force to fight, is adioyned not only a singular regard of our honor, but a most notable opportunity also offered. We neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furnished with men, H
munition, and all things els to be required for the gaining of a notable victory: & who knows not the Christian gallies are far stronger than the Turks? Besides that, the greatest part of their best soldiers are in hope of prey gon into Cyprus, who there seeking after spoil, & forgetful of the enemy, without controlment glut themselues with the pleasures of that rich Island, wherby their fleet is so much the weaker. All which things, as they promise no hard victory, so do they propound vnto vs honor, glory, fame, and most honorable rewards; & open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the present, and recouery of that hath bin before lost. What then stand we stil looking for? or why do we not in Gods name ioin that battel, which is vnto vs not only necessary, but profitable also.

Thus much said, they began to intreat and beseech the General and the rest, not longer to I
suffer the Christian commonweal to receiue losse vpon losse, but to repose their only hope in the good succes of one worthy battel; and neuer to look for the like opportunitie if they let slip the present. This matter of so great consequence thus thorowly debated among the greatest commanders, they thought it good to hear also the opinions of other noble Captains, of no lesse experience than themselues (then in the fleet) before they would conclude any thing.

Cornea & Serbellio persuade the giuing of battell.

Among the rest, *Antonius Cornca* and *Gabriel Serbellio*, both Spaniards, and for their great wisedom and valor had in general reputation of all men; beeing demaunded their opinions, with most substantial reasons declared the necessity of giuing battel; and that it was not so dangerous as to be therfore shunned or delaied, forsomuch as that violent enemy was far easier to be dealt with all at sea than at land: where he must fight without his great multitude of men, the K
Turks chief hope, and onely means wherby they haue obtained so many victories against the Christians. And so concluded their opinions with an effectuall persuasion to set forwards to Corcyra, and without delay as occasion serued to giue the enemy battel. Which their opinion being generally wel liked, was shortly after by the General and the rest approoued, & a resolution set down for the giuing of battel. Which was no sooner known but there was a general rejoicing through the army, euery man cheerfully preparing himself to lay down his life in defence of the Christian Commonweal, and that with such an erneſt desire of battel, that euery day now seemed nothing els but a delay of a most assured victory.

Yet before they should come into the sight of the enemy, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the fleet into the sea, and there to martial the same in such sort, as if they L
should euen then presently haue joined battel: to the intent, that by such orderly disposing of their fleet, and by appointing to euery man his place he was to keep, they might so acquaint them with the order of the battel, as that they should when time serued, of themselues without further direction, martial themselues, and so more readily enter into battel. The next day the Admirals brought forth their fleets into the open sea: in the right wing (which consisted of fifty three Gallies) was *Auria* placed: in the left wing was *Augustinus Barbadicus* with the like number of Gallies also: and in the middle battel stood the General himself with seuenty gallies: on the right hand of the General stood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius*, his associats. Thus with equal front the fleet set forward, as if they should euen presently haue joined battel. Betwixt the wings and the middle battel was left no more space but for three gallies M
to row: in the rereward behind the General followed *Requisenius*, the great Commaunder of Castile, with his gallies. After *Columnius* followed the Admiral gally of Genoa, wherin was *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma: and behind *Venerius* came the Admiral gally of Savoy, and in her the Prince of Vrbin: in the space betwixt the middle battel and the left wing, was

The Confederats put their fleet in order of battell.

placed

A placed *Paulus Iordanus*: and betwixt the middle battel and the right wing was *Petrus Iuſtinianus* with the gallies of Malta: vpon the left wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*, and *Quirinus* on the right. About half a mile behind all the reſt followed *Alvarus Bacianus* Marquis of Sancrace, and Admiral of the Neapolitan fleet, with 30 gallies; a man of great experience in matters at ſea, and now ſo placed, to be at all times ready to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as the fortune of the battel, or impreſſion of the enemy ſhould require. The Chriſtians had repoſed great hope in ſix galliaſſes; which furniſhed with great ſtore of ordnance, & certain ſelect companies of moſt reſolute ſoldiers, ſeemed rather like caſtles than ſhips. Theſe galliaſſes conducted by *Franciſcus Dodus* a moſt expert captain, were placed aboue half a mile from the fleet, two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battell: ſo far di-
B ſtant one from another, as that with equal ſpace they anſwered the whole bredth of the front of the fleet, which was almoſt the ſpace of fiue miles, and ſerued the ſame in ſtead of moſt ſtrong bulwarks. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not cloſe together, but ſuch a conuenient diſtance one from another, as might ſerue for them at liberty to diſcharge their Ordnance when time ſhould require. In the wings, as alſo in the main battel, were the Popes, the Kings, and the Venetian Gallies indifferently intermixed, that by the quality of the danger they ſhould haue more care to relieue one another than if they had ſerued apart. *Ioannes Cardonius* a moſt valiant captain, with 8 gallies of Sicily and 2 galliots, was appointed to go ten miles before the fleet, to deſcry what he might of the enemies doings, and in his return to join the one half of his gallies to the one wing, and the other half to the other.

C In this ſort they departed from Meſſana, with purpoſe to ſeek out the enemy; and not long after came to Paxo; where of a ſmall broil at the firſt had like to haue riſen a great miſchief: for the next day, whilſt *Don Iohn* ſtaied there to take a view of the Venetian Gallies, and how they were furniſhed both of men and munition; he finding them but weakly manned, for ſupplying that want, appointed 4000 Spaniards and a thouſand Italians to be put abord into the Venetian gallies where moſt need was.

A Spaniſh captain raiſeth a mutiny.

Amongſt theſe ſouldiers was one company vnder the commaund of *Mutius Tortona* their Captain, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboord the gally of *Andreas Calergus*, firſt fel to words with the Captain of the gally, and after much ſtir into plain fight; ſo that in a trice they were altogether by the ears, as wel the ſoldiers as the captains: of al which
D ſtir *Mutius* was the only author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, ſent the captain of his own gally to appeaſe the tumult: who thruſting himſelf into the midſt of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury fouly intreated, and diuers of them that came with him ſhrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himſelf alſo of an hot nature) taking as don in diſgrace of the Venetians, and therwith exceedingly mooued; to the terror of others cauſed *Mutius* and his Enſigne-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arm of the ſame gally, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The Generall alſo taking this execution in euill part, ful of choler and indignation grieuouſly complained, that he himſelf as General was therin not a little wronged; and that it became euery man to know what belonged to his place, and not to incroch vpon his betters: ſo ſhould the conditions of the league be better kept, if eue-
E ry Commander could keep himſelf within the bounds of his own authority. *Venerius* (he ſaid) whoſe authority was inferior to his, could not of right without his command determine any thing againſt *Mutius* a Spaniſh captain: and that therin his honor was impaired. For which if he had not a publique and honorable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redreſſe his wrong, and the league being broken, to carry away with him the Kings gallies. Neither wanted there ſome, who fauoring *Don Iohns* quarrell, and angry with the Venetians, laid ſtill more coles on the fire that was already too great. Hereunto *Venerius* ſent word vnto the Generall, That he ſhould do wel to moderat his anger, and at leiſure to aduiſe himſelfe, and better to vnderſtand the matter; ſo ſhould he plainly ſee, that there was neuer more iuſt and wholſom execution don vpon any, than vpon thoſe mutinous perſons. But if he, carried away with the
F heat of youth, ſhould attempt any more violent courſe than ſtood with the common quiet, it were not to be maruelled if he afterward repented. He (as he ſaid) was alſo in Arms, and ready to ſhew himſelf a man. The matter was grown to that heat, that it was not onely not far from the breaking off of the league; but euen at the point to haue ſet all on a broile, and to haue put the whole fleet in great danger. Had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, againſt

He and his Antient hanged.

Diſſention betwen Don Iohn and Venerius.

this

this tempeſt oppoſed himſelf: he with al his power labored to cure the wounded mind of the General, and to appeaſe his anger; telling him, That the Common enemy would hardly be withſtood by them all, being at vnity and concord among themſelues: but if vnto the forrein danger were alſo ioined domeſtical diſcord, then were the Chriſtian commonweal vndon. But if he would moderat his anger, and more regard the honor and credit of the Venetian Admiral, than the puniſhment of a ſeditious man, euen they which were vnto him friends, and enemies vnto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation & ſtaidnes. Yea, that howſoeuer the matter was don, it could not be now vndon. But whatſoeuer *Venerius* had don, was in his opinion iuſtly don. That it was alwaies ſo accounted and obſerued, that when princes joined their forces together, in matters that concerned the common mannaging of War, nothing was to be don without the command of the Generall; but in matters belonging to the priuat gouernment of euery mans regiment, euery General had power of life and death ouer them that were vnder his command. Which to be ſo, was as he ſaid herby to be vnderſtood: King *Philip* was King of many kingdoms, and that he might long ſo be he heartily wiſhed: Now if any Millanois had committed any capital crime worthy of death, in the kingdom of Naples, ſhould the iudgment of that crime be of right to be referred vnto the King himſelf, as the chief Soueraign? or vnto the Gouernor of Millain, where the offendor was born? or rather to the ciuil Magiſtrat of Naples, in whoſe iuriſdiction the fault was committed, and ſo of right there to be executed? What difference was there then, but that *Mutius* might iuſtly ſeem to haue bin rightly puniſhed by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spaniſh Captain, had yet raiſed a mutiny in a Venetian Gally which was vnder the commaund of the Venetian Admiral. Beſide that, the diſcipline of War ſomtime required a ſeuere and exemplary kind of puniſhment. For which cauſe it was both notably and truly ſaid of *Clearchus*, That a General was to he more feared of his ſoldiers, than the enemy. And that among the antient Romans it had bin the cuſtom, euen for priuat men with more ſeuere puniſhment to reſtrain the factious Citiſen, than the moſt cruell enemy. That the fact was not ſo much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it. That it was the duty of Commaunders to withſtand the madnes of the mutinous. The author of ſedition and tumult, he ſaid, had ſuffered but condign puniſhment of his fact: who if he had eſcaped vnpuniſhed, would but haue bin the more diſordred. But now his exemplary puniſhment would deter others from the like inſolencie. Beſide that, the external danger was ſuch, as ought to reconcile them were they neuer ſo great enemies. That ſuch men as they were ſhould aboue all things regard what might profit or hurt the Common cauſe; in contemplation wherof all priuat injuries were to be remitted: and the rather, for that the honor and diſhonour of the good or bad ſucces of ſuch an important action ſhould redound vnto themſelues, but eſpecially to the General. His own duty he had as he ſaid diſcharged, in dealing ſo plainly and faithfully with him, and could do no more but pray vnto God, with mercifull eie to behold the troubled Chriſtian Commonweal in ſo dangerous a time.

Don John ſtill enuieth Venerius.

Thus was the mutiny at Paxo by the great labour of *Columnius* hardly appeaſed. Neuertheleſſe *Don Iohn* could not afterwards endure to participate with *Venerius* his Counſels, or ſo much as to come into his company: but all was don by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Prouidetor.

Barbadicus a notable man.

This *Barbadicus* was not inferior to *Venerius* in courage and valor, but far beyond him in diſcretion: a man of a tall and goodly perſonage, wel coloured, his beard grizy, though not for age, for why he was not aboue fifty years old: beſides that, in his eies and countenance appeared a vivacitie or liuelines of ſpirit: in his very gate and comly motion of his body hee carried a certain grace and majeſty: his talk and ſpeech was alwaies calm and temperate, his counſell graue and ſound; ſo that he was greatly honored and beloued of all men. His chief endeauor alſo was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo well begun by *Columnius*. And ſo all things brought into ſome reaſonable good tearms, they departed from Paxo and came to the Iſland of Corcyra, the ſpoil wherof wel declared the Enemies late being there. From thence they departed vnto Cephalenia, where they by Letters from *Pau. Contarenus* Gouernour of Zacynthus, were aduertiſed, That the Turks fleet of three hundred and three and thirty ſail, of one ſort and other, lay in the gulf of Corinth, which is now called the gulf of Lepanto. Wherupon they ſhortly after remooued, with full purpoſe to haue gon to Petala, an hauen lying oppoſit ouer againſt the Iſlands (or rather rocks) called Echinades,

A Echinades, but now Corzulares, and ſo to the bay of Cotinth, to draw the enemy forth to battel: but ſtayed with coatrary winds they put back again into the vally of Alexandria, another port in the Iſland of Cephalenia; from whence they afterward departed to the Iſlands Corzulares, where by the way they vnderſtood by letters out of Crete, That Famaguſta was loſt. With which bad news they were no whit diſcouraged, but rather inflamed with deſire of reuenge. From the Iſlands they went to Galanga, a good harbour, where they ſtaied one night, purpoſing the next day to haue gon to the mouth of the gulf of Lepanto, there to dare the Turks to battel.

The Turks Baſſa's *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good ſafety within the gulf, hearing of the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, began to conſult with the reſt of the moſt expert Cap-
B tains, Whether to giue the Chriſtians battel, or to keep themſelues ſtil within their ſafe harbor: vpon which doubt they were among themſelues of diuers opinions. Amongſt the reſt, *Chiroche* a man of great years and authority, and withall a moſt noble Captain, exhorted the Baſſa's, in no caſe, when no need was, vpon a vain-glory to aduenture all to the fortune of an vncertain battel: it was, as he ſaid, the part of wiſe and worthy commanders, to moderate with reaſon their happy fortunes, for that therunto were incident many accidents, wherby their former felicity might be diſgraced. They had already run along the enemies coaſt, ſpoild the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honor & greater ſpoil ſafely returned, hauing increaſed the Turkiſh empire with many ſtrong towns of the enemies. The Iſland of Cyprus was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turks obeiſance, the enemies great pro-
C uiſion at ſea fruſtrated, in ſuch ſort, as that hauing loſt diuers of their gallies, they were neuer yet able to draw their ſwords: they had with their fleet at their pleaſure romed vp and downe the Adriatick, and diſplaied their victorious enſignes almoſt vnto the very City of Venice. What could they then deuiſe or wiſh for more honorable or glorious, than with the ſafety of their fleet, yea without any loſſe at all, to haue performed ſo great matters? Now the three General commanders of the enemies fleet to be ſo at diſcord among themſelues, as that they were ready to fall in ſunder of themſelues; who now vpon the approch of winter, and for want of victual muſt needs in few daies return home again, neuer herafter to meet again with like ſtrength at ſea. And therfore to what purpoſe were it, by force of arms and vncertain battell, with danger to ſeek for the ſoueraignty and command of the ſea, which would forthwith of it
D ſelf without any danger fal vnto them? neither ſhould they by the doubtful victory ſo much increaſe their honour, as by the vncertain euent of a battell blemiſh the ſame, if any thing ſhould fal out otherwiſe than wel. And that therfore they ſhould do well to take heed, that in ſeeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honor already gained; but wholſomly to delay the War, and keepe themſelues in ſafety with their fleet within the gulf, and not to go out at the enemies pleaſure, but when they ſhould ſee good themſelues, at ſuch time as the enemy was not ſo wel prouided. So ſhould they (he ſaid) without any great labor or danger attain to the full of their own deſires.

Chiroche diſſuades the Baſſa's frō giuing the Chriſtians battell.

Partau Baſſa was of opinion, that the Chriſtians would not at all offer him battel. Which opinion the Chriſtians had alſo of him: and in this queſtion, for giuing or not giuing of bat-
E tel, ſeemed neither to approoue or diſlike that *Caroche* had ſo grauely ſpoken, but as a man indifferent, loth to incur any blame, ſhewed himſelf ready either to ſtay or ſet forward, as ſhould be thought fit by the greater part. But *Haly Baſſa*, a man of a hoter ſpirit, and the great Champion of the Turks, could not indure to hear of any delay, but of preſent battell. The pleaſure of *Selymus*, the hope of victory, the remembrance of the diſpleaſure of *Pial Baſſa* had the laſt year incurred, for not giuing the Chriſtians battell, induced him now in no caſe to refuſe battel, but forthwith to go out of the gulf, and to accept therof if it were offered. In which opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous Pyrat, and in great account among the Turks, who in a ſwift galiot taking view of the Chriſtian fleet, had reported it to be much leſſe than indeed it was; deceiued as it was afterward thought by not taking ful
F view therof, by reaſon of his poſting haſt; or els blinded by the Iſland, which lying behind the fleet, ſuffered him not perfectly to deſcry the ſame. Vpon which report there was great reioycing among the Turks, who now after their accuſtomed maner dreamed of nothing but victory and ſpoil. So that *Haly*, vainly perſuaded that his fleet was both the greater and ſtronger,

Partau Baſſa indifferent for giuing or not giuing battel.

would

would now needs fight, in hope that the Christians vpon first sight of the Turkes fleet would either retyre and saue themselues by shamefull flight, or els in aduenturing battel at so great ods, by their fooliſh hardines receiue a notable ouerthrow. This opinion of the Bassa was also not a little confirmed by the persuasion of *Cassanes*, *Barbarussa's* son, *Vluzales*, and *Chais Beg* Gouernor of Smyrna, all men of great mark and experience, especially in sea matters. And although *Partau* the other Bassa stood wauering as a man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Gouernor of Alexandria, with *Carabuzes* Gouernor of Cilicia, and *Mechmet* Gouernour of Eubœa, men of no lesse worth than the other, vpon better consideration were of a quite contrary mind, for not giuing the Christians battel. Yet such was the authority of *Haly*, or rather his importunitie, forced to his own destiny, that his opinion preuailed; so that now out they must needs and fight. Albeit that two other Spies sent out after *Caracoza*, and hauing more perfectly viewed the fleet, returning with speed told the Bassa's as truth was, That the Christians very strong and wel appointed, were comming with ensignes displaied, of purpose to fight; and that their fleet was in number much greater than was before supposed. With which news so far contrary to their expectation, the Bassa's were exceedingly troubled: and demaunding whether the formost gallies were all Venetians or not; and being answered that they were intermixt, some Venetians, some Spanish and of the other Western countries, they began to doubt the worst, and became exceeding pensiue. Neuertheles knowing themselues to be of all things wel furnished, hauing now victualled in the bay of Corinth, and there also taken in 12000 Ianizaries and Spahies, drawn out of the garrisons of Ætolia, Acarnania, Peloponesus, and the countries there by, all resolute men, and four thousand other common soldiers, and that they could not now with their honor shrink back, they held it stil for the best to on hold their former resolution for the giuing of the Christians battel. Yet before their setting forward, calling together the captains and chief commanders of the fleet, *Partau* the more to incourage them, spake vnto them as followeth:

The Turkes resolue to giue the Christians battell.

Partau Bassa incourageth the Turks.

We are to fight (said he) *fellows in arms, with that kind of men whom our ancestors haue driuen out of Eubœa, the Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponesus, and Tripolis, and we our selues but yesterday out of the famous Island of Cyprus; whose cities and strong towns, in number infinit, our Emperor hath as the reward of his wars; whom we haue alwaies vanquished as well by sea as by land: and shall it then now repent you that you in this war imbrued in the Christian bloud, haue sunk or taken many of their ships and gallies? That you haue caried away great and rich spoils? that you haue taken whole Islands and cities at the first assault? That we haue by proof shewed vnto the world, what force there is in the Turk to subdue strong cities and towns? and what little power is in the Christians to defend the same? What direction brought vs victory before, the same shall also at this present giue vs the like. Not to speak of that, that we far excell them both in number of men and gallies; this is more to be reckoned of, that we excell them in valour and proweſſe: for you being old expert soldiers, from your infancie trained vp in the wars, hardned in infinit battels, and full of courage and strength, shal fight against weak fresh-water and effeminat soldiers; who entertained for pay (of the refuse of all Nations) know nothing belonging to the warres; or forcibly pressed out of Cities, serue not because they would, but because they can neither will nor chuse. But to speak no more of the maner of the Christian soldiers, who are nothing els than the perpetual exercise of your renowned proweſſe; and to come vnto him vnder whose fortune and conduct they serue: What should I say? Should I compare either of vs (who haue spent our liues in victories and triumphs: who born & brought vp amongst arms, haue with our right hands gained vnto our selues honor and fame) with this stripling and half-moneths captain, who neuer saw battels but these? Who in a lesse matter neuer shewed proofe of himself, why should he be accounted of in a greater? who in so mighty a cause needeth a tutor; and such a one as indeed bears the name of a General, more for his honor, than for any worth in himself. Besides, among st the enemies is such dissention, that euery man regardeth his own priuat, serueth as pleases himself, contemneth and is contemned: wher as with vs is such consent, that it canot be deuised how the soldiers in general should more trust their commanders, or the Commanders their soldiers. What things were by the discipline of war or carefulnes of a General to be prepared, all those you haue abundantly and plentifully in readines: Onely this last warlike labour remaineth; which once dispatched, our Enemies shal be discomfited euen in that wherin their greatest confidence resteth. They shall be despoiled of their honour and traffique at sea: and that * city once subdued (which is alone the glory of the sea) there shal be no hope left for*

* Viz. Venice.

A *for the Christians, whether by sea or land: and (that we haue alwaies wished) Italy, faire Italy (wherein these matters are plotted against vs) shall be in our hand and power: wherefore let vs with such courage assaile our enemies, as beseemeth most victorious conquerors, men so many times conquered: And so set forward, as if you saw our Emperor himselfe encouraging you, and giuing you the signall of battell; of his bounty, and the present victory, expecting all felicity and blisse.*

This comfortable speech with great grauity deliuered by the Bassa, so encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind seemed to desire nothing more than battel: for they still possessed with the first report of *Caracoza*, and encouraged by the Bassa's speech, were in good hope to haue fought the battell vpon great aduantage, and therfore thought vpon no-
B thing but present victory. Whereupon setting forward with great cheerefulnesse, they came out of the gulfe, and shaped their course for the Islands Echinades, about mid-way betwixt Lepanto and Patras, before little Islands, or rather obscure rocks, scarcely appearing in the sea, but now to be made famous throughout the World, by the most notable battell that euer was fought in those seas.

The Turks fleet commeth out of the gulfe of Lepanto.

The Islands Echinades, or Corzulares.

The Christians also comming still on towards the enemy, the seuenth of October in the afternoone vnderstood by their espials, that the Turks fleet was comming, and euen now at hand: whereupon the Generall commanded the great Ensigne of the confederats (the appointed signall of battell) to be forthwith displaied, and a great warning piece to be shot off out of his Admirall gally. And himselfe glistering all in bright armor, with *Cardona* Admirall of Si-
C cilia, and *Soto* his secretary, in a long boat went to all the squadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerefull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the men: remembring, that they that day carried in their hand the wealth, honour, glory, and liberty of their countries, yea, and the very religion of their forefathers; and that that daies victory would bring vnto them and theirs perpetuall felicity: whereas otherwise, if they should as cowards suffer themselues to be ouercome and vanquished, it would be vnto them the beginning of all manner of most wofull calamities. To which and other his like speeches, the Captaines and souldiers (before of themselues cheerefull enough) in euery place where he came gaue such applause with the joyfull cry of Victory, Victory, so often and so cheerefull in all places resounded, as that it was taken as a lucky aboadment of the glorious victory shortly af-
D ter ensuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right wing, and *Barbadicus* in the left (for the fleet kept the same order that they had appointed before at Messana) ceased not by all comfortable speeches to encourage their followers: shewing vnto them, That now the time was come they so long wished for, wherein they not oppressed with multitude, might at length shew their true valour against the false and faithlesse enemies; who being indeed nothing els but base & contemptible slaues borne to bondage, and hauing lost their owne liberty, came to impugne the liberty of others; bringing with them a greater terror of their name, than valour of their persons: and that therefore, if euer, they would now shew themselues valiant and couragious, and that day, wherein of all others true force was to be seene, to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruell enemy, and to make their rejoycing for the conquest of Cyprus short, before
E they had well tasted the pleasures thereof. At which time also, the Captaines generally thorowout the fleet, with cheeerfull countenances and couragious speech encouraged their souldiers; leauing nothing vnsaid that might hearten them on; or vndone, that might further the victory.

Neither were the Turks wanting to themselues (although it was fallen out much contrary to their expectation, to see the Christians, who they before thought durst not haue shewed themselues, now ready to dare them battell) but encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind, came on proudly with their fleet orderly and gallantly set after their wonted manner in forme of a Croisant or halfe-Moon, their fortunat ensigne: neuertheless in their comming on they were much troubled with the brightnes of the Sun, which
F then shining full in their faces, with his bright beams so dazled their eies, that they could not well see how to their most aduantage to direct their gallies. In this fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty gallies, fifty galiots, and twenty brigadines & other small vessels: all which a far off shewed like a thicke wood, but cumming neere hand, presented (as we said) the forme of a Croisant. The middle battell in number much like the Christians, was conducted by the great

The number & order of the Turks fleet.

great Bassa's *Haly* and *Partau*, attended vpon with *Agan* Master of the Turks Arsenall; *Mustapha Zelibi* the Treasurer; *Achmat Bay*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the sonnes of *Haly*: *Achmat Aga* Gouernour of Teuthrania: *Assis Caiga* Gouernour of Calipolis: *Caracoza*, *Cassanes* the sonne of *Barbarussa*; *Malamur* Gouernour of Mytilene: *Dely Solyman Gider* Captaine of Chios; *Cassambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes; *Proui Aga* Captaine of Nauplium; *Giaper Zelibi* President of Calabra; *Dordagnan*, *Dondomeni*, and many others, whose barbarous names I purposely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their experience at sea the chiefe strength of the Turkish Empire. The right wing was by the appointment of the Bassa's commanded by *Mahomet Bey* with fifty six gallies, with whom were also many worthy Captaines; and in the left wing was *Vluzales* the old Arch-pyrat, but now the Vice-Roy of Algiers, with ninety fiue gallies, accompanied with *Cariolo* and *Arabey* his two sonnes, with a multitude of pyrats, men of his owne profession, but most valiant and expert souldiers. In the rereward came *Amurathes Dragut*, with thirty gallies, and diuers other small vessels.

The great and notable battell betweene the Turks and the Christians, commonly called, the battell of Lepanto.

Now was the day well spent when both the fleets were ready to giue battell; the enemy stil comming on almost in the same order that the Christians did: for their middle battel came directly against our middle battell, and their wings against ours. So the signall of battell on both sides giuen by the shooting off of certain great pieces; the Turks after their maner comming on with an hidious cry, first light vpon the six galiasses, which lying at anchor almost a mile before the fleet, as most strong bulwarks, out of their forecastles poured out thier murthering shot vpon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their passing by so plagued them, by discharging their whole broad sides, first the one, and eftsoons the other vpon them, that hauing receiued great losse, and diuers of their gallies sunke, they were inforced to breake their order, and to fall further off. Which so much the more troubled the Turks, for that they had before supposed, those great carts and vnseruiceable ships (as they accounted of them) to haue carried little or no great ordnance on their sides, after the manner of their gallies: for the vse of the galeasses was not vnto the Turks known, vntil now that they had receiued from them most notable harme: which as it was the beginning of their misery, so was it vnto the Christians of greatest importance for the gaining of the victory. At which time also the wind, which all that day had much fauoured the Turks, was now (God no doubt fighting his own battell) come about to the West, and with a pleasant gale in the time of the fight carried the smoke of the great ordnance vpon the Turks, to their no small disaduantage. Yet for all this losse and disorder in their fleet, the fierce enemy with wonderfull pertinacie passing by these galeasses, quickly repaired again to their places, and made good their disordred squadrons, and with all their force assailed the Christian fleet. The trumpets, drums, and other instruments of war had scarcely wel sounded, when all shook with confused cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillery, and other noise of the mariners and sea men: wherwith many were so astonied as if they had bin both deaf and blind, hauing vpon the sudden almost lost the vse both of their sight & hearing. At which very instant a man might haue seen the whole showers as it were of arrows and darts mixt with the deadly shot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the masts broken, the saile-yards strucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confused with horror and feare. *Haly* beholding the Admiral gally (which was easie to be known by the flag) & vsing the surpassing cherfulnes of his mariners & rowers, ran vpon her with such violence as if he would haue presently stemmed her: but being with like force incountred by the Admirall, they met together with such violence, that both their beaks were with the feaze broken off, and so fell into the sea. There began a most cruell fight betwixt these two great commanders, who had before drawne vnto them the strongest gallies in their fleets, and the choisest men in their armies. In the Admiral gally of the Christians were 400 select men pickt out of the whole army, most of them Captains & antients, men of approued valor; who not only valiantly repulsed their furious enemies, but with greater courage inforced them to shrinke backe, and pressing hard vpon them, entred the gally euen to the main mast; where the enemy strengthned with new supplie, fought courageously, repulsed the Spaniards, and cleered again their gally. Many were there wounded on both sides, and many slain. *Don Iohn* seeing his men giue way, sent in new supply; wherewith the other encouraged, bestirred themselues more lustily than before, and hardly charged the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encountred them. The battell was like vnto the ebbing

A terrible onset

A dreadful and doubtfull fight betweene the two Admirall gallies.

A ebbing and flowing of the ſea: thrice the Turks were driuen euen vnto the maine maſt, and thrice ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, they with great ſlaughter repulſed the Chriſtians backe againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the General, was about to haue aſſailed the poupe of *Haly* his gally, ſo to haue indangered her, being ſet vpon both before and abathe: but in comming thither he was encountred by *Partau* the other Baſſa, who with a company of gallies oppoſed himſelfe againſt him, and that with ſuch celerity, that hauing made ſhew as if he would haue charged him afront, he by and by ſet vpon his ſide. Which vnexpected manner of fight ſo ſuddenly faſhioned, at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themſelues. *Venerius* (vpon whoſe valor the Venetian State reſted) gallantly
B armed, not only incouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threatning, but was himſelf in the midſt of them fighting; whoſe great honour much moued the minds of his ſouldiers, but his reuerend yeres more; to ſee him (being aboue 77 yeres old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthful commander, in the very face of the greateſt danger. The fierce enemy hauing ſlain many of the Chriſtians, preſſed on more furiouſly, & fighting cloſe together, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gally now bared of defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valor oppreſſed the Venetians: who had there no doubt bin ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus* and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant captains, and lying not far off, ſpeedily come to their relieſe. By whoſe comming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered; ſo that they which a little before fiercely aſſailed the Venetian gallies, were now glad
C to defend their owne: ſo for a ſpace the fight ſtood indifferent, but in proceſſe of the battell, thoſe two worthy captaines, whileſt they alſo performe the parts of moſt reſolute ſouldiers, were both ſlain; ſhot through with ſmall ſhot. The fall of theſe notable men did rather enrage than diſcourage the minds of their ſoldiers: ſo that blinded as it were with fury, and ſuddenly become other men, they deſperatly preſſed in vpon the Turks: ſo that whileſt they on the one ſide kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turned from them that was euen at the point to haue been vanquiſhed, vpon the victors; and our men after great ſlaughter of the Turks, tooke two of their gallies: *Partau* the Baſſa in a long boat eſcaped the danger, and ſo got him out of the battell. Not farre off thence, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant Chiefetaine hardly aſſailed other of the
D Turks gallies, and made amongſt them great ſlaughter: one ſingled from the reſt, he took, and diſordred the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of Genoa with like courage thruſt himſelfe into the thickeſt of the enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an enemy fell about the Prince of Parma, *Rueres*, *Vrſinus*, *Cornea*, and *Iuſtinianus*; who for their preſent honor, and future fame, fought moſt couragiouſly.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of ſome called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right wing with great confidence came forward againſt the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the galeaſſes, was from out of them miſerably beaten with the great ordnance, hauing many of his men ſlaine, and diuers of his gallies ſunke and torn, few of the huge and deadly ſhot falling in vaine into the ſea, by reaſon of the thick ſtanding of the
E Turks gallies: where alſo diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wild fire caſt into their gallies out of the tops of the galeaſſes. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeaſſes, & to ſhun the dangerous ſhelfe betwixt him and the main (which the riuer Achelous running betweene the borders of Acarnania and Ætolia, and there falling into the ſea, maketh) ſent a great part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis* a notable renegat of Genoa, to caſt about aloofe vpon the right hand, and ſo to come vpon the backe of *Barbadicus* the leader of the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet. Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, & with their prows receiued the firſt onſet. The great ordnance firſt on both ſides diſcharged, diuers of the gallies grapled faſt together; in ſuch ſort, as that they incountred one another not with their miſſiue weapons only (as with their ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawne ſwords foot to
F foot. Among the reſt, the fight of two of the Chriſtian gallies was moſt notable; in the one was *Barbadicus* himſelfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell ſix of the enemies Gallies, and vpon *Barbadicus* fiue: who although they were on euery ſide diſtreſſed with a moſt doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they moſt valiantly with worthy reſolution endure the ſame. In the fury of this battell, *Barbadicus* encouraging his ſouldiers, and fighting himſelfe

Venerius comming to the relief of Don Iohn is incountered by Partau Baſſa.

Venerius in danger.

Lauretanus and *Malipetra* ſlaine.

The right wing of the Turkes fleet ſore gauled by the galeaſſes.

A terrible fight betwixt Chiroche and Barbadicus.

euen there where moſt danger was, was hit in the left eie with an arrow, and ſo ſtrucke into the braine almoſt thorow the head: wherewith falling preſently downe, he was taken vp for dead; howbeit he died not thereof vntill three daies after. The ſuppoſed death of this worthy man much troubled the Chriſtians, and both the armies felt his fall (ſuch force there is in the valour of one worthy man) for the Turks now as conquerors luſtily boorded the gally, troubled with the loſſe of the Captaine; and the Venetians as men diſcouraged gaue way: the galley there had vndoubtedly bin loſt, had not *Fredericus Nanius* and *Syluius Porcia* with their gallies ſpeedily come to her reliefe: by whoſe comming in ſuch an alteration was made, as that the gally before halfe taken, was not only cleared, but diuers of the Turks gallies alſo boorded, and ſome of them taken, not without the great ſlaughter of the Turks. In this ſo hard and mortall a conflict, *Syluius* was grieuouſly wounded in the thigh and in his right ſide. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That lying that euening at the point of death, the battell then ended, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the victory: and being told that the Chriſtians had got it, and that the Turks fleet was moſt part taken, and the reſt ſunke or burnt; he with his eies caſt vp to heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thankes therefore, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to liue in bliſſe for euer.

The death of Barbadicus.

Ciconia in the meane time hardly beſet with ſix of the enemies gallies, (as we haue before ſaid) was himſelfe ſore burnt with wild-fire and hurt in the face; and hauing indured a long and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue been loſt; when ſudden reliefe comming in, he was now contrary to all hope ſaued, and therewith ſo much encouraged, that with his weary and wounded ſouldiers, as men from death reuiued, he afreſh charged the enemy, and tooke one of the principall gallies, with one of the Turks faireſt enſignes, which in the Venetian Armory is yet there to be ſeene: of his worthy valour, his honeſt wounds in his face and the fore part of his body, were moſt certaine and vndoubted witneſſes.

Ciconia hardly beſet, and in danger to haue beene loſt, is relieued.

Not far off, in the ſame wing *Ioannes Contarenus* an honourable and valiant gentleman, did with his great ſhot exceeding much harme amongſt the Turks gallies: which *Chiroche* perceiuing, and therewith inraged, ran ſo fiercely vpon the ſide of *Contarenus* his gally, that with his beake he had wel neer ſtemmed her; & preſently grappling faſt with her, was like to haue boorded her: whom neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians notably repulſed, with greater ſlaughter than was thought poſſible for ſo ſmall a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fall vnreuenged, but all imbrued with the bloud of the Chriſtians. Seldome hath bin ſeene a more cruel fight, or more reſolute Captaines to encounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time ſtood doubtfull, the hope of the Chriſtians increaſed vpon two cauſes, for which the courage of the enemy quailed: firſt, for that many of the Turks being ſlaine or wounded, they were brought to a ſmall number; then, for that both parties ſaw *Chiroche* himſelfe ſlain: from which time the enemy as well deſtitute of a leader to conduct them, as of freſh ſupplies to relieue them, began to be cut down right or taken: which their danger was the more increaſed, becauſe the gally bulged with the great ſhot, was now leake, and in danger to ſink: wherfore the Turks in that wing ouercome with deſpaire, began to thinke rather how to ſaue themſelues by flight than by fight, repoſing their truſt in nothing more than in the neernes of the main. But as they were turning about toward the ſhore, they were preuented by the Chriſtians: who entring the gally, and hauing ſlain and driuen ouerboord almoſt all that were left, took *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but halfe dead; and ſeeing ſmall hope of his life, with freſh wounds made an end of him.

A hard fight betwixt Io Contarenus and Chiroche.

Chiroche ſlain, and his Galley taken.

Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man his enemy, ſo he fought; according as euery mans diſpoſition put into him courage or feare, or as he met with mo or fewer enemies, ſo was there here and there ſomtime victory, and ſometime loſſe. Many fights were in ſundry places ſeene mingled together: ſome gallies whiles they run to ſtem others, are themſelues by others ſtemmed: ſome, which you would thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gally or other, ſuddenly take them: other ſome, as if they had bin of neither part, row vp and down betwixt the battels. The chance of war in one place lifteth vp the vanquiſhed, and in another ouerthroweth the victorious: all was full of terror, error, ſorrow, and confuſion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Chriſtians at length began to appeare much ſuperiour both in courage and ſtrength: and the Turks ſeemed now rather to defend themſelues, than to aſſaile their enemies.

A hard and doubtfull battell.

Bacia-

A *Bacianus* in the rereward intentiuely marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required, sent in present aid, without respect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of Spaines, or the Venetians, that were distressed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks seeing the Christian Generals gally hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Bassa*, to be almost bared of defendants in the poupe, all the soldiers hauing their hands full before, were about to haue boorded her abathe, and to that purpose were fetching a compasse about her: Which *Bacianus* quickly perceiuing, glistering in bright armour came speedily in with certaine gallies, and by opposing of himselfe against them staied their course. In all the battell was not seene a more cruell fight; for hauing discharged many volleys of shot, and arrowes and darts without number, they grapled at length together, and came to the sword, where with the formost, *Baci-*
B *anus* not only with words, but with his presence and valour wonderfully encouraged his souldiers, hauing receiued in his targuet of proofe two small shot. Many were on both sides slain. The Spaniards attempting sundry times to haue entred the Turks gallies, were with great losse repulsed: but not giuing it so ouer, neither giuing the enemy leaue to breath, or so much as to looke behind him, valor was vanquished by pertinacie, and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrowne and slaine their enemies, enjoyed their gallies.

Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and strength, but with doubtfull victory, fought three houres and more with *Haly Bassa*: when after so dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the vttermost of their deuoire, were in danger to haue beene ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken
C himselfe vnto his only and last refuge. He had (as is before said) reserued vnder the hatches 400 of his best and select soldiers, for their valour chosen out of the whole army against all the euents of so long and dangerous a battell: these men attentiuely attending euery becke of *Don Iohn*, vpon signe giuen, as was before appointed, suddenly start out and with a terrible cry and desperat onset assailed the enemy, before almost spent with labor and wounds. This fresh and vnexpected company so suddenly grown vp, first astonied, and afterwards confounded, & with a great slaughter vanquished the Turks, and possessed the gally. The Bassa deadly wounded in the head with a shot, and all imbrued with bloud, was taken, and as a joyful spectacle brought to *Don Iohn*; who seeing him ready to breathe his last, commanded him to be despoiled of his armor, and his head strucke off. Which presently set vpon the point of a speare, he for a space
D held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophy of his victory, as also with the sight thereof to strike a terror into the minds of the other Turks, who in the other gallies fast by fought yet right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued; for the Turks beholding the knowne countenance of the Bassa their late General, and a flag of the crosse set vp in the top of his gally, and the noise of the Christians, crying Victory, running thorow the army; were therewith so discouraged, that confounded with fear they turned their gallies and with might and main made toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus*, yet breathing with the late slaughter of the Turks, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly pursued the flying enemy, and sunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partaw* his son by the staying of the rest got time to run his gally on ground, and so forsaking her, saued himselfe and his men
E by running ashore: so did also diuers others run themselues aground and forsake their gallies, which presently became a prey vnto the Christians. In this hot conflict *Caracoza* the famous pyrat (who abjuring the Christian Religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exceeding much mischiefe vpon the coasts of the Christian countries) valiantly fighting, was slaine by *Buzzicharinus* of Padua, by whose death many were deliuered of great feare.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly Bassa and Don Iohn.

Haly Bassa slain.

The Turks middle battell discomfited.

Caracoza the famous pyrat slaine.

Haly Bassa had brought forth with him his two sons *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one 23 yeares old, and the other 13, the nephewes of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his sister married to *Haly*; them their father had placed in a great gally, with a strong guard of the Ianizaries: who seeing the discomfiture of the main battell, with the danger now drawing neere vnto themselues, were exceedingly affraid, and therefore to saue themselues, thought it best with all speed to
F make toward the maine. But in so doing they were preuented by *Requisenius* the great Commendor, who with his furious Spaniards boording the Turks, already dismaied and running away, slew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done, tooke the gally, and that which pleased him more, the two sonnes of *Haly* both aliue: in the time of which fight, the poore Christians who fast chained in the gally, had as slaues long

ſerued in great miſery; now perceiuing the Chriſtians to preuaile, brake off their gyues, looſed G
one another, and with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand luſtily laid about them, and notably furthered the victory.

Notwithſtanding all this good ſucceſſe, the fortune of the battell ſtood yet doubtful in the right wing. There ſtood in either battell two of the moſt noble chieftains one againſt another: on the Chriſtian part *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral; and for the Turks *Vluzales*: both moſt valiant and expert commanders, wel known the one to the other, for that they had of long vſed the ſame ſeas, equall for their military diſcipline, as alſo for their noble acts, but far vnequall for number of their gallies: for the Turks had of one ſort & other almoſt twice ſo many.

The doubtfull lying of Iohn Andreas Auria with the right wing of the Chriſtian fleet.

Auria, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the battel warily decline the danger, and not hazard his gallies, wherein his chiefe honour would be alſo indangered; or elſe afH
fraid leſt the enemy, who far exceeded him in number of gallies, ſhould extend his wing at large, and incloſe the Chriſtian fleet behind; vpon the ſignall of battell giuen, ſhrunke farther off from the reſt of the battel: but whether vpon policy, that it might be at his choice either to fight, if the reſt of the army preuailed, or to retire if they ſhould be ouercome; or that he vpon martial policy declined the force of too ſtrong an enemy; diuers men diuerſly gloſed: but what the cauſe was indeed the wiſeſt could not ſurely tell. Howſoeuer the matter ſtood, it ſeemed his purpoſe was by policy to counteruaile what he wanted in ſtrength. This his falling off ſeemed vnto the Turks moſt ſtrange, to whom his quick departure ſeemed at the firſt in maner of a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that ſpace he had firſt ſeparated himſelf from the army; but the ſecond time fell off farther, and there ſtaying and houering a looffe off, ſeemed to I
await ſome good opportunity to take the enemy at ſome aduantage: hauing in the mean time one of the galeaſſes of Piſa lying before him, as it were in ſtead of a bulwark, which with often ſhot much troubled the enemy. *Vluzales* alſo extending his wing, took ſuch a ſpace, as that he ſeemed able to haue cumpaſſed in and incloſed *Auria*; yet offered not battell, but rather lay as expecting if any aduantage ſhould be giuen him by the Chriſtians, than raſhly or vnaduiſedly to offer himſelf or his galies to any deſperat danger. He had not long ſo lien, but that according

Twelue of the Venetian gallies taken by Vluzales.

to his deſire, 12 of the Venetian gallies, which had withdrawn themſelues from *Auria*, & without any order or direction romed to and fro, fell into his danger: theſe gallies cut off from the reſt, *Vluzales* with wonderfull celerity incloſed, and with the multitude of his gallies bording them one by one, ſlew the defendants, and tooke the gallies. In this fight many of the Knights K
of the Order of S. *Stephen* moſt valiantly fighting were ſlain. *Benedictus Superantius* a noble Venetian, ſeeing moſt part of the men ſlain, himſelf mortally wounded, and his gally now almoſt taken; reſoluing rather preſently to die, than to fall into the hands of his enemies, deſperatly put fire to the ſtore of pouder he had in the gally, and blew vp himſelfe, his ſoldiers that were left, with a great number of the enemies together. The report of the great ordnance and noiſe of the battel in that part of the fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle battel got the victory, together turned their gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one ſquadron together, but commming along one after another, as euery man had ſooner or later cleered himſelfe of his enemy: amongſt the reſt, *Petrus Iuſtinianus* (Admirall of the gallies of Malta) com-

A notable fight of the Knights of Malta.

ming formoſt, was incountred with three of the Turks gallies, with whom he with his knights L
had a great and moſt terrible fight. Which *Vluzales* beholding, and aboue all others hating the Knights of the Order, ſpeedily ſent in other three gallies to help their fellows. So *Iuſtinian* hardly beſet with ſix gallies, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, had loſt fifty of his moſt valiant knights, with one of his enſignes, and with much adoe hardly defended himſelfe. But being now brought to the laſt caſt, and the gally in the judgment of all men giuen for loſt, lo, two other of the gallies of Malta, who had ſo valiantly fought with other three of the enemies gallies, that they were now vpon point to haue taken them all, ſeeing the danger of their Admiral, forſook their vanquiſhed enemies, & with all ſpeed came to reſcue him: where they found him yet aliue, but ſhot in with three arrows, and ſtill fighting couragiouſly at the decke of his gally, with thoſe few he had yet left, beſet round with their enemies: but by the M
comming in of theſe two gallies, as if it had bin by help ſent from heauen, the Turks were notably repulſed, and the Admiral with his gally reſcued, as a prey out of the mouth of the gree-

Vluzales flieth.

dy Lyon. *Vluzales* vnderſtanding that the maine battell and right wing of the fleet was ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians; for feare gaue ouer the fight, and leauing the gallies he had taken,

and

A and hoising saile, was the first in that wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiuing, who was come in before the rest, suddenly shewed himself at his back, and by assailing the hindermost gallies, did what he might to stay their flight vntil the rest of the victorious gallies were come in. But whilst he so eagerly pursueth the flying enemy, fifteene of the Turks captains inraged with such an vnwonted disgrace, and mindfull of their wonted prowesse, staid their flight, and contrary to the expectation of the Christians, turned themselues and renewed the battell: What minds they bare, the euent shewed; for in a trice almost all *Cardonius* his souldiers and marines were slaine: nothing letted the taking of the gally, but that *Vluzales* seeing *Don Iohn*, *Columnius*, and *Venerius* neere at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* also comming fast on, was afraid longer to stay, and therefore giuing ouer the fight, fled as fast as he could: yet
B carrying away with him one gally of Cyprus, and one ensigne of the Knights of Malta, as testimonies of his own valor when he should appeare before *Selymus*. The Christians although weary of the long fight which they had almost by the space of fiue houres indured, yet so long as they were in any hope to ouertake any of their flying enemies, hardly pursued them in chase: but when they perceiued it preuailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than time to see to their weary and wounded souldiers and mariners, they staied from further pursuit; for why, the night now came fast on, vnder the couert whereof the crafty old pyrat flying for life with sailes and oares, escaped with thirty (or as some write, forty) gallies againe into the bay of Lepanto.

The Christians hardly pursue the flying enemy.

It was a horrible spectacle to see, how in this battell the sea was stained with bloud, and co-
C uered with dead bodies, weapons, and the fragments of the broken gallies; besides the great number of them that were slain, & beaten into the sea: many of the Turks blinded with feare, casting away their weapons, to escape the fury of the enemy, threw themselues headlong into the sea; but finding no hope to recouer the land, laboured againe to come to the gallies; or els fainting by the way, were miserably drowned. Others, either halfe dead, weake, and vnskilfull of swimming, or ouercharged with their armour, the sea also deuoured: yea, many that could well swim, wearied and wounded, sunke for feare. Others vpon plankes and the pieces of the broken gallies, sought to saue themselues; and not knowing what to follow or what to shun, wofully perished. Other some swimming, and pitifully intreating their enemies, rather to take them prisoners than to kill them, were (as it oftentimes chanceth where things are done vpon
D choler, rather than vpon discretion) without compassion slaine: in which doing, the Christians thought they did rather reuenge former injuries to them done, than to do them any wrong: with some mercy more preuailed than wrath; who remembring the common chance of warre, chose rather to take the Turks prisoners (wofully crauing nothing but their liues) than without mercy to kil them. The number of the Turks lost in this most famous battell, could hardly be known, by reason that many of them were drowned. *Antonius Gnarnerius* writing the histo-
ry of this war, reporteth two & thirty thousand to haue perished: but they which write more sparingly thereof, reported not past halfe so many to haue beene slaine: of whom these were of greatest name; *Haly Bassa* the Generall, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwise called *Chiroche* or *Siroche*) Go-
uernor of Alexandria, *Cassanes* the son of *Barbarussa*, with his son *Malamur* Gouernor of Myti-
E lene; *Gider* Gouernor of Chios, *Cassambeius* Gouernor of the Rhodes, *Proui Aga* captaine of Nauplium, *Mustapha Zelibi* the great Treasurer, *Caracoza* the famous pyrat; with many others, whom but to name were tedious. The chiefe prisoners there taken, were *Achmat* and *Mahomet* the sons of *Haly Bassa*, both afterwards sent as Presents to the Pope, of whom the eldest died by the way at Naples; the younger presented vnto the Pope by *Columpius* at Rome, was there honourably kept prisoner: and *Mechmet Bay*, Gouernor of Eubœa; and about three thousand fiue hundred others were in that battell taken also. The chiefe of them that escaped by flight, were *Partau Bassa*, who seeing all go to wracke, fled in time in a long boat to land: and *Vluzales*, who (as it was afterwards certainly known) but with fiue and twenty gallies, and ten galliots, fled to Lepanto. Of the enemies gallies were taken an hundred threescore and one, forty sunke
F or burnt: and of galliots and other smaller vessels were taken about sixty. The Admirall gal-
ly then taken amongst the rest, was so godly and beautifull a vessell, that for beauty and rich-
nesse scarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable vnto her. The decke of this gally was on both sides thrice as great as any of the others, and made all of blacke Walnut-tree like vnto Ebony, checkered, and wrought maruellous faire, with diuers liuely colours and variety of histories

The number of the Turks slaine in the battell of Lepanto, diuersly reported.

The surpassing beautie of the Admirall gally.

hiſtories. There was alſo in her diuers liuely counterfeits, engrauen and wrought with gold, G
with ſo cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue bin compared vnto ſome princes palace. The cabbin gliſtered in euery place with rich hangings wrought with gold twiſt, and ſet with diuers ſorts of precious ſtones, with certaine ſmall counterfeits moſt cunningly wrought. Beſides this, there was alſo found in her great ſtore of the Baſſa's rich apparell; wrought with the needle, ſo curiouſly and richly emboſſed with ſiluer and gold, that his great lord and maſter *Selymus* himſelfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His casket there alſo found with ſix thouſand duckats in it, with a yerely penſion of three hundred
The Greek that ſlew the Baſſa, honourably rewarded. duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in Macedonia, which ſlew the Baſſa; and was therefore alſo knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had alſo giuen vnto him the Burrell of the Turkes ſtanderd, which at his returne to Venice (where he had of long time before dwelt, and ſerued H
in the Arſenall) ſold vnto the goldſmith: whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed it of the goldſmith, paying for euety ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongſt the trophies of that moſt famous victory. It was all of maſſiue ſiluer, guilt and engrauen round about with Turkiſh letters. On the one ſide was written, *God doth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthy enterpriſes: God doth fauour* Mahomet. On the other ſide, *God hath no other God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet*.

This notable victory thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Columna*, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but eſpecially *Venerius*, calling him father, and attributing vnto him the greateſt part of the victory. Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen, they vpon I
their knees gaue immortall thankes vnto Almighty God. So did alſo the reſt of the captains and maſters; commending one anothers valour and good ſeruice: but eſpecially theirs, who for their religion and country had there moſt honourably ſpent their liues; which were in
The number of the Chriſtians ſlain in the battell of Lepante. number about 7566. Amongſt whom, the chiefe men that were ſlaine, were *Ioh.* and *Bernardinus*, of the honourable family of *Cordona* in Spaine, *Horatio Caraffa*, and *Ferantes Bisballus*, *Virginius*, and *Horatius*, noble Romans, of the honourable family of the *Vrſini*. Of the Venetian Nobility, *Auguſtinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Lauretanus*, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Marcus Antonius Landus*, *Franciſcus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paſchaligus*, *Hieronimus Venerius*, all of the Order of the Senators. Beſides diuers other honourable Gentlemen, K
who well deſerued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of Fame. Of the knights of Malta were alſo many ſlaine, amongſt whom of the German Nation theſe were chiefe: *Ioachim Spart*, Commendour of Moguntia and Franckfort, *Ro.* of Hambergh, Commendour of Hemmendorf, and *Fra. Droſt*. Of them that were wounded, theſe were of greateſt name: *Don Iohn* the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall ſhot through the foot, *Paulus Iordanus*, *Troilus Sauell*, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of leſſe fame, to the number of almoſt ſeuen thouſand.

Great was the joy conceiued of this victory, but to none more welcome, than to the poore Chriſtians faſt chained to the Turks gallies, of whom twelue thouſand were thereby deliuered from moſt miſerable thraldome, and contrary to all hope reſtored to their antient liberty.
A generall reioicing, eſpecially in Venice, for the victory. Two daies after this victory, *Venerius* ſent *Humfredus Iuſtinianus* with newes thereof vnto L
the Senat at Venice; who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the 19 of October, by ſhooting off of certain great pieces, gaue warning vnto the city of his comming, which at that time hung in a great ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare. The citiſens generally awaked with the report of the great ordnance, came flocking by heaps to the port, euery man longing to heare the firſt newes. There they might ſee *Iuſtinian* comming a far off with his gally, but when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the mariners attired like Turks, and foure of the Turks enſignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gally, which filled their mindes with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the ſpoile of the enemy. But after that *Iuſtinian* was landed (which he had much to do for the preſſe) and was M
gone to the court, with a world of people following after him, crying ont for newes; and had there deliuered his letters, and at large diſcourſed of all the ſucceſſe of the battell (which was forthwith blowne into the City) and that the mariners alſo after his departure had reported the victory, and that the enemy was in a great battell ouerthrowne: good God, how

the

A the people as men ouerjoyed, ran vp and downe the ſtreets, doubling and redoubling the joyfull name of victory. The Senators alſo rejoycing together, gaue thanks to God with publike praiers and joyfull hymnes in euery Church: and afterwards by ringing of bels, peals of ordnance, bone-fires, & other ſuch like things, ſhewed all the tokens of joy poſſible. And to make this joy the more generall, all priſoners were ſet at liberty, and all debts that exceeded not the ſumme of fiue and twenty crownes, payed out of the common treaſurie; which was generally done through all the Venetian Seigniory: and a decree made, That that day whereon the victory was gotten, which was the ſeuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iuſtina*, ſhould for euer be kept holy-day: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great maſſe of mony was coined, with the impreſſion of *Iuſtina* vpon it, and an inſcription declaB ring the victory. Many alſo their neighbor Princes ſent their Embaſſadors congratulatory to Venice; namely, the Dukes of Sauoy, Florence, Ferrara, Parma, Mantua, and Vrbin, and the Knights of Malta. In which ſo publike joy no man was ſeene to put on any mourning garments, or to ſhew any token of heauineſſe, although many had loſt their deareſt friends and neereſt kinſemen; whoſe liues they reckoned not loſt, but giuen vnto the Chriſtian Commonweale. The like rejoycing was alſo made in Rome, in Spaine, Naples, Sicilia, and Malta; eſpecially at ſuch times as Embaſſadors from their neighbour Princes, came to joy them of this victory: yea, and afterwards in other countries further off was like rejoicing and ſignes of joy; as with vs here in England.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of Lepanto, fought neere vnto the C Iſland Curzolari, the ſeuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer fought at ſea againſt the Turke, wherein he loſt his chiefe ſtrength at ſea, with moſt of his beſt ſea captains: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his ſucceſſors were to feare, if the Chriſtian Princes at unity amongſt themſelues, all diſcord ſet apart, ſhould in zeale of their religion joyne their inuincible forces againſt them.

A witty and fit compariſon made by a Turke to ſhew that the loſſe of Cyprus was greater than the loſſe of the battell of Lepanto.

In the middeſt of all this joy, generally conceiued of the late victory, one of the chiefe priſoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the loſſe of Cyprus (for that *Selymus* had therein loſt his fleet, his beſt men of war, with great ſtore of ordnance) by a fit compariſon ſhewed it not to be ſo, ſaying, That the battell loſt, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man ſhould ſhaue his beard, which would ere long grow again; but that the loſſe of Cyprus was vnto the Venetians, as the D loſſe of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring thereby the great inequality of the loſſe.

The ſpoile of the enemy diuided amongſt the confederats.

The rich ſpoile taken from the enemy in this moſt glorious victory, was thus diuided amongſt the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted 19 gallies, two galliots, nine great pieces of ordnance, two and forty leſſer pieces, and foureſcore and one priſoners. Vnto the king of Spaine eight and fifty gallies and an halfe, ſix galliots and an halfe, eight and fifty great pieces and an halfe, eight great murthering pieces & a halfe, an hundred twenty eight leſſer pieces, and a thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteen priſoners. Vnto the Venetians were aſſigned for their ſhare, nine and thirty gallies and a halfe, foure galliots and a halfe, nine and thirty great pieces and an halfe, fiue great murthering pieces and a halfe, foureſcore and ſix leſſer pieces, E and a thouſand one hundred threeſcore and two priſoners. The reſt were beſtowed vpon ſuch other Princes as had giuen aid, or otherwiſe well deſerued in that ſeruice.

The joy conceiued of this victory was not ſo great amongſt the Chriſtians, but that the ſorrow thereof was amongſt the Turks far greater. *Selymus* himſelfe was then at Hadrianople, where eight daies after the battel, news was brought vnto him, That his fleet was ouerthrown and almoſt all taken or ſunke by the Chriſtians. Which ſo ſoone as he heard, he was ſtrucken with exceeding griefe: and ouercome with melancholy, would not that day ſuffer any man to ſpeake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow ſtill increaſing, had in ſhort time filled all places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauineſſe: ſome bewailing their parents, ſome their children, ſome their husbands, ſome their friends or kinſmen, there loſt. But that which moſt F grieued the Turkiſh Emperor, was the loſſe of ſo many worthy and expert captains, of ſo many skilfull maſters and notable ſouldiers; who brought vp all their liues at ſea, were not thought inferior to any then liuing: beſides the perpetuall ignominy and vnwonted diſgrace, thereby inflicted vnto him and his poſterity for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was

about

about to haue commanded all the Christians in his dominions (in number infinit) to be put to death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they weary of the Turkish thraldome, and desirous of innouation, should with weapons put into their hands, rise vp against him, and take part with the other Christians his enemies. But whilst the other Bassa's (as men dismaid with the cruelty of the command) stood all silent, *Muhamet Bassa* for his former deserts in great fauor with the tyrant, thought it good to make proofe if his fury might by reasonable persuasion be mitigated, and some better course taken, both for the honor of *Selymus* himselfe, and the common good of the State: yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannicall gouernment, openly to speake any thing contrary to the good liking of the wilfull Emperour, he durst not apertly contradict him: but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleasure, by little and little to draw him from himselfe; and so before he were aware, to lead him into his own deuise, and by delay moderat the rigour of his former fury. To which purpose he cunningly set vpon him in this sort. G H

Muhamét Bassa cunningly dissuadeth Selymus from so rigorous a resolution, by filling his head with most necessary considerations.

Your anger (said he) *most magnificent and inuincible Emperour, against the Christians, is most just: and in this my desire exceedeth all others, That they should endure and suffer such punishment as they haue of right deserued. Yet it behoueth vs to satisfie our wrath, as men better regarding their own good, than the hot desire of reuenge. And forasmuch as I am for your many and vndeserued fauours, in all loyalty bounden vnto your highnesse aboue others, I reckon it in part my duty, so much the more franckely to deliuer my opinion, such as it is, in matter of so great importance. Neither will I attemper my speech in any respect to the comforting of your grieued minde: for how can it be that you, who following the worthy examples of your noble progenitors, haue alwaies heretofore shewed your most heroicall and courageous mind, contemning all the chances of Fortune, should not for euer after shew your selfe to be rather dreaded of all men, than dreadfull of any? Let others, whose kingdomes are built vpon vncertainty, subject to the reuolution of time, and change of Fortune, yeeld vnto their euill haps: as for you, whose empire is founded by the mighty hand of the most Highest, and compassed about with an impregnable defence, and are your selfe by the prwer of Grd appointed King and Commander of Nations and people in number infinite; Fortune may well a little pricke you, but neuer ouerthrow you. As for this late mischance, if it must needs so fall out, as proceeding from some immutable and eternall cause; must it be therfore alwaies fixt and permanent? Only these miseries and mischiefes which the cowardise or foolishnesse of men bring vnto themselues, haue their firme and certaine calamities: other common euents comming from other causes, haue also their common and sudden changes: but how this late mishap at sea may be amended, and your former glory there againe recouered, is hereafter to be considered. Now for the present (in mine opinion) this one thing, as of all others most necessary, is to be prouided, That the weake and worst fortified places of your Empire, most subject to danger, may be presently strengthened with strong garrisons; and that by your presence repare vnto the Imperiall City, you cheere vp the minds of your heauy and dismaied subjects: which done, what shall let, but that you may at your pleasure be reuenged to the full of the Christians? For there is no cause why we should feare the Christians, six hundred times and more before ouerthrowne: both our enemies and we are the same men we haue bin for many ages, we beare the same minds, the same bodies, the same strength, the same weapons, wherewith me haue gotten infinite victories, both of them and others. And although such be the state of man, as that he cannot otherwise but somtime or other taste of the worst fortune; yet I thinke this present misfortune to be rather imputed vnto some fatall cause to vs vnknowne, than to the valor of the Christians. Besides that, we may well enough oppose one ouerthrow against our so many and infinite victories: yea, we are to giue immortall thanks vnto Almighty God, that we haue by force of armes subdued the rich and famous Island of Cyprus, and that your high designes haue in that point sorted to your hearts desire. And hard it is in mine opinion to judge, whether this late vnfortunate battell shall more hurt vs, or the Christians: for besides that the multitude of the Turks hath no feeling of so small a losse, they will not as men discouraged, giue themselues to mourning and vaine lamentations, but with greater courage and fury come forth againe into battell, and reuenge this losse with the infinit calamities of the Christians: who after this their good hap, will according to their wonted manner giue themselues to excesse, pleasure, carelesnesse, and ease, vnto their owne farther confusion. Thus haue I in briefe faithfully declared mine opinion: yet with that submissiue loyalty, as that whatsoeuer shall proceed from the mouth of your imperiall Majesty, shall be of me deemed most wisely and magnificently considered of.* I K L M

The

A The Bassa was in such grace and authority with *Selymus*, that his opinion in counsel preuailed,& the tyrants wrath by his persuasion was well assuaged. But by the comming of *Vluzales* to court, the remainder of his former griefe and melancholy was fully quieted: who after he had excused himselfe of the late ouerthrow,& declared what he had himselfe done in the battell,and in testimony thereof,presented him with one of the ensignes of the knights of Malta; told him also,how that he had left the Christian fleet so rent and torn,as that it could not possibly be made seruiceable against the next yeare: which newes was both of *Selymus* and the rest gladly heard. In the mean time *Selymus* placed this *Vluzales* in the stead of *Haly Bassa* that was slain:and streitly commanded the great officers which had the charge of his nauy,to build new shipping night and day:and further injoyned euery Gouernor out of his prouince he had *Selymus repaireth his nauie with all diligence possible.*
B in charge,to haue in readinesse one gally or two against the next Spring,as wel for the defence of his own dominions, as to reuenge the losse he had so lately sustained:whereunto also many of his great men put to their helping hands,& cheerfully furthered his desire. New supplies of soldiers were also presently raised,and put into his frontier towns,great store of new ordnance cast,weapons and armor prouided, and whatsoeuer els the necessity of the present time required. So with the Turks stood reason & industry,rather than with the Christians, who(as some note)rather wanted discretion how to vse the victory,than valor to gain the same: which whether it chanced for that prosperity begetteth negligence, or that men joying in their pleasant blisse,regard little the time to come,I leaue it to the judgement of the wiser to determine.

After this so memorable a victory, the three great commanders of the fleet sat in counsell *The christian fleet dissolued.*
C to consult,what farther course they were best to take. But forasmuch as Winter began now to approch, and that they could not much do vntill their fleet was new furnished and manned, they all resolued for that time to dissolue the fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of Aprill,to meet together againe at Corcyra. Whereupon *Don Iohn* and *Columnius* returned to Messana, where they in safety arriued in Nouember; and departing thence, and taking their leaue the one of the other, arriued, *Don Iohn* at Naples, and *Columnius* at Rome: where they were in both places with great joy and triumph receiued.

The Venetians for all that grieued with the losse of Cyprus,gaue not so ouer,but repairing their nauy with thirty gallies,wherein were imbarked six thousand souldiers, won a castle in Epirus called Margarita: and also recouered the towne of Suppoto, which the Turks had *Suppoto againe recouered by the Venetians.*
D that Summer before taken from them; but now hearing of this ouerthrow, did vpon the approch of the Venetian fleet,againe forsake it. The gallies also of Creet conducted by *Canalis*, intercepted many of the Turks vessels laded with captiues and the spoiles of Famagusta, as they were passing thence to Constantinople.

Although vpon the late obtained victory, a certaine reconciliation had bin made betwixt *Don Iohn* and *Venerius*, yet of the former dissention remained an inward heart-burning of one of them against the other: for which cause,the Spaniards requested the Venetians to appoint another Admirall in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a man of great yeres,and his strength far spent; yet for that in his aged body rested great wisedom & courage,and that they thought him for his great desert worthy of all honour,they were wonderfull loth, and vnwilling therin
E to gratifie the Spaniard: for why, they well knew there was no other cause of the Spaniards proud hatred, but that he had stood against them vpon the honour of the Venetians: and farther, they liked not that the Spaniard should so presumptuously prescribe vnto them, whom they should place or displace,in or out of their honorable offices. Neuertheles,not forgetting what commodity came by concord,and what euils of discord,and that they might not against so mighty an enemy wel spare the help of the Spaniard,they resolued to make choice of some other;who succeeding *Venerius*, might with one consent manage their wars together with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*. There was then one *Iacobus Fuscarinus* their chiefe Gouernour in Dalmatia, who but a little before had notably fortified Iadera, and the other frontier towns, and for the space of foureteene moneths had notably represſed the furious incursions of the Turks:of
F him then absent and not desirous of the place (as of a man of worthy desert) the whole State by generall consent made choice for their Admiral & General by sea against the Turke:which most honourable place he receiued not with all the solemne ceremonies thereto belonging at Venice, as the manner was, but at Iadera: from whence he in the Admirall gally sent for that purpose by *Aloysius Grimanus* his successour in Iadera, sailed ouer to Corcyra: where he found

found the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no leſſe care prouiding for all things, than if he ſhould himſelfe haue ſtill continued the war. Of which great care *Fuſcarinus* at his comming eaſed him, by taking it wholly vpon himſelfe.

Caſtra Novum in vain attempted by the Venetians.

Whilſt *Fuſcarinus* thus lay making his preparation againſt the next Spring at Corcyra, *Sara Martinengus*, who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counſell of *Venerius*, who was now returned to Venice) vpon the ſudden landed his men, & beſieged Caſtro Novum, a ſtrong towne of the Turks in the borders of Iſtria, where at his firſt comming he tooke the ſuburbs, and had in ſhort time brought the towne to great extremity. But in the height of his hope to haue woon the towne, hearing that the Beglerbeg of Græce was with great power comming thither, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege, and with all ſpeed to get him againe to ſea. The Turks in like manner, to diſtreſſe the ſtrong town of Cataro, holden by the Venetians in the borders of Dalmatia, built a great and ſtrong fort vpon the paſſage from ſea to the towne, wherein they placed great ſtore both of men and artillery: in hope by keeping them of the towne from all reliefe by ſea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attempted by force; for by land it was already inuironed with the cruell enemy, poſſeſſing the country round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidetor, then lying at Corcyra with the Admirall, vnderſtanding how Cataro a town of no ſmall importance, was thus both by ſea and land by the enemy diſtreſſed: with twenty gallies manned with the moſt choice ſouldiers could be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the raſing of the fort, and relieuing of the towne. *Superantius* with this ſelect company, and certaine other gallies which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of Cataro, and there diuiding his fleet, left the one part thereof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himſelfe couragiouſly paſſed by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turks out of the fort made diuers ſhot, but (by reaſon it was darke) to ſmall purpoſe. In paſſing by, *Superantius* tooke ſuch view as he could of the fort, and by and by began on that ſide to batter the ſame; as did alſo the other gallies on the other ſide: and withall landed their men on both ſides; who vpon ſignall giuen, ran reſolutely to the fort, and by plaine force entering the ſame, preuailed vpon the feareſull Turks, and put them to the ſword euery mothers ſon; ſo that of all that great garriſon, was not one left aliue to carry newes of the ſlaughter. This fort was in length fiue hundred paces, but not ſtrong towards land, from whence no ſuch feare was doubted. In it was taken ſeuenteen great pieces of ordnance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and ſeuen galliots which lay at anchor vnder the fort. Cataro thus relieued, *Superantius* with victory returned againe to Corcyra.

Superantius relieueth Cataro, and taketh a great fort of the Turks.

1572 *Fuſcarinus* the Venetian Admirall with all things in readineſſe, hauing long lien at Corcyra, expecting the comming of the confederates, as was before appointed; ſent *Superantius* the Prouidetor with fiue and twenty gallies to Meſſana, to haſten the comming of *Don Iohn*, and to attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet and a ſtrong power in good forwardneſſe to haue ſet forward, he found ſuch ſmall preparation, as well ſhewed the Spaniards ſmall care for repreſſing of the Turke, and that they would not be very forward in the ſeruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, cauſed him to complaine vnto himſelfe of their vnfaithfulneſſe, and to bewaile the ſtate of his country, with the whole Chriſtian common-weale: for *Don Iohn* had before ſolemnely promiſed vnto the Venetian Embaſſador, that all things ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the appointed time: but now a great part of Summer was paſt, when ſcarce ſome few companies, and about fifty gallies were met together at Meſſana; and when *Auria* would come with the reſt, no man could tell. So that the carefull Prouidetor ſtood now no leſſe in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks fury.

Selymus, after the great ouerthrow he had receiued at the Iſlands Corzulares, for feare he ſhould be driuen quite out of the ſea, was aboue all things carefull for the renuing of his nauy: and hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred gallies, commended them to the conduct of *Vluzales*; with expreſſe charge, That by how much things had fallen out worſe the laſt yeare, he ſhould with ſo much the more care now beware of the like danger; and not goe out of the bounds of the Archipelago, or to aduenture battell but vpon aduantage, or at leaſtwiſe vpon an euen hand.

Selymus ſends out Vluzales with two hundred gallies.

This *Vluzales* (otherwiſe called *Occhiall*) was an Italian borne in Calabria, who in his youth

A youth taken at ſea by the Turks,and chained in the gally,and afterward renouncing his faith, by many degrees grew vnto the higheſt preferments amongſt the Turks,and ſo became an exceeding plague as wel to his own country as all other of the Chriſtians bordring on the Mediterranian. He now Admirall for the Turk,after the manner of the proud Barbarians,threatned with fire and ſword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians: which knowne at Venice, much troubled them, as well acquainted with the fury of the old Archpyrat. Beſide that, *Antonius Barbarus* their Embaſſadour, all the time of this war kept in ſafe cuſtody at Conſtantinople, had by letters certified them,what a great fleet,and what a ſtrong army *Selymus* had prouided againſt them: and that he himſelfe told 250 ſaile of gallies when they ſet forward from Conſtantinople, beſide ſome other that were to meet with him at Calipolis: and that therefore
B they ſhould beware how they incountred with the Turks fleet but vpon equal ſtrength. It was alſo at the ſame time commonly reported, That king *Philip* chief of the Confederats,careleſſe of the wars againſt the Turk in the Eaſt, was about to turn his forces vpon the Kingdomes of Tunes or Algiers, neerer vnto him; as indeed he did the yeare following. The Venetians intangled with ſo many difficulties were euen at their wits end, and day by day the Senat ſate from the riſing of the Sun to the ſetting of the ſame,conſulting how all theſe miſchiefs were to be remedied. But foraſmuch as the greateſt danger was to be feared from the Turks fleet, as then houering euen ouer their heads; they by Letters commanded *Fuſcarinus* their Admiral,That whether the Confederats came vnto him or not, he ſhould forthwith take his courſe towards the Eaſt,and there according to the enemies deſignes,and his own diſcretion and va-
C lour, to do what he ſhould think beſt to be done for the common good of his country:and not to refuſe to ioyn with the enemy in battell, if he ſaw any good hope of victory. Neither ceaſed they at the ſame time, both by their Embaſſadors and letters, earneſtly to call both vpon the Pope and the King, to haſten their forces to incounter the enemy before he ſhould come out of his own ſeas; and to carry the terrour of the war home to his own doores,rather than to receiue it at their owne. The like meſſage was alſo done to *Don Iohn*, putting him in minde what his place,what the time,and what the danger of the time required; intreating him(if it were poſſible)of himſelfe to adde ſomthing vnto that haſt which the neceſſity of ſo important a cauſe required. Who neuertheleſſe, for all the meſſengers and letters to him ſent (which were many) went ſtill on faire and ſoftly,delaying from day to day; telling, That he would
D by and by come, and that the Spaniards would alwaies be ſo good as their word. Which was ſo far from his thought,that afterwards finding one excuſe after another,he not only ſtaid his comming, but called back again *Requiſenius* alſo, whom he had ſent before with twenty gallies to Corcyra. Now were two months (fitteſt for the wars) vainly ſpent; when *Superantius* grieued to ſee time to no purpoſe ſo ſlip away, and fearing leſt the reſt of the Summer ſhould to as ſmall effect in like manner paſſe alſo, with great inſtance importuned him to haſten his iourny. Then at length *Don Iohn* anſwered, that the Venetians requeſted but reaſon, neither that he wiſhed for any thing more than to ſatisfie their deſires;but that a greater care hindred the leſſe, which was firſt to be preuented: He was aduertiſed (as he ſaid) that the French King pretending the ſuppreſſing of certain pyrats, had aſſembled a great fleet at Rochel, with pur-
E poſe indeed to inuade Spain,now that the king was buſied in theſe wars againſt the Turk:and that therfore they muſt pardon him if he preferd the regard of Spain before others, being expreſly commanded from the king,not to depart from Meſſana vntill he had other commandment from him. But whether this excuſe by France proceeded of a true fear or otherwiſe, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French King vnderſtanding thereof by the Venetians,was therwith(as reaſon was)exceedingly offended:proteſting, that he was euer ſo far from that purpoſe of hindring any the confederat princes in that their religious war,that if the troubles of his own country would haue ſo permitted,he would gladly haue giuen them aid therin. Many there were alſo that thought, *Enuy the antient enemy of vertue and valor*, to haue had a great power in this delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would more reioyce of the
F victory wel hoped for,if they ſhould ioin with the Venetians;or grieue if the ſame ſhould by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* weary of diſcourſes and long expectation, and almoſt out of hope of any help in time from the Spaniard; how vntowardly ſoeuer things went,thought better yet warily to moderate his griefe, than in ſo dangerous a time to giue any occaſion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet ſpake he not fauningly or flatteringly

Vlazales a renegat Chriſtian and now the Turks Admiral.

Superantius haſteneth Don Iohn.

of the matter, but with a certaine modeſt grauity declared, That he had thought heauen would ſooner haue fallen, than that *Don Iohn* would not at the appointed time haue come to Corcyra. And withall beſought him, and wiſhed him to beware that he brought not the common ſtate into ſome great danger: if they had to do with ſuch an enemy as might be delaied with, then he ſaid he could eaſily abide delay; but now for that the war and the enemy was ſuch, as wherein, or with whom neuer any Generall had delaied without loſſe, to what end did he longer defer or trifle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they ſhould diuide their forces, then were they all too weake, but vnited together, ſtrong enough to defend the common cauſe. The neerer the enemy came, the more haſt were to be made to ioyne with the Venetian fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honorable or glorious, than for him a noble young Gentleman royally diſcended, of whom the world had conceiued a great hope, that he would in martiall honour exceed the glory of his moſt famous anceſtors, again to vanquiſh the proud Turk, the greateſt and moſt mighty Monarch of the world; to fight the battell of the Higheſt, to aſſure the Chriſtian commonwealth againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, and to purchaſe vnto himſelfe immortall glory and renown. As for the French, there was no ſuch thing to be feared as was pretended, who with ſuch ſlender preparation, not worth the name of a fleet, was not ſo vnaduiſed as to ſet vpon a Kingdome of ſuch ſtrength and power as Spain. Furthermore he ſaid, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the King himſelfe, to haue the Turks repreſſed: whoſe Kingdoms of Naples, Sicilia & Spain, were no leſſe than their territory, expoſed to danger by ſea. The good ſucceſſe of their affaires in the Eaſt would open the way to the conqueſt of Africk: but if the Turk ſhould preuaile, then were they to deſpaire, not of Africk, but of all Italy, Sicily, yea and of Spain it ſelfe. The time (he ſaid) and neceſſity of the war, with the extremity of the danger of the whole and common ſtate, required that he ſhould with all his power and ſpeed poſſible, take vpon him the defence of the common cauſe, or to ſay more truly, of the Chriſtian commonweale, then ſo dangerouſly impugned. Theſe reaſons drawn from the common good and the truth it ſelfe, much moued the Generall: but the Kings pleaſure was to be preferd before all reaſons or dangers that could be alledged. But hearing afterward, what reſolute command the Venetian Senat had ſent vnto their Admirall, he became exceeding carefull: for he feared leſt if the Admirall ſhould without his help fight the battell and gain the victory, he would conuert all the glory therof vnto himſelf: but if he ſhould chance to be ouerthrown, it would turn to his vtter reproch and perpetual infamy, that in ſo neceſſary a time he had withdrawn himſelf from the common cauſe. Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to doe, he ſtood for a while as one at his wits end: yet at laſt, he vpon deliberation reſolued to take a middle courſe, and ſo neither without the command of the King (by whoſe preſcript order all was to be don) to depart with the fleet from Meſſana; neither altogether to fruſtrat the Confederats of the expected ayd. And to that purpoſe ſent two and twenty gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of Andrada (a noble Gentleman) to the Venetian Admirall at Corcyra; with whom went alſo *Columnius* with the Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompanius*, by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his ſtead; who vpon the ſame conditions with his predeceſſour, had entred into the league, and liking very well of *Columnius*, kept him ſtill for his Admirall.

Don Iohn in doubt whether to ſend aid to the Venetians or not.

He ſendeth Lilly of Andrada, with 22 gallies.

Long had *Fuſcarinus* expected the comming of the Confederats, and albeit that the yeare was far ſpent (Auguſt being then come) and no ſuch aid ſent as he had expected; yet deſiring to do ſomthing worth the remembrance, and beſeeming their honour, he earneſtly perſuaded *Columnius* and *Lilly* to ſet forward with him toward the Eaſt, and with their vnited forces to giue the enemy battell: telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they ſhould go not only to the glory of the preſent battell, but to the great honor and aduancement of the Chriſtian commonweale. After that, he extenuated the power of the enemy; ſaying, That he could not but maruell from whence ſuch a number of gallies as was reported, could ſo ſuddenly be gathered, or whereupon ſo great confidence and boldnes was grown vnto them, ſo lately ouerthrown and put to flight: the enemies fleet (he ſaid) was the yere before ouercome and diſperſed, the Captains and mariners ſlain; and that therfore it was not credible, that ſo many gallies could with ſuch celerity be built, and ſuch a number of mariners and maſters as was needfull in ſo ſhort time prouided: That the prouiſion of the enemy was by flying fame made far greater

A greater than indeed it was or possible could be: for why, they might easily guesse what the enemy was able to do, by the Christians themselues, who could not without much adoe and great labour build their fleets, and train vp their Mariners and Masters: and that therfore letting fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are; he was verily persuaded, that the enemy was glad to vse most vnskilfull and ignorant as well Mariners, Masters, as soldiers: who suddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies, knew not so much as the very names of the ropes and tacklings, and other equipage: and then those gallies which they had were like enough to be but weake, as of them which were the last yere rent and bruised, & now again botched vp; or in hast built of green timber, could not be nimble or greatly seruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men to set forB ward against the enemy; and that with the greater courage, for that the last yeares victory had opened vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it should so fall out, as good hope there was, they should therby take from the proud enemy both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recouer his strength at sea: so that they in the mean time without fear, might at their pleasure take the rich Islands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turks declining battel, should retire themselues into the Hellespont, then might they with fire & sword spoil all the frontiers of their dominion on this side the streits, and open a way vnto the Christians to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* perswaded by the Admirall: neither did they thereunto giue their consent, vntill it was decreed. That they should not in any case ioin battell with the C enemy, but with their gallions & galeasses first placed in the front of the battel, in whom consisted the greatest hope of the victory. So setting forward toward the enemy, & come to Commentitia, letters were brought vnto them from *Don Iohn*, certifying them, that he was now by letters from the King commanded to come towards the East, and to ioin his forces with the confederats; but yet that for certain daies he could not come, vntil he were better prouided of all things necessary: and that therfore they should in the mean time carefully looke vnto all things, promising so soon as he possibly could to come to them. Vpon these letters *Columnius* and *Lilly* began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the comming of the General: yet forasmuch as he had not expresly written any thing concerning their staying, and *Fuscarinus* vrged them forwards, on they went, with their fleet diuided into three battels. The whole D fleet consisted of 155 gallies, six galeasses, and twenty tall ships: in the right wing was *Superantius*; in the left wing *Canalius*; and in the middle battell, *Columnius*, *Fuscarinus*, and *Lilly*; and in the rereward followed *Quirinus*. Before each battell went two of the galeasses stil in readines for present battell. In this order they came first to Zacynthus (commonly called Zanto) & so to Cerigo: the next day after to Colubraria (commonly called Dragonaria) ouer against Cerigo. Here *Angelus Surianus* a valiant gentleman, sent before to discouer the enemy, & what strength he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admirall, That the Turks fleet, consisting of 160 gallies, 60 galliots, and four great ships, lay about Maluasia, in the entrance of the bay called Sinus Argolicus, vpon the borders of Peloponesus, about fifty miles off from the Christian fleet. Shortly after, the same fleet was again discouered making for Malea: E wherupon the Christians, before resolued to fight whersoeuer they should meet the Enemy, forthwith put themselues in order of battel, and so with their galeasses in the front, made with what speed they could toward him. These two fleets were thought for many respects almost equal: the enemy was in number moe, but inferiour in strength. The Christian fleet by reason of the heauines of the galeasses, made but smal way; and the enemy afraid of the great store of Ordnance the galleasses carried, durst not come neer them. The Turks fleet was rather nimble than strong, but ours more firm and forward. Look wherin each exceeded the other, therwith they endeauored to help themselues and annoy the enemy. The Christians fearing to be circumuented by the multitude of their enemies, opposed their ships and galeasses before them as a most sure fortresse: and the Turk, by how much he had had the worse successe the yeare F before, was so much the more carefull to beware how he indangered himself within the reach of the galeasses. The Christians desired nothing more than to fight and to come to handy blows: but the Turk who thought it sufficient for the present not to be ouercome, somtime made away as fast as he could, and by and by stayd again, if haply he might haue taken the gallies separated from the galeasses; neuer seeming willing to aduenture further than reason

The number & order of the Christian fleet.

The Christian fleet and the Turks almost equall.

The Turke warily declineth battell.

and diſcretion were. The enemy ſeeing the Chriſtian fleet comming ſtill on, and ready to giue battell, firſt ſeemed as if he would haue don the like, but afterwards turned his courſe vpon the right hand, and kept aloof alongſt the coaſt of Malea: At which time the Chriſtians, although they were very deſirous to haue followed them, yet the Turks with their nimble fleet were quickly too far gon for the Chriſtian fleet to ouertake them, eſpecially with their heauy ſhips. That day almoſt ſpent as it were in the chaſe of the enemy, towards the going down of the Sunne, the enemy put into the current of the ſea betwixt Cerigo and the Harts Iſland, in bredth about ten miles, and there diuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the comming of the Chriſtians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if vpon the confidence of the place, which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purpoſed nothing more than to fight. Yet both fleets ſeemed reſolued; the one not to fight without the galeaſſes, and the other not to come neer thoſe hot ſhips, from whom they had but the yeare before receiued ſo great harm. And although the enemy, as was afterwards known, purpoſed nothing leſſe than to fight, but vpon great aduantage; yet fearing by open flight to diſhonor his lord and maſter, and by granting as it were of victory, to increaſe the fame of the Chriſtians, the crafty pyrat made a great ſhew of that he left indeed purpoſed. For pretending a great deſire to fight, he indeed deluded the Chriſtians hope: who although the wind had failed them, yet in hope the enemy would abide them battell, with much labour and rowing came ſo neer him, that the great ſhot began to fly too and fro on both ſides: but when the matter ſhould haue come to haue bin tried by dint of ſword, then it plainly appeared what the enemy had indeed purpoſe: for ſtill keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Chriſtians, he by lettle and little ſhrunk back, and beſide that the ſhadow of the night began then to approch, he cauſed all his great Ordnance, charged only with pouder, to be ſhot off, and ſo in the thick of the ſmoake retired vnſeen; colouring his ſubtill departure alſo, by certain lights left in their cock-boats, making ſhew as if the whole fleet had ſtill there ſtaid. By this means the Turks with great celerity eſcaped, being alſo holpen in this, that the Chriſtians hindred vp the heauineſſe of the galeaſſes, could not but faire and ſoftly purſue them: for theſe galeaſſes, as they are veſſels of great ſeruice, ſo are they alſo heauy and vnweldy, and not fit for chace. The departure of the enemy at length known, the Chriſtians alſo vnwilling to fight by night, returned to Cerigo. Two daies after, the Turks ſtayd in the bay of Tenarus (now called Metapan) & the Chriſtians at Cerigo; contented in that, that the enemy was the cauſe that the battell was not fought, and reckoning his weary and couert declining of battell, as a ſecret confeſſion of the victory. The third day after, the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to joyn in battell with the enemy, in their former order ſet forward from Cerigo, and ſailing all the night, were in the break of the day deſcried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Vluzales* by ſhooting off of certain warning pieces commanded all his men to go abourd, and to put themſelues in readines for battell. And now the Chriſtians were not far off, when as the Turks (leſt declining of battel, might reproue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet diuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the ſea, the right wing ſtill keeping neer vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himſelfe: who came all on no faſter than the tide draue them, ſtaying their courſe oft times of purpoſe, to haue drawne the gallies of the Chriſtians from the galleaſſes and ſhips. *Vluzales* ſeeing his fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galliaſſes, commanded both the wings of his fleet (hauing in each of them fourſcore gallies) to fetch a great compaſſe about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleaſſes, and ſo to aſſaile the wings of the Chriſtians on the ſides or behind: in hope ſo to haue diſordered their battell, and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleaſſes and the other heauy ſhips. Which their intent the Chriſtians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies alſo, in manner of the new Moone, their maine battel ſtill facing the middle battell of the Turks. The wings of the Turks fleet thus farre ſeparated from the middle battell, ſeemed to preſent vnto the Chriſtians a great aduantage: which *Fuſcarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune) quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and ſhewing them the enemies main battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requeſted and perſuaded them, That not ſtaying for the heauy Ships and Galleaſſes, they would with him vpon the ſudden aſſaile the enemies middle battell now deſtitute of the wings: not doubting but ſo to ouerthrow the

Vluzales meaning nothing leſſe, yet maketh ſhew of battell.

The Turks politiquely retyre.

The Chriſtians deſirous of battell, go againſt the Turks.

A the enemies greateſt ſtrength there,before the wings could, now they were ſo far gone, ioyne themſelues to the battell again. What could (as he ſaid) haue hapned more wiſhedly, than to haue their battell diuided. So that they might at more aduantage fight againſt euery part therof,now ſeparted,than againſt all three parts at once.If they had thought themſelues not only equall,but too ſtrong for the whole enemies fleet, ſhould they not the better ouercome them apart and diſperſed.The opportunity,as he ſaid,was but ſhort,and therefore to be forthwith reſolued vpon.If they would take the preſent occaſion of victory then offred, and as reſolute men charge their enemies; little fearing any ſuch thing, they ſhould by their celerity and valor,teach the Turks what the Chriſtian diſcipline of war and power was able to do:but if they would therein vſe delay , they ſhould ere long in vain wiſh for the like occaſion they
B had let ſlip, when as their battell was again ſtrengthned with the wings. This the Admirals ſpeech was of moſt that heard it ioyfully receiued, and his counſell well liked;and that with ſuch a generall cheerfulneſſe of the ſouldiers, as ſhewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemy preſent battell.But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the ſame mind they had bin alwaies,ſaid it were dangerous ſo to do,for fear of drawing the whole three battels of the enemy at once vpon them,againſt which they ſhould be too weak,without the help of the galeaſſes and heauy ſhips:and therfore ſaid flatly,That without thoſe veſſels ſo much feared of their enemies,they would in no caſe hazard the fortune of a battel. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they ſo thought, or were ſo charged by *Don Iohn* (of whom they altogether depended)not to fight in his abſence,many doubted.The wings of the Chriſtians
C in turning about to confront the enemies wings, were a little diſordred:which the Turks perceiuing,and taking the preſent opportunity, with 15 of their gallies were about to haue charged the ſtragling gallies:which *Superantius* perceiuing,to ſtay their courſe, went out couragiouſly againſt them with foure gallies, and made with them a great fight:in the heat whereof, *Superantius* ſeeing forty more of the enemies gallies comming towards him, and doubtiug to be incloſed,with all ſpeed ſent for relief,which came preſently in,namely twenty gallies,with two of the galeaſſes:which forthwith ſent their thundring ſhot ſo thick and furiouſly among their enemies,that in a little time eighteen of their gallies were by them al rent and torn;and the Turks therwith diſmaied,were glad in ſuch haſt to returne,as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing at that fight but one of his gallies ſhot through, returned again to
D his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue bin the euent of the whole battell,if the opinion of *Fuſcarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling again into their order, although the Chriſtians could not ſo faſt follow, as the Turks went before them ; yet came they ſo neer them,that oftentimes they changed bullets,as well with their ſmall ſhot as their great. And yet for all that,it was by many ſigns gathered,that neither the Turks would abide preſent battell, neither the Chriſtians longer delay , if by their enemies they ſo might. The Chriſtians had agreed(as is before ſaid)not to ioyn in battel without their galleaſſes and tal ſhips:which *Vluzales* wel vnderſtood,both by the fugitiues and his own eſpials,as alſo by their maner of ſailing. And he himſelfe,although he had no great deſire to fight, yet to be the better able to fruſtrat the endeuors of the Chriſtians(who with great labour drew with them the
E galeaſſes and other heauy ſhips)ſent his chargable great ſhips to Maluaſia, there to be vnrigged;wherby he diſcharged himſelf of a great burthen,& made himſelf able at his own choice and pleaſure,to leaue or take,to fight or not:and alſo with ſuch ſoldiers and other neceſſaries as were in the ſame great ſhips, ſupplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policy the matter was brought to that paſſe, that if the Chriſtians would needs draw the enemy to battel,they muſt of neceſſity forſake their galeaſſes, their moſt aſſured ſtrength;or if they would not leaue them,then they could not by any means inforce the ready enemy to fight. The day now declining, the enemy ſuppoſing himſelf to haue done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heart of the Chriſtians, and encouraging his owne people,in ſeemly order, as one not afraid,ſailed with his fleet to Corona. The Chriſtians in like manner retiring themF ſelues to Cerigo.

The Turks fleet at Corona, and the Chriſtians at Cerigo.

Whilſt things thus went,*Don Iohn* by a frigot ſent of purpoſe,gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to Corcyra,ſharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they ſtayd not for his comming : and further commanded them as their Generall, all other things ſet apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to reſolue of all matters.

Don Iohn ſendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

Columnius wholly deuoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the fauour of *Don Iohn* before the rest, hearing his message, was in such hast to haue returned, that he would haue persuaded *Fuscarinus* to haue left the heauy vessels and other weak gallies at Cerigo; and with a hundred of the best gallies with all speed to haue returned to the Generall. Of which opinion was also *Lilly*: but *Fuscarinus* more careful than the rest, as he whom the danger more concerned, would not yeeld to that persuasion: for that in so doing, they should (as he said) leaue the ships and galleasses, the chiefe part of their strength, in danger to be spoiled by the enemy; whom they now kept at a bay without the help of their general; and should, as he wel hoped, by often prouoking of him, at one time or other draw him to battell, and haue ouer him a notable victory. And therefore requested them for the loue of God, and the zeale they bare vnto the common good of all Christendome, not to depart farther off, nor to suffer the enemy to escape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leaue the Islands of the Venetians subiect to the fury of the enemy: whereas the Generall might at his pleasure and without danger come vnto them, they lying betwixt the enemy and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* resolutely set down, hap what hap should, to do what *Don Iohn* had commanded, would not listen to the reasonable persuasions of the Venetian Admirall, but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had said yeeld to them, they would forthwith leaue him to himself, and with their gallies presently return to Zacynthus, as the Generall had commanded. Whilst they were yet thus discoursing, news was brought, that the enemy was come with his fleet into the fret of Cerigo: which caused them all with one consent to resolue in such order to passe by the enemy, as if they should haue giuen him present battell: wheras before, they were determined by the persuasion of *Fuscarinus* to haue gon to Crete, and there leauing the ships and galeasses in safety, to haue afterwards returned to the General. In such order the Christians passed by the enemies fleet, which lay still in the fret of the sea without mouing, standing as it were rather vpon the guard of themselues, than resolued for battell. In three days sailing they came to Zacynthus, where they found not *Don Iohn*, but two of his gallies, & commandment, that they should there leaue their heauy ships, and with their gallies come to Cephalenia, where they should not faile to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieued, and muttered through the whole fleet, That the Spaniards bearing themselues vpon their wealth, were too proud, and in comparison of themselues, regarded neither the conditions of the league, neither any other mans credit, but troad all men vnder foot; & would now vse the Venetians not as their friends and confederats, but as their slaues and vassals, feeding them in the mean time but with vaine hope. Yet forasmuch as the time and necessity so required, they were content to be ouerruled: and so leauing the ships and galeasses at Zacynthus, went with the rest of the fleet to Cephalenia: whither *Don Iohn* was not yet come, and sent word thither, That if they had any desire to ioin their forces with his, they should yet come further back vnto him to Corcyra. This message (which they had rather feared than expected) much troubled the Venetians; who readier to suspect & euery mischiefe, than to hope for any good, began to fret and complain, That the Spaniards could very wel tel the Venetians what they had to do, and forgot in the mean time, what was on their own part to be performed. A hard thing it was to say, and yet to be said, that now they had more to do with those their dallying friends and confederats, than with their enemies: for with their enemies they were to fight but in time of battell, but with them they were to wrestle at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they said) drawn from the sight of their enemies, when as they might haue bin ouerthrowne: not to the intent that with their vnited forces they might more safely fight against them, or vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* gain the victory; but rather lest any thing should haue bin don which might be to the honor or profit of the Venetians: and that time which was to haue bin bestowed in the managing of the war, spent in lingring and delaying, and vain going forward & backward to no purpose. One only way there was (as they said) to haue dispatched with the Turke, which was by ouercomming him in another notable battel, & so to haue vtterly broken his strength at sea: which course the confederats made no lesse difficult by their ofwardnes and delaies, than the enemy by declining of battell: That they had long ago by many secret signes probably coniectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder & crosse other mens doings, than to do any thing of themselues: That their endeauors were to frustrate those great hopes which promised vnto the Christian commonweale the greatest felicity and happines, together with immortall glory:

Don Iohn sendeth for the fleet to Cephalenia, where he also faileth to meet them.

Don Iohn commandeth the fleet to repaire vnto him to Corcyra.

A glory: and, That the Turks of late discouraged with the fortunat proceedings of the Christians, might again reioice at their mishaps.

The Venetians, notwithstanding all these their murmuring speeches, loth to fall off from the Spaniard, kept still on with the rest vntil they came to *Don Iohn* at Corcyra, who then lay with 53 gallies, and 18 ships at Spilca, in the vtmost end of the Island. At their first meeting *Don Iohn* shewed himself not a little offended, that they had not with more duty before attended his comming: and they againe not a little complained of his long stay, with many other their grieuances, which were tedious here to rehearse. The fleet now all with much ado at length met together, which consisted of two hundred gallies, nine galeasses, and thirty six tall ships: it was by generall consent agreed, That they should again set forward toward the Ene-

B my. They were not yet vnder saile, when two of their espials brought them news, that the enemies fleet (weakly furnished both of mariners and souldiers) was come to Nauarinum: which filled them all with good hope, that the Turks fleet so euill prouided, might in that place vpon the sudden be easily oppressed, and the rather, if they came vpon them vnexpected. Wherfore becausе they would not be descried, they kept not their course on right forth, but sayling by night, kept aloof vpon the right hand: & hauing passed Zacynthus, came with great silence vnto the Strophades, where they lay at anchor all that day. In the euening they loosed thence, so casting their course, that the more to terrifie the enemy, they might before day fall vpon him; and be seen in the mouth of the hauen where he lay, before there could be any report made of their comming thither. But this course so well set, the time was so euill cast, that it

C was fair day long before they could come to the appointed place; when the Turks out of their watch towers discouered afar off the comming of the Christian fleet, gaue warning therof vnto their fellows: wherupon an alarm was presently raised in the towne, and all men in armes ran headlong to the wals and to the hauen. But the Turks out of hope with their euill rigged fleet to be able to withstand the Christians, and not daring to trust to that weak harbour, they all now in a great hurly burly ran confusedly hand ouer head, soldiers and mariners, aboord: and whilst they had yet time, got them in hast out of that harbour, and as men chased by their enemies, got them into safe harbour at Modon, a strong town of Peloponesus, about six miles off. *Columnius* was sent before the rest of the fleet to haue pursued them: but they were got so far before him, that they had recouered the harbor before he could ouertake any of them. The

D Christian fleet comming before the harbour, and leauing a space as it were of purpose for the enemy to come out into, there lay in the face of the town, daring the Turks battell. But when they had so lien almost all that day, and no man durst come out; and now towards the euening certain signes of tempest appeared, the Christians fearing to be by force of weather driuen on ground, put farther off again to sea. Then at length *Vluzales* sent out certain light gallies to follow in the taile of the fleet, when the Confederats suddenly staying their course, and turning their prowes vpon them, draue them headlong again into the harbour: and afterwards retyred themselues with the whole fleet into the Islands Oenusæ, now called Sapientia, right opposit against Modon. The next day wanting fresh water, they remoued to the bay of Messana, there to water in the mouth of the riuer Pamisus, which there falleth into the sea: where

E in passing by Corone, they were oftentimes shot at out of the town; and landing their men to water, were encountred by certain troups of horsmen, sent for that purpose by *Vluzales*. There was water deerely bought with the liues of many there slain on both sides: in the end, the Christians preuailing, watered, and so returned againe to the Oenusæ from whence they came.

The Christian fleet al together at Corcyra, setteth forward again toward the enemy.

The Christians offer the Turks battell.

Methone or Modon (for it is by both names known) standeth almost in an Island stretching far into the sea, where toward the West runneth out a long point of the land a great way into the sea; in the vttermost part whereof standeth a great round tower. The towne it selfe, is on the one side inclosed with the sea, and toward the land so strongly fortified, as that it seemeth almost impregnable: Towards the South commeth in a faire bay about three miles wide, safe

F from all winds except the Northerly wind only; and shut vp by a little Island in the mouth of the bay, maketh a safe & quiet harbor, with two entrances therinto on either side of the Island. Within this bay lay the Turks fleet, with the sterns of their gallies toward the land, and their prows toward the sea. At the Southerly comming in of the bay standeth an hil, which the inhabitants call Albus: on the top whereof, the enemy had placed six great pieces of Ordnance, where-

The description of the bay of Modon.

wherwith to keep the Christians from entring that way. So had they also vpon that point of G
the main,which (as we said) runneth out from the town, and vpon S.*Bernards* rock,planted o-
ther great pieces of Ordnance to defend that passage also.The Christians comming vnto the
mouth of the bay,there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts,but yet doubtful what to
do: for beside that the entrances of the bay were but narrow , they were also far more dange-
rous to be entred,by reason of the great Ordnance planted vpon them. Neuertheles, the Ve-
netian Admirall in hope of good successe, and loth to let the fearfull enemy so to escape out
of their hands,would fain haue persuaded the General with his whole fleet to haue entred the
bay,and there in the harbor to haue oppressed the enemy:which he shewed to be no matter to
do,for that the enemy was too weak in strength,and could not be from land relieued. In which
doing,they should indeed ouerthrow but one fleet ; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, cut H
in sunder all the sinews of the Turkish Empire by sea:and raising a tumult in the bay, and fil-
ling all with a generall feare, should vndoubtedly at the first onset put the enemy to flight:
Which don,what should let,but that carrying about with them the terror of the victory,they
should with their victorious fleet , take from the Turke all the Islands of the Ægeum ? That
truly and wisely it was said of *Themistocles*,That whosoeuer had the command of the sea,must
needs also preuaile in the rest,and at length carry away the victory by land also. It was(as he
said)the part of good chieftains, not to be wanting vnto themselues when occasion was offe-
red : besides that,they were the same Turks, whom they had but the yeare before vanquished;
and what had that one yere either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turks ? or what should
they feare six pieces of Ordnance mounted vpon a hill,who if they should vndertake the bat- I
tell,were not to fear the great store of Ordnance in 260 of the enemies gallies and galliots ? I
my self (said he)will be the guid and leader,in whatsoeuer shall seem most difficult and dan-
gerous: and will in person my selfe be the first that shall enter the harbour,and aduenture the
first danger. Great victories(he said)were not to be gained but with great aduentures;& that
therfore the matter were to be hasted,before more aid should be sent vnto the Turks. Where-
fore they should as resolute men attempt that, the Turks thought the Christians durst not to
haue attempted ;and with the same courage brake into the bay, wherewith they had but the
yere before broken the strength of the same enemy;and by the power of God carry away ano-
ther notable triumph of the vanquished Turks:who ouercome in a second battell at sea,must
Don Iohn refu-seth to follow the counsell of the Admirall. needs depart with all their maritime territories. With euill liking of the Spaniards was the K
Venetian Admirall heard:and *Don Iohn* the Generall, deeming both the time and place vnfit
for the attempting of so great an exploit;rehearsed on the one side,the strength of the enemy,
the disaduantage of the place, the difficulty of the battell, with the manifold and great cala-
mities receiued by the ouerhasty & rash atempt of their enemies:That the enemies strength
was not to be so much deemed by the eye, or by report,as by reason;and that many in seeking
to increase their former glory, had in so doing ouerthrown the same : That the Christians in
entring and aduenturing the harbor,should on the one side be beaten with the Artillery from
the hil;and on theother, with the artillery out of the castle of Modon:and that it was not like
that *Vluzales* should if need require, lack aid from land :who but the other day had sent great
troups of horsmen to haue kept the Christians from watring:that a matter of so great impor- L
tance was(by *Fuscarinus* his leaue)not rashly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and hautinesse
of stomack,but vpon graue and mature deliberation : for if they should in a place of so great
disaduantage,hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it should seem that either he knew not
that kind of fight and force of the enemy, or els would make the bay of Modon more famous
by the ouerthrow of the Christians , than was the Curzulari by the slaughter of the Turks.
Then what a shame would it be, if they which were about to oppres the enemies fleet,should
themselues be ouerthrown, and that in their own deuice. He had rather(as he said) preserue
his own fleet,than to take 600 of the enemies gallies,and to acount the same for a greater ho-
nor.Which he determined not,for that he would not haue any thing don;but that vnripe oc-
casions should not be too much hastned, and as it were thrust headlong forward:wheras time M
would giue opportunity for the ouerthrow of the Turks fleet, so that they ran not blindly on
headlong:&that in future time the Venetians would reioice that they had so moderated their
desires.The Christians(he said)had sufficiently preuailed,if those things should fall out wel,
which were warily and aduisedly considered and resolued vpon.

The

A The matter thus on both ſides debated,and nothing don, they returned with the fleet into the port of Nauarinum. This proceeding,as it diuerſly moued the Spaniards and the Venetians,ſo brought it forth diuers ſpeeches,euery man ſpeaking in fauour of his own nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That he had moſt wiſely reſolued, for that how deer the counſell of the Venetian Admirall would haue coſt if it had bin followed,the thing it ſelf(as he ſaid) ſhewed,by the extreme danger therof preſented,not in the doubtfull opinion of men,but laid open before their eies. The Venetian on the other ſide more deſirous of battell, the neerer they had ſeen the opportunity to haue preuailed vpon the enemy, the more impatiently they endured ſo aſſured a victory,to haue bin let ſlip out of their hands: and thereof ſpake accordingly.

B The Chriſtians lying at Nauarinum,conſulted of many things what they were beſt to take in hand:and reſoluing at laſt,by ſea & land to beſiege the caſtle of Modon,which kept the paſſage into the bay,and defended the Turkiſh fleet;they returned again thither,& landed 7000 of their beſt ſoldiers,to beſiege the caſtle.And at the ſame time,appointed the galeaſſes with certain gallies to batter it alſo from the ſea:which the more commodiouſly to do,they ioined two of their greateſt gallies together ſide to ſide,which they made faſt with maſts and ſtrong ropes,and ſo bourded them clean ouer,wheron as on a platform,they placed gabions al affront, filled with earth,and great Ordnance betwixt to haue battered the Caſtle. But when this Engine(in maner of a floating fort) ſhould haue performed the ſeruice for which it was deuiſed, it proued vnſeruiceable,after it had with much ado bin brought thither, being ready to ſinke C with the weight of the great Ordnance and other things wherwith it was ouercharged. For which cauſe, and for that they vnderſtood a great number of horſemen to be come into the town,they gaue ouer the ſiege vainly begun,and put again with their fleet to ſea. It fortuned at the ſame time,that a tall ſhip of Venice departing from Zacynthus,and comming alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus,with prouiſion for the fleet, was deſcried by the enemy; who thinking to do the Chriſtians a great diſhonor,if they could almoſt in the ſight of their fleet ſurpriſe her,they ſent out certain light gallies to haue taken her;*Vluzales* in the mean time with the reſt of his fleet,lying in the very mouth of the bay,ready to come out if the Chriſtian fleet ſhould once ſtir to relieue her. Which the Chriſtians perceiuing, and wel hoping that ſo the enemy would be drawn to battell,ſent out *Columnius* with his gallies to reſcue the ſhip;and o- D thers alſo which lying aloof, might get in betwixt the Turks gallies & the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall lying ready to haue giuen battell,if *Vluzales* ſhould haue come forth: but the Chriſtians comming on with a ſmall gale,the enemy being afraid,by ſhooting off of certain warning pieces within the bay, in time called back the gallies that were already gone out of the bay:who all forthwith came in,excepting *Mohomet* the nephew of *Barbaruſſa*,a moſt famous captain amongſt the Turks,who as one of great courage,and deſirous of honour,ſtaid a little without the bay, with greater courage than diſcretion, expecting who ſhould aſſaile him. Him the Marques S.*Crucis* ſet vpon,and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end the Marques preuailing,ſlew *Mahomet* with all his Turks,and with honor caried away the gally. So the diſhonor which *Vluzales* would haue don the Chriſtians, fell vpon himſelfe, B hauing in his own ſight loſt one of his beſt captains with his gally.

The Caſtle of Modon in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Mahomet ſlain

The next day,becauſe the yeare ſhould not paſſe without ſomthing don,nor the hope of ſo great a preparation come to nothing,the Chriſtians determined to beſiege the Caſtle of Nauarinum (which was in antient time called Pylus) more famous for nothing,than for that it was the natiue place of old *Neſtor*. The City of Nauarinum ſtandeth vpon a riſing ground, ſtretching ſomwhat into the ſea;wherinto it hath a large proſpect,and a faire large hauen,but ſubiect to the North wind. It is defended with a point of the main,running compaſſe into the ſea, whereon ſtandeth an old Caſtle. Some ſent before to view the ſcituation of the place, brought word back,that the caſtle might in three days be won. The performance of which exploit,was committed to *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of Parma, whom the Venetians furniſhed F with munition and victual. He landing with 2000 Italians, a thouſand Spaniards, and 500 Germans,began with twelue great pieces to batter the caſtle. And albeit that the battery was planted ſo far off, as that it did the enemy no great harme; yet haply the enterpriſe had taken effect, if by taking the ſtreight and troubleſome paſſages through a rough and thick forreſt, the City had bin kept from relief: but foraſmuch as thoſe paſſages were left free, the

The Prince of Parma in vain beſieged Nauarinum.

enemy

enemy cunningly opposed policy against force; for salying out of the city they gaue the Chri- A
stians an hot skirmish. And in the mean time whilst the Christians were so busied, by a port toward the forrest on the other side of the City receiued in great number both of horse and foot. The report of this new come aid caused the Prince to raise his siege, and to go again aboord. And now rested all the hope of gaining the town in the strength of the fleet, and that not small, for that the Turks not relieued with victuals by land, were now by the confederats kept from them also by sea: for at that time the Turkes were troubled with two great mischiefs, the famin and the plague. For no prouision had there bin made, as in a thing neuer feared; and that little being spent that was in the Towne, they were inforced to seek for victuals farther off: which comming but sparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way in- H
tercepted by the souldiers which lay about in the country villages, wanting victuals no lesse than they in the city. And the more men the Beglerbeg of Greece brought down for defence of the sea towns, so much the more the wants of all things daily increased. So that no man doubted but that in short time all would be brought to extream penury. What a dearth the mortalitie had made, the want of men in gallies wel declared: for many of the gallies for lack
The weaknes of the Turks fleet. of mariners and soldiers were sent away into Euboea, or left at Maluasia, or carried away to Constantinople. Those which staid in the bay of Modon were scarse an hundred gallies, and forty galliots, and they so slenderly manned, that the greatest gallies had not aboue a hundred and twenty men in them, and they so megre and faint, as that they could scarsly hold vp their weapons. The Christians vnderstanding of these things, were in good hope, that by continu- I
ing the siege, they should without danger gain a notable victory. For which cause *Fuscarinus* persuaded the Spaniards (of whose constancy he doubted) to hold it out as men of resolution. Shewing them, That in the euent of this action rested for them for euer to be feared or contemned of the Turks: who except they should be changed into fishes or into birds, could not (as he said) without a notable ouerthrow escape their hands out of the Bay. But vnto this his hope and counsel the euent was not correspondent: for the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediousnes of the siege, or for want of victuals, or for the approch of winter, or els moued with some other reasons, began to think of the matter diuersly: and at the first a report was raised, That the Christians giuing ouer the siege, would shortly return home; and the reason was, for that they wanted bisket, and had scarsly victuals left for fifteen daies, which was to be reser- K
ued for their long journy home. Besides that, the approch of Winter did call them from the action: and that hauing don what they might, they could neuer draw the enemy forth to battell. And therfore hauing sufficiently, and as far as was possible, already discharged their duties, they were now also to regard their safety, and to foresee, that their fleet, wherein the welfare of them all was reposed, were not too far indangered. At the first these speeches were divulged by the common souldiers and mariners of small credit or reputation; but afterward by more, and they also men of better place and sort. Yea *Don Iohn* himselfe, whether it were to some other purpose, or that he so spake in good earnest, began to lay the fault vpon others, why he, so lately come from Messana, should in so short time want victuals and all things els necessary.

The Venetians murmure against the Spaniards. With these vnexpected reports, and so far different from the Confederation, the Venetian L
Admiral with the rest of the Venetian Commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieued aboue measure: for it seemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the most fertile and plentifull cuuntry of Sicilia, in all ages the most fruitfull and abundant granary and store-house of Italy, both in peace and war, could so soon want victuals. Could eighteen tall ships, which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loded with bisket, victuals, and other warlike and necessary prouision, be come empty? or but to haue brought so much as might suffice but for a moneth only? If this were don without the knowledge of *Don Iohn*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winked thereat, where was his zeal to the confederation, or to what purpose came he to Corcyra? Was it to auert the Chri- M
stian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemy) from doing any good vpon him? Could it come into any mans head (besides that in so doing he was therin to extinguish the glory of a most certain victory, like to work the Turks confusion) by the infamy of a voluntary returne to increase the glory and renown of his enemy, and to bring a perpetual ignominy & disgrace vntothe honour of the Christians? Verily the Spaniards therein not to shew themselues so

willing

A willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the ſtrength of the Venetians not increaſed.

These things *Fuſcarinus* and the Venetians ſomtimes fretted at amongſt themſelues; and otherwhiles the Admirall himſelfe expoſtulated the ſame with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*: and in the preſence of the greateſt counſellors ſhewed, not only how profitable, but alſo how neceſſary perſeuerance was in all martiall affairs: That it was an old and vſuall matter for men in beſieging of their enemies, to ſuffer many difficulties: if they ſhould, hauing performed nothing, return with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was again the next yeare to be renewed? And what could this delay be elſe, but a propagation of their further calamities? That therfore it much concerned the Chriſtian Commonweale, although they had not all things in abundance, yet reſolutely and with patience to endure the

B ſcarſity of victuals. If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might eaſily remedy that matter, by ſpeedily ſending for thoſe ſhips which lay laden with victuals good ſtore at Tarentum: which thing might in ſhort time be performed. In the mean time he promiſed to ſupply the Spaniards wants with part of his own ſtore: and that he had rather his men ſhould liue with roots, than to let the enemies fleet coupt vp, ſo to eſcape his hands: That the deſire to protect the honour of the Chriſtians, would ouercome all difficulties. Beſides that, the matter would be but ſhort, if it were done at once, in one continued courſe; and would vndoubtedly be by them performed, if they gaue not ouer the thing they had ſo well begun, till they had accompliſhed it. They (as he ſaid) might in good ſafety lie with their fleet in the ports of Nauarinum, Sapientia, and Capraria: wheras the enemy, lying ſhut vp in the bay of Modon, ſhould

C haue but a bad and dangerous Winter harbor; and October being now begun, ſhould in ſhort time be in danger to periſh with bluſtring ſtorms and rage of the ſea, familiar vnto that time of the yeare; or els inforced with the extremity of the weather, and with want, to aduenture into the open ſea, and with their weak forces to ioin battell. What ſhould therfore let, why they ſhould not for 10 or for 15 daies continue the ſiege, as beſt beſeemed the honor of themſelues, the valour of their ſouldiers, and worthines of the Chriſtian name? What a terrour it would be vnto the enemy, to ſee the Chriſtians ready to endure all extremities and wants, to gaine the victory ouer the Turks? Again, what diſhonour and diſcredit would be vnto themſelues, if they ſhould ſuffer the enemy (ſhut vp and not daring to fight) to eſcape: eſpecially, when as they might ſitting ſtill, end the war? The Senat of Venice, he ſaid, moſt reſted vpon the valor

D and courage of *Don Iohn*, and therefore he requeſted him not to deceiue the great hope they had of him conceiued: for how much ſhould he himſelfe blemiſh his own honour, if when he had before relieued the afflicted ſtate of the commonweale, he ſhould now, when it was moſt of all to be holpen, forſake the ſame? Which ſhould not be much vnlike, as if a man ſhould with great labour purchaſe great ſtore of pretious pearles, and vpon an humorous paſſion caſt them all into the ſea: That men generally held a great opinion of him the General, an honorable remembrance of his victory, and regard of his valour; all which, how much the more pregnant and honorable ſhould they be, by the ſecond vanquiſhing and ſubduing the moſt mighty monarch of the world: and that if the action well begun, ſhould be effectually proſecuted by the goodnes of God, the direction of the Commanders, and the reſolution of the ſouldiers, in

E ſhort time the Chriſtians ſhould carry the victory from the Turks, and make him their generall equal not only with the great chieftains of the preſent time, but euen with the moſt famous commanders of all former ages. Wherunto *Don Iohn* replied, That the action then in hand no leſſe concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life deſired nothing more, than to ſtand the Chriſtian Commonweale in ſtead: That he pointed at the ſame mark with *Fuſcarinus*, and in zeale to do good to the Chriſtian commonweale, gaue place to no man; but indeed to perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to ſay it: leſſer things (he ſaid) were to be ouerpaſſed, to reſerue themſelues for the performance of greater: and therfore maruelled that *Fuſcarinus* alone could not ſee things moſt manifeſt before his eies, who otherwiſe could with his piercing wit ſee through the deepeſt matters: could he think by any o-

F ther means to abate the power of the Turk, than if they kept their fleet whole; that it was euer the maner of the greateſt & worthieſt commanders, rather to ſhun preſent dangers, than to increaſe their territories: that nothing was ſo wel purpoſed, which might not be of ſome wrongfully ſuſpected: but his faithful meaning to be pure & without ſpot; and albeit that the opportunity ſerued not for him to ſhew it, yet was his deſire & endeuor nothing leſſe: and that *Fuſcarinus*

The Venetian Admirall perſuadeth the Spaniards in no caſe to returne from the enemy.

Don Iohn repleth vpon the Venetian Admirall.

rinus, ſhould do well more intentiuely to conſider, what the cauſe, the matter, and the time required: That the maner of war at land and at ſea, were much different: and that although wars of both ſorts were to giue place to the moſt vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, vnfit for any kind of war; yet might men at land, better endure the winter ſtorms in their tents and cabbins, than at ſea in their gallies, where oftentimes will, skil, wiſdome, nor valor help not: but that (except it be ſo prouided and foreſeen, that the ſeaſonable time of the yere, and commodious for ſayling, may be taken) al muſt together periſh by ſhipwrack. What, would he haue them to ſtriue aboue their power with the winter ſtorms, and famin, the greateſt extremity of nature? Beſides that, he was verily perſuaded, that the Turks inioying the commodities of a good harbor, and of a rich city, would there in ſafety winter; the country of Peloponeſus relieuing them with al neceſſaries: when as the Chriſtians in the meane time, except they in time returned home, ſhould lie expoſed to the rage of the ſea, ſtanding as it were in a continuall watch, not laying away their weapons in the depth of Winter and dead time of the yere, which in reaſon ought to giue reſt to all men. And that therefore euery man ought for the preſent to beare his own grieuances, and not by the harms of his friends or confederats, to ſeek his owne anaile. And that he, bearing himſelfe vpon the inward integrity of his good will toward the Venetians, would this ſay, howſoeuer *Fuſcarinus* ſhould vnderſtand it, That if the Kings fleet ſhould by long ſtaying, there periſh, it would no leſſe concern the Venetians, than the king himſelfe: and taking God to witneſſe, would ſolemnly promiſe, Nothing to be vnto him more leifer or religious, than to be preſt ſo ſoon as the time of yeare would giue leaue, and by his endeauour to make al men know, that he had no leſſe care of the Venetian ſtate, than of the kings affairs; neither deſired any thing more, than to be accounted, & indeed to be a moſt conſtant vpholder of that moſt Chriſtian league; and that beyond al expectation, euen in the iudgement of the Venetians themſelues: but for the preſent they muſt pardon him, if he gaue place vnto the neceſſity of the time: as for the offer of the communicating of their victuals, that would not be any help, but the deſtruction of both the fleets; for ſo they ſhould both ſooner feele the want: wherefore it were much better to preſerue the fleet, which they might vſe in the next yeares wars, than wilfully to caſt away the ſame by famine, and the rage of the ſea. In briefe, what an indignity ſhould the Chriſtians ſuſtain, if they themſelues ſhould by the ſame meanes be ouerthrown, whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrown others.

The Spaniards about to return without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were ſo reſolutely ſet down for their departure, that not only without the conſent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuity, their departure was reſolued on, and ſecret command giuen to the maſters of the gallies, with all the haſt that might be, to depart thence to Meſſana. Which the Venetian Admiral vnderſtanding, and therwith troubled as with an vnexpected matter, came aboord the general, & greatly complained of his purpoſe for ſo ſudden a departure: requeſting him a while to ſtay, vntil the two gallies made faſt together in the harbor of Nauarium (as is before ſaid) with the Ordnance vpon them might be put in good ſafety, and neither they, or any thing els left for a prey to the enemy. With much ado, *Fuſcarinus* perſuaded him no ſtay that night, that thoſe gallies might be brought out of the harbor, and all things put in order for their departure. The reſt of the night was ſpent in debating of the matter too and fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceiued into a publike inſtrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall conſent of the three Admirals returned for lack of victuals: wherunto the Venetian Admirall hardly conſented. But when the inſtrument ſhould haue bin made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduiſed by one of his Secretaries, That the ſame would redound vnto the great diſhonour both of the King and himſelfe, that the fleet comming out of the fruitfull country of Sicilia, ſhould in a months ſpace want victuals, changed his mind for the writing, and only requeſted the Venetian Admirall to credit him and *Columnius*, in that they had ſaid concerning the want of victuals: promiſing him, that if vpon the way he ſhould meet with the victuals that were ſent for, he would forthwith return & giue him aid, as the time and occurrents ſhould require: but in the mean time to proceed by common conſent, to do that which was moſt needfull. Hereupon they returned: and comming to Corcyra, they met the expected ſhip laded with victuals. Now is not *Fuſcarinus* vnmindfull of his duty, but comming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promiſe; telling him, That it was not vnlike, but that the enemy ſo ſoon as he vnderſtood of their departure, would come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards Conſtantinople; and

being

A being but weake manned, and worſe furniſhed of mariners, might eaſily be ouertaken vpon the way and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto perſuaded; pretending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to return. So the expectation of great matters to haue bin this yeare done, came to nought, but vaniſhed into ſmoake: and nothing performed worth ſo long a diſcourſe, more than to ſee with what difficulty great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their own honor, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the faireſt opportunities, and by their croſſe dealing, no leſſe than the enemy, hinder the common good, whereat they would all faineſt ſeeme to aime. From Corcyra *Don Iohn* departed to Meſſana, and *Columnius* vnto Rome. *Fuſcarinus* with greater honour than ſucceſſe returned to Venice, where he was with great joy receiued,
B both of the Senat and the citiſens in generall: and ſo (no leſſe famous for his patience and moderation towards the other confederats, than for his policy and valor) with the good liking of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

Amyda the exiled King of Tunes craueth aid of Don Iohn.

About this time, *Amida* King of Tunes (of whom much is before ſpoken in the life of *Soly-man*) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turks (who had of long by little and little incroached vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two ſons at Guletta with *Franciſcus Touares*, Gouernour thereof; hearing of the great ouerthrow of the Turks at Lepanto, and of the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians, ſent Embaſſadours to *Don Iohn* Generall of the confederat princes, then lying in Sicilia, humbly requeſting his aid for the recouery of the kingdome; promiſing to defray the whole charges of the war, and for euer to
C hold his kingdome of the King of Spaine, as his vaſſall and tributary. Which his requeſt well conſidered of, and the matter thought of no ſmall conſequence for the ſafety of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt that part of Affricke, to haue ſo dangerous an enemy remoued; *Don Iohn* the yere following (in the beginning of October) by the commandement of the king 1573
of Spaine his brother, departing from Drepanum in Sicilia, with an hundred and fiue gallies and forty ſhips, arriued the next day about noone at Guletta, where the gallies of Malta came vnto him, and ſhortly after *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteen more, and *Columnius* the Popes Admirall with foureteene moe, all well appointed. At his arriuall at Guletta, he vnderſtood by *Amida* and the Gouernour, the whole eſtate both of the city and of the kingdome of Tunes: and that the Turks and Moores, terrified with ſo greet a fleet, were about to
D forſake the city. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his forces about foure miles from the city, and ſent two thouſand fiue hundred footmen before the reſt of the army to the city; who found it all deſolate, the Turks and Moores being before for feare fled, ſome to Carauana, ſome to Biſerta: who entring without reſiſtance came to the caſtle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who ſaid they kept it for *Amida* their King; but yet would by no means ſuffer the Chriſtians to enter. All which was forthwith made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then becauſe it was almoſt night, would not mooue, but early the next morning ſet forward with his whole army; and entring the city, before abandoned by the inhabitants, and ſo comming to the caſtle, found nothing therein but great ſtore of oyle, butter, and wooll.

E *Amida* the late King, by the commandement of *Don Iohn* all this while ſtayd at Guletta. But whileſt *Don Iohn* was yet at Tunes, newes was brought vnto him the 13 of October, That the Turks garriſon before fled out of Tunes, with diuers Moores, comming to Biſerta, were there kept out by the citiſens, and not ſuffered to enter: for which cauſe they began to burne and ſpoile the country thereabout. Whereupon the Generall ſent *Touares* the Captain of Guletta thither with part of the army; who encountring with thoſe Turks ouerthrew them, and had the city by the citiſens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The iuſt iudgement of God vpon Amida the late King of Tunes.

The kingdom of Tunes thus eaſily once again recouered from the Turks, *Don Iohn* thorowly informed of the faithleſſe and cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in deteſtation of the Chriſtians and their religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and pro-
F cured the death of ſome of the Chriſtians; gaue this definitiue ſentence vpon him, being yet in the caſtle of Guletta: That foraſmuch as he had of long time bin the author of great diſcord and endleſſe troubles in that kingdom, and had moſt vnnaturally depriued *Muleaſſes* his father, firſt of his kingdome, and afterward of his ſight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his naturall brethren, the rightfull heires of that Kingdome, whereby the Turks had taken occa-

sion both to inuade and posseſſe the same: he should therefore by the commandement of the king of Spaine be carried priſoner with his two ſonnes into Sicilia, there to remaine for euer. Which heauy doome he taking moſt grieuouſly, and yet crying out for mercy, was forthwith thruſt into a gally, and with his wife and children tranſported into Sicilia, there to liue in perpetuall exile: the juſt reward of his mercileſſe and vnnaturall dealing with his father and brethren; God no doubt reqniting him with the like meaſure he had before meaſured vnto them.

Mahomet, Amida his brother, made King of Tunes, and vaſſal to the King of Spaine.

After that (the King of Spaine ſo commanding) *Mahomet*, *Amida* his elder brother, and right heire of that kingdome, was appointed king in his place: who departing from Guletta to Tunes, was receiued as King, and there by ſolemne oath promiſed for euer to be the King of Spaine his vaſſall, and to do what ſoeuer he ſhould command.

There was before departed out of Tunes forty thouſand Moores, who now came and offered their ſupplication to *Don Iohn*, that they might again returne and liue with their new king: which their requeſt being eaſily granted, they in great numbers euery day returned into the city. Shortly after, fifteene hundred Turks, with 3000 of thoſe wilde people which ſome call Arabians, ſome Alarbes, ſore troubled all the paſſages about the city: who were at laſt by the Chriſtians ouerthrowne, and an hundred and fifty Chriſtians whom they had taken priſoners, reſcued. After that, *Don Iohn* by the aduice of his moſt expert and skilfull captaines, commanded a ſtrong caſtle to be built in the middle way betwixt Guletta and Tunes: and for the performing therof left *Gabriel Serbellio* with two thouſand Italians; and *Calazar* a Spaniard with other two thouſand at Guletta. And ſo hauing performed that he came for, and diſpoſed of all things as he thought beſt, returned againe into Sicilia.

A griefe of griefs it is, and ſorrow almoſt vnconſolable, when worthy actions moſt happil begun, ſort not to ſuch happy end as was in reaſon hoped for. The greateſt and moſt famous victory of all ages gained againſt the Turke, ſeemed to haue lightened a Chriſtian Commonweale, and great hope there was, that the Chriſtians falling into vnity amongſt themſelues, would by an happy exchange make the Turkiſh empire the ſeat of their wars, and to turn into the Turks dominions, the terrour, ſlaughter, and other calamities of war, which had ſo many yeres afflicted the Chriſtian commonweale. But by how much the more the joy was amiddeſt ſuch daily calamities and teares; ſo much greater was the ſorrow ſo great an hope to be come to nought, and men to be ſo blinded with the darkeneſſe of enuy and diſdaine, that they could not ſo much as think, with what diſhonor and danger of the common ſtate, they ſhould ſhrink from ſo juſt, ſo honorable, and ſo needful a ſeruice, including in it ſelfe the generall good of all Chriſtendome. When poſterity ſhall conſider what things might then haue bin don, and the deuiſes whereby the common cauſes were ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame and greatly lament ſo notable a victory and fit opportunity, ſent as it were from heauen for the effecting of great matters, to haue bin let ſlip & paſſed ouer ſo lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had repoſed all their hope in arms, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of peace. Truly the Venetians both ſpoke & thought honorably of king *Philip*, as of a moſt faithfull, juſt, deuout, and honorable prince: yet greatly blaming his officers and others of great authority about him, as men more regarding their owne priuate, than the good of the Chriſtian commonweale. In theſe perplexities of the Venetians, king *Philip* promiſed them to ſet forth a greater and ſtronger fleet againſt the next yeare, and to be ſooner in readineſſe with all his forces and warlike prouiſion, and ſo to help them in all he might. Who for all that gaue ſmall credit to thoſe promiſes, for that with the like they had bin oftentimes before deceiued. And therefore as truſting moſt vnto their owne ſtrength, they with all carefulneſſe and expedition entertained moe ſoldiers; of whom ſome they put into their fleet, the reſt they placed in their garriſons in Creet, in Dalmatia, and their frontier townes in Epirus. Neither were the Turks then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that war with greater fame than ſtrength: for they had of purpoſe giuen it out, That they would the next Spring with diuers armies inuade the Venetian Territories, in Creet, in Dalmatia, in Epirus, yea, and in Italy it ſelfe; and with their innumerable multitude both of horſe and foot ſo ouerwhelme the Venetians, that they ſhould not be able poſſibly to hold out. This and more too they brauely vaunted of: but indeed *Vluzales* comming to Conſtantinople, had brought his fleet ſo ſhaken and ſo weake, as that it ſeemed not poſſible but in long time

The Venetians weary of the delayes and croſſe dealing of the Spaniards, reſolue to ſue vnto the Turkes for peace.

to

A to be againe repaired, and furniſhed with ſoldiers and mariners, in ſtead of them that had bin loſt, ſome in fight, but moe by the contagiouſneſſe of the iuſection. But howſoeuer the matter ſtood, the Venetians carefull with the expectation of great matters, and in ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe, comparing their own ſtrength with the ſtrength of the enemy: yet were they no leſſe diſcouraged with the delaies and croſſe dealing of the confederats, than with all the prouiſion of the enemy. It ſtucke in their minds, how that the Spaniards at ſuch time as Cyprus might haue bin defended, delaied their comming ſo long, that Nicoſia being loſt, it was time to return: neither could they forget that lingering delay to haue bin the cauſe of the great mortality amongſt their men dying in the fleet at Iadera: They remembred alſo, that the commodities which of ſo notable a victory were moſt plentifully to haue bin reaped, were by the ſlen-
B der proſecuting of the ſame, ſo ſparingly taken, that the former dangers ſtill remained: And that *Don Iohn*, who ought by appointment to haue bin at Corcyra in the beginning of Summer, was ſcarcely come thither in the latter end of Auguſt: And that he in the third yeare of this war, at ſuch time as their fleet was with great labor and charge again repaired, would not or liſted not to aduenture to haue againe ouerthrowne the enemies fleet, but in the very action to haue alwaies trifled away the greateſt part of Summer, before his Spaniards could ſet forward: and when he might ſafely haue come to Cerigo, to haue called backe *Fuſcarinus* and the reſt, then facing of the enemy, and euen ready to haue giuen him battell: It was then ſecretly ſuſpected, the Spaniards to haue ſtaied of purpoſe, and to haue dallied on the time, that the Venetians hauing ſpent their forces, might be the more expoſed and ſubject to their injuries:
C It ſtucke faſt not in their minds alſo, but euen almoſt in their eyes, what things had happened of former times in their confederations with that nation: they were grieued in the ſpace of three yeres an hundred times, twenty hundred thouſand duckats to haue bin to little or ſmall purpoſe ſpent in that war: Beſides that, they doubted leſt the Flemings with their confederats ſhould ſo intangle the king of Spaine in defending of his owne territories, as that he ſhould not be at leiſure to ſend any aid into the Eaſt: in which caſe, what hope or helpe were they to looke for? How ſhould they then defend the reſt of their Seiginory in the Eaſt: How ſhould their empty coffers ſuffice to maintaine ſo great armies both by ſea and land, as might withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy? Long were the diſcourſes, and effectuall the perſuaſions, that the Venetians had amongſt themſelues, to induce one another, and all in generall, more circum-
D ſpect to conſider, not only what had already paſſed, or was preſently in hand; but alſo more warily to foreſee what would be the courſe and what the euent of a matter ſo important: and betime to breake off the confederation, which they had alwaies found to haue ſtood them in ſmall ſtead. In reuoluing of theſe things, only one remedy ſeemed moſt effectuall for the curing of their afflicted State: which was, by deſiſting from war, to conclude a peace with the Turke, howſoeuer: which they were the rather in good hope to attaine, for that diuers ſpeeches concerning the ſame had paſſed at Conſtantinople, and were from thence againe reported at Venice. All men thus inclining to peace, the Senat referred the proceeding therein vnto *M. Antonius Barbarus* their Embaſſador, (who all the time of theſe wars had lien in ſafe cuſtody at Conſtantinople) willing him therein to vſe the helpe of the French Embaſſador, who
E had alwaies beene a perſuader of peace.

Selymus hauing got the Iſland of Cyprus and diuers other places from the Venetians, & yet well wearied with the harmes and loſſes he had himſelfe receiued both by ſea and land, was alſo deſirous enough of peace. So that the French Embaſſador might, as it was thought, haue got a reaſonable and indifferent peace, if he had but expected the opportunity of time: But he (whether moued with the common harmes, or ſome other ſecret cauſes to him beſt known) in making too much haſt, & ſeeming too deſirous of peace, much hurt the common cauſe of the Venetians, which he moſt deſired to haue furthered. *Selymus* hauing found him, reſolued with *Muhamet* the great Baſſa, what he would haue done: who at ſuch time as the ſame Embaſſador
F came vnto him about the matter, told him, That he had himſelfe many times moued, yea & ſo far forth as he might, importuned his great lord and maſter for peace, but could neuer find him willing to heare thereof, vntill that now at length ouercome and wearied with the continuall ſollicitation of ſuch as might do moſt with him, he had yeelded thereunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himſelfe vndoubtedly deſired, that the crafty Baſſa ſeemed him with moſt difficulty to grant, rather vpon the inſtance and contemplation of them that labored for the ſame, than for

Selymus himſelf deſirous of peace

Muhamet Baſſa dealeth cunningly with the French Embaſſador, ſoliciting the peace in the behalfe of the Venetians.

any desire he had thereunto of himselfe. For certaine daies at the first the French Embassador was most curteously heard, and the Bassa with faire & cunning speech promised, that the matter of pacification should easily & in short time be composed: and so at their first conferences things passed rather in generall termes, than that any condition of peace were particularly agreed vpon: only this was on both parts consented vnto, That the Venetians should send their Embassador of purpose, for the full concluding and confirming of the desired peace. Which charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacobus Superantius*, in whose wisedome and valor they had reposed great hope and confidence. He was no sooner come to Constantinople, and the Turks deliuered of the feare of the Christian sword, by the dissolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, & the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their disdainfull ears, their despightfull speeches, their long and insolent attendance, with many other shamefull indignities: Yea, the Bassa was so shamelesse, as proudly to aske them, How they durst be so bold as to impugne ths great Emperor *Selymus* his fleet at sea. Whereunto the Embassador answered, That the Venetians had alwaies honored the Majesty of the Turkish Emperors, neither had at any times taken vp armes against him, but in their own reasonable defence, when force was by force to be repulsed, a thing lawfull euen for the wild beast in the wild wilderneſſe to do. At the first intreaty of the peace, the Bassa seemed to put the Venetian embassador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his request should enjoy their territories in Dalmatia in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the same bounds, wherof they had in these wars lost some part about Iadera. But when the matter should haue come to the shutting vp, the Turke began to shrinke from that he had before promised, refusing not only the restitution of the territory they had indeed by treason got; but by cautelous expositions of his meaning, framing the conclusion of the present peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turks had now yeelded to them Maluasia, and Nauplus, so now they should redeliuer vnto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not restoring the territory they had taken about Iadera, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their law restore vnto the Christians any town or place wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Mahometan religion, as was there: and further, That the same territory was already giuen by *Selymus* in reward vnto his souldiers, men of desert, from whom without great injury it might not be againe taken. Hereupon the French Embassador complained, That promises were not performed: and the Venetians so fretted, that they were euen about to haue returned as men shamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks still standing vpon such hard termes) the Embassadors by the appointment of the Senate concluded a peace with the Turke; whereof these were the chiefe capitulations: first, That the Venetians should giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thousand duckats, one hundred to be presently paied, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two yeres next following: then, That the merchants goods should be indifferently on both sides restored: and lastly, That such places of the Venetians as the Turke was already possessed of, should still remaine vnto the Turks; but that such towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks dominion, should be againe forthwith restored. For the first payment of the mony the Turke were earnest, thereby as by a fine for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honourable.

The Venetians send their Embassador of purpose to Constantinople to entreat a peace.

A peace concluded betweene Selymus & the Venetians.

1574 This peace at Constantinople concluded the eleuenth day of February in the yeare 1574, was by the decree of the Senat confirmed; and afterwards the 13 of Aprill following solemnly proclaimed at Venice, to the great wonder of the other Confederats. For the better satisfying of whom, the Popes Nuncio, with the Embassador of Spain, were sent for into the Senat house. And although there were many things that grieued the Venetians, yet did they forbeare all hard speeches, and of that their moderation receiued so much the more honor, as it is more difficulty for an angry man to ouercome himselfe, than others. The duke with calme and temperat speech, framed to the purpose, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counsellors, being set apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he was desirous of the Turks friendship, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not onely with losse, but euen with death it selfe to be maintained. How he had been spoiled of the kingdome of Cyprus, he further declared: and that the Venetian state grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continuall war:

The peace proclaimed at Venice.

and

A and that therefore, before it were by losse vpon losse come to the vttermost of extremity, they not able to maintaine so heauy a war, were to take some better course for the preseruation of that which was yet left of their Seigniory: for that the safety of the Venetian State should at all times be a sure fortresse and defence of the Christian common-weale against all the furious attempts of the enemy, and vncertaine euents of time.

The fame of this sudden and vnexpected peace was for the just and common hatred of the Christians against the Turks, generally euil taken: and the Venetians for the concluding therof hardly spoken of, as if they had betraied the whole Christian common weale, or at leastwise their Confederates. For men were for the most part of opinion, that the Turks peace would be but feigned and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to set things in order, accor-

B ding to his desire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Christians, come to his old course, and as he had alwaies done, breake the league and take vp armes. Some said, That the Venetians forsaking of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuises perish; yet so, as that their destruction would turne to the generall harme of all Christendome: and these men were of opinion, That in that case, and against that enemy, a dangerous warre was to be preferred before an vncertaine and dishonourable peace. Neuertheless the Venetians *The peace by experience found profitable vnto the Venetians.* besides that they for the present eased themselues of many an heauy burthen, so haue they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happy peace, and found the same vnto their State both wholesome and profitable vntill this day. It was thought by the sequel of matters, That *Selymus* was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that hee might the better

C recouer the kingdom of Tunes and the strong castle of Guletta from the Spaniards: who with the knights of Malta now gaped more after Tripolis and the other port townes holden by the Turks vpon the coast of Barbary, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederats. Thus with the losse of Cuprus and some part of the Venetian territory in Dalmatia, ended the mortall and bloudy war betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the course whereof is well to be seene, what great matters the vnited forces of the Christian Princes were able to do against this most mighty enemy, if all discord and contention set apart, they would in the quarrell of the Christian Religion joyne with heart and hand against him, and fight the battell of Christ Iesus.

Selymus now at peace with them who before most troubled him; to keepe his men of war

D busied, shortly after conuerted his forces against *Iohn* Vayuod of Valachia, & so at length joyned all that Prouince to his Empire. This country of Valachia was in antient time called Dacia: it hath on the East the Euxine (now called the blacke sea) on the South the famous riuer Danubius, on the West Transyluania, and on the North Rassia. It is diuided into two parts, the one called Transalpina, & the other Moldauia (of the riuer Moldavus running thorow the middest thereof) but far passing the other both in greatnesse and abundance of pasture. That part called Transalpina, *Mahomet*, syrnamed the Great (which won Constantinople) made subject to the Turkish empire; but vpon Moldauia, the other part he only imposed a yerely tribute of two thousand duckats. After which time the Vayuods of that country, aided sometime by the Hungarians, and sometime by the Polonians, rise vp oftentimes against the Turks, and refused

E to do their Homage. It chanced, that *Bogdanus* Vayuod of that country, fauoring the Polo- *Selymus chaseth Bogdanus out of Moldauia, and placeth Iohn Vayuod in his stead.* nians, and joyning in league with them, liued much in Rassia, as purposing from thence also to haue taken his wife. Which *Selymus* suspecting, with a great power chased him into exile, and placed in his stead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of some *Iuonia*) the supposed son of *Stephanus* somtime Vayuod of that country: who with *Ieremias Czarnieuieczius* (a Moldauian, who afterward notably betraied him) hauing of long time liued amongst the Turks, to be the more gratious amongst them, renounced his faith, and being circumcised, turned Turke; and following the trade of merchandise, became amongst them a merchant of such fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Bassa's of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himselfe. He vnderstanding by his friends neere about the Turkish

F Emperor, of his purpose for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Bassa's, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayuod of Moldauia: still increasing the suspition *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he supported by the Polonians, was like enough in short time to reject his obedience to his Imperiall Majesty. *Selymus* at the instance of the Bassa's nominated this

Iohn the Vayuod, who with a great power of the Turks horſemen entring into Moldauia, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Country, *Bogdanus* being then abſent in Raſſia, and as then ſuſpecting no ſuch matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Polonians to haue againe recouered his Country; but finding no poſſibility ſo to do, fled afterwards into Muſcouia, where he long time after liued. G

Iohn the Vayuod falleth into ſuſpition with Selymus and the Baſſaes of the Court.

Iohn now quietly poſſeſſed of Moldania, for ſome few yeares held the ſame with the good liking of the Turke, paying him his wonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himſelfe of his wicked reuolt from the Chriſtian Faith, and now eftſoone againe embracing the ſame, and (ignorant of his owne fortune) perſecuting with too much ſeuerity thoſe which withſtood his comming into the Country, eſpecially ſuch great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his returne vnto the Chriſtian faith, not fauouring the Turks as he was wont, but croſſing them in many matters, became ſuſpicious both vnto *Selymus* and the Baſſa's his old friends. Which the Vayuod of the leſſer Valachia (commonly called Valachia Tranſalpina) vnderſtanding, he became a ſuter vnto the great Baſſa's of the Court for his brother *Peter*, and earneſtly trauelled with them, that as *Iohn* ſupported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of Moldauia, ſo *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out alſo. In which his ſute he ſpared for no coſt, neither ceaſed by malitious ſuggeſtions to increaſe the ſuſpition already conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing rejected the Mahometan Religion, and againe embraced the Chriſtian Faith, would (as he ſaid) in ſhort time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne hands with the Polonians, and caſt off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whom he had beene ſo highly promoted. Beſides that, this malitious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for ſuch his preferment, ſhould pay yerely vnto *Selymus* twice ſo much more as did *Iohn*, namely, an hundred and twenty thouſand duckats by the name of a tribute. H I

The Baſſa's before corrupted, and moued with the greatneſſe of the Tribute, perſuaded *Selymus*, by an Embaſſadour to ſend for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himſelfe in perſon, and to command him to giue place to ſuch a man as he ſhould ſend thither in his ſtead: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his coffers with the loſſe of his fleet in the battell of Lepanto, and the chargeable wars againſt the Venetians, was eaſily induced: and to that purpoſe ſent his Embaſſador to the Vayuod: who hauing audience the one and twentieth of February, at the ſame time that *Henry Valoys* (afterward the French King) was crowned at Cracouia, deliuered his meſſage as followeth: K

The commanding ſpeech of the Turks Embaſſador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the Great Emperor of the Turks ſendeth me vnto thee*, Iohn, *Vayuod of Valachia, his Tributary; with this command, (whereunto his pleaſure is, that thou ſhouldeſt without delay ſend him anſwer:) firſt, he chargeth thee to ſend him not ſuch a tribute as he was wont, but twice ſo much more, to wit, an hundred and twenty thouſand duckats. If thou ſhalt refuſe ſo to do, there is another ready to giue it both for himſelfe and his poſterity. But* Selymus *mindefull of thy conſtancy, fidelity, and valour, will not be troubleſome vnto thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith ſend the aforeſaid tribute. Which if thou ſhalt refuſe to do, then his will is that thou ſhouldeſt giue place to another, and thy ſelfe returne with me to Conſtantinople, there to anſwer the matter: otherwiſe, I am in his name to denounce all hoſtility and the calamities of war both vnto thee and thy country.* L

This proud meſſage of the Embaſſador ſtrooke farther into the minde of the Vayuod than any would haue thought: yet diſſembling his griefe, he commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of ſo great importance, and ſo much concerning the whole State of his Country, he could not giue him ſo preſent anſwer as he required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his Nobility and Counſell, he would in ſhort time anſwer him accordingly. The Embaſſadour being gone to his Lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deepely to conſider of *Selymus* his demands; and that in the Turks Faith was no aſſurance, which he kept or brake with the Chriſtian Princes as beſt fitted his owne turne: and beſides that, That if he ſhould grant to pay that ſo great and heauy a Tribute in ſo great pouerty of his Kingdome, ſore waſted with ciuile war, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, ſo long as any man would giue him more, but haply would the next yeare exact a greater; and in the end ſuch an one as he with all his ſubjects ſhould not M

be

A be able to pay; which it ſhould not be ſafe for him at any time to refuſe, ſo long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling together the Nobility and States of his country, he brake with them in this ſort:

The ſpeech of the Voyuod vnto his Nobility and ſubjects.

If euer you were to conſult and deliberate of a moſt important and difficult matter, this verily is that time: for Selymus *the Turkiſh Emperor, enflamed with inſatiable auarice, and I know not by whoſe perſuaſion, not contented with his wonted tribute, exacteth of vs twice ſo much more. If you ſhall grant it, it ſhall not much concerne me, as not to be paied by me your Soueraigne, but by your ſelues and your poſterity: if we deny it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and ſword, with all the calamities of war. And in this bareneſſe of our Kingdome, almoſt ſpoiled by ciuile wars, how ſhall we be able to pay it him? where-*
B *fore declare your minds. Verily I foreſee, that if you ſhall in this yeeld vnto* Selymus, *and grant him ſo great a tribute, he will not therewith long hold himſelfe contented, but euery yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better for vs (in mine opinion) to loſe our liues together with our wiues and children, than to ſuffer ſo great an indignity: neither is it mine own eſtate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to pay it and not I. Wherefore if you liſt not to endure this ſo diſhonourable and baſe a ſeruitude, let me forthwith ſo vnderſtand from you: and I will for my part ſo prouide, as that I wil not only not pay vnto the barbarous tyrant the new and heauy tribute he demandeth, but not ſo much as any tribute at all; ſo that you be not wanting both to your ſelues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellows in armes) what I owe both to you and the common weale, for whoſe good and welfare I am alwaies ready to lay downe my life.*
C

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but that a ſecret ſorrow and vnwonted ſilence had as it were oppreſſed the whole aſſembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauy and dead ſleepe, they murmured among themſelues, that the Turkiſh Emperor ſhould ſo without reaſon oppreſſe them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the Vayuod had not ſo plainly as truly ſpoken of the intollerableneſſe thereof: and that therefore they had rather die, than to indure ſo great diſhonor, joyned with ſo foule a ſlauery. And thereupon offered vnto the Vayuod to ſerue vpon their own charge, and with him vpon the banke of Danubius to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their liues and liberty, to fight it out vnto the laſt man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelity, and taking of
D them an oath for the faithfull performance of that they had ſo reſolutely promiſed, ſent for the Turks Embaſſador, and gaue him this ſhort anſwer:

The anſwere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes Embaſſadour.

I, for the antient fidelity and allegiance which I owe vnto my Lord and dread Soueraigne, the mighty Emperor Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute he requireth, were it not that I know the minds of my people to abhorre the ſame: wiſhing rather to endure all calamities, hap what ſoeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto ſo diſhonourable and ſhamefull ſlauery. Wherefore ſithence I cannot by any meanes extort the ſame from my ſubjects, tell my Lord* Selymus, *That I moſt humbly requeſt him, not to take the ſame in euill part, whoſe amity I wiſh to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than diſgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my ſingular fidelity obtained of him the*
E *Vayuodſhip of Moldauia: which my good hope I moſt heartily beſeech him may not deceiue me.*

With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the embaſſador vnrewarded, and with a ſafe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vſage of the Embaſſador, cauſed him not a little to be ſuſpected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embaſſadour ſent away, the Vayuod not ignorant of the ſudden inuaſions of the Turks, forthwith began to raiſe his army: and at the ſame time, ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Henry* King of Polonia his neereſt neighbor, certifying him of the dangerous ſtate of Moldauia, the ſureſt bulwarke of the Polonian kingdom, which once ouerthrown, opened a faire and eaſie way for the common enemy into Polonia: and therefore requeſted him, that as the Kings of Polonia had of antient time, euen for the
F ſafety of their owne State, protected that country; ſo it would pleaſe him now in like manner in ſo dangerous a time, to giue him aid; or at leaſtwiſe to giue leaue vnto ſuch of his ſubjects as were willing to ſerue for entertainment, to come vnto him, whom he would with all honour and bounty vſe according to their place and quality. Whereunto the King anſwered

That

that forasmuch as he and his predicessors the kings of Polonia, had for the space of more than G
an hundred yeres bin in league with the Turkish kings and Emperors, he could not either send
him aide, or yet giue leaue to any of his subjects to serue against the Turke, as he desired.
With this answer the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceiued where he most hoped
The Vayuod entertaineth the Polonian Cossacks. for reliefe: yet hearing of certain companies of the Polonian Cossacks, which hauing long lien
in hope of prey vpon the side of the great riuer Borysthenes, were returning empty home, he
by fit messengers sent of purpose, offered them great entertainment to serue him in his warres
against the Turke; of which his offer, they (as men liuing for most part by seruice) gladly ac-
cepted; and so without the knowledge of the King went vnto him, to the number of twelue
hundred, with their captains, men of great courage and valor, of whom *Suierceuius* was chiefe:
who were by the Vayuod honorably entertained, and did him in these wars right worthy ser- H
uice. These Cossacks are light horsemen, lying most commonly vpon the borders of the Po-
lonian kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardy and valiant kind of men, whose best liuing
is the spoile they take from the enemy; and their best lands, their horse and launce. For albeit
that the Turks and Tartars are most commonly in league with the Polonians, and seeme neuer
so desirous of peace; yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the sudden break into the
countries of Podolia, and Rassia, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there do great harme, if
they be not in time represed or cut off by the aforesaid light horsemen, who for that purpose
lie alwaies in wait for them, as doth the Hawke for the prey.

Selymus sendeth his forces against the Vayuod. *Selymus* vnderstanding the answer of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therewith exceedingly enraged, I
and the more by the bitter complaint of the Embassador, who angry with the Vayuod, that he
was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, spared not to the vttermost of his power, to in-
cense the angry Emperour against him, as if his honor had bin in the person of himselfe con-
temned and violated. Wherfore without delay, he sent thirty thousand Turks, and two thou-
sand Hungarians vnto the Palatine of Valachia Transalpina, that joyning those forces to his
owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and sending him in bonds to Constantinople, to place
Peter his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palataine glad of this command, and hauing raised
his owne power, together with the Turks and the Hungarians, swam ouer the riuer Moldavus,
hauing in his army about an hundred and two thousand fighting men: a power, not only suf-
ficient to haue driuen the Vayuod out of Moldauia, but also to haue shaken a right puissant
king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the midst of so great a strength, little fearing, & lesse re- K
garding the sudden comming of the Vayuod, suffred his men with their horses to lie disorde-
redly here and there, dispersed in the large medows and pastures all along the faire riuer side;
so the better to refresh themselues, weary of their long trauel. In the mean time certain scouts
came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemy with an huge army (the cer-
tain number whereof they could not well descry) was come ouer the riuer: and now resting
themselues, had turned off their horses into the rich medows thereabout, in such disordered
and careless manner, as that they might with a small power be easily ouerthrowne. The Vay-
uod glad of this newes, forthwith sent before *Suierceuius* with his Cossacks, and 5000 other
light horsemen, more certainly to descry what the enemy did, with the manner of his lying;
and he himselfe with the rest of his army followed faire and softly after. *Suierceuius* with great L
silence approching the enemies camp, suddenly light vpon the enemies scouts, in number a-
bout 500; who enclosed before they were aware, were taken euery man by the Cossacks, and
by them streightly examined of the state of their army and campe. Who for safegard of their
liues now in their enemies power, frankly confessed, how that the Palatine lay securely there
by, resting his army, not so much for the refreshing thereof after his trauell, as with greater
strength to set vpon the Vayuod with his fresh souldiers: and that in the army were about se-
uenty thousand Valachians, thirty thousand Turks, and three thousand Hungarians; who now
dispersed and sleeping in security, might easily be ouerthrown. Of all these things *Suierceuius*
aduertised the Vayuod; requesting him with all possible speed to hasten his comming, for the
obtaining of a most notable and assured victory: he in the mean time lying close with his men M
The Palatine with the Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod. not far from the enemy. The Vayuod certified of all these things, came without delay, and
forthwith commanded *Suierceuius* with his men to giue the onset vpon the enemy: purposing
himself with the rest of his army on the other side, to charge the disordred camp in three pla-
ces.

A ces. *Suierceuius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, ſuddenly ſet vpon the ſecure enemies: who diſmaid with the ſuddenneſſe of the vnexpected danger, ſtood as men aſtonied, not knowing which way to fly, or how to make reſiſtance. But whiles *Suierceuius* with his light horſemen thus on the one ſide filleth the camp with tumult, terrour, ſlaughter, and feare; behold, euen as a ſudden tempeſt, commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the diſordered camp down before him: neither had the enemies any meanes to fly, hauing put their horſes a great way off from them into the rich paſtures; but there taken vnarmed, were miſerably ſlain. In all the camp was lamentation and mourning, death raging in euery place with ſuch fury, that of ſo great an army as of late paſſed the riuer, few or none eſcaped, more than the Palatine with *Peter* his brother, who by great chance with much ado getting horſes, ſwam ouer
B the riuer, and ſo came to the caſtle of Brailouia in Valachia; all the reſt were ſlaine, and left to be of the beaſts of the field, and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſee the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, al ſtained with gore bloud, and their weapons of all ſorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod gaue vnto his ſouldiers, and there ſtaied foure daies to refreſh his wearied men. After that, he with his victorious army entred into Valachia, the Palatines country, where he tooke many caſtles and townes, and put to the ſword all that came in his way, men, women, and children, without reſpect of age or ſex: and burnt all the country townes and villages before him as he went; ſo that all that part of the country of Valachia Tranſalpina, was couered with ſmoke and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in euery place drawne forth to
C ſlaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and afterwards ſlaine, and in briefe all the cruelty that could be deuiſed, performed: in the bloudy execution whereof the Vayuod commended his men, perſuading them in like manner ſtill to proſecute the victory, and that the reſt of their labours were all but for prey and booty, for the enriching of themſelues. In this hauocke of all things, it was told him, That the Palatine with his brother *Peter*, the men whom he moſt ſought after, were in the caſtle of Brailouia not far off: whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his army. The city of Brailouia ſtandeth vpon the riuer Danubius, and had in it a caſtle of ſome good ſtrength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a ſtrong garriſon of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the key of the country; not far from this city the Vayuod encamping his ar-
D my, writ vnto the captaine of the caſtle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, his mortall enemies; who neuer wronged by him, had inuaded his country, and ſought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his further harme, conſtrained him by force to yeeld them. Theſe letters he ſent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered vnto the captaine of the caſtle: whereunto he returned anſwer by foure Turks, two of the city, and two of his own ſeruants, by whom he alſo ſent ten great ſhot, and as many ſmall, with two Turkiſh arrowes, and this meſſage.

E *For that I know thee to be the ſeruant of my dread Soueraigne* Selymus, *I regard thee: and will not deny the ſame men to be with me, whom thou ſo much requireſt. But for aſmuch as I vnderſtand, that thou of late haſt ſlaine a great number of the ſeruants of the great Emperour, who by his commandement were bringing* Peter *the brother of the Palatine into Moldauia: I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raiſe thy ſiege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with ſuch diſhes as theſe; whereupon thou and thine army gorged to the full, ſhall all afterwards dangerouſly ſurfet and caſt. Farewell.*

The blunt anſwer of the captaine to the Vayuod.

This rough anſwer ſo much moued the Vayuod, that he commanded hands to be laid vpon the aforeſaid foure meſſengers; and their noſes, lips, and eares, being cut off, both their feet to be with great nailes faſt nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and ſo with their hands hanging downward, to be ſet vp before the city, & ſo left for the captain and the citiſens to gaze vpon.
F Signifying withall to the captain that ſent them, that he himſelf with the other fugitiues his gueſts, ſhould in like manner be ſerued, if they fell into his hands. Immediatly after, he aſſaulted the city, and vſing the cheerfulneſſe of his ſoldiers, by plaine force tooke the ſame, the defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great ſlaughter of the Turks, whereas

Barbarous cruelty.

The City of Brailouia taken by the Vayuod & raſed downe to the ground.

whereas no man was taken to mercy; the very babes were ſlaine, together with their mothers, and bloud ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the ſpace of foure daies this bloudy execution indured: no place ſerued for refuge, euen the moſt ſecret and obſcure places were ſearched and the poore creatures there found, drawn forth and ſlaine. The fury was ſo great, that no liuing thing, no not ſo much as the very dogs were ſpared. Much gold, ſiluer, plate, jewels, and other rich ſpoile was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedy ſouldiers: for that city was of all others in thoſe quarters the richeſt, as a place much frequented, and injoying long peace, as after ſuch time the Turks were fully poſſeſſed of Græcia, not being rroubled with any wars; vntill now, that it was by the Vayuod firſt ranſackt, and afterwards raſed downe to the ground, and nothing thereof left ſtanding, more than the bare caſtle it ſelfe: which the Vayuod durſt not aduenture vpon, for that it was well fortified, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a garriſon, as that it could not without his great loſſe be taken. G H

The Turkes againe ouerthrown by the Vayuod.

Whiles the Vayuod was thus buſied in the ſpoile of Brailouia, news was brought vnto him of the comming of 15000 Turks to the reliefe of the caſtle: againſt whom he forthwith ſent *Suierceuius* with his Coſſackes, and other 8000 Moldauian horſmen; who ſuddenly comming vpon the Turks, diſordered and fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew almoſt 14000 of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the caſtle of Teina. Of this victory *Suierceuius* in all haſt certified the Vayuod, and withall, that there was another great power of the Turks comming, which might eaſily be alſo ouerthrowne, if he leauing the ſiege of the caſtle of Brailouia, would without delay come and joyne his forces with his. He glad of that news, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that ſiege would be vnto him, riſe forthwith with his army, and went to *Suierceuius*; and afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid ſiege to Teina: which city taken without much labor, he put to ſword all the people found therein, not leauing one aliue: and by the ſeruice of *Suierceuius* ouerthrew the Turks comming towards Brailouia. I

Selymus in doubt to haue bin thruſt out of Valachia by the Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceeding of the Vayuod, and doubting to be quite thruſt out of Valachia Tranſalpina (which he was like enough to haue been, had not the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that ſeruice; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greateſt diſtreſſe, appointed generall ſupplications and praiers to be made vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better ſucceſſe of his wars; the vndoubted ſigne of his feare.

The Vayuod after ſo many victories againſt the Turks, purpoſing for a while to breake vp his great army, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuiche*, vnto whom, as vnto the man he of all others moſt truſted, he had reſolued to commit the charge, with part of his army, to keepe the Turks from paſſing againe ouer the riuer Danubius into his country: and in deliuering to him his charge, ſpake vnto him as following: K

The kind ſpeech of the Vayuod to Czarnieuiche

Sith Fortune hath hitherto anſwered our deſires (worthy Czarnieuiche*) with moſt rare and perpetuall ſucceſſe againſt the Turks, our moſt cruell enemies, we are thankefully to take the ſame, and to render moſt humble and hearty thanks vnto Almighty God, that it hath pleaſed him, the Author of all Victory, ſo to haue proſpered our endeauours againſt theſe fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the preſent, but to diſband mine army, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my ſouldiers leaue to depart home to reſt themſelues, that ſo I may as occaſion ſhall require againe vſe their freſh forces for our better ſeruice: you in the meane time with thirteene thouſand of my ſelect ſouldiers, ſhall lie vpon the ſide of Danubius, to keep the Turks from paſſing the riuer. Haue good regard I pray you, vnto this your charge, which I vpon an eſpeciall truſt, grounded vpon your antient loue and fidelity, haue at this time impoſed vpon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition vnderſtand from you of euery motion of the enemy, that ſo we may in due time prouide for him accordingly.* L

And ſo in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kiſſe (as the manner of thoſe people is) gaue leaue vnto the greateſt part of his ſoldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwaies in readineſſe whenſoeuer they ſhould be called vpon.

Czarnieuiche hauing receiued his charge, & promiſing vnto the Vayuod the vttermoſt of his faithful deuoire, went towards Danubius, & there moſt carefully kept the paſſages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come downe M

to

to the other side of the riuer, and moe were still comming, yet none of them was so hardy as to aduenture the great riuer; *Czarnieuiche* with his horsemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receiue them on the other side. Which the Bassa whom *Selymus* had sent with his army, perceiuing, sent certaine men pickt out for the purpose, to *Czarnieuiche*, to sound him, if he might by any means be drawn to come ouer, in secret to talke with him: and the more to moue him, beside his conduct for his safety, sent him by the same messengers thirty thousand Hungarian duckats for a present. With which so faire a bait *Czarnieuiche* allured, receiued the mony, & faithfully promised to come: and so shortly after, secretly passing ouer the riuer, had conference with *Peter* the Palatines brother, who then lay on the further side of Danubius, with a great power of the Turks. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger the Vayuod stood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributary and vassaile should worke the destruction of his so great armies: which his heauy displeasure he could no otherwise satisfie but with his head: and that therefore he should no longer rule in Moldauia, for that gouernment was by the great Emperor giuen vnto him. Wherefore (said he) if thou be wise, whilest it is yet in thy power, gaine the good will of *Selymus* by some good desert: for an easie matter it is to begin any war, but an hard matter to end the same. Forasmuch as it is not alwaies in the same mans power to begin wars, and at his pleasure to make an end. Euery foole may when he list enter into armes, but must lay the same downe when it pleaseth the conqueror. Now you haue a faire opportunity, and it is in your owne power to procure his friendship for euer, better standing with your affaires than war. And albeit you may hope well of the power of the Vayuod, yet wisedome would not, that you should prefer vncertainties before things certaine: you haue now receiued 30000 duckats, the earnest of your further deserts; which shall hereafter haue also their due rewards in most full and bountifull measure. Wherefore if you will do your selfe good, and prouide both for your safety and preferment, confound not your own good fortune, with the broken and desperat state of the Vayuod, but suffer the Turks to passe as friends ouer the riuer of Danubius: for I am come (said he) with a great and puissant army from the mighty *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of Moldauia, and to send the Vayuod in bonds to Constantinople: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for so great desert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turks, and withdraw thy selfe from the riuer: so shall we passing ouer the riuer with our populous army, easily oppresse the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former injuries and disgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuiche hath secret conference with Peter the Palatines brother, who cunningly perswadeth him to giue the Turks passage.

With greedy men what will not the foule desire of gold worke? *Czarnieuiche* ouercome with the golden promises of *Peter*; and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requested: and drawing his forces further off from the riuer, as if it had bin for his more safety, gaue the Turks free passage. There was then in the Turks army two hundred thousand men, well appointed, and furnished with great ordnance and all other things necessary both for the field and for siege, who by the sufferance of the false traitor passed quietly ouer the riuer. *Czarnieuiche* forthwith posting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turks trusting to their multitude, had passed the riuer of Danubius, against whom he was not able (as he said) to make head: and that therefore he should do well, without delay to go against them with such forces as he had then in readinesse; which joyned vnto his, might easily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good successe, demanded of him what strength the enemy might be of? They are (said he) not much aboue twelue thousand that be already come ouer, but are still comming more and more, and will before your comming thither be aboue fifteene thousand.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks leaue quietly to passe ouer the riuer of Danubius.

The Vayuod lay then at the siege of the castle of Teina (hauing before taken the city) but hearing this news, raised his siege, and so in foure daies came and incamped within three miles of the enemy: and forthwith sent forth *Suierceuius* with his Cossackes, and *Ieremias* Generall of the horsemen, with six thousand horse, to take view of the enemies camp, and to vnderstand what might be of their designes. These two captains marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turks scouts, in number about six thousand horsemen, with whom they had a light skirmish; and in short time put them to flight. Of these scouts they tooke one, and him grieuously wounded; whom being examined of the strength of the enemy, and feeling himselfe wounded to death, told them dissemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Cossacks

doubting

doubting of the truth of that report,& probably conjecturing by ſo great a number of ſcouts, G
that the enemy was of far greater ſtrength than was ſuppoſed or reported; quickly certified the
Vayuod thereof, wiſhing him in time to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and his army, and
not too much to truſt *Czarnieuiche*, whom they had a good while before ſuſpected. But the
Vayuod nothing doubting of the faith of him whom he had a long time found moſt faithfull
in the time of his hardeſt diſtreſſe, and vſed as a moſt truſty companion in all his trauels, an-
ſwered nothing, but that he knew whom he truſted; and that it was not now time to ſtand in
doubt, or to be afraid; and that he would ere long come and take view of the enemies campe
himſelfe: for that he was not come ſo far to fly, but to fight in defence of his country and ſub-
jects, euen to the laſt gaſpe. And ſo fortifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out
of Danubius (for the more conuenient watering of his army) hee ſet forward with all his H
power againſt the enemy.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had thought to
haue deſcried the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but cumming thither, he
could deſcry nothing but foure companies of ſcouts a far off, one company from another; who
alſo vpon the ſight of the Moldauians withdrew themſelues of purpoſe out of ſight vnto the
army, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be diſcouered vntill a man were al-
moſt vpon it. The Vayuod ſuſpecting the enemy to be at hand, diuided his horſemen, in num-
ber 30000, into 30 companies, and placing before euery company certain field pieces, ſo mar-
ched ready to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of people,
but vnto him of all others moſt faithfull, and armed with ſuch country weapons as they had, I
he placed by themſelues. So marching on, he came to another hill, from whence he might not
far off eaſily deſcry the huge army of the enemy, and how he had been by the treaſon of *Czar-*
nieuiche deceiued: whereupon he preſently ſent for him; who ſent him word backe again, That
he could not now come, the enemy being ſo nigh at hand, but that he ſhould forthwith ſee
him in the field as forward as the forwardeſt againſt the enemy. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder
Czarnieuiche reuolteth vnto the Turks. his command 13000 of his moſt choice ſouldiers in the army: who vpon the ſignall of battell
on both ſides giuing (for the Turks were now alſo ready) firſt according to his promiſe ſet for-
ward, as if it had bin to haue giuen the onſet: but being come neere vnto the enemy, forthwith
(as he had before agreed) cauſed his enſigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps vpon the
points of their ſpears and ſwords, in token of their voluntary yeelding and ſubmiſſion, to bow K
downe their heads & bodies; whom the Turks with their ſpears and lances holden vp on high,
joyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercy. The reſt of the army almoſt
diſcouraged with this ſo ſudden a reuolt of ſo great a man, retired in haſte to the Vayuod, cry-
ing out vnto him, That all was loſt. But he nothing diſcouraged therwith (as a moſt reſolute
man in the moſt ſudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them vp, willing them as
couragious men to follow him againſt the enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, except-
ing number, which alwaies gaue not the victory. The Turks perceiuing the Moldauians late-
ly reuolted vpon the joyning of the battell (as men in conſciences wounded) to ſhrinke backe,
Traitors iuſtly rewarded. thruſt them perforce into the head of their battell, making of them no more account, but to
blunt the enemies ſword; and ſuch as hung back, they themſelues ſlew: vpon whom as falſe L
traitors the Vayuod cauſed his field pieces to be moſt furiouſly diſcharged; ſo that moſt part
of theſe trecherous men there ſlaine, ſome by the Turks, ſome by their owne friends, receiued
the juſt reward of their infidelity and treaſon, accompanied with perpetuall infamy. Ouer the
The battel betwixt the Turks and the Moldauians. dead bodies of theſe traitors the Turks comming on, were at the firſt notably encountered by
the Moldauians; and after a moſt cruell fight, as if they had been diſcouraged began to retire,
but indeed of purporſe to haue drawne the Chriſtians before they were aware, within the dan-
ger of their great ordnance, and ambuſhes, which they had before aptly & couertly placed for
that purpoſe. Which *Suierceuius* well acquainted with the Turks fineſſe, perceiuing, with
much ado ſtaid their further purſuit, and ſo auoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks
deceiued of their expectation, came on againe afreſh, with no leſſe fury than at the firſt: whom M
the Chriſtian right valiantly receiued, and made with them a moſt cruell and mortall battell;
wherein many both of the Turks and Chriſtians fell, and neuer riſe againe. But what was ſo
The Moldauians ouerthrown ſmal a power againſt ſuch a world of men? after long fight, the Moldauians oppreſſed with the
multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: and ſeeing no other remedy, but either to fly

or

A or to die, betook themselues to flight, wherein most part of them were slaine, the furious enemie still hardly pursuing them at the heeles: of the Cossacks were left only two hundred and fifty. The horsemen (the chiefest strength of the Vayuod) thus by the treason of *Czarnieuiche* ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twenty thousand footmen, and such horsmen as had now after the battell ioyned themselues vnto the footmen, retired into a towne not far off, which he but a little before had rased; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himselfe against the sudden and furious assaults of the Turks: who the same night so beset the Vayuods camp with such a multitude of men, that no man could goe in or out of the camp, or the vttermost part of that hugy army be from any place descried.

The Vayuod hauing fortified himselfe within the ruines of an old towne, is besieged by the Turks.

The next day (which was the 11 of Iune) the Turks shot diuers great shot into the Vayuods
B camp, but to smal purpose; for the Christians had (for so short a time) notably fortified themselues within the ruines of the old town. Which the Turks wel perceiuing, and withall considering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to assault the Vayuod in his strength: they sent messengers vnto him, to perswade him without delay to yeeld himselfe, & to repose more trust in the mercy of the Turks, than in his own broken forces; especially in his so hard distresse, being so beset, as that he could not possibly escape; and out of hope of all reliefe; and therefore should by such voluntary yeelding, seeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a desperat obstinacy to cast himselfe into a most certain destruction, where no mercy was to be expected. Whereunto the Vayuod answered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he was brought, rather by the treason of *Czarnieuiche* and his followers, than by the valour of the
C enemy; yet had left with him a strong power of most valiant and resolute men, who would in his quarrell & defence of themselues, sell their liues very deare vnto the Turks: neuertheless, that to auoid the further effusion of bloud, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his hard fortune, so that the great Commanders of the Turks army would condiscend vnto such reasonable conditions as he should propound, & for the performance thereof giue him their faith, not once or twice, but 7 times by solemn oth to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks accepted: willing him to set down the conditions: which were, first, that the Polonian Cossacks might in safety depart into their country, with their horses and armor: then, that they should without any violence offered to his person, send him aliue & in good safety to the great Emperor *Selymus*, before him to answer his owne cause: as for the Moldauians, he said he needed
D not to couenant any thing, for that the iniury offered vnto them tended also to the hurt of the Emperour himselfe, and of him whom he should appoint Vayuod, whose subiects they were. These conditions (as reasonable) were well liked of the Turks, and so according to his desire, confirmed seuen times by the solemne oath of euery Captaine and Commander in the army, both for themselues and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought al his army out of their trenches wherin they had lien strongly incamped, and there with heauy heart tooke his last leaue of his soldiers, to the generall griefe of them all: amongst whom he diuided such mony & jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindnesse. And there in the sight of them al disarming himselfe, accompanied only with *Osmolius* a Polonian, went in maner of a suppliant to the Turks camp, where he had full foure hours talk with the great commanders
E of the army; vntill that at last *Capucius Bassa* (either offended with his speech, or vnmindfull of his faith before giuen) with his scimitar vpon the sudden struck him a great blow ouerthwart the face, and another crosse the belly: whom so wounded, & as yet but halfe dead, the Ianizaries took and cut off his head, which was forthwith set vp vpon a lance, for all men to behold. His dead body they bound by the feet to two cammels, & so shamefully tore it in pieces: and happy was he that could get any little piece therof, or imbrue his sword with the least drop of his bloud. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *Iohn* the Vayuod of Moldauia, a right valiant and worthy man, shamefully murdered by the perfidious Turks; who had he been more constant in the Christian faith, had not haply fallen into so great misery. Whose wofull fall may serue as a most notable example of the vncertainty of these worldly things: for as no man
F for a time had of the Turks moe or more glorious victories, so in the end, and as it were in demonstration of mans fragility, no man perished more miserably. The Vayuod thus perfidiously murthered, the Turks with like trechery forthwith set vpon the Moldauians, and slew them down right as beasts appointed for the slaughter. Which the Cossacks beholding, and hoping for no beter measure, thrust themselues into the thickest of their enemies, & there valiantly

The Vayuod shamefully and perfidiously murthered by the Turks.

liantly fighting were all slain, except some few of the better sort reserued for ransom, among whom was *Seiuerceuius* & some other captains; who were afterwards for great sums redeemed, when as they could by no means be persuaded to forsake their religion and turn Turk. G

All Valachia and Moldauia subdued by the Turks.

After this victory and shamefull murther of the Vayuod, the Turkes ouer-ran all Moldauia, and put to the sword all the nobility of the country, with many of the country people. Of whom they also, as their maner is in countries new conquered, sent great numbers in colonies into the farthest part of the Turkish Empire: and for the more assured possession therof placed strong garrisons in euery Town and castle, as they thought it most conuenient. Thus all Valachia, both the higher and lower, fel into the Turks hands in the year 1574, and was by *Selymus* joined vnto the Turkish empire, none of the least things by him don: for beside the gaining of so great a country (the most assured bulwark of Polonia) he hath therby opened a fair H and easie way for his successors, either to enter into Podolia or Rascia, parts of the Polonian kingdom, yea and into Polonia it self: which they wil vndoubtedly in time do, if God in mercy bridle not their immoderat desires, and with his mighty hand protect the dangerous state of that kingdom.

Selymus at the same time not a little grieued with the losse of the kingdome of Tunes, and that *Don Iohn* had there done the year before; began forthwith to cast in his minde, how hee might again recouer the same, and withal thrust the Spaniards out of the strong castle of Guletta, which they had now almost forty yeares kept, euer since it was by *Charles* the fift taken from *Barbarussa* in the year 1535. For he wel saw it to be a matter of no small moment, vnto whom that strong fortresse (standing so commodiously in the frontiers of Africk) belonged. I There was and stil is vpon that coast diuers of the Turks aduenturers, who liuing altogether vpon spoil, had to that place safe recourse as to a most assured refuge: and if no booty were to be met with therabout, then would they run out towards Malta, Sardinia, Sicilia, and other Ilands therabouts; yea oftentimes into Italy and Spaine, and from thence carry away with them great booties both of men and cattel, and whatsoeuer thing els came in their way. For which cause many of the Turkes men of war resorted thither in hope of purchase. But after Guletta was possessed by the Spaniards, they were not only depriued of that so commodious an harbor, but many times intercepted euen by them of that place, and by the gallies of Malta: which two places serued as two most sure bulwarks against the Turks and Moors aduenturers, by whose means they many times came short home. For which cause the Turks, especially these pyrats (of whom the Turke makes great account, as not his least strength at sea) K wonderfully desired to haue both those strong places gotten out of the Christians hands. In the castle of Guletta was continually a strong garrison of 1000 Spaniards, who kept them of Tunes in great subiection, and oftentimes cut short these pyrats and roners, who much troubled those seas. Wherfore the Turkish emperor *Selymus* hauing made great preparation both for sea and land seruice, commanded *Sinan*, *Pial*, and *Vluzales*, his chief Bassa's, & men of great experience, with all speed to passe ouer with his fleet into Africke, to besiege Tunes and Guletta: who when they had put all things in readines according as they had in charge, set forward, and with 300 sail of gallies came before Guletta the 13 day of Iuly: whither also resorted vnto them other of the Turks men of war from Alexandria, Algiers, and other places, in L such number, as that all that coast seemed to be couered with shipping. The Turkes at their first arriual laid siege vnto the water-tower, wherin were eight hundred soldiers wel prouided of all things needful for defence; who valiantly maintained the place, vntil such time as that most of them being by the often assaults of the enemy slain, the rest by the commandement of the Captain retyred to him into the castle. In taking of this tower the Turkes lost 3000 of their men.

Guletta besieged.

After that, they began to besiege the castle of Guletta, against which they cast vp diuers mounts, and from thence most terribly battered the castle: from whence the deadly shot was sent again amongst them not sparingly; so that in one day 200 great shot were reckoned to haue bin shot out of the castle among the thickest of the enemies. But after many furious as- M saults, too tedious to report, & much harm don on both sides, the Turks to their great aduantage took the Chanel of the lake of Tunes; and fearing lest some reliefe should be sent to the besieged, maintained their assault day and night without any intermission. Neuertheless certain Companies of Spaniards sent from the new Castle by *Serbellio*, got into Guletta: after

which

which, they in the beſieged caſtle ſallied out, and the twentieth of Auguſt repulſed the Turks with an exceeding great ſlaughter: but the Baſſa's fully reſolued vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces, and without ceaſing ſtill bringing on freſh ſoldiers, after they had all the day continued a moſt terrible aſſault, at length about two houres after Sun ſet, they took the caſtle the 23 day of Auguſt, when there was now ſcarcely two hundred ſoldiers left aliue to defend the ſame; who altogether with the other weak people in the caſtle were without mercy cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this caſtle, is hard to ſay; but certain it is, that they had therein great ſtore of victuals, armour, ſhot, and pouder, and foure hundred great pieces of Artillery. *Guletta taken by the Turks.*

Guletta thus taken, the Turks forthwith laid ſiege to the new caſtle appointed by *Don Iohn* the yeare before, to haue bin built betwixt Guletta and Tunes, which was not yet altogether finiſhed: wherein the two antient and valiant captains *Serbellio* and *Salazer* (left there of purpoſe for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garriſon of foure thouſand good ſouldiers. The Baſſa's when they gaue the firſt ſummons to the caſtle, the foure & twentieth of Auguſt, required forthwith to haue it deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* ſtoutly anſwered, That he had promiſed the king his maſter, to giue him a better account of the place; & being now alſo very old, could not endure the Turks heauy yoke, but would therfore hold it out vnto the laſt man: which both he and *Salazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; & ſallying out, ſomtime the one, and ſomtime the other, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, giuing them alſo repulſe on repulſe when they came to the aſſault. But the great Baſſa's, little feeling, and leſſe regarding the loſſe of men, ſo that thereby they might gaine the place, after many moſt terrible and deſperat aſſaults, at length (namely the thirteenth day of September) when they had with all their force for the ſpace of ſix houres furiouſly aſſaulted the caſtle, and ſlaine moſt of the defendants, at laſt tooke it. *Serbellio* ſhot in with two bullets, and wiſhing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemie, thruſt himſelfe into the midſt of the Turks, there to haue periſhed: but by the haſty comming in of *Piall Baſſa* both he & *Salazer* were taken aliue, as for all the reſt that followed them, they were put to the ſword. The Baſſa in his rage ſtruck *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him, cauſed his ſon to be cruelly murthered before his face. Neither was this victory by the Turks obtained without bloud, hauing in leſſe than three months ſpace that the ſiege endured, loſt aboue thirty thouſand men. *The new caſtle beſieged.* *The notable anſwer of Serbellio.* *The new caſtle taken.*

Theſe ſtrong holds (the greateſt ſtrength of that kingdom) thus taken, the Turks marched to Tunes, which they eaſily tooke, and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof, becauſe it ſhould no more rebell. *Mahomet* the yong king, but the yere before placed in that kingdom by *Don Iohn*, was there taken, and in bonds ſet aboord to be carried with *Carrera* Captaine of Guletta, priſoners to Conſtantinople: and thus the kingdome of Tunes, with the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta, fell again into the poſſeſſion of the Turks, to the farther trouble of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt it. The proud Baſſa's hauing (as they thought) beſt diſpoſed of al things at Tunes & Guletta departed thence, and with their fleet of 400 ſaile, came the fourth of October, within ſight of Malta. But vnderſtanding that they of Malta were prouided for their comming, and remembring what diſhonor their moſt magnificent emperor *Solyman* had not many yeres before there ſuſtained (whereof diuers of them had been eye-witneſſes) they turned thence, and ſailed directly to Conſtantinople. *Tunes yeelded to the Turke.*

Shortly after, this great Emperour *Selymus* ſpent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greateſt ſtrength, died the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned eight, and lieth buried at Hadrianople. He was but of a meane ſtature, and of an heauy diſpoſition, his face rather ſwollen, than fat, much reſembling a drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of leſt valour, and therfore leaſt regarded, altogether giuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure: and ſo dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldeſt ſon, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage; who neuertheleſſe by his valiant Baſſa's and men of war, did great matters, eſpecially againſt the Perſians, the mortall and daungerous enemies of the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter in this Hiſtory declared. *Selymus dieth.*

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus *the second,*

- *Emperours of Germany* — *Maximilian the second,* — 1565. 12
- *Kings*
  - *Of England* — *Queen Elizabeth,* — 1558. 45
  - *Of France* — *Charles the ninth,* — 1560. 14
  - *Of Scotland* — *Queen Mary,* — 1543. 20; *Iames the sixth,* — 1567. 22
- *Bishops of Rome*
  - *Pius the V,* — 1566. 6
  - *Iulius the XIII,* — 1572. 12

Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generosa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens evexit in altum;
Et par fortunæ mens mea semper erat.
Sic quamvis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emisique meos ad fortia facta ministros:
Per quos sublatum est, nomen in astra meum.
Mustapha, Ferhates, Sinan, *& ter maximus* Osman,
Terrores orbis, succubuere mihi.
Armenios domui fortes, Medosque feroces;
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisij.
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si subito maxima quæque ruant?
Et nihil est tanti, quod non brevis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

RIC. KNOLLEVS

In Engliſh thus:

The Worthies fame I challenge not:
for who deſerues the ſame,
Except the noble Worthies mind
deſerue the Worthies fame?
Proud Fortune ſet me vp aloft
in higheſt Honors grace;
And ſtil my hauty thoughts they were
equall vnto my place.
So that although nought pleas'd but that
beſt fitted my deſire;
Yet to increaſe my fame, I ſtil
did more and more aſpire.
And ſent my mighty Worthies out,
to manage my great wars;
By whoſe known valor my proud name
is mounted to the ſtars.
Proud *Sinan, Ferrat, Muſtapha*
(all men of high degree,
The terrors of the world ſo wide)
were Vaſſals vnto me.
Th'Armenians ſtout I vanquiſhed,
and fil'd the Medes with fear:
And Regal Tauris ſtately towers
at my commandment were.
But what availes my glorie great,
got with ſuch Worthies pain,
If in the twinkling of an eye
it come to nought again?
And nothing is of ſo great ſtate,
Which time ſhal not caſt down.
Euen ſo with many others moe,
muſt periſh my renown.

Ric. Knolls.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SIXTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

C THE death of the late Emperor *Selymus* was for feare of the insolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Bassa's, vntill such time as *Amurath* his eldest son, then in Asia, about 12 dayes after ariued at Constantinople, & there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke possession of the empire the 25 day of December, solemn among vs Christians for the natiuity of our Sauiour Christ Iesus. Hee was about thirty, or as some write 27 yeares old when he began to reign, of a manly stature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long: in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, beeing indeed himself of a peaceable disposition, a louer of justice, and in the manner of his superstition very zealous. The ryot

The description of Amurath.

D and exces grown amongst the Turkes by his fathers euill example, hee reformed by his owne temperance, and the seuere punishment of notorious drunkards. Yet is it reported, that hee would oftentimes drink plentifully of Wormwood wine. He was most subiect to the falling sicknes, and sore troubled with the stone; more spare handed than was for the greatnes of his state; and yeelding more to the counsel of his mother, his wife, & sister, than of his great Bassa's: which was of many imputed to him for simplicitie. At his first comming to Constantinople, to appease the murmuring of the Ianizaries (grieued to see themselues disappointed of spoiling the Christians & Iews, as they were wont to do in the vacancie of the Empire) he beside the vsual larges which the Turkish Emperours at their first entrance into the empire bestow vpon them, augmented also their daily wages, and granted them this priuiledge, That

He pacifies the Ianizaries & augments their priuiledges.

E their sons as soon as they were 20 years old, should be inrolled among the number of the yonger Ianizaries, and be partakers also of their immunities: wherby he won their fauors exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himself of all competitors, he after the vnnatural manner of the Turkish policy, caused his fiue brethren, *Mustapha*, *Solyman*, *Abdulla*, *Osman*, and *Tzihanger*, to be all strangled in his own presence. The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruel death of her yong son, as a woman ouercome with sorrow, desperatly strook her self to the heart with a dagger, and so died. At which so tragical a sight it is reported that *Amurath* let fall some tears, as not delighted in such barbarous cruelty, but that the state and maner of his gouernment so required.

He strangles fiue of his brethren.

A desperat woman.

In the beginning of his reign he established diuers wholesome Lawes, altered the Coine, 1575.

F and bountifully relieued the poor. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet becaus he would not seem to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes his Progenitors, hee prosecuted his fathers Wars, and by the Tartars called Præcopenses, in the moneth of October in the year 1575, entred into Rascia, part of the Polonian Kingdome, where hee burnt and destroied

Rascia inuaded by the Turks.

Leon. Gor. de Bell. Luoniæ.

destroied 200 noblemens houses, besides an infinit number of townes and villages, made very great slaughter of the poor country people, and caried away great numbers of cattell and prisoners bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whilst they were diuiding the spoil with *Peter* the new Vayuod of Valachia, who had before solemnly promised to giue the Tartars no passage that way, the Polonian Cossacks, who had lien waiting for their return vpon the riuer Boristhenes, brake into the Tartars country, and there requited them with like harm, bringing back with them a number of old Captiues, who little expected that their so sudden deliuerance. G

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themselues about the election of their new King; *Henry Valoys* their late King being the last year (after the death of *Charles* his brother the French King) secretly stollen from them into France, to take vpon him that Kingdom. After whose departure some of the Polonian nobility made choice of *Maximilian* the Emperor: other some no lesse inclining to the choice of the great Duke of Muscouy; and some vnto others also. Wherof *Amurath* vnderstanding, and loth that either of those two great princes his enemies should be inuested and strengthned with that so great a kingdom, and so neer vnto him; to hinder that their election, and to bring in another of lesse power, and so lesse dangerous vnto himself, euen in the beginning of his reigne wrot vnto the Polonians to that purpose, commending vnto them *Stephen Bator* Vayuod of Transylvania for their king, in maner following: H

Amurath, god of the earth, Gouernor of the whole World, the Messenger of God, and faithfull seruant of the great Prophet; Vnto the most Honourable Nobility and Counsellors of the Kingdome of Polonia, Greeting. I

Amurath's letters to the Nobility of Polonia.

IT is not vnto the world vnknown (most honourable and mighty Senators) our noble progenitours to haue of long time and for many years holden good friendship and religious Leagues with the Kingdom of Polonia. For which cause it hath seemed good and reasonable vnto vs, to put you in mind of this so antient a league and bond of friendship: for that we vnderstand your kingdom to be of late become destitute of a King, by the departure of the noble King Henry *your crowned King (discended of the roiall race of the French Kings) our friend: who for the small regard you had of him so great and worthy a Prince, and for your disloyalty, is departed out of your kingdom, without purpose of returning any more into Polonia. Wherupon, as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you passing ouer your said crowned King* Henry, *are about to make choice of a new King, and especially of* Maximilian *the Emperour, or of the Duke of Muscouy; both men of running wits, and of vs greatly hated: for why, you may wel know they will be troublesome and grieuous not vnto euery one of you only, but euen vnto vs also. Wherfore beware that you be not deceiued; and take heed that your confederations and leagues canot long by their valor and prowesse be established; and withall consider well the great dangers and losses you may thereby fall into, wherof we haue thought good to giue you a tast; wherfore beware that heauier things befall not your state. We know there are right noble and wise men amongst you, who know better than they how to rule and gouern: and if it please you not to make choice of any of your own nation, there is not far from you one* Stephen Bator *Prince of Transiluania, a man of great honor and valor, by whose labor and dexterity you may easily procure the peace and quiet of your kingdom. Whereas if ye shall do otherwise, we take to witnes your God, and his seruant our great Prophet, to destroy all your wealth & goods, which together with your selues your wiues and children, shall be giuen as a prey vnto our soldiers, with the chief men of your cities Cracouia and Leperis. Which for all that we say not as any thing at all doubting of your fidelity and constancy toward vs. As for the rest, which it pleased vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, wee haue giuen charge vnto this our embassador and counsellor, vnto whom our desire is that you giue ful credence.*

From Constantinople the last of September, in the yeare of our Prophet Mahomet 982, and first of our reign. K L

M

This the great Sultans commendations so much preuailed with the Polonians, that notwithstanding that *Maximilian* the Emperour was by the Archbishop of Gnesna and some others chosen King, yet was that his election by the greater part of the nobility reuoked, and both

A both he and the great Duke of Muſcouy being paſſed ouer, the noble princeſſe *Anne* (of the moſt honorable *Iagelionian* houſe) choſen Queen of Polonia; yet with this condition, that ſhe ſhould marry *Stephen* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who afterward elected King, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdom, not only defending the ſame in ſuch ſtate as hee found it, but alſo notably extending the bounds therof, inlarging it with ſuch territories as he by force of Armes got from his neighbors, eſpecially the Muſcouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterward boaſt and ſay, That he had giuen the Polonians their King. But of him, and of the league made by him with *Amurath*, more ſhall be ſaid heraſter.

Stephen the Vayuod choſen K. of Polonia.

The yeare following great troubles aroſe in Perſia, whereby the flouriſhing ſtate of that 1576.
B moſt mighty kingdom was ſore ſhaken, and opportunitie giuen for the Turkiſh Emperor to inuade the ſame: which he laying hold vpon, entred into that bloudy war, which to the great quiet of the Chriſtian commonweal, for long time after exerciſed the forces of thoſe moſt puiſſant princes one vpon another. For the better vnderſtanding wherof it ſhal not be amiſſe compendiouſly to ſet down the ſame troubles of the Perſian kingdom, the very ground of the long and mortal war between thoſe two moſt mighty Monarchs.

Old *Tamas* the Perſian King, ſon to the noble *Hyſmael*, who with glory had morethan fifty years worthily gouerned that large kingdom, and mightily withſtood the often inuaſions of the Turkiſh Emperors, now ſpent with years, died the eleuenth of May in the year 1576, leauing behind him eleuen ſons; namely *Mahamet* the eldeſt, of an infirmitie in his eies ſirnamed
C *Codabanda*, a man of peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, more delighted with the ſweet pleaſure of a contented life, than the careful honors of ſo great a kingdom. *Iſmael* the ſecond ſon, of a more fierce and troubleſom nature, ſo much abhorring quietnes, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge, vpon a youthful heat break out into the frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and there make great ſpoil. For which his doings, although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commandement (who ſeemed to miſlike of thoſe his youthfull ſports, tending to the breach of the League) reſtrained of his liberty, and ſent to the caſtle Cahaca, betwixt Tauris & Caſbin, where he remained at the time of his fathers death. *Aidere* the third ſon, no leſſe ambi-
D tious than was his brother *Iſmahel*, although not altogether of like valour, who was kept by *Zalcan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, and other his kinsfolk, all men of great power and authority. The other eight were *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Muſtapha*, *Emanguli*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahim*, and *Iſmahel* the yonger.

The old King before his death had by his laſt wil and teſtament ſolemnly appointed *Iſmael* his ſecond ſon to ſucceed him in his kingdome, as of all his ſons moſt fit to take vpon him ſo great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder brother ſeemed not much to diſlike, contenting himſelf with ſuch honors as his father had before beſtowed vpon him.

Iſmael appointed by his Father to ſucceed him in the Perſian kingdome.

Tamas thus dead, *Iſmahel* was by the Sultans ſent for to Cahaca, to take vpon his fathers kingdom at Casbin; when in the mean time there aroſe a great tumult in the City, yea euen
E in the Kings palace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greateſt ſickneſs had entred the chamber where he lay drawing toward his end, and in his ſight moſt preſumptuouſly ſet the royal Crown vpon his head, to the manifeſting of his ambitious deſires; for which hee was then worthily reproued: Now after the death of his aged father, carried headlong with the ſame aſpiring humour, and ſupported by *Zalchan* and other his mighty Fauorits, had ſo effectually dealt with the great lady *Periaconcona* his eldeſt ſiſter, and the other Sultans counſellors of eſtate, put in truſt to ſee the wil of the dead King put in execution, as that the ſucceſſion could not be any longer kept from him and reſerued for *Iſmahel*, but by the help of ſome fine ſecret and deceit. This lady *Periaconcona* (elder than all the yong Princes the ſons of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great ſpirit and deep conceit) left in great truſt by her
F father, ſeeing the proceedings of her brother *Aidere*, durſt neither openly moue any thing to the Sultans, prejudiciall to his deſignes; nor could ſhe in her heart indure ſo great an injury to be don to her brother *Iſmael*, appointed by her father to ſucceed him. Wherfore in this perplexity ſhe caſt in her wily head, how to ſatisfie her ambitious brother, how to ſaue *Iſmahels* right being abſent, the honor of her dead fathers wil & teſtament, and the ſafety of the kingdome,

Aidere aſpires to the kingdom of Perſia.

dome. For hauing thorowly debated the matter with the Sultans, ſhe reſolued that *Aidere* G
inueſted in royall apparell, and ſettled in the great gallery, ſhould attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthroniſed as the very elected king. With which vaine ſhew the vnwiſe youth (blinded with ambition) ſuffered himſelfe to be led: and being ſet in his maieſty, verily perſuaded himſelfe, that he ſhould now be honoured both of his friends and foes, as King. But vnto theſe his ſo haſty and proſperous deſignes, the ſucceſſe that ſprung from the ſubtilty of thoſe Counſellors and his diſſembling ſiſter, were nothing conformable: for that ſhe by their aduice tooke order for the gates of the palace to be preſently locked, leauing at euery paſſage a ſure gard, and only one wicket open, ſafely warded with a companie of moſt faithfull and valorous captaines and ſouldiers, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Iſmahel*: with ſtreight charge, to ſuffer euery man to enter in, ſauing only the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In H
this ſort did ſhe thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill ſuch time as *Iſmahel* ſhould arriue at Cahaca, and ſo put in execution what he thought beſt for the honour of himſelfe, and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere*? in conceit a King, repleniſhed with vnwonted joyes, receiuing honor from all men ſauing from his beſt friends. By means wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and mooued alſo with the great ſtir of *Zalcan* his greateſt fauorit (who diſcouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aidere*, threatned the lady, the Sultans, and the reſt that waited vpon the feigned ſucceſſion, indeed ordained but for the ſcorne and deſpight of the ambitious man) ſtriken with great fear, and full of ſorrow, he withdrew himſelf cloſely amongſt certain women of the court, hoping ſo to find ſome way to eſcape with life. I

In the mean time ſo greatly increaſed the cries and threatnings of the friends and fauourits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themſelues for ſome dangerous and pernitious attempt) that the counſellors, with conſent of the Lady his ſiſter, were inforced to take order, that to bereaue this tumultuous and ſeditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* ſhould be depriued of his life. Wherupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers ſide, by the appointment of *Periaconcona* and the Sultans, after long ſearch they at length found him hidden amongſt the women; and without further delay taking him by the locks,

Aider ſlain, and his head caſt amongſt his Fauorits.

ſtrook his head from his ſhoulders, and in the place where *Zalcan* and the reſt of his vnfortunat fauorits ſtood crying and threatning, amongſt the thickeſt preiſe of the proud conſpirators flung the had all bloudy, as it were yet breathing for heat; crying aloud vnto them, *Behold there your King, enioy him at your pleaſure.* At which ſudden and horrible ſpectacle euery K
man burned in rage & anger, neither for the preſent wanted there many a raſh head that vainly threatned moſt cruel reuenge. But in the end, when they ſaw the neer ſucceſſion of *Iſmahel* ineuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irreuocable, euery man betook himſelf to his own priuate affairs, and ſo at the laſt diuiding themſelues one from another, departed from the palace, and ſcattered themſelues, ſome one way, ſome another, euery man as he thought beſt for his owne ſafety.

Iſmahel ſaluted King.

Shortly after, *Iſmael* the deſired King arriued at Casbin, where he was of his ſiſter and the Sultans joifully receiued as their lawful and vndoubted ſoueraign, and with great acclamation of the people ſaluted King: who as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the royall ſeat, and L
his power now anſwerable to his deſires, he after the maner of the Turkiſh policy moſt vnnaturally cauſed the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be ſtriken off; and withall vſed ſuch diligence, that not only all thoſe which were neer vnto them in bloud and affinitie were bereaued of their liues, but alſo all the fauorits of his late brother *Aidere* were deſtroied in that publike ſlaughter: ſo that all the ſtreets of Casbin were defiled with bloud, and all the city reſounded with mourning and complaints. Which vnexpected cruelty, altogether vnworthy ſo worthy a thought king, ſo altred the minds of his ſubiects in general, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new fears, and their ioy into mourning. But much greater and far more lamentable did the miſeries grow as ſoon as it was giuen out, That he would change the religion of the Perſians (who with great deuotion worſhip their fooliſh prophet *Aly*) into M
the ſuperſtition of the Turks, who with no leſſe impiety obſerue & maintain the wicked rites of *Ebubekir*, *Hamer*, *Oſman*, and others, by them ſuppoſed to be the moſt true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*. For by meanes of this vncouth noueltie and vnexpected change, and by force of an edict concerning that matter, publiſhed by this new King, many of his

He murdereth eight of his yonger brethren.

prophane

A prophane prieſts, many of the gouernors of his friendly and ſubiect cities (too much giuen to their former ſuperſtition) were driuen ſome into exile, ſome clapt vp in priſon, ſome had their eies put out (amongſt whom was the Calyph of Casbin) and not a few others in ſundry ſorts depriued of their liues. Yea many Ladies joined in bloud with *Iſmael* himſelf, & diuers others of his kinsfolk (to whom neither ſex, age, nor innocency could be a ſufficient defence) indured ſundry torments & ſtrange calamities. So that in Perſia was neuer felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this ſo great innouation, and among theſe troubles, there went abroad withal a general rumor, not in the cities of Perſia only, but in the regions of the Turks alſo, euen as far as Conſtantinople, That *Iſmael* with a puiſſant army of ſuch as fauored this new proclaimed vanitie,
B was determined in perſon himſelf to go to Babylon, now called Bagdat, there to receiue the crown of the empire at the hands of him whom he ſhould find to be their great Calyphs ſucceſſor, and in the chief place among their vnclean prieſts: as had *Solyman* himſelfe the great Emperor of the Turks, and the Perſian kings of antient times. In this world of troubles, when as the fear of further miſeries daily increaſed, rather than any hope of antient quietneſſe; he was when he leaſt feared, by the help of the aforenamed Lady *Periaconcona* ſuddenly bereft of his life: but whether ouertaken in ſome of his own amorous practiſes, or poiſoned by his ſaid ſiſter; or that ſhe (as ſome probably conjecture) hauing ſecretly conſpired with *Calil Chan*, *Emir Chan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, *Curchi Baſsi* (being all at that time men of great account, and as it were preſidents of the kingdom) who diſguiſed in womens apparel, & broughtin by her, ſtran-
C gled him at ſuch time as he had withdrawn himſelf among his paramors, is vncertain. Howſoeuer it was, ſufficeth it that he by the helpe of the ſaid Lady *Periaconcona* was by vnnaturall death taken out of this world the four and twentieth day of Nouember, in the yeare of Grace 1577; to the exceeding joy of all thoſe Nations, who by his death thought themſelues now freed of many great and dangerous troubles: when he had reigned one year ſeuen months and ſix daies. *Iſmael ſuddenly murdered by his ſiſters deuice.* 1577.

Iſmael thus taken out of the way, the lady began forthwith to perſuade with the great Sultans, the miniſters of *Iſmaels* death, that as they had for the generall good of Perſia contriued the death of the late king, ſo now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great kingdom, with the preſeruation of the majeſty and liberty therof, vntill ſuch time as it were
D knowne who ſhould worthily ſucceed in that Crowne, which now remained in their hands. There was at that time many of the greateſt Princes and Gouernors of that kingdom aſſembled at Casbin, there gaping after ſuch mutations of thoſe troubleſom times, as might beſt ſerue their priuate deſignes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious deſires, was in hope by means of a match to be made with a ſiſter of *Periaconcona* (who was already greatly inclining vnto him) to be exalted to the ſoueraigntie of all Perſia. *Mirize Salmas* the chiefe Sultan hoped on the other ſide to aduance into the eſtate, either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldeſt brother of the dead king, or els *Hamze* the eldeſt ſon of the ſaid *Mahamet*; and by beſtowing vpon him his daughter in marriage (as afterwards he did) ſo to increaſe the glory of his houſe. Others there were that thought they ſhould be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemoſt ſon of *Mahamet*) out
E of Heri, and to make him King. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aſpiring friends, whoſe Tutor waited likewiſe for ſome opportunitie to ſettle him in the kingdome, and ſo by means of his greatneſſe to make himſelf greateſt among his fellows. A number of others there were, that ſecretly waited vpon euery occaſion that time ſhould preſent for their preferment. Howbeit in this ſo great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans anſwered the Lady with one conſent, and promiſed her in moſt liberall termes all the protection that their forces could affourd, or their weapons procure: and yet did euery one of them both in action and word, Clerke-like, diſſemble their ſeuerall imaginations, wherunto their minds were as prone and ready, as their hearts were cunning cloſely to conceale them.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor now awakened, firſt at the death of the old renowned *Tamas*,
F and then at the rumor of the deſire *Iſmael* had to paſſe with an Army to Babylon; as alſo at the freſh report of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition newly publiſhed in Perſia, and withall throughly inſtructed what harm this late King had done in Perſia, what diſſentions he had raiſed, and how hardly the prouinces of the Empire had endured thoſe calamities; began forthwith to thinke, that hereby a faire occaſion was offered vnto him to take vp Armes againſt the Perſians; *Amurath intentiue to the ſtirs of Perſia.*

Perſians, and matter ſufficient ſuggeſted for him to put in execution the great deſire he had of ſome new conqueſt. For it is an antient cuſtome, which is growne as it were to be a law among the *Othoman* Kings, That they may not challenge their due honours in their life time, nor their proud monuments after their death, vnleſſe they attempt ſome great and ambitious actions & enterpriſes, and perform ſome exploit conformable to their majeſty. *Amurath* therfore bent vpon theſe great ſtirs in Perſia, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other war in hand, vntill he might firſt ſee what iſſue theſe maruellous innouations in Perſia would bring forth: which in the perſon of *Mahamet* the ſucceeding King, ſeemed to be more pregnant than euer before, and miniſtred vnto *Amurath* new occaſions of victorious & ſtrange hopes. For as ſoon as *Iſmahel* was dead, the afore named *Mirize Salmas* (in dignity chief man among the Sultans, though in blood & nobility inferior to them all) after many letters diſpatched to and fro, at laſt aſſured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with al quietnes of mind, and ſecurity of perſon, he might come & poſſeſſe himſelfe of the kingdom. He was alſo aduertiſed by the ſaid *Salmas*, of the whole conſpiracy plotted againſt his brother to bring him to his end; and likewiſe made acquainted, how the fraudulent lady, with the Sultans, had capitally conſulted againſt himſelf: and how ſhe, fauouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of Heri her nephew & his ſon, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightful ſucceſſion of him being the eldeſt brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himſelfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and deſiring withall to ſee his eldeſt ſon *Hamze Mirize* aduanced to ſome ſuch ſoueraign dignity as he ſaw was due to the liuely hope euery man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his vertue and prudence for mannaging the common-wealth and matters of war (wherein alſo he ſhewed himſelf vnto his father jealous and ſuſpitious, leſt ſome other man ſhould vſurp vpon him that honour and authority which ſo properly appertained vnto him) reſolued in the end not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuate perſons, nor the lightnes of an vnconſtant woman of ſuſpected modeſty, and a rebellious conſpiratour againſt her own bloud, wherwith ſhe had without any pity or remorſe of conſcience, now twice defiled her ſelfe. And therfore he wrot back againe, That he was minded to take the rightfull ſucceſſion vpon him, and that for the ſame purpoſe he was putting himſelf vpon his journey: with ſtreight charge notwithſtanding, That *Mirize Salmas* ſhould before his entrance within the gates of Casbin, preſent him with the miſchieuous head of *Periaconcona*; a woman (in reſpect of the ſcorne exerciſed againſt her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Iſmahel*, and of the peruerſe imaginations which ſhe had conceiued to cauſe the ſucceſſion to fall into other mens hands, & of the prodigall familiarity which ſhe had with ſome of the Sultans) wel worthy of a thouſand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution whatſoeuer *Mahamet* had priuatly enioyned him, ſo that by his meanes he was preſently and ſolemnly proclaimed king of Perſia. And afterwards hauing gathered together many ſquadrons of men wholly deuoted to the bloud & name of *Mahamet*, the ſame *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the head of that manlike Virago *Periaconcona* vpon the point of a lance, with her haire diſperſed, and ſome other vncouth ſights to the terror of the beholders. From which nouelties (one miſchief as it were hudling vpon the neck of another) there ſprung vp diuers inward hatreds, ſundry tumultuous ſeditions, and much ciuill wars: this new king by the inſtigation of *Mirize Salmas*, ſeeking on one ſide to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death; & they on the other ſide oppoſing themſelues with all their power againſt him, the State of Perſia began to fal into great inconueniences, and of theſe nouelties to reap new loſſes. *Sahamal* the Georgian fled into his mountain of Brus, fearing the wrath of his new lord. *Leuant Ogli* likewiſe another of the Lords of Georgia, vnderſtanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his neighbour, eſtranged himſelfe ſo far from his old loue and antient deuotion towards the Perſian Kings, that he ſeemed now to deſire ſome new innouation. The nations alſo that were neighbours to the Turks, and the people of Media Antropatia (now called Siruan) diſliked of this new king: and in the end it appeared, That Perſia vnder this king, through many mutations, was in ſhort time fallen into moſt notable miſery, and the ſtate thereof more weakened than it had of long time before.

Mahamet reſolueth to take vpon him the Perſian kingdome.

Mahamet proclaimed King of Perſia.

The head of Periaconcona preſented to Mahamet on a Launce.

Of all theſe things had *Amurath* from diuers places intelligence, but more particularly from *Vſtreff* of Van (a city of Armenia the greater, ſcituat vpon the lake of Actamar) who ſent him moſt perfect information of all the ſtirs in Perſia; Diſcourſing vnto him of the death of *Iſ-*

mahel,

A *mahiel*, the consultations of the Sultans, the trecheries & death of *Periaconcona*, the broils between the King and the Sultans, the nature of the new King (beeing diseased in his eies, little esteemed of his subjects, besotted in affection toward his sons) the facilitie to ouerrule the chief gouernors of the Georgians, and the people of Sirvan, euil affected toward the new king: and to be brief, whatsoeuer had in truth succeeded in Persia, and might inflame the minde of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces against an enemy of small counsell and much confusion. Adding thereunto, That neuer was there greater opportunitie to ouercome that King, than now was offered: and therfore wished him, not in any case to let slip so fair an occasion, as the *Othoman* Kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of so certain and so glorious victories.

B *Amurath* of long time wholly bent to mark the euent of the troubles in Persia now stirred vp with these aduertisements from *Vstref*, setled himself more deep in his former conceits to proue his forces in subduing the Persian King, the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors, and his only corriual and odious competitor in the East. But no one thing did more inflame him therunto, than to thinke, how he should haue to his enemy a King not acquainted with deeds of arms, doting vpon his children, and weakned with the dissention of his subjects: and on the other side entring into the consideration of his own forces, of the infinit number of his men both horse and foot, of the means he had to find mony; of his Artillery and engins of War, wherein he far surpassed the Persians; he did more and more resolue with himselfe to take the occasion that was now offered him to begin the war. For the compassing of which
C his purpose he was greatly fauored by the present state of Christendom, at that time beeing wholly in league and amity with him. So not finding any thing contrary to his designments, he resolued at length to confer with the chief Bassa's, which had the gouernment of his Empire, Whether it were better vpon this occasion to begin the prepensed war, or if they thought not this opportunity to be so fit, then to lay it aside, and to conuert his forces and counsel against the Commonwealth of Christendom. For such is the barbarous policy wherby this Empire is mannaged, that it is lawfull for them to break any League, be it by neuer so many promises or solemn oaths confirmed, whensoeuer any enterprise is to be attempted for the aduancing therof. So that although this war could not be moued either against the Persians *No assurance in the Turks Leagues.*
D or Christians, without breach of their promised faith; yet among the manifold consultations that passed among the great Bassa's, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord without further respect, sought to set forward the ambitious desire of their proud Lord and master. At last after long consultation and large discourses, it was at length agreed vpon by the great Bassa's, *Mahomet*, *Sinan*, and *Mustapha*. That it would be better and lesse danger to attempt war against the Persians, than against the Christian Princes. *Mustapha* amongst the rest preferring the valour of the Latines, wherof he had made good trial especially at Famagusta, before the armies and forces of the Georgians and Persians. Wherby it is apparant to the world, that neither the zeal of their religion, nor any *Ambition the cause of the Persian war.*
injury receiued from the Persian King, but only the ambitious desire of *Amurath* (to subdue a kingdome, both in his own conceit and other mens relations euil gouerned by an effeminat
E and sottish King, and through ciuil dissention brought into great danger) was the first prouocation of making this war.

Vpon this resolution there arose new consultations touching the manner therof, and vpon what coast they should begin their journy for the more honourable successe therof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged; protesting before his chief Counsellors, That he would not enter into that war, except he were in great hope to bear away the victory. Some thought it most conuenient to send the Army to Babylon, and from thence to Syras, formerly called Persepolis, the chief city of the country of Persia. Others there were that gaue aduice, that the army should be sent directly to Tauris, there to erect strong fortresses, and to take possession of all the country round about it. And there wanted not some (as it is reported) that thought it
F better to send two seuerall armies for both the forenamed places; and so by bringing the enemy into a streit, to inforce him to yeeld to whatsoeuer should be of him required. But *Amurath* durst not repose such confidence in his forces, as to think that with his battells diuided and so weakned, he should be able to conquer that enemy, who had alwaies most valiantly

fought againſt the monſtrous and puiſſant Armies of his Anceſtors. And therfore firmely reſolued with himſelfe to ſend one only army, and ſo with his vnited forces to ſeek the ouerthrow of the Enemy. And ſo preferring the ſtrong hope he had conceiued to conquer the country of Sirvan, and the chief cities of Media the great, before the difficulty of making war vpon the coaſt of Scyras; repoſing alſo great hope in the notable help that was promiſed him by the Tartars called Præcopenſes, he confirmed the great Baſſa's his counſellors in the ſame opinion: and withall diſcouered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but eſpecially to *Sinan* ſeemed moſt ſtrange; namely, That he was determined, not to goe himſelfe in perſon with his Army, but to ſend one of his worthieſt Captains in his ſtead. The cauſes why he ſo did, were many; but eſpecially, for that he was troubled with the falling ſicknes, and feared greatly (and that not without good cauſe) leſt his ſon *Mahomet*, being much fauoured of the people, might peraduenture in his abſence be vntimely aduanced to the Empire. Beſide the dangers which he ſuſpected at the hands of the Chriſtian Potentates. And withal perſuaded it to be vnto himſelf a great honour, to perform thoſe things by his ſeruants, which had formerly in thoſe countries bin vnfortunatly attempted by his moſt noble predeceſſors in their own perſons.

Whilſt they were thus conſulting about the expedition, and the great Baſſa's, *Sinan*, *Muſtapha*, aud others, made means to be ſent as the ſoueraign miniſters of their Lords deſignement, he diſpatched away ſundry poſts and light horſmen, with order to the Baſſa's and Gouernors of Van, Babylon, and Erzirum, in the frontiers of his Dominions, That they ſhould by often inrodes ſpoil the Towns and Caſtles of the Perſians, and by all means to do them what harme they could. Which they were not ſlack to put in execution, and eſpecially *Vſtref* (or rather *Huſreue*) Baſſa of Van, who with often incurſions did much miſchief, as wel in the countries that were tributary, as ſubiect to the Perſian King. A forcible preparatiue for greater troubles to enſue.

The war begun in Perſia.

Now in this great preparation for the Perſian war (which for many years after notably exerciſed the greateſt part of the Turks forces, to the great quiet of the Chriſtian Commonwealth) *Stephen Bator* the late Vayuod of Tranſylvania, but now by the commaundement of *Amurath* become King of Polonia, in the beginning of his reign, by his Embaſſador the great Lord *Iohn* of Syenna, entred into a ſtrong league and confederation with the great Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath* at Conſtantinople. Which for that it ſheweth in what termes that famous kingdom then and yet ſtandeth with the Turks great Empire, and withall containeth matter well worth the Chriſtian conſideration; it ſhall not be impertinent to our purpoſe (omitting the great and glorious ſtile of that barbarous Monarch, ſeruing to no other end but to ſhew the greatnes of his power) plainly to ſet it down, as it was on his part at the ſame time by him confirmed.

The League betwixt the moſt puiſſant and mighty Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperor, and *Stephen* King of Polonia: Agreed vpon and concluded at Conſtantinople, in the yeare of our Sauior Chriſt Ieſu, 1577; and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985.

The league betweene Amurath and King Stephen.

I *Sultan* Amurath, *the ſon of* Selym Chan, *the ſon of* Solyman Chan, *the ſon of* Selym Chan, *the ſon of* Bajazet Chan, *the ſon of the great Emperour* Mahomet Chan, *&c. Prince of theſe preſent times, the only Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole world, the ſhadow of Diuine clemencie and grace. Great Emperor of many Kingdoms, Countries, Prouinces, Cities and Towns, Lord of Mecha, that is to ſay, of the houſe of the glory of God, of the reſplendant city of Medina, and of the moſt bleſſed city of Ieruſalem: Prince of the moſt fruitfull country of Egypt, Imen, Zenan, Aden, and many other ſuch like: In moſt louing maner declare, That the moſt glorious and renowned*

Stephen

A Stephen *King of Polonia, great Duke of Lithuania, Rassia, Prussia, Massovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Livonia, and many other countries moe, Prince of the couragious followers of* Iesus, *Gouernor of all the affairs of the people and family of the Nazarits, the welcommest Cloud of rain, and most sweet Fountaine of glory and vertue; eternall Lord and heir of the felicity and honor of the aforesaid noble Kingdome of Polonia; vnto whom all the distressed repair for refuge, wishing a most happy succes and blessed end to all his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes and eternall praises worthy our perpetuall loue and most holy League, and with great deuotion performing these and other like honors, as for the dispatch of his letters to our most glorious Court, for the new confirming of the most sacred league and confederation with vs, sending the honorable Lord* Iohn *of Syenna (his most faithfull Counsellor) his Embassadour to our Court; declaring his loue and integrity, and purging himself of all the suspition of hostility, hath re-*
B *quested the League and confederation to be renued. At whose instance we haue giuen these our Letters, confirming the said League of peace and confederation. Wherin we command, That none of our Counsellors, Beglerbegs, Sanzacks, Generals of our Armies, Captains, or seruants, shall do, or on my behalf presume to do any hurt vnto the Kingdom, Countries, Cities, Castles, Towns, Islands, or whatsoeuer els to the Kingdom of Polonia belonging. And in like maner, That none of the Nobility, Generals, Captaines, or others whosoeuer belonging to the king of Polonia, shall dare to do any harm vnto my Kingdoms, Cities, Castles,*
C *or Towns confining vpon the Kingdom of Polonia. In brief, my will is, That he being a mortal enemy vnto myne enemies, and a fast friend vnto my friends, shal do no injury or harm vnto any my subiects or things whatsoeuer vnto my jurisdiction belonging. So in like maner commanding also, That no hurt by any meanes or for any occasion, be don by our people, vnto the subiects, or whatsoeuer els vnto the iurisdiction of the King of Polonia appertaining.*

The creatures, Embassadors, Messengers, and men of whatsoeuer condition els, shall on both sides freely without let or trouble come and go without any harm receiuing, either in their persons or goods.

It shall be lawfull also for the King of Polonia's subiects to seek throughout our Empire, for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the same so found (if they haue not receiued the Turkish religion, but still remain Christians) to redeem without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatsoeuer shall be taken and caried away after the confirmation of this League, shall be all again freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and restored.

That the Merchants on both parts might freely traffique with all kind of merchandise in the black and white sea, as also vpon the Main, and so paying their vsuall and lawfull custom, to be in nothing wronged
D *or molested.*

If any of the Polonian Merchants shall die in our dominion, the goods of him so dead shall not be embesselled, but kept in safety vntill his brethren or other his friends shall come with the King of Polonia his letters: vpon the shewing wherof, hauing also our Letters mandatory, the goods shall be forthwith restored vnto the dead mans heirs. In which sort also my Merchants shall be dealt withall, if any of them shall chance to die in the kingdom of Polonia.

If any wrong be don within the limits of myne Empire, vnto any belonging to the kingdom of Polonia, after the date of these letters confirming the League; the doer of the wrong shall by my commandement be sought out, and being found out shal be punished & the wrong don, without any delay or contradiction be forthwith recompenced. And the like justice to be also on the behalf of the King of Polonia administred.

If any debtor shall depart out of myne Empire into the Polonian territory, whersoeuer he shall chance to
E *be found by his Creditor, he shall be brought to the Iudge of that place to be examined, and whatsoeuer it shall be proued him of right to owe, the Iudge of that place shall according to the equity of the cause make the Creditor to be satisfied.*

But if the debtor canot himself personally be found, no other man shall by reason of another mans debt be taken, detained, or molested: nether shall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our Kingdoms.

In brief, vpon whatsoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, or grandfather of famous memory, made with the kings of Polonia, vpon the same conditions and capitulations be it now made also.

Whatsoeuer hurt hath hitherto bin don to either part, by reason of the disagreement of the gouernours
F *and captains, shall all be on both parts neglected and forgotten.*

Also after the time of these letters, confirming the league and confederation, Whereas the King of Polonia shall in time pay a certain sum of mony vsed to be paid vnto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan *& his son*

Mirzeliby *their Princes shall restore the same again, and not to dare to suffer his Armies by any meanes* G
to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies no harm shall be don to the kingdom of Polonia: neither on the part of the Polonians to the territories of the Tartars. And if any harm shall by the Tartars be don in the King of Polonia's territories, it shall by my commandment be again restored. And so likewise on the part of the Palatine of Moldavia, or the inhabitants of the kingdom of Moldavia, no harm shall be don vnto the countries subiect vnto the King of Polonia: but if any be done, and certainly known, to be by my commandement again recompenced.

On the part also of the King of Polonia and his subiects, whatsoeuer harm shall be don vnto the territory or subiects of the Moldavian Palatine, or Tartars, the harm so don to be recompenced, and the doers therof punished.

Also, That all such fugitiues as hauing done any notorious felonies or villanies in Moldavia, and are H
fled into Polonia, shall at my request, or at the request of the Palatine of Moldavia, be restored, and in no case denied.

That all the Polonian Captains within my dominions, yet professing the Christian religion, may by the King of Polonia's subiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and masters paid: euery such master of the slaue taking his oath, that he cost him so much. But such captiues as haue receiued the Turkish faith, to be forthwith set at liberty: and so the Turks slaues in the kingdom of Polonia to bee likewise manumised.

That our Embassadors on both sides (so long as we are in league and amity) may freely come and go, I
and not be staid in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleasure so do. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by some good and faithfull guid appointed vnto them conducted vnto the places they are to go vnto. And this to be on both sides kept.

No man to dare to hurt or stay any merchant, hauing paid his thirtieth part or lawful custom.

If any of our subiects shall haue any suit with any of the king of Polonia's subiects, the Iudges shal without delay be bound to administer justice. All theeues and robbers shall be diligently sought out, and being found, to be seuerely punished: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be restored to the right owners, their heirs, or to the King.

The Sanzacks of Silistria and Bolograue, the Customers and Water-Bailifes, shall not suffer any man but Merchants and such as are sent in our seruice, to passe ouer the riuer Nyester; who passing ouer, if they shall bring with them any slaue or bondman out of Polonia, he shall be sent back again. The shepheards, if they will transport their sheep into the iurisdiction of the King of Polonia, shall not so do without leaue of K
the Polonian gouernors, before whom they shall also number their Sheep: of whom if any shall be lost, the Gouernors shall cause them to be sought for, and to be restored vnto the Shepheards, as also to pay for their hay.

The Zauzij, Ianizaries, or Posts, shall not dare in any time of peace or war to take any horses from the Polonian merchants, or other the Kings subiects comming into our kingdom.

The Palatines of Moldavia, in whatsoeuer condition they haue bin toward the former Kings of Polonia, they shall now also stil so be hereafter. The thirtieths and customs of both parts shall continue in their old maner, and not be increased. The Polonian kings subiects and merchants, as wel Armenians as of any other nation, whensoeuer they shall enter into Moldavia or any other part of our Empire, shall not trauel by vncertain and vnknown, but by the common or highwaies: wherin if they shall suffer any losse or harm, L
either in their goods or persons, the doers of such wrongs shal be sought for, and seuerely punished. Which merchants shall be suffered without any molestation quietly to come and go, hauing paid their thirtieths: and no merchant to be troubled for anothers debt.

If any of the Polonian Kings merchants or subiects be willing for ready mony to redeem and cary away any slaues taken out of the Polonian kingdom, and yet professing the Christian religion, the Iudges shal in no case withstand them, neither presume to take them from them, or again to redeem them. But if any such slaues haue receiued the Turkish Religion, they shall not be again demanded by the King of Polonia.

Such slaues as haue not receiued the Turkish religion, if after a certain space they shall be set at liberty by their Masters, and in the letters testimoniall of their liberty, it shall be declared that they haue receiued the Turkish religion; yet shall they not by the Iudges be therfore detained.

In the city of Burusa, the Polonian merchants hauing paid their vsuall thirtieths, shall not be further M
pressed with any other vnusuall paiment.

My will is also, That the territories at this present in the possession of the King of Polonia, or herafter

to

A *to be by him taken from the Muscouite, or any other the Christian Princes, to be comprised within this League, and so to be royally by him possessed.*

And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in these our letters of confederation contained, I swear by the power of the most mighty God, and of his most holy Prophet, and by the most clean and pure spirits of all the Prophets, That for all the daies of my life, and so long as nothing shall on the behalf of the King of Polonia be don contrary to the peace and league, nothing shal also on my part be don contrary to the same. Witnesse the Almighty, the vpright judge and discerner of mens actions.

From Constantinople, the year of the holy Prophet Mahomet 985, *the* 14 *of the moneth* Czie-*massi Eumel. And of Christ* 1577.

B This league betwixt these two mighty princes *Amurath* and king *Stephen* thus concluded, and after the death of *Stephen*, by *Sigismund* the third renued; as it was to the Polonian Kingdom for the time commodious, so did it as it were with an Adamantine band so tie that most famous kingdom, as that in the hardest distresses of the Christian commonweal, and most indeed concerning it self, it afforded no more help than did the members farther of, which (I rue to say it) was none at all. As in the insuing wars betwixt the Christian Emperor and the Turkish Sultans plainly appeared: wherin had it in due time giuen but such reasonable aid as it might wel haue spared, much no doubt might haue bin done for the repressing of the common Enemy, and the recouery of the greatest part of Hungary: but thus bound, stood as a dead member, seruing to no other vse more than to the more speedy destruction of it selfe;
C together with the rest of the sick body. For what assurance it had in that long, but euil assured peace, was wel seen, in that in the great consultation of this great sultan *Amurath* with his Bassa's after the Persian war, for the inuading of Christendom; the Polonians for al this legue so solemnly confirmed, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the same ballance with the rest, and preserued only by the Prouidence that all gouerneth; which leading the Turke against the Christian Emperour their neighbour, gaue them that peace they were otherwise hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that (hauing to his endlesse praise maintained a long and most chargeable war) they lent little or no help, yet lying themselues still in the Lions mouth, and like enough to be the next (without Gods great goodnes) of him intended to be deuoured.

D But leauing these the heauy conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forebodings of that I wish not; to return again toward Persia, *Amuraths* greatest care. Among many the ambitious competitors for the mannaging of these Turkish so great designes, was the great Bassa *Mustapha* (euen he who in the reign of the late Emperor *Selymus* conquered Cyprus, carrying thence together with his victory, perpetual infamy for his faithles and cruel dealing with *Bragadine* the worthy and renowned gouernor of Famagusta) appointed General of the Turks army into Persia; and authority giuen him to prouide whatsoeuer he should think needfull for so great a war. And commandment giuen vnto the Bassa's and other Commanders of the greatest part of the Turkish Empire Eastward, that they should themselues with their soldiers of all sorts, bound by their perpetual annuities to go to the War, in the beginning of the
E Spring this year 1578, repaire to Erzirum, a City of Cappadocia bordering vpon Armenia, there to attend the commaund of their new General. Who hauing his dispatch from Constantinople, & for fashion sake conducted by most of the court ouer the streit to Scutari, and from thence passing through the countries of Amasia & Siuas, in the very beginning of summer arriued at Erzirum, and there stayd vntill such time as his people, victuals, Artillery, and other his necessary prouision was come thither. From whence he departed for Sirvan, hauing first taken a diligent suruey of his whole Army, mustring the souldiers of euery Nation by themselues: namely of the Mesopotamians twelue thousand, of the Assyrians and Babylonians fourteen thousand, of the Syrians two thousand, of them of the lesser Asia (now comprehended vnder the name of Natolia) ten thousand, of the Iewes and Philistims one thousand,
F and of the Cilicians four thousand. After whom followed the soldiers of Grecia, the glory and hope of all the camp, valiant men, to the number of ten thousand; and after them the familiar and faithful gard of the General, ten thousand Ianizaries of Constantinople, with harquebuses vpon their shoulders, and scimiters by their sides: of the City also of Erzirum and the jurisdiction therof, appeared four thousand, vnder the ensigne of *Beyran Bassa* their general.

Mustapha chosen Generall of the Turks army.

1578.

Mustapha musters his Army at Erzirum.

All theſe were ſtipendaries vnto the Turkiſh Emperor; vnto whom other voluntary aduentu- G
rers joined themſelues, in number not inferior to the reſt, but better furniſhed, and of greater courage. So that in this general ſuruey of the Army were found about 110000 men, moſt part horſmen: yet was there not any ſtirred out of Arabia, Egypt, Africa, Hungary, or other places alongſt the ſea coaſts; neither were the prouinces from whence theſe ſouldiers were drawn, left deſtitute or vnfurniſhed of their ordinary gariſons. Beſides this multitude of men *Muſtapha* brought with him 500 ſmal pieces of Artillery, with many loads of mony for his ſoldiers pay, with further order for the taking vp of more at Aleppo and other places, if his occaſions ſhould ſo require. He cauſed alſo great quantitie of corn to be tranſported by the great ſea called in antient time Pontus Euxinus, to Trapezond, ſo to be conueyed to Erzirum being but four days journy diſtant thence. To be ſhort, hauing taken order for all things he H
thought neceſſary for the war, he in ſeemly array departed from Erzirum, and in eight days a-riued at the ruins of Chars, and in the fruitful country therabout reſted himſelf. But he was there ſurpriſed with ſuch a violent tempeſt of wind and rain, that it rent in ſunder his Tents, and did great harm; by means wherof many fell ſick, and were therby conſtrained to forſake the Army.

Hauing ſtaid three daies at Chars, the bounder of the Turkiſh and Perſian Empire, he departed thence with his army, and that euening lodged vnder the mountains of Chielder, ſuppoſed to be part of the hils Periardo; where hearing the Perſians to be in Arms, he thought it beſt for the ſecurity of his Army, ſo to pitch his tents, as that he might wel diſcouer the comming of the Enemy, and not to be aſſaulted at vnawares. And therfore planting himſelfe in I
the plain, he gaue order that *Beyran* Baſſa of Erzirum ſhould take poſſeſſion of a certaine hill on the right hand; and *Dervis* the Baſſa of Caramit ſhould keepe another hill that ſtood on the left hand: and with them *Oſman Baſſa*, *Mahamet Baſſa*, *Muſtaffade Baſſa*, aduenturers, with many others as wel ſtipendary as voluntary men, ſhould likewiſe pitch their tents vpon the ſame hils, in ſuch ſort, as that they making as it were two wings to the Camp, might diſcouer the comming of euery man, and yet he himſelf being ſhadowed with the two hils, might lye vnperceiued of any.

Muſtapha cunningly incamps at Chielder.

Mahamet the new king of Perſia, as yet ſcarſly ſetled in his kingdom, ſtirred vp by the fame of theſe motions, reſolued in himſelf to ſtand vpon the defence of his ſtate, and for a time to diſſemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to ſome of the Sultans of Perſia, & Princes of K
Georgia, and to make ſome apparant ſhew that he was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promiſe vnto himſelf any form of an army, or defence: wherin (notwithſtanding all the troubled ſtate of his kingdom) he wrought ſo cunningly, that almoſt all the great men of account took vpon them the protection of his ſtate and kingdom. And ſo *Tocomac* a Sultan, the Chan and gouernor of Reivan, a famous man, wel known to the Turks, and of great reputation among the Perſians, was choſen General of this expedition; with charge, that gathering together the greateſt number of men he could, out of Atropatia, Media the greater, and other places neer vnto the Turks, he ſhould by all means poſſible ſtop their paſſage into Georgia and Media Atropatia. And therupon precepts were ſent out into all parts of the kingdom, That all the Chans, Sultans, and ſoldiers whatſoeuer, ſhould come ready preſt to at- L
tend vpon their new General. Many obedient to the kings proclamation, came; but many there were that would not ſtir a foot, for their obſtinacie in the broiles begun, and for the ſuſpition they had of vnlooked for miſchiefs. At whoſe diſobedience the king much grieued: but now there was no remedy, but to make the beſt of the matter, and for the ſafety of his honor to make the beſt reſiſtance they could. So with thoſe few who for the loue of their prince and country were met together in thoſe parts, being not aboue 20000, *Tocomac* was diſpatcht about his buſines, if haply he might with theſe ſmal forces oppreſſe the enemy in ſome ſtreit and troubleſome paſſage, where the great multitude ſhould rather ſerue to confound themſelues, than to help one another. Theſe 20000 were all horſmen, armed with ſcimiter & bow, with ſome harquebuſiers among, and furniſhed with very fine and wel tempered armour; but M
aboue all, couragious they were and reſolute, and wel the more, for the valour and proweſſe of their General. So prouided of all things neceſſary, they ſet forward, and keeping the way of Tauris and Genge, they came to the turning of Chars, where they were aduertiſed that the Enemies army was already paſſed.

Tocomac General of the Perſians.

They

A They were now come within a days journy of Chielder, when they ſent quick and faithful ſcouts to bring them certain newes of the condition and number of the Turks Army. Who came thither at the very time that *Muſtapha* was incamping his army between the two hills, wherupon the two Baſſa's *Beyran* and *Dervis* with their people had already pitcht their tents. Theſe ſcouts diſcouering the Turkiſh hoſt aloft, perſuaded themſelues that there was no other battel than thoſe they ſaw vpon the hils: Wherof with all ſpeed they returned news to *Tocomac*, who at eaſe had followed theſe his ſcouts afar off. *Tocomac* thus miſ-informed by his ſcouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpoſe to aſſault them; and hauing diſcouered their tents vpon the hils, was throughly confirmed in the opinion hee had before conceiued of the number of his enemies, and the ſcouts relation, and with ſo much the
B more confidence ſet forward to aſſail them. But *Beyran* and *Dervis*, who quickly from the hils perceiued the Perſians comming in the plain, although they knew them to be men of great courage, yet repoſing an aſſured confidence in their Generals battell, with all ſpeed mounted vpon their horſes and ran to meet them. So in the aforeſaid plains vnder Chielder, within one hour after noon was ioyned a moſt bloudy battel, wherin at laſt were ſlain 7 of the Turks Sanzacks, with a great number of ſoldiers, without any apparant loſſe amongſt the Perſians, who fighting cloſe together in a great heat, and al bebloudied, vrged their happy and fortunat victory.

But *Muſtapha*, who perceiued all that had paſſed, and ſtaid waiting til the fight was at the hoteſt, and the medly at the thickeſt, that ſo the flight of the enemies might breed the grea-
C ter diſorder; and now ſeeing that his people could no longer indure the fury of the Enemies rage (euen as if it had lightned and thundred, and as though the earth had ſhaken) with ſuch cries and acclamations as the Turkes vſe in their aſſaults, for the more terror of the enemies; exciting his army, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduerſaries, and ſo renued a moſt terrible battel. The Perſians wonderful courage induring this vnexpected and dreadful aſſault with incredible ſigns of valor, in that little time of day light that was left (for the night began now to approch) continued their manifold ſlaughters, and at laſt being fauored by the darknes of the night, withdrew themſelues with as little loſſe as poſſibly they could. Neither durſt *Muſtapha* any longer purſue them, but was glad by night to return to his camp. Of the ſucceſſe of this battel the Perſians certified their King; as alſo of the greatnes of the Turkiſh Army with
D their further purpoſe for anoying therof. And by the Turks alſo were preſented to *Muſtapha* (who had already ſent news by poſts to *Amurath*) 5000 heads, that by their color, countenance and beards bewraied themſelues to be Perſians, and 3000 Perſians aliue. Of this victory *Muſtapha* greatly rejoiced, and to make it ſeem the greater (ſeeking by all means to conceale his own loſſes, and to raiſe a greater terror by the fame therof amongſt his enemies) cauſed the heads of the 3000 that were brought before him aliue, to be preſently cut from their ſhuolders, and gaue order that of thoſe heads there ſhould be framed a bulwark in thoſe fields, for a moſt horrible and vncoth ſpectacle.

The Perſians defeated.

A Bulwarke made of the heads of the ſlain Perſians.

The ſame day that *Muſtapha* applied himſelf about this barbarous and cruel worke, there came vnto him certain meſſengers from *Manucchiar*, the yonger ſon of the Georgian Widow
E *Dedeſmit* (a great prince in that country) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue, *Manucchiar* their Lord and maſter was comming to ſalute him, and to offer himſelf vnto him as his obedient and deuoted ſervant. At which news *Muſtapha* redoubling his joy, gaue commandment, That all the Baſſa's and captains in the Army, with all ſolemn pomp, with Trumpets, Drums, peals of ordnance, with al other ſignes of munificall and ioyfull entertainment, ſhould go forth to meet the ſaid *Manucchiar*, and to accompany him to his preſence. Which they did accordingly, and ſo incountring him with all ſignes of honor, conducted him to the great pauilion of *Muſtapha*, who there cauſed him again to be ſaluted with like triumph. *Manucchiar* diſmounted from his horſe, and againſt his wil beholding the ſtrange & vncoth pile of heads all pale and filthy to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant; yet not-
F withſtanding before all other things, hauing don his due reuerence to the great Baſſa, and according to his degree placed himſelf next to his ſide, after he had preſented him with ſuch gifts as his country yeelded, he gaue him to vnderſtand, That for the honour & eſtimation he bare to the Turkiſh valor, he was alwaies deuoted to the houſe of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes deſired to ſpend his goods and life in their ſeruice, ſo at this preſent time, moued

Manucchiars ſpeech to Muſtapha.

by

by his antient desire, allured by the strange fame of his wonderful and victorious Army, and G
stirred vp by a particular fantasie, to learn the painfull and hard precepts of the art Militarie, vnder such a General, commander of other commanders, he offered him all deuotion and seruice, more than euer he had don to any hertofore; and himself hauing nothing in the World dearer to him, consecrated his own life to his commandements; desiring that the same might be imployd in the conflicts of war vnder his banners, among warriers and soldiers of fame and renown: and therfore besought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whose obedient vassal he vowed himself to remain for euer.

Graciously did *Mustapha* receiue all this discourse from *Manucchiar*, and hauing shewed him again the pile of heads, together with his battels, armor, and prouision of war, told him, That as all those forces were the gift of God, who euer fauored the righteous counsels of the H
Othoman Emperors, in such sort that they lord it ouer all the world, euen to the astonishment of them that liue in the world at this day; so had he for his particular chosen the better part, in comming now to yeeld himself, & to submit his obedience vnto his Lord, although it had bin better if he had don it before. And as concerning the desire he had to be his companion and fellow in these warlike affairs, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promised him all good entertainment and assured safety. And so in exchange of the presents which he brought him, he apparelled him in cloth of gold, honoured him with a batel-axe, and targuet wrought with gold and ammel, and neuer permitted him to go from his pauilion without a train of his slaues following him.

A terrible rain and tempest.

This Georgian Prince thus solemnly entertained, the General gaue order thorow the camp, I
That they should the next morning remoue from those mountains: and now euery man was putting himself in readines, when as there rise a most terrible tempest of wind and rain, mixt with thunder and lightning, which continued with such violence for the space of four dayes together, as if the heauens had bin dissolued into waters. Wherby it came to passe, that out of the dead carkasses and heads before mentioned issued a most horrible stink: so that therby, and by the foulnes of the weather, with other annoiances alwaies attending vpon so great a camp, the whole army was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diseases arose among the Turks. But at last the weather breaking vp, *Mustapha* rise with his camp and set forwards toward Teflis: and being not able by reason of the foulnes of the way to passe any farther, that day stayd in the plains where the lake Chielder Giol standeth, and there refreshed his sick and wearied K
soldiers. Remouing thence, the next day about noon he came to the Castle of Archichelech, somtime a castle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his wars against *Tamas*, and euer since holden by the Turks. Here *Mustapha* surueyed his Army, and by diligent ac-

Mustapha surueying his Army, lacks forty thousand men.

count taken, found himself to want 40000 of his soldiers; wherof some were slain in the battel, some were dead of sicknes, and many weary of so long and perillous a journy, were secretly stoln out of the camp, and returned to take their rest at home. From thence the Army remoued, and lodged that night neer the marish called of the Turks Peruana Giol, or Lake of slaues; and the next day came to Triala, where at this day are to be seen the ruins of a great City and of many churches; wherof some are yet repaired and maintained by deuout Christians the reliques of those happy and religious forces, that with so great and faithful zeal past the L
the seas and mountains through those barbarous nations into the Holy land, men worthy of eternal praise. The next day the Turks ascended the high and craggy mountaine that stands vpon Teflis; from the top wherof descending the day following, they seised vpon a Castle of the Georgians, called of the Turks Giurgi Chala. Departing thence, and lodging in certain plains, the next day they came neer the riuer that runs by Teflis. But in these 4 dayes march from Archichelec, where *Mustapha* took view of his army, many of the Turks, who in seeking victuals for themselues and their horses had stragled from the army, were cut off by the Georgian captains, who with a number of their own country soldiers secretly followed the Turks army, and wel acquainted with all the waies of the country, lay in ambush vpon such places as the victualers were to passe through, and so suddenly setting vpon them spoiled them at once M
both of life and goods.

Mustapha comming to Teflis found that castle empty; for that *Daut Chan* lord therof, hearing of the comming of the Turks, forsook the same and betook himself to the fields, prouiding better for himself in so doing, than by staying in the castle, to haue bin there taken prisoner.

A soner. This castle for the conuenient scituation thereof *Mustapha* caused to be repaired and fortified, and planted therin an hundred pieces of artillery, and appointed *Mahamet Bassa* Generall Gouernor of that place, with a garrison of six thousand souldiers, which done, he departed for Siruan. At which very time those of Soria, which had brought a thousand loads of rent corn to the camp from Aleppo, being themselues in number a thousand persons, with 500 others of Omps (in antient time called Hus, the city of the patient *Iob*) and other places of Soria, men neither of duty bound, nor of themselues willing to follow the camp, returned homewards towards their owne country: but vpon the way they were set vpon by *Alessandro*, *Giusuf*, and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all slain except some few, who by the swiftnes of their horses escaped with *Nassardin* their Captain.

B Now after that *Mustapha* had passed the discent of the steep mountaines of Teflis, the next day he incamped in certaine low plains; where the Embassadours of *Alessandro* syrnamed the Great, sonne of *Leuent*, a Georgian Prince, came vnto him and told him, That their Lord was ready, if it so pleased him, to come vnto him to do him reuerence, and by word of mouth to promise him that deuotion he had alwaies in mind born to the *Othoman* Emperours. With a glad heart and cheerfull countenance did *Mustapha* receiue these Embassadors: and presently sent them back, to will their Lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendship should be vnto him most deer and acceptable. And after their departure, tooke order with all the Commanders of his army, to receiue him with all the signs of ioy that might be, which at his comming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had presented to the Generall the

Alessandro sends Embassadors to Mustapha.

C rich gifts he had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Bassa with most liuely speeches he could possibly deuise, calling *Amurath* his Lord: seeming to take it in euill part, that he passed not through his territory, where he should (as he said) haue had plenty of all things for the relief of his army; yet hoping that in his return from Siruan he would take it in his way; wheras he should find him most ready to bestow all that he had in the seruice of his lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent respects go with him into Siruan, yet he would alwaies accompany him in mind, and continually pray to the Creator of all things, for his prosperity & most happy successe. Courteously did *Mustapha* receiue both his presents and submission, and in exchange therof bestowed vpon him certain gifts af-

Alessandro curteously entertained by Mustapha.

D ter the Turkish manner, and in magnificall terms gaue him answer; promising him in his return to passe through his country: and so dismissed the Persian Duke with like honour wherewith he was entertained at his comming.

Mustapha holding on his journy towards Siruan, through moorish and troublesome wayes; in twelue dayes after he departed from Teflis, came into the confines of Siruan, neere to the riuer Canac, and there rested on this side the riuer one day. At which time they of the city of Sechi, bordring vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure days journy from Sumachia, came to offer themselues to *Mustapha*, as subiects to the Turks. Of whose submission the Generall gratiously accepted, promising to them his assured protection.

The Turks army ouerwearied with the continuall trauell of twelue days march, but yet far more afflicted with hunger, not finding in those parts so much as one wilde beast to assuage

The Turks army afflicted with hunger.

E their greedy desire of meat, fought by all means, euery man for himself, to get somthing, especially when they vnderstood their General would passe the riuer into a Country vnto them all vnknown, where they were altogether vncertain what to find for their relieue. So whilst they were inquiring among themselues, who was able to conduct them to some such place as wher they might supply their wants, behold, certain Persians were taken, who being streitly examined on that point, after much resistance at last told them, that not far off, after they had passed certain marishes, where Canac discharged it self into Araxis, they should finde many fields ful of rice and corn in the blade, and a little farther certain fat herds of cattel, sufficient to relieue the whole army. Of this news was the General certified: who although he greatly doubted the subtilty of his enemies, yet to gratifie his soldiers, and to make them more willing to

F follow him into Sirvan, he licensed euery man that had a desire, to go and prouide himself victuals, and so suffered all that would, to go freely. Wherupon there went of themselues, and were sent by their Captaines about ten thousand seruile persons, with Camels, Horses, and Mules, to fetch away this prouision of Corn and Cattell. But the euent answered not vnto their desires. For *Tocomac* with the other Persian Captaines, and the rest of the soldiers that

were

were eſcaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plains of Chielder, hauing gathered to- G
gether the remainder of the army,and recouered ſuch places as they thought ſafe and friend-
ly for them,carefully attended the marching and paſſing of the Turkiſh army. And being cer-
tainly informed by them of Reiuan and Georgia, what way they kept, and that of neceſſity
they muſt ariue at the banks of Canac,they began to deuiſe how they might in ſome meaſure
be reuenged of their former loſſe,and impeach their enemies entrance into Siruan. But wan-
ting rather ſtrength than courage to aſſail the whole army,they thought it beſt to ſtay in am-
buſh in ſome fit place,vntil ſome part of the Turkiſh army (allured with the prey of the corn
and cattel)ſhould for the relief of their common neceſſities diſcend into thoſe fields. And the
rather to draw them on,ſent out diuers men, who as if they had gon about their own buſines,
and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turks camp, reuealed vnto them, as a great H
ſecret,what a good prey was hard by them. And ſo withdrawing themſelues out of ſight,pri-
uily awaited the comming of the Turks:when as within the ſpace of three days it ſo fell out,
that the aforeſaid ten thouſand forragers arriued at the wiſhed place;where they had no ſoo-
ner begun to charge themſelues with the prey, but they were ſurpriſed by the Perſians and all
Ten thouſand of the Turks fortagers ſlain. ſlain,ſauing a few,who by haſty flight ſaued themſelues. The noiſe of this hot skirmiſh be-
ing heard into the Turkiſh hoaſt,cauſed *Muſtapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out
euen as indeed it was; and therfore riſing with his whole army,haſted with all poſſible ſpeed
to haue ſuccored the poor people,who were now all ſlain. And albeit he came not in ſo good
time as to yeeld them reliefe, yet came he very fitly to reuenge their death vpon the Perſians,
ſtaying too long to load themſelues with the ſpoile of their enemies. I

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforeſaid booty, was almoſt in ma-
ner of an Iſland,incloſed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac:wherinto *Muſtapha* entred with
his whole power,*Deruis Baſſa* leading the one wing,as did *Beyran Baſſa* the other,and he him-
ſelf comming on in the middle with the main battell. The Perſians ſeeing *Muſtapha* with all
his forces haſting toward them, and withall remembring the late ouerthrow by them recei-
ued in the plains of Chielder; began to bethink themſelues how much better it had bin for
them to haue contented themſelues with the late ſlaughter of the forragers, and with ſpeed
to haue gone out of that ſtreit, than by ſtaying longer, to be incloſed with the multitude
of their enemies,as that they could now no way eſcape without moſt maniſeſt perill. In this
perplexity diſcourſing among themſelues, whether it were better to fly, or with ſo great diſ- K
aduantage to ioin battell, and ſo rather to die honourably, than to liue with reproach: at laſt
they reſolued to reſerue themſelues to the further ſeruice of their Prince & country,deeming
it rather a point of wiſdome than of diſhonour,not to aduenture vnto moſt deſperat and aſſu-
red death,ſo many worthy men as might in future time ſtand their country in good ſtead; yet
did they not ſee how by flight wel to eſcape,for that they were in ſuch ſort ſtrain'd within the
riuers,as that there was no ground left for them to eſcape by,than that which contrary to their
expectation was by the Turks already poſſeſſed. In theſe difficulties euery man began to be-
The Perſiäs fly and in flying are many of them drowned in Canac. take himſelfe to his own priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan* and other the
great commanders of the army,were the firſt that turned their backs,and by the help of their
couragious horſes got ouer the riuer of Canac:whoſe example moued many others to attempt L
the like,though not with like fortune;for that their horſes being not of ſuch courage,and out
of breath,lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Wherwith others being amaſed, as percei-
uing ineuitable death in flying, preſent before their eies, and repoſing all their hope euen in
diſpaire,ran as it were headlong in a rage and fury vpon their enemies,and in fighting ſhewed
vnſpeakable valour:but what was one againſt an hundred? for there they were alſo all ſlaine,
though worthy of immortall fame. Thus was the Perſian army quite diſcomfited in this de-
mie Iſland,being firſt ſtained with the bloud of the enemy, and afterward with the ſlaughter
of the neighbor and proper inhabitant:and ſo became the perpetuall ſepulchre of a moſt cou-
ragious and warlike people. The Turks in this laſt conflict loſt not aboue 3000 men, beſide
the ſlaughter of the 10000 forragers: although *Tocomac* to make his loſſe to ſeem the more M
tollerable,made a report to the King of a great ſlaughter made. The Perſian Captains full of
ſorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licence of their Generall departed euery man
to his ſeuerall gouernment: as *Emanguli Chan* to Gengi, *Serap Chan* to Naſſiuan, *Tocomac*
himſelfe to Reiuan,and all the reſt to other Cities, to the gouernment whereof they were be-

fore

A fore by the King appointed, and so remained expecting his further pleasure from Casbin.

Mustapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to passe ouer into Sirvan. And therfore made streit proclamation through his whole army, That euery man should be in readines against the next day to passe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people suddenly arose in a tumult, and with injurious terms euen to his face reproued his folly and inhumanity, propounding vtter danger vnto himself, and an vniuersal confusion vnto the whole Army: and therfore prayd him to surcease from proceeding any further, vnles he were minded to cast them all away. But his resolute mind was not by their threats or intreaties to be remoued, neither gaue he them other answer than this, *That so had* Amurath *commanded; and that if all the rest should shew themselues vnwilling to obey their Soueraigne, he himself would not nor could not, but* *A resolute speech of Mustapha.*

B *would be the first man to attempt and perform that which they all so abhorred and reproued. Valiant soldiers* (he said) *were discouered and known not in idlenesse and ease, but in pains taking, and difficult enterprises; who neuer ought to be afraid to change this momentary life for euerlasting honour, or to shunne death, if the seruice of their Prince so required: And for myne own part* (said he) *I most earnestly request you, that after I haue attempted the passage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwise than wel, yet carry my dead body to the other side of the riuer; to the end that if I cannot whilst I yet liue execute the command of my Soueraign, I may yet at least perform the same when I am but a speechles and liueles Carcas: forasmuch as the desire of my Lord is not in any sort to be frustrated, for making too great account of myne own life.*

Diuers and sundry murmurings and wisperings followed vpon this speech of the Gene-

C ral: who notwithstanding the next morning did first of all wade ouer the deep and swift Riuer himself; after whom presently followed the Bassa's with all their slaues: by whose example the rest also were induced at last to do the like, & so continued vntil the darknes of the night interrupted their passage; by which occasion more than halfe the Army could not then get ouer. In this passage, being with great tumult and disorder attempted, about 8000 persons, caried away with the violence of the riuer, were miserably drowned, with the great outcry of all the host. The like hapned also to many mules, camels, and sumpter horses; Vpon whose backs diuers persons being mounted, in hope to haue passed dry ouer the riuer, were likewise headlong ouerwhelmed therin. With great complaints and blasphemous cursings was the whole night spent, by them that were yet on this side the riuer, whose fears were not a little

D increased by the example of their vnfortunat fellowes before drowned. And like enough it was, some pestilent sedition to haue insued thereupon, had there not a shallow foord by great chance bin discouered, which gaue safe passage to those that were left. For in that passage the people made in following *Mustapha*, the grauel in the bottom of the riuer being raised & remoued by the heauy hoofs of the cattel, was driuen down the riuer to a place where by great good hap there was also a foord; and there gathered together in a heap, had in such sort raised the depth of the chanel, that it made as it were a shelf for their commodious passage; so that the remnant of the Army, cariages, and artillery passing ouer the same, there was not so much as one man that perished. So hauing with much difficulty at length got ouer the riuer of Canac, they refreshed themselues that day and the next, and there staid vntill the whole Army

E was mustred and again put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they incamped in certain barren champains where was neither corn nor cattel; neither could they perceiue or learn, that in those quarters were any Villages at all. By means whereof the hunger of their beasts increasing, they were inforced to giue their horses and mules leaues and stalks of very dry and withered reeds, and such other like things of little or no sustenance at all: & the men themselues were fain to satisfie their hunger with those vtmost reliques which they were fain to pick out of such poor victuals as now by corruption were become lothsom to mans nature: and that which was worse, they saw no end of these miseries they were so entred into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking back, but needs on they must, and follow the fortune of their leaders; among whom *Mustapha* before all the rest set forward on his intended journy.

F He had not long marched, but there was discouered good store of sundry plants, and shortly after, a very large plain Countrey all greene and flourishing, and garnished with many Trees. By the only sight whereof euery man was refreshed with the hope of reliefe, and with more than ordinary pace hasted, vntill they were entred into those Champaignes, which abounded with all kind of Corne and fruits that could be of an hungry man desired. In this place

8000 *Turks drowned.*

Famin in the Turks host.

The Turks Army refreshed.

did

did euery man satisfie his appetite,and forgot in part the forepassed calamities. Thorow this G
fruitful and pleasant country *Mustapha* leading his Army,at last arriued at Eres,the chief city in that coast of Sirvan as you trauel from Georgia.

This city of Eres was forsaken of a number of her inhabitants,so soon as it was known that the Turks were come to Canac;who all followed their great gouernor *Samir Chan*, who with *Ares Chan* gouernor of Sumachia, and other the gouernors of Sechi and other places of Sirvan,forsook the cities, and altogether withdrew themselues into the mountains, as places of more surety,attending the euent of these so grear motions. So that as the Turks entred the city without disturbance,so were they with the prey they found therin nothing inriched: for in this common danger euery man had caried away with him the best things he had. Here
Mustapha staid with his army 22 days,during which time he erected a fortres in the said City, H
wherupon he placed 200 smal pieces of artillery,and for the keeping therof appointed *Caitas Bassa* with an garison of 5000 soldiers. In the mean time also he commanded *Osman Bassa*(one of the voluntary captains) with 10000 men to possesse Sumachia,somtime the metropolitical city of that prouince, with the title of Visier and gouernor general of Sirvan. Giuing him further in charge,That in any case he should cleer the passage to Derbent, and giue present aduertisements to the Tartarians,of his arriual there;whom he supposed by that time to bee come into those quarters,for that they had before so faithfully promised vnto *Amurath*. *Osman* comming to Sumachia,presently seised vpon the City, and was friendly entertained by those that remained there: whom he likewise curteously intreated, without doing or suffring any outrage to be don vpon them. Of which his curteous vsage they of Derbent vnderstanding, I
sent presently to offer their city to him; beseeching him to receiue it into his protection,and to defend them from the Persians:vnder whom although they had long liued in subjection,yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their Mahometan superstition,wherin they better agreed with the Turks.

Mustapha returnes out of Sirvan.

Mustapha hauing thus brought the country of Sirvan into the Turkish subjection,and finished his fortresse at Eres,and put all things in such order as hee thought best; importuned by the Ianizaries and the people of Grecia, and somwhat inforced by the season of the yeare, which was now far spent,departed from Eres, and turned his course homeward towards the country of *Alexander* syrnamed the Great, as he had promised in his late passage to Sirvan. And hauing trauelled a long iourney, he sent before him certain Enginiers and pioners to K
make a bridge ouer Canac, so without danger to passe ouer his Army. Hauing passed the Riuer,he gaue notice to *Sahamal* (one of the Lords of Georgia) of his arriuall: who presently came and yeelded himself as Vassal to the Turkes; and being entertained of the Bassa with great pomp,and rewarded after the Turkish manner, took his leaue, and so returned into his mountain of Brus.

Mustapha setting again forward,and trauelling by night,because he would not lose the opportunity of the fair weather,by the error of his guids lost his way,and so fell into rough and difficult passages,wherby he was inforced to wait and stay for day light; which arising, did manifest vnto them,that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*:and therfore he gaue forthwith proclamation thorow all the army,That no man should vpon pain L
of death be so hardy to molest or disquiet any of the subiects of *Alexander*, but to haue good respect vnto them,and to intreat them with al curtesie.The day following he stil trauelled on in the same country; when there arriued from Zaghen certain Embassadors of *Alexanders* with great abundance of cattel,corn,fruits,and other relief sent for a present to the General; with a solemn excuse that he came not himself, because the infirmity of his body would not suffer him. Wherwith *Mustapha* rested satisfied; and leauing the city Zaghen on the right hand, caused the messengers of *Alexander* to guid him the way to Teflis: which they so directly did,that within the space of three daies they conducted him thither with his army,without the feeling any annoiance whatsoeuer. From whence they returned, being wel rewarded for their pains by the Generall *Mustapha*. Who now comming to Teflis, found the garrison M
he had left there for the keeping therof,so hardly pinched with famin, that they were glad to eat cats,dogs,sheep-skins,& such like vnusual food:for neither durst they for fear of the Enemy go out of the castle to prouide for themselues; neither if they had so don had it any thing auailed,such was the carefulnes of the enemy in keeping of his things. But now by the com-

Mustapha relieues his distressed garison at Teflis.

ming

A ming of the Generall they were relieued with meat, mony, and plenty of all things. Hauing ſtaied there two daies, he put himſelfe againe vpon his way; and with fire and ſword deſtroied whatſoeuer came in his way in the Champains ſubject to the ſaid city: only the ſepulchres of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that country) were left vntouched by the Turks fury. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountains, full of a thouſand difficulties, which were the more encreaſed by wonderfull great ſnowes that were fallen: by reaſon whereof, many ſoldiers, horſes, camels, and mules periſhed. In which diſtreſſe the army continued two daies; during which time the ſouldiers were fallen into ſuch a diſorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies conntry wherein they were, euery man without regard tooke vp his ſeuerall lodging apart, ſome here, ſome there, where they might find either ſome thick buſh or ſome ſmall
B cottage, or ſome quiet valley to ſhelter themſelues in from the wind, the ſnow, and the ſtorms. Of which diſorder certaine Georgian Lords vnderſtanding by the ſcouts which from time to time waited vpon the Turks army, joyned themſelues together, and in the night ſecretly approched vnto it, expecting the opportunity of performing ſome notable exploit: and hauing obſerued, That *Hoſaine Bey* had withdrawne himſelfe with his regiment from the reſt of the army vnder certaine mountains, to defend himſelfe from the ſtorme and wind; they tooke the occaſion preſented, and ſo aſſaling him, ſlew his ſlaues and all his ſquadrons; took a great booty of many loads of mony and apparell; led away with them all his horſes, and whatſoeuer els they could find, and ſcarce gaue him leiſure to ſaue himſelfe, by flying into the tents of *Beyran Baſſa*. The next morning the Turks remoued, and in the euening came to a caſtle called Chiur-
C chala, where they ſtaied a whole day to make prouiſion of victuall: which was attempted by ſending abroad many of their ſlaues into the fields, conducted by them of the caſtle; who were all miſerably cut in pieces by the Georgians. From this place the Turks army departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the Georgians, where they were oftentimes faine to reſt themſelues: and at laſt came to the confines of *Dedeſmit*, of her called the widowes countrey. In the entrance whereof, they muſt needs paſſe thorow a narrow ſtreit, betweene certaine mountaines, where the riuer Araxis windeth it ſelfe with a thouſand turnings in the low vallies: a dangerous place, and ſo narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once paſſe through it. Betweene this ſtreit and a very thicke and hilly wood, they lodged vpon the banke of the ſaid riuer: and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer very
D ſteep mountains and rough forreſts, ouer yce and ſnow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks; in ſuch miſerable ſort, that many camels, mules, and horſes, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miſerably periſhed. Through theſe ruinous crags and diuers other miſeries, they marched all the next day, and after that another day alſo, as miſerable to the army as the former: and ſo at laſt being ſore afflicted with hunger, ſpoiled of the enemy, tormented with the hard ſeaſon of the yeare, and ſcituation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder Altuncala, or Golden Caſtle, the princely widowes palace, where they had all manner of reliefe, for all the miſeries they had endured ſince their departure from Chiurchala, by the ſpace of ſix daies: which if it had bin a faire common trauelled way, might haue been performed in one only daies journy.

The miſery of the Turks army in paſſing the ſtreits of Georgia.

E The widow, with *Alexander* her eldeſt ſonne, came downe from the caſtle, and went vnto the pauilion of *Muſtapha*; offering him diuers Preſents, and promiſing vnto him all faithfull obedience. Whom *Muſtapha* courteouſly receiued, declaring vnto her, what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manucchiar* her younger ſon there preſent, who had bin with him in all the expedition into Siruan. And for the preſent, diſſembling the priuy diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue bin one of them that ſpoiled the Sorians in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteouſly, and praied her to be content to leaue him alſo there with him: giuing her farther to vnderſtand, that he would ſend both her ſonnes to Conſtantinople to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yeelded obedience, for their fauour ſhewed to his army, in giuing it ſo ſecure paſſage, and ſo many helpes: and laſtly, that
F for their good deſerts, they might be of the ſaid great Sultan both honorably entertained and rewarded. The aged Lady, although her minde was herewithall ſore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance ſhewed her ſelfe pleaſed; and ſeemed courteouſly to yeeld, what ſhe was of neceſſity conſtrained to grant: as well for that he was already poſſeſſed of one of her ſons, as alſo for that both her ſelfe and her whole ſtate were now in his power; and as it were at his deuo-

The Georgian widow ſubmitteth her ſelfe, with her ſonne Alexander to Muſtapha.

deuotion. And therefore leauing both her ſonnes behind her, ſhe returned her ſelfe heauy to her caſtle. G

Muſtapha commeth to Erzirum, & diſchargeth his army.

In this place *Muſtapha* hauing refreſhed his army two daies, departed thence toward Chars, and after many daies trauell at laſt arriued at Erzirum, to the great rejoycing of the whole army, which was there preſently diſcharged by the Generall, without any muſtering at all, and leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his country.

Muſtapha magnifieth his own exploits to Amurath.

Muſtapha ſetling himſelfe in Erzirum, diſpatched poſts with letters of plentifull aduertiſements to his great lord and maſter, of all things that had paſſed: not forgetting to magnifie his own exploits aboue meaſure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Perſians, the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians, the mutiny of his own ſoldiers, the fortreſſe he had built at Eres, the garriſons left in that city with *Caitas Baſſa*, and in Sumachia with *Oſman Baſſa*: and in briefe, whatſoeuer elſe had paſſed, and whatſoeuer he had taken from the enemy. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thought conuenient to be attempted the next yeare, for the ſtrengthening of thoſe places he had already conquered, and for preparing the way for new enterpriſes. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at Chars, a place very fit for any paſſage into Georgia or Armenia, by ſcituation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he ſent vnto him the widowes two ſons, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, the Georgian Princes; certifying him of their ſubmiſſion, and that hee had receiued in their countrey all good entertainement and friendly welcome: and withall declaring his opinion, That *Manucchiar* was the meeter man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to do him ſeruice. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the valor and diligence of *Muſtapha*, and highly pleaſed himſelfe with this conceit, That of theſe beginnings might grow mighty conqueſts, to the enlargement of his Empire, and that by this meanes he ſhould be able to ſurpaſſe the glory of his predeceſſors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about theſe wars, the leſſe he troubled himſelfe with thinking how to annoy Europe with his forces. H I

It was not long after the departure of *Muſtapha* from Eres, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fens of Mœtis, and the vnmountable ſhores of the Blacke ſea, and hauing paſſed ouer the rockes vpon Cholchis, and ſurueyed the frozen crags of the mountaine Caucaſus, were now arriued vpon the confines of Siruan, and there attended the commandment of the Turks. Theſe Tartarians being of them that are called Præcopenſes, to the number of thirty thouſand, conducted by their lord and captain *Abdilcherai*, a yong man of great valor and fame, and of a comely perſonage, were come according to the faithfull promiſe of *Tartar Chan*, with a full reſolution to attempt whatſoeusr ſhould be commanded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Oſman Baſſa* vnderſtanding of their approch, according to the charge before giuen him by *Muſtapha* the Generall, enuited them to enter into Siruan, and by encreaſing of the Turkes forces, to further theſe beginnings of *Amuraths* glory, and theſe his conqueſts (or more truly to ſay, theſe magnifical & famous termes of victory.) All which was moſt diligently put in execution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where Derbent ſtandeth (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and ſignifyeth the gates of yron) and ſo from thence paſſing into the country of Siruan, there ſtaied, and thereof gaue aduertiſement to *Oſman*, as was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late Gouernor of Sumachia, who for feare of the great army of the Turks, had abandoned the city, the chiefe place of his charge, and betaken himſelfe to the ſafegard of the mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkiſh Generall, reſolued with the other Gouernours of Eres and Sechi (who following his example, had in like maner fled) now to returne againe to their forſaken country, and to make proofe if he could by any means take reuenge of the injury done vnto him by the Turks. So paſſing vnder Sumachia, & hauing put to the ſword ceraine of *Oſmans* ſtragling victuallers that were gone out of the city, he encamped with all his people a little from Sumachia, and by good fortune ſurpriſed certaine meſſengers ſent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Oſman Baſſa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleaſure what he ſhould put in execution. Theſe Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after much torture diſcloſed the letters they carried: which the Perſian captaine read, and conſidering the great number of the Tartarians that were come (for the letters made mention of thirty thouſand) he reſolued not to ſtay any longer in thoſe quarters, but preſently raiſed his campe, and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of thoſe nouelties, and K L M

vpon

A vpon the banks of the ſaid riuer to attend the kings anſwer. The Tartarian captaine comming to Sumachia, was appointed by the Baſſa to paſſe ouer the riuer Canac, into Genge, the country of *Emanguli Chan*, with the ſpoile therof to enrich himſelfe, and by all meanes to make his arriuall to the Perſians moſt terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirſting now for nothing more than for the bloud and ſpoile of the enemy: and with poſting journies came to Canac, where *Ares Chan* was yet incamped: whom he vpon the ſudden moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, and like a deuouring flame diſcomfited all the hoaſt. And taking him aliue, ſent him to Sumachia to *Oſman*, who forthwith cauſed him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in the ſame ſtatehouſe where he had not long before ſat as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that, ſwimming ouer the riuer, and courſing a little aboue Genge, found *Emanguli Chan* with his
B wife, and all his family, and a great part of the nobility of Genge in a vally hunting the wilde boore; and aſſailing him, put him to flight, took from him his wife, al the ladies, & many ſlaues, and ſlew many of the reſt that were come thither to ſee the ſport: and after that rode on to Genge, which he tooke, and yeelded it wholly to the fury and luſt of his barbarous ſouldiers, who left no maner of inhumane cruelty vnattempted, in ſatisfying their immoderat and barbarous affections. And ſo being loded with the ſpoiles, and weary with the ſlaughter of their enemies, they returned merrily toward Siruan: & paſſing again ouer Canac, came to the higher ſide of Eres into certain low champaigns, enuironed about with hils, & there hauing pitched their tents, without any feare ſetled themſelues to ſleepe and to reſt their wearied bodies.

Ares Chan hanged at Sumachia.

Emanguli Chan taken, & Genge ſacked by the Tartarians.

In the meane time, and long before theſe actions, were newes come to the Perſian court of
C all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the Perſian king hauing gathered new forces, had diſpatched *Emir Hamze Mirize* his eldeſt ſonne with 12000 ſouldiers to paſſe into Siruan, to ſee what hurt the enemy had done, and to attempt the reuenge of the forepaſſed injuries; but aboue al things to puniſh the vallany of them of Sechi, and the other cities of Siruan, that not induced with any neceſſity, had ſo voluntarily yeelded themſelues to follow the obedience and religion of the Turks. The Perſian Prince departing from Casbin, accompanied with his mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued ſon, was on his way towards Siruan, vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirize Salmas*, chiefe of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the countries of Ardouill and Caracach, when he was certified by the aduertiſements come from *Ares Chan*, of the arriual of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tartarians;
D and was thereby at the firſt ſtrucken into a great quandary, and almoſt out of comfort: yet prickt forward with an honourable deſire of glory and reuenge, hee proſecuted his intended enterpriſe of Siruan, and haſtening his journey, came to Eres long before the king his father thought he could haue ſo done. This his notable celerity ſerued him to great purpoſe, for that *Caitas Baſſa* was boldly gone out of the fortreſſe, and went ſpoiling the country, carrying away with him whatſoeuer he met withall, and committing ſuch inſolencies as hungry ſoldiers beyond all honeſty vſe to do in ſtrange and fruitfull countries. But when he was in the midſt of theſe ſpoiles, and leaſt feared the enemy, he was ſuddenly aſſailed by the Prince; and hauing no means to eſcape his fury in this extremity, after a fierce and bloudy battell (wherin the Turks although in number few, yet ſhewed many effects of valor) he was there ſlaine with all his ſol-
E diers, leauing the fortreſſe, the ſpoiles, and the country committed to his cuſtody, free to the pleaſure of the victor: which the Perſian Prince hauing once againe gotten into his poſſeſſion, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillery that were left in the fort by *Muſtapha*, and preſently ſent them to Casbin to his father.

Eres recouered by the Perſians.

The Prince encouraged with ſo happy a beginning, leauing his mother at Eres, followed on his journey toward Sulachia, but by the way deſcending the hils, he diſcouered where the Tartarians lay incamped. Whereupon he ſtood in great doubt, whether to aduenture vpon ſo mighty an enemy, or to content himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten, and ſo to returne into Perſia: to return he thought too great a ſhame, and choſe rather to aduenture himſelfe to moſt manifeſt perill. And therefore deſcending the hill, and drawing nigh the enemy,
F he perceiued that the army was all laid downe to reſt, and that their horſes were ſome couched, ſome ſtanding, but all vnſadled: whereupon without any ſtay, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, he pricked forward with all his hoaſt, and moſt terribly aſſaulted the Tartarians, now buried in their ſpoiles and ſleep; and hauing ſlaine their firſt and ſecond watch, although with ſome loſſe, among the tumultuary ſouldiers he made an vniuerſall confuſion and ſlaughter, putting

some to flight, killing others, and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their Generall *Abdilcherai*, who was taken aliue and sent to the King. G

Sumachia beseged by the Persian Prince.

After these victories, the Persian prince scoured to Sumachia, and compassed the city round about, wherein the Turkish Bassa *Osman* sat as Gouernour, to the reproach of Persia; and there encamping himselfe, sent word to *Osman*, That if he would yeeld himselfe, he would let him depart with life and goods: otherwise if he would obstinatly hold it out, and not yeeld the city, which he so vnjustly possessed, he should be constrained to surrender it by force, and his life withall. *Osman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow, but still hoped of their returne, thought it best to entertaine the Prince with faire words vntill their comming; and therefore gaue him courteous answer, That he was very ready to yeeld vp the city: but withall intreated him, that he would stay but for three daies, and grant him time to put all things in H readinesse, that so he might freely depart, as it had pleased him in curtesie to offer. The Prince glad of such an answer, supposing it to haue proceeded of a sincere meaning, expected of the Turke the performance therof. But *Osman* meaning nothing lesse, than to commit himselfe to the faith of his enemy, and seeing that the Tartarians whom he looked for, appeared not, he resolued to saue himselfe by secret flight; doubting, as he had good reason, that if he should longer stay, to be betraied by the inhabitants of the city themselues: and therefore somewhat before the assigned term of the three daies appointed for the surrendring of the city, he by the help of a dark night, and the couert of the high and rough crags, with great silence withdrew himselfe out of Sumachia, carrying away with him all his substance, and so in safety arriued at

Sumachia yeelded vnto the Prince.

Derbent. The next morning the inhabitants of Sumachia opened the gates of the city to the I Prince: who seeing their infidelity, first by giuing of entertainment to *Osman*, and now by helping him to escape, without giuing him any knowledge therof, did put in execution the effect of his wrath & indignation, which euen at Casbin he had conceiued in his mind against them; and with great cruelty did punish the miserable and vnfortunate citizens, laying their houses euen with the ground, rasing both the old and new walls of that city, of late so desired a receit for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he stood in doubt, Whether to goon to Derbent, or to returne to Persia: the strength of that city, the approch of Winter, and the long journy he was to take homeward, perswaded him to lay aside the enterprise for Derbent: wherupon he resolued to returne to Casbin; yet first to make his returne by them of Eres and Sechi, and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deserued punishment. So making his present K repaire thither, spared neither sex nor age, nor any condition of persons, but vpon them all poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforesaid mother *Begum*, and his army, though somewhat diminished, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to Casbin.

Abdilcherai beloued of the Persian queene.

Young *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept safe in the Kings palace at Casbin, but with such easie imprisonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day so inlarged, as that he seemed not to liue as a prisoner, but rather as a companion of those of the court, & as it were in apparant liberty. By which occasion hauing insinuated himselfe into the loue of *Begum* the kings wife, he spent his time in courting her and she again in entertaining of him in all secret and couert manner. Yet these their mutual affections and interchangeable fauors passed not so L secretly, but that in the court and all ouer the city it was a rife report, That the shameless lady, prodigall of her honor, had participated both her bed and her selfe with the Tartarian prisoner. Howbeit neither the King nor the Prince knew any thing of it. But the King perceiuing the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely feature, and withall nobly borne (for he gaue it out that he was the brother of *Tatar Chan*) perswaded himselfe, that it would stand with the great good of his state, of a captiue to make him his son in law, by giuing him his daughter in mariage: wherby he was in good hope there might grow such an amity and vnion between the Tartarian Praecopenses and himselfe, as that they would from thenceforth not only refuse to fauor *Amurath* in those wars, but also become enemies vnto him, and in the fauor of Persia turne their arms and affections against him. Which his deep M and considerate purpose so displeased the Sultans of Casbin, that they sought by all meanes they could possibly deuise to auert the king from that so strange a policy: but all in vaine, for the king being fully resolued, and now vpon the point to make a conclusion of the marriage: the Sultans entering into the palace with their followers, and finding there the vnfortunate

Tartarian,

A Tartarian, ran him through the body, and cutting off his priuy members, flapped them vpon his mouth after a most barbarous and filthy manner. It is reported that the Queene was then also murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore lady after that day neuer saw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publike interest, is not certainely knowne. Vpon these murders sprung vp many troubles, and much ciuil dissention, threatning the vtter confusion of the Persian kingdome, to the singular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous disorders the King by bridling his own affections, and the motions of his son *Emir Hamze Mirize*, wel appeased, procuring at last a perfect vnity, as then most necessary for the defence of his kingdome.

Abdilcherai slaine in the court.

The Persian Queene made away.

Osman Bassa being in Derbent (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in Siruan) ceased not with all carefulnesse to deuise what he possibly could, for the assuring of that country
B (of late won, and now againe almost lost) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better establishing whereof, together with his owne safety, he thought it good to enter into friendship with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of Brus. With this man did *Osman* practise many tokens of good will; and he again interchangeably towards *Osman*: whereupon there arose great friendship betweene them, at leastwise in outward appearance: whereunto in short time there was added a strait knot of alliance: for that *Osman* tooke to wife a daughter of the said *Sahamals*, the greatest signe of his sincere loue towards him. Neuertheless shortly after *Osman* vpon some reasonable conjectures began to suspect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire shew of friendship he made towards him, might for all that receiue some
C secret order from the Persian king, to betray him, and to free the city from the Turks, and so to reduce all that prouince vnto the antient deuotion: in which jealous suspition he was fully confirmed by the speeches of his wife, the daughter of *Samahal*; who rauished with the honor, valor, and riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that she knew deuised against him, but frankly told him, That her father being secretly reconciled to the Persian king, held friendship with him, and that letters went between them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of Siruan. Hereupon the Bassa perswaded himselfe, that all the friendship of *Sahamal* was but deep dissimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuertheles, he made shew vnto his wife, as if he had made no such reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in store to his owne safety, and the destruction of *Samahal*;
D whom for all that he still entertained with all honor and kindnesse due vnto a most louing father in law. But to preuent the malicious purpose of *Samahal*, hauing inuited him according to the custome of a certain solemne feast, he acquainted certain companies of his most trusty and valiant souldiers with his determination, enjoyning them, that as soone as *Sahamal* was entred into his court, euen in the very dismounting from his horse they should all fall vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the sword. Which his cruell command was by them accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his horse being slaine,
E and al his followers murdred, when forthwith was sent forth by *Osman* 2000 horsmen to spoile and sacke all the country of the said Georgian Lord, to the great maruell and astonishment both of far and neere. The Persian king hearing of these news, tooke the matter grieuously, as foreseeing that the recouery of that country and prouince of Siruan would proue a matter of great difficulty, and fearing greatly that it would still remaine (as indeed it doth) in the possession of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks attempts against the Persian in Siruan this yeare 1578, wherein they lost aboue seuenty thousand men, deuoured partly with the sword, and partly with famine and the other miseries of war. And so Winter comming on very sharply, euery man withdrew himselfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, vntill the comming on of the next Spring.

Sahamal slaine by Osman.

Amurath aduertised by letters from *Mustapha*, of all that had hapned in the late expedition against the Persians, vpon these prosperous successes (which the Bassa had for the aduancing of
F his own credit described to be far greater than indeed they were) began to cast many deuises in his head, touching such matters as were to be attempted the next yere. And first he thought it necessary to send his forces again into Sriuan, to recouer such places as were first conquered by *Mustapha*, but afterward againe subdued by the Persian; so to establish his gouernment in that country. But vpon better consideration, he ceased further to think of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promised him by *Tatar Chan*, who had faithfully assured

The consultations of Amurath

assured both him and *Osman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in furtherance of the Turks designes: all which for all that fell out to be but windy words: yet in respect of this hope he laied Siruan aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false promises of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And placing his ambitious desires with more haughty thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his army directly to Tauris, there to erect a fortresse; which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garrison of most valiant soldiers, should neuer be again subdued by all the power of Persia; and by this meanes to keep in subjection all those great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum. Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the persuasion of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an easie matter for so great an hoast in few daies to performe that seruice, and to pierce, not only into Tauris, but further to passe whithersoeuer he would easily desire. Yet after he had more deeply considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent judgement compared his own forces with his enemies, he began to find many difficulties and dangers, which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: for beside the length and tediousnesse of the journy, he doubted that in sending his army for Tauris, it might be on the one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) & on the other side by the Persians, and so brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare, whensoeuer he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him intended at Tauris. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he resolutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his own borders, and afterwards by little and little to enter into the enemies country, still fortifying in couuenient places as he went; and so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thrusting his army headlong vpon vncertainties, into places strongly fenced both by nature and the power of most mighty enemies, to be inforced with shame to abandon the enterprises so hastily begun.

Mustapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his resolution he aduertised *Mustapha* by writing; giuing him in charge, against the next Spring to prouide all such things as should be necessary for the building of certain forts vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made those waies safe, and brought the people vnder his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damasco, Caraemit, & other places of Syria and Mesopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen, of pioners, and such like, to the number of 20000: and likewise wrote to all the countries, out of which he had raised his army the last yeare, That all their soldiers, (yea, and in greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the wars. The rumour whereof he caused euen to be spread as farre as Ægypt. He commanded also the taxes and tenths of those countries to be collected, and further, vsed the chambers of Aleppo, and other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessary for these purposes.

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

Alexander constant in his Religion.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at Constantinople, in doubtful hope expecting the end for which they were both sent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometan religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to consent to so infamous and damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he should therefore be depriued of his state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother; requested only, that he might but as a priuat man go and liue in his countrey, there to be buried amongst his ancestors. Which his request the Turkish Emperor referred to the discretion of *Manucchiar*, to do therin as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouernour of Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had his brother *Alexander* a Christian, committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne countries.

Emanguli Chan taketh vpon him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Persian court at Casbin, were many consultations had for the repressing of the inuasions of the Turks. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernor of Genge, doubting to lose his honourable gouernment, by reason of the late sacke of his city, and spoile of his country by the Tartarian; by those plots that were dayly in contriuing for the

A the sending of men into Siruan to impeach the designments of *Osman Bassa*, & if it were possible, to driue him out of Derbent; took occasion to offer to the King, vpon pain of his head to defend Siruan, and not to suffer *Osman* the Turk to attempt any new fortifications, or further conquests in that Prouince. Of which his offer the king accepted, and therupon the gouernment of Genge, & guarding of the country of Siruan against the forces of *Osman*, was frankly committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris, Reiuan, and Nassiuan, and to diuers other Captaines that were neereſt, to be ready at all times with their power to assist *Emanguli Chan*, if it should fortune either the Tartarians or Turks, with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the security of that Prouince.

B But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euery man being almost of opinion, That some great power of the Turks should bee sent thither, for the more assurance of the conquest therof already begun, and for the succour of the fortresse at Teflis, which must needs otherwise fal againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter so troubled the Persian king, as that he seemed to haue bent his whole counsels and thoughts therupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captain (somtime prisoner with *Ismahel* the late King, at Cahaca, and by the familiaritie he had with him, seduced from the Christian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, chosen to liue depriued of his liberty and state) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hands such help as he had long desired, for the recouery of his dominion vsurped by *Dauid*, otherwise called
C *Dant Chan*, his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Christian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull seruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian Country wherein Teflis stood (being in right, part of his own inheritance) against the Turks: reprouing by way of disgrace, his younger brother of cowardise, and promising the performance of great matters in himselfe, both for the defence of that euill defended country, and further annoying of the enemy. With great content did the Persian King consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdom which he possessed before whilest he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliculi Chan* into Georgia, with fiue thousand horsemen, and certaine pieces of artillery taken at Eres, when *Caietas Bassa* was slaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to Georgia, was joyfully receiued of his countrymen,
D and there pressed about three thousand soldiers of his owne and of his neighbours; excusing himselfe that he was become a Persian, not becausse he preferred the Mahometane superstition before the Christian Religion; but only so to be deliuered from his long imprisonment, and by that meanes to maintaine his estate. And in this order were the affaires of Georgia assured and strengthned in the best manner that might then be.

Simon with Aliculi Chan sent for the defence of Georgia.

Now began the Spring to approch, and euery man prepared himselfe to the discontinued trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at Erzirum, out of all the wonted prouinces, all the Turks forces; with all things necessary for the intended war. With this army, in all things equall with the first, *Mustapha* set forward, and in twelue daies came to Chars, not perceiuing in his soldiers any signe of discontentment at all. And forasmuch as here they
E were to stay, and to fortifie both with wals and ditches that ruinated City, and that with as great speed as was possible; there was no remedy, but that beside the pioners and enginiers that were brought for that purpose, many of the Spaoglani, yea, and of the Ianizaries also, must be set to worke. Whereupon they all suddenly in a tumult, began with bitter protestations to tell the General, That their stipends wherwith it pleased the Sultan to fauor them, were not bestowed vpon them to imploy their forces and vertues in such seruile works; but onely with their swords and other weapons, to exercise that force and hardinesse for which they were esteemed worthy of that honour. Whereunto the Generall answered in most haughty termes, and not yeelding one jot to their inciuility, but vsing all meanes of authority and terrour, brought them to worke so much as he desired. So that within the space of 23 dayes the
F towers and wall were erected, the ditches digged, the artillery orderly planted vpon the walls, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences hapned in the army while they were busie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of August, when they had almost euen finished the whole building, the souldiers endured a most sudden cold by reason of the snow that then fell in great abundance.

1579

The meeting together of the Turks army at Erzirum.

Chars fortified in 23 daies space.

Snows at Chars in August.

Chars

Chars thus fortified, the Generall resolued to send succors into Georgia to Teflis; without G
which it was most certaine that the fortresse would be yeelded to the Georgians: but in what
sort to relieue it he remained doubtfull. To send part of his army with some valiant captaine
seemed dangerous, and to go himselfe with all his forces, would sound (as he thought) to his
discredit with his great Lord and Master; whom he had already made beleeue, that he had sub-
dued the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this am-
biguity, the desire he had to preserue his credit with *Amurath* preuailed: and so he made
Hassan Bassa sent with twenty thousand to the succoring of Teflis. choice of *Hassan Bassa* son to *Mahomet* principall Visier of the Court, a gallant gentleman, and
of great valour, to whom he deliuered betweene eighteene and twenty thousand soldiers; joy-
ning vnto him one *Resuan* Captaine of certaine aduenturers that voluntarily offered them-
selues to follow the forces of *Hassan*; assigning vnto him likewise forty thousand duckats, and H
many loads of rice, meale, and barley, with other things necessary both for diet and war, and so
sent him away for Teflis.

Hassan with this charge set forward, fully resolued to put these succours into Teflis, or to
lose all: and at length came to the famous streit of Tomanis, where the ouergrowne woods on
the one side, and the deep vallies & craggy rocks on the other, would astonish a right constant
beholder. When vpon the sudden, the Persians & the Georgians, vnder the conduct of *Aliculi
Chan* and *Simon*, at vnawares set vpon the Turks, and joyned battell with them. For these two
valiant captains remaining for the most part in the borders of Teflis and Tomanis with 8000
soldiers, waiting for some opportunity to annoy either of them of the fort of Teflis, or else
such as should come to their succors; vnderstanding by their espials, of the comming of *Hassan* I
with this aid, had scattered themselues all along st the said streight, in hope there to assaile the
Turks, and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into the deep valley,
and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Hassan* carefull of nothing more
than how to auoid that danger, chose rather to make his journey through the thicke woods,
and so as he might to escape the ambush that the enemy might lay for him vpon that streight
The Persians assaile the Turks, and make of thē a great slaughter. passage. And so entring with his army into the wood, which he was to haue left vpon his left
hand, to discouer what might be plotted against him, he was hardly charged by the enemy, and
constrained to fight with a thousand windings and turnings in & out, thorow a thousand croo-
ked paths and doubtful cranks, in a most confused medly, with great slaughter of his men: who
not accustomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the scituation of the place, were in K
the skirmish driuen so far, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer themselues, were
presently slaine. And thus with much ado he at length passed the streit of Tomanis. *Hassan* dee-
ming himselfe much disgraced, by suffering his enemies, in number so far inferior, to haue don
him so much harme, and so to haue escaped his hands; and further, considering that in such pla-
ces sleights & stratagems more auaile than open forces; burning with desire of reuenge would
needs stay neere vnto those streits, as if it had beene to refresh his wearied army, but indeed to
try if the Persians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Resuan Bassa*
with certain bands of the soldiers of Græce, and of his own aduenturers, to lie in ambush with-
in the couert of the streight, attentiue to euery stir of the enemy. Two daies the Turks army
lay thus diuided, and were now resolued the third day to remoue thence towards Teflis: when L
as the Persian captaines *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainely imagining that this stay of the Turks
was for feare of the Persians, foolishly returned and gaue a fresh onset vpon the flanke of *Has-
sans* squadrons. Who forthwith raised all his souldiers, and giuing a signe to *Resuan*, with all
The Persians ouerthrown, and Aliculi Chan taken. speed compassed in his enemies, and streightening them on both sides, tooke some of them
aliue, cut in pieces othersome, and put all the rest to flight. Among others that were taken
aliue, was *Aliculi Chan* the Persian Captaine, who ouer rashly charging vpon the face of *Hassan*,
fell into his hand. The next day following (being the eleuenth day after *Hassans* departure
from Chars) he joyfully arriued at Teflis, where he found among the poore besieged Turks
The misery of the Turks in garison at Teflis. many miseries; whereof some were already dead, and some yet sicke: for they were so plagued
with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horses, but euen the very skinnes of the same M
horses, of sheepe, and of dogs, and in such most miserable wants had passed the time: whom
Hassan at his arriuall comforted with gifts and good words; exhorting them to persist con-
stant in the seruice of their King, whose honour (as he said) was neuer more than there to be
respected. And for as much as the souldiers of the Fort did with one voice request *Hassan* to

appoint

A appoint them a new Gouernor, becauſe they did all miſlike *Mahamet Baſſa*; who the laſt yeare was left by the Generall in that fort; *Haſſan* remoued the ſaid *Mahamet*, and put *Amet Baſſa* in his place: and ſo after he had filled vp the places of the dead ſouldiers with a new ſupply, and ſet all things in order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and cuſtody of that fort to their truſt and valor. *Haſſan* returning from Teflis, and being without any trouble come to the ſtreit of Tomanis, was aduertiſed by his ſcouts, That it was ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the enemy, and ſo ſhut vp with artillery, as that it was not to be paſſed through: for *Simon* thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Haſſan* would returne that way, had ſo belaied that ſtreit, as that the Turks could not without moſt aſſured loſſe paſſe the ſame: which thing much troubled the Baſſa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his journy ſome other way,
B and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtfull what to do, or which way to turne himſelfe, *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian (who to purchaſe his liberty could haue beene content to haue done any thing) offered *Haſſan* to ſhew him a ſhort and ſafe cut, whereby he might without danger paſſe with his army out of that troubleſome country; yet couenanting before, that he ſhould promiſe him to ſet him at liberty for his ſo good ſeruice. Which his requeſt the Baſſa did not ſticke in large maner to promiſe, although he afterwards to his great diſhonor performed not the ſame. So bending his journy on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through ſtrange and vncouth waies, out of thoſe woods and dangers, not meeting ſo much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Perſian Duke well hoping for his liberty, put the Turke in minde of his promiſe; he with deep and feigned ſighs
C proteſted, That he was right ſorry that he could not performe what he had promiſed to do for him, foraſmuch as it lay not in his power to ſet any man at liberty, that was taken in battell by the ſoldiers of his great lord and ſouereigne: yet gaue him his faith, that ſo far as his intreaties and fauors with the Generall *Muſtapha* could preuaile, he would vſe all the moſt earneſt means he could, to procure his liberty and returne to his own country.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turks were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithfull ſpies, that it was ſo indeed, he ran all headlong, & as it were deſperat, to meet with this ſo happy an army. And al inflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turks, he fel vpon the taile of the Turkiſh hoſt: which with vnmeaſurable fury he wholly deſtroied, leading away with him all the people, all
D the horſes, and all the treaſure of *Mahamet Baſſa* which he brought from Teflis, and all the treaſure of *Haſſan Baſſa* likewiſe. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* moſt greedily ſought for, he was ſent away in the front of the army, ſo that he was not to be reſcued. *Haſſan* holding on his way, came to Chars in the ſpace of eight daies after his departure from Teflis, and there preſented vnto *Muſtapha* the Generall, the Perſian captaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the danger he had indured, and what ſoeuer els had hapned in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunate Perſian was by the commandement of *Muſtapha* carried to Erzirum, and there in the caſtle committed to priſon. Not long after, *Muſtapha* returned himſelfe alſo to the ſaid city of Erzirum, with his army ſore weakned and diſcontented, which was there preſently by him diſcharged.

Simon deſtroies the rereward of Haſſans Army, & taketh from him his treaſure.

Muſtapha returneth to Erzirum, & there diſchargeth his Army.

About the ſame time that theſe things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a ſafer and more ea-
E ſie paſſage for his forces into Georgia, ſent *Vluzales* his Admiral with a great fleet into the Euxine ſea to Mengrelia, called in antient time Cholchis; who entering the famous riuer of Phaſis (now Faſſa) there fortified, and laid ſuch a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegſhips, although thoſe fortifications ſhortly after the departure of the Admiral, were for the preſent againe by the Mengrelians demoliſhed. And this was the end of the ſtirres of this yeare 1579.

Of all theſe ſucceſſes *Muſtapha* afterwards ſent aduertiſements to the court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of Chars, the deſerts of *Haſſan*, as well for the ſuccouring of Teflis, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Perſian. And becauſe the ſaid generall had the yere before perſuaded *Amurath*, That the country of Georgia and the people thereof were brought vnder
F his obedience, to the end that he ſhould not maruell at ſo many loſſes and ſo many battels, and therby doubt of ſome falſe informations; he declared vnto him, that al theſe troubles were not raiſed by the natural and homebred Georgians, but by two certain captains *Aliculi* and *Simon* ſent out of Perſia, who had made all theſe ſtirs: of which one of them now remained with him in priſon, for him to determine of at his pleaſure. With great delight did the Turkiſh Empe-

rour

Hassan Bassa for his good seruice rewarded by Amurath.

rour read all that *Mustapha* had written, and by two of the Gentlemen vshers sent to *Hassan* a battle-axe all gilt and set full of stones, a targuet of gold and pearle, and a rich garment of cloath of gold, in reward of his good seruice, for which he greatly commended him: and withall gaue order, That *Aliculi* should be kept were he was in the castle of Erzirum, in diligent and safe custody. G

These inuasions of the Turks much troubled the Persian King in his court at Casbin, considering, that now they had both throughly acquainted themselues with all the passages into Georgia (in the difficulty and roughnesse whereof consisted the chiefe defence of that prouince) as also that diuers of the Georgian Princes were more than inclining vnto the Turkes seruice; so that he could not but justly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble cities of Media the greater, yea, and peraduenture euen vnto Tauris before any of the rest. Which his care of foreine inuasion was doubled with domesticall feares: *Mirize Salmas* his chiefe Visier, and vpon whom he most rested, still filling his head with a jealous suspition, That *Abas Mirize* his son (made gouernor of Heri by *Tamas* his grandfather) was about in these troubles with the Turks to proclaime himselfe king of Persia, to the great ignominy of his father, and prejudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldest brother, the worthy and vndoubted heire of that kingdome. This *Mirize Salmas* (according to his longing desire) had married a daughter of his to the said *Emir Hamze*, with the consent of the king his father: but yet not content with that honour, ceased not continually with ambitious deuises, to seeke out meanes how to bring to passe, that the Persian estate might wholly remaine to his son in law, vndiuided and entire from the participation of his brethren: & therfore little regarding the perils that might happen from the Turks, and blinded with the desire of his owne greatnesse, he went about to turne the King (being a man very credulous and inconsiderat) against *Abas Mirize*; either to take him and commit him to prison, or at least to bereaue him of all authority and command. H I

And the better to persuade the king thereunto, he discouered vnto him how little *Abas Mirize* his sonne had respected him in diuers occasions; and that in these late wars he had not so much as sent forth one man against the Turks, but had forbidden such as were of his jurisdiction of Heri, to come to Casbin, at such time as they were summoned both by letters and commandement, to haue passed with *Emir Hamze* into Siruan: by reason whereof not one of them would stir a foot, answering, That they were enjoyned so to do by *Abas Mirize* their lord; who had not only caused himself to be called king of Heri, but had giuen it out, that he meant to claime the succession in the whole kingdome. These complaints much preuailed with the king, both in respect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldest son, and also of the credit he gaue to the Visier: especially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the said Visier; who as he was very cunning in such practises of himselfe, so did he make them much more effectuall with the effeminate king, by the meanes of diuers great Ladies, and other deuises that were to him very familiar and vsuall. Insomuch that the King carried away with light beleefe, did continually bethinke himself how to find opportunity to represse the boldnesse of his disobedient son: not forgetting for all that, to make such preparation against the Turks, as should be sufficient to stay their passage to Tauris, if they had any purpose so to do. But leauing the Persian King to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks Generall, the great Bassa *Mustapha*. K L

Mustapha discharged of his Generalship, & called home to Constantinople.

He now lying at Erzirum, after many troubles abroad, was surprised and almost ouerwhelmed with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, wherby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalship, and to cal him to the Court to giue account of his actions. Which seemed not to be done without cause, he hauing before raised a great discontentment in the minde of *Amurath*, by sending such a strong power to the succors of Teflis: whereby he conjectured, that the affaires of Georgia were not in such security as *Mustapha* had already informed him they were, and also generally offended the minds of the soldiers of his army, who all in an vprore, accused him of improuidency and prodigality, for that now this second yeere he had with so much ado gathered together such a number of soldiers, to the trouble of the whole empire, and infinit charge of their lord, and yet performed nothing worthy the glory of *Amurath*, or answerable to so great a charge. Which complaints although they were of some moment, yet would the Turkish emperor for the great fauours he bare vnto him his antient Tutor, neuer haue construed them so hardly against him, M

as

A as for the ſame to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterate enuy of *Sinan Baſſa* had not miniſtred ſtrength and force to theſe hard accuſations, and ſet (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

But foraſmuch as the courſe of time, and proceſſe of the preſent hiſtory, bringeth now forth theſe two mighty champions of the Turks together (the enuious competitors the one of the others honors, who liuing many yeares together, haue left the wofull remembrance of their greatneſſe and valor vnto the World, but eſpecially vnto the afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were yet bleeding) ſtay with me a while, and without griefe, if thou canſt, behold the liuely counterfeits of two ſo great enemies (who both liued within theſe few yeares, and the later of them died but the other day) as they are by the skil-
B full hand of the cunning workeman moſt perfectly deſcribed, and thus to be ſeene.

A compariſon betwixt Sinan Baſſa and Muſtapha, two antient enemies both to themſelues and the Chriſtian commonweale.

MVSTAPHA.

Quid Cyprus jactas? Quid Medos marte ſubactos?
Quid fuſus Perſas? Quid tua facta refers?
Dum te perfidiæ damnet Bragadinus: *& ipſe*
Theupulus *indigna morte perumptus erit.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What do'ſt thou boaſt of Cyprus won? or of the Medes orethrowne?
What of the Perſians put to flight? or of thy deeds ſo knowne?
Whileſt *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of extreme perjurie,
And *Theupulus* to thy diſgrace, a ſhamefull death did die.

SINAN.

Mitte Sinane *tuos nimium jactare triumphos:*
Et rigido vultu verba ſuperba loqui:
Vltor namque aderit mox Tranſyluanius heros:
Qui tumidum coget te dare terga fugæ.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

Proud *Sinan* ceaſe to vaunt too much of thy great trophies woon,
Or with ſterne looke for to extoll the deeds by thee erſt done:
For why? the Tranſyluanian Prince will take reuenge of thee,
And ſwelling in thy greateſt pride, enforce thee for to flee.

R. Knolls.

This *Sinan* was a moſt antient enemy to *Muſtapha*, and in all things thought himſelfe his match. For if *Muſtapha* had ſubdued Cyprus, ſo had he conquered Tripolis, Guletta, with the kingdome of Tunes in Affricke: and if *Muſtapha* were a man of great courage, and reuerend for his yeares, *Sinan* would be his equall both in the one and the other; yea, and did not ſticke to thinke

A think himself the better too, for that in the enterprise of Giamen in Arabia he performed such an exploit as *Mustapha* neuer durst, nor yet knew how to put in execution, so carying away the glory of that famous conqueſt: for which euer after there was between them a continuall heart-burning, one of them enuying at the others glory, and both in word and deed (as occasions fel out) in all things opposing themselues one against another. At last happens this opportunity for *Sinan*; who taking the occasion of many complainers against *Mustapha*, caused a great number of them to frame their supplications to *Amurath*, which he for his part did in most malignant maner inforce and exaggerate against his old aduersary; accusing him; That this second year he had most manifestly shewed himselfe to haue gon vnto the Wars not as a worthy General desirous of noble and honourable enterprises, but as a man that would make
B merchandise of bloud, and of his soldiers payes, imploying the most liberal prouision of corn and money not as the rewards of well deseruing men, not to the erecting of such fabrickes as were needful, and might haue bin built therwithal, but onely to his own proper gain, so to inrich himself with his peoples losses, to the great shame of his Lord, and consuming of the publique treasure: adding herunto, That if the things don by *Mustapha* were well searched, it would be found that he had neglected many good opportunities, attempted many things in vain, and not don any good either to the Emperor or his soldiers, but only to himself. Whom rather than they would follow again as their General, al his people in an vprore shewed themselues ready and willing to aduenture themselues to any other far greater labour that by their Lord and Soueraign should be commanded them.

Sinan accuseth Mustapha to Amurath.

C These and such like complaints, with the hard opinion already conceiued against him by *Amurath*, were the occasion why he resolued to put him from his place. Besides that, he supposed it a thing dangerous to his state, to suffer one and the self same General any long time to command ouer so great armies; deeming it not so much for his honor, stil to imploy one man, as to shew that he had varietie and choice of subiects worthy of so great a charge. Wherfore being desirous to find out the truth of that was reported vnto him concerning *Mustapha*, hee sent the chief of his gentlemen porters with fifteen others, to bring him to the court, with his Chancellor and Treasurer, to shew the accounts of such monies as he had receiued, & to giue vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this messenger had *Amurath* deliuered three diuers letters, which he should warily shew as occasion serued: one of them was so written, of purpose
D that *Mustapha* in the receiuing therof might by the same messengers be strangled: in the second was the Emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded: and in the third was contained, That *Mustapha* should forthwith send his Chauncellor and Treasurer to the court by these messengers. *Mustapha* in the mean time by diuers means, but especially by the guilt of his own conscience, venting the emperors displeasure toward him, and suspecting (as the truth was) his life to be by those messengers sought after; at such time as the Captain porter came to his camp, found many delaies to put him off, and would not in any case be spoken withall. But when the messenger would endure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his presence; hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his companions might not stir, or approch neerer vnto him, the Bassa's gard standing in arms round about him.
E The messenger perceiuing the Bassa's warines, wilily pluckt forth the third letters, touching the sending of his Chancellor and Treasurer to the court. Then began the crafty old Bassa to find many excuses to haue delaied the matter; but being hardly prest by the messenger, and seeing no other remedy, he with much difficulty deliuered them both; couenanting first with the messenger, to haue their liues spared. Who comming to Constantinople, were forthwith clapt fast in the tower called Iadicula, as there to haue bin seuerely examined of al the Bassa's doings. But *Mustapha* after long delay comming at length to Constantinople the 9 of Aprill the Spring following, and vsing the mighty and potent mediation of diuers great Ladies and other his gracious friends in court, preuailed so much in that corrupt gouernment, as that hee
F was again at length receiued into *Amuraths* fauour, without any further proceeding against him, his Chancellor or Treasurer; who by his means were afterwards also inlarged & set at liberty: yet was he neuer after admitted to those honors which he perfuaded himself were of right due vnto him, for his good and faithful seruice of long time don to the *Othoman* Emperours.

Mustapha reconciled to Amurath.

Io. Leuncl. in suppl. Annal. Turc. p. 79.

In this time that *Mustapha* was General at Erzirum, *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa was treacherously

cherously slaine at Constantinople, after whom shortly after died also *Achmet Bassa*, who succeeded in his place: so that the soueraigne dignity, in honour next vnto the Turkish Emperour, was by right full succession due to *Mustapha* the next Bassa; but that he was not thought worthy of it by him that might, and of right ought, to haue gratified him therewith, as shall be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefly set downe the sudden and strange death of the said *Muhamet* the Visier, worthy in all Histories to be registred, as a mirrour for all such as administer iustice in so great place, to look vpon. G

The strange death of the great Visier Bassa Muhamet.

This Bassa, a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Othoman* empire, in the time that he all commanded, had for some light causes depriued a certain souldier of Constantinople, of his yearely pension, which with many labours and dangers he had gotten to maintaine himselfe; which pension, the Bassa bestowed vpon another souldier, so that the other poore soule remained in misery, altogether vnprouided for. Vnto which miserable estate seeing himselfe now brought, and not guilty to himself of any fault worthy so great punishment, he determined with himself to reuenge the iniury with the bloud of that great Bassa, and to bereaue him of life, that had bereft him of liuing: which because he could not by any fit means put in execution (by reason of the guard of slaues that keep the person of the Visier, so that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except he could by some means acquaint himself in the Visiers house, and so insinuat himself into his acquaintance; he resolued to take vpon him the rude habit of those religious which the Turks call Deruishars, and after their manner to present himselfe euery morning before the Visier to aske his almes: and so he did, counterfeiting withall a certain kind of folly and lightnes of mind, as do those Deruishars, to make the people beleeue, that they contemne all worldly things, as men rauished only with heauenly cogitations; which yet was by some that knew him, thought to haue hapned in him, through the griefe he had conceiued for the losse of his stipend. *Muhamet* not only the first time, but also at all other times that this counterfeit hipocrit came before him, caused him to be comforted with his almes, and as it were with a kind of priuat stipend, enioined him euery morning to come to him into the Diuano, and there together with others appointed for the same purpose, to say his deuout prayers, and in singing praises to their wicked Prophet, to intreat God for his saluation: for it is a custome of all the noblemen, that at ordinary hours of prayers, all their priests assemble themselues in the Diuano, which is made ready for them, and there all together the Infidell wretches do with their vnclean mouths mumble vp their superstitious praiers, or rather most abhominable blasphemies. By this means did this dissembling companion so insinuat himself into the Visiers acquaintance, that the counterfet foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleasure, no man gainsaying either his going in or comming out, but daily sat in the presence of the Visier, & so hauing said his payers, and taken his almes, with al reuerence quietly departed. At last when the crafty hypocrit thought that the time was come wherin he might most fitly execute his purpose, hauing vtterly resolued with himselfe to die, so that he might satisfie the desire he had of reuenge, so long couertly fostred in his heart; hauing conueied a very sharp dagger secretly into one of his sleeues, he went according to his custome, to require his almes, with an assured resolution (when hee had said his praiers, and reached out his hands to receiue his woonted almes) speedily to charge vpon the Visier, and with the dagger to strike him to the heart. According to the accustomed manner was the counterfeit hypocrit (for who would euer haue suspected so long and so traiterous a designment) admitted into the Diuano, where *Muhamet* the Visier sat in his house, to giue publick audience, and after the vsual maner, before any of the sutors that attended for answers and dispatch of their busines suspected any such deceit, he was admitted neer to the Visier, and sitting right against him, according to his old wont poured out those vain deuotions which those hypocritical Barbarians vse to mumble vp in their praiers: which being finished, whilst the Visier simply reacheth vnto him his wonted almes, the traiterous villaine in receiuing it, suddenly drew out his dagger, and once or twice stabbed it into the Visiers breast, out of which so deadly wounds gushed out his bloud and life together. Wherupon the standers by astonied with the strangenesse of the act, ran in, but lo, the old hoary Visier lay all soiled in his own bloud, deadly pale, and breathing forth his last gasp. The mischieuous murderer they presently laid hands vpon, & bound him fast: but the rumor of the strange fact did by & by fly to the Emperors ears: who suspecting that some of the other great Bassa's desiring to mount H I K L M into

into that high dignity, had prouoked the traitor to do this deteſtable act, would needs vnderſtand of the traiterous murderer, what occaſion had moued him ſo trecherouſly to kill his Viſier. Who reſolutely anſwered him, That he did it to deliuer the city of Conſtantinople from the tyranny of him, by whom he was vndeſeruedly depriued of his penſion. But when he could get no other anſwer of him, he deliuered him into the hands of the ſlaues of the dead Viſier, who with moſt exquiſit torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him ſucceeded *Achmetes* the next Baſſa, who (as is before ſaid) ſhortly after died alſo, ſo that it was now *Muſtapha* his courſe to ſucceed in that chief room, for that he was the third in the order of the Baſſa's. But when he had vſed al the means that he poſſibly could, to haue obtained that ſo honorable a place by order due vnto him; yet could he not find ſo much grace in the ſight of *Amurath* his great Lord, as to haue it granted him vnder ſeale, although in effect he made him ſit as Viſier, and all matters of ſtate were brought vnto him as chief Vizier; but in his ſtead the ſeale was ſent to *Sinan Baſſa*, who was now made Generall for the Perſian wars. Which diſgrace not a little diſcontented *Muſtapha*, fearing leſt ſome other ſtrange accident ſhould in ſhort time light vpon him.

After that *Muſtapha* was thus diſplaced from his Generalſhip, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan Baſſa* to be Generall in his ſtead for this expedition againſt the Perſians, and for the preſeruation of Chars and Teflis; giuing him ſoueraign authority to command, and to ſet in order all ſuch preparations as he ſhould think neceſſary for ſuch enterpriſes as he ſhould thinke good to attempt in his firſt yeare: who although by reaſon of his great fauour, he grew haughty and glorious, yet did he not foreſlow to diſcourſe throughly with himſelfe vpon all his deſignements: and namely, beſide the ſuccouring of Teflis, he determined to build a fort at Tomanis, to aſſure the paſſage thither from Chars; and withall to attempt all the means he could to induce the Perſian king to ſend Embaſſadours for peace, with ſuch conditions as ſhould be acceptable to *Amurath*. With theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes did he buſie himſelfe whilſt he was yet making preparation to ſet forwards toward Erzirum. 1580

Sinan Baſſa choſen General for the Perſian warre.

Of all theſe changes and alterations was the Perſian King aduertiſed, as alſo that this new Turkiſh General *Sinan* was careful, how this long war might by ſome means be appeaſed, and a good peace concluded. Vpon which occaſion, & by the perſuaſion of *Leuent Ogli* the Georgian, and of *Mirize Salmas* the Viſier, he was induced to ſend embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, to demand peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which reſolution he diſpatched *Maxut Chan* (of ſome called *Maxudes*) his Embaſſadour, with direction that he ſhould go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue guids to conduct him to Conſtantinople with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of all theſe troubles: and in any caſe to conclude vpon it, ſo that he would be content with Chars and Teflis. With theſe inſtructions the Embaſſador departed, and at length arriued at Chars, and ſo came to Erzirum, and was from thence conducted towards Amaſia. But when he came to Siuas, he found *Sinan* the Generall there incamped, gathring together his army for the execution of his deſignments: for *Sinan* vpon the arriual of *Muſtapha*, departing from Conſtantinople the 25 day of April, was now come ſo far on his way. Of the comming of this Embaſſador, the Turks receiued great ioy, and news therof was in poſt ſent by *Cicala Baſſa* to the Court. The Perſian Embaſſadour informed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalf of King *Mahamet*; and laboured earneſtly to perſuade him, of the equity of the cauſe, and of his requeſt: declaring to him, That foraſmuch as both the nations were conioined vnder the law of *Mahomet* their common Prophet (though there ſeemed ſome ſmal difference not worth thoſe troubles) it were a very inconuenient thing for them to contend among themſelues, and to ſeek the ouerthrow or vtter deſtruction of one another: and that therfore he was in good hope to obtain of *Amurath* this deſired peace, if he had no other cauſe wherwith he found himſelf agrieued, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he beſought the Generall, that he would with ſafe conuoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were poſſible, theſe bloudy wars might take end, at the very report wherof, the reſt of the world reioyced, and ſtood attentiuely waiting to ſee what would be the iſſue thereof.

The Perſian King ſendeth Maxut Chan his Embaſſador to Amurath.

This embaſſador, *Sinan* entertained after the beſt manner the rudeneſſe of his nature would afford: and thinking that the very fame of his valor, had wrought in the minds of his enemies this reſolution to come to demand peace, granted vnto the Embaſſador a ſure conuoy to con-

duct him to Constantinople; and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, representing to him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now be obtained. But before he dismissed the said Embassador, he aduised him not to go to *Amurath*, without resolution to offer vnto him some great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him all that countrey which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* very wel, that he was resolued in himself, not to yeeld so much as one hand bredth of that ground which he had woon with the sword. Which motion of the proud Bassa so troubled the Embassadour, that fearing he should not be able to conclude any thing, he stood in doubt, whether to proceed on his journy to Constantinople, or to return back again into Persia: but considering better what belonged to his duty in so weighty a busines, and hoping to receiue more reasonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himself, he gaue large words to *Sinan*, and so with a safe conuoy departed from Siuas, and by long journies came to Scutari, and so passing ouer that little streit, the fourth of August arriued at Constantinople.

The admonition of Sinan to the Persian Embassadour.

The preparations of the Persian king against the Turks.

The Persian King in the mean time, stirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations, to cause it to be noised, that he likewise intended some important matters, commanded all the Chans and Gouernors of his kingdom, to meet together with all their forces at Tauris, where he himselfe with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his sonne met them. And after many consultations there had for the repressing of the Turkish inuasion (for as yet it was not certainly known what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he resolued to send soldiers into Georgia towards Teflis, whither of necessity, succors must be sent by the Turks to them of the fort: and withall, determined also to goe himselfe with all his army from Tauris to Caracach, a place very commodious and neer, to guard both Tauris and Siruan, being scituat euen in the middest between the one and the other, and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*, whose ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted, that he to surmount *Mustapha*, would attempt some greater enterprise; yea peraduenture to run euen vpon Tauris. But when it came to the point, that he should send some of his Captains into Georgia, he made choice of such as had best experience of those Countries, and were neerest vnto them: with whom he sent *Tocomac* also, and the rest whose seruice he had before vsed against the Turks; commanding them to ioine their forces with *Simon* the Georgian, and by all meanes possible to annoy the enemie: whom if they should perceiue to bend for Tauris, they should not faile to follow him; to the end they might ioine together with him, and so encounter the enemies army. All those Captains were resolute men, and led with them ten thousand souldiers; which being ioined with them of Georgia, amounted to the number of thirteen thousand: who arriuing at Genge, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their comming, and that in his behalfe they were ready to do great matters.

Now was the Persian Embassador with all due honour receiued at Constantinople, where he was honorably entertained by the great Bassa's of the Court; but especially by *Mustapha*, who within two days after suddenly died; of a surfet taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleasant drink which the Turks vse made of water and sugar:) but most men thought him to haue poisoned himselfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be again inflamed by the new complaints of the Persian embassador against him, for that he in the time of his Generalship, had dishonorably suppressed certain embassages sent from the Persian king; which he now fearing to be called in question for, the former storms as yet scarse well appeased, made himselfe now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if he had longer liued, he should haue been vndoubtedly strangled: which to preuent, he became the worthy executioner of himselfe, that had most vniustly caused others to be most shamefully murdred. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time scraped together, was immediatly after his death taken into the Kings treasuries, some smal portion thereof being left vnto his nephews: a most certain token of *Amuraths* indignation against him. The Persian embassador hauing audience the 7 of August, with many liuely reasons & much eloquence, persuaded the Turkish Emperor to desist from the war begun, as contrary to the will & pleasure of their common Prophet *Mohomet*: as also to the peace, which was so roially, & with so many capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his Grandfather; and was not to haue bin broken, and wars raised, but vpon some great quarrell or injurie don; which the

Persians

A Persians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wished vnto him all happinesse; as they had manifestly declared, by sending vnto him an Embassage to that purpose by Sultan *Tocomac*: wherby he might plainly perceiue the good mind and zeal the Persian King had for the maintenance of the peace. And although in the short reign of *Ismahel* there was a rumour raised, That he meant to go vnto Babylonia, and some such other like newes; yet that was but a youthfull part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to such as beeing kept long in prison, canot vse their liberty with moderation, and had therfore receiued due punishment for it, by sudden and vnexpected death. But as for the King that now is, he did aboue all other embrace amity with his Majesty, and therfore did most earnestly desire, that it would please him to temper his anger conceiued, which had insenced him to take vp armes against
B a King so much his friend, being of the same religion, and better affected towards him than all the rest of the Nations in the world.

This Embassador the Turkish Emperor dismissed without any resolution at all, but only gaue order, That whatsoeuer he had to say touching this peace, hee should communicate it with his Visier. Many were the discourses that hapned; for that the Turks required all those cities and countries which til that time he had conquered with the sword, or (as their proud maner of phrase is) wheron his Generals horse had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the Embassador on the other side had no warrant from his King to yeeld more than that part of Georgia which is on this side the riuer of Araxis. Wherupon the said Embassador began to fear lest he should be suspected for a Spy, and so be euil intreated: wherewithall he did finde
C himself too manifestly charged by the hard speech which the Visier vsed toward him. Being thus doubtfull whereupon to resolue, perceiuing himselfe strained to the grant of these demands, and receiuing also some threats withall, he determined with himselfe to inlarge his speeches with the Visier in diuers and sundry particulars, and to giue him good hope that he should be able to persuade his King to yeeld vp so much as *Amurath* had and did demand. Herupon was *Maxut Chan* in friendly maner and without any outrage sent from Constantinople to Chars, and commission giuen to *Sinan* (then at Chars) That without delay hee should faithfully cause the Embassador to be conducted to Van, and from thence into Persia whersoeuer he did desire. All which was faithfully performed.

But to return again to *Sinan* the Generall, who from Sivas had sent the said Embassadour
D to Constantinople (as is before declared) & being departed thence ariued at Erzirum, where he took a suruey of his army and other prouision necessary for this expedition: and so from thence was now come to Chars, from whence he dispatched the Persian Embassadour, much discontented that no other conclusion for peace could be wrought. *Sinan musters his army.*

Maxut Chan at last attiuing at the Persian court, reported vnto the king all that had hapned in this his embassage: the sum wherof was, That *Amurath* would not condiscend vnto any condition of peace, vnlesse the whole countrey of Sirvan were yeelded vnto him, for that hee had onee (as he said) conquered the same. Neither did he forbear to tel the King the suspition *Amurath* had conceiued of him, to haue bin a spie rather than an Embassadour; and of the large promises he was fain to make to the Turk, to auoid the manifest danger of imprisoment
E or death: all which for all that now lay in his Majesties power to perform or not. The King for the present remained well satisfied with that which *Maxut* had don, and in reward of his great trauel and expences gaue him the charge of the Chamber at Tauris, naming him the Chamberlain of that rich and great city. Of which new office (though very honorable and of great importance) he took smal pleasure; for that *Emir Chan* his antient enemy was chief gouernor of that city, from whom he feared some dangerous trechery. Wherfore he appointed his deputy for the execution of the office, and withdrew himself from Tauris to Cassangich a place of his own, there to passe away the time vntil it should please the King otherwise to dispose of him. But *Emir Chan*, who still nourished in his mind the antient hatred hee had conceiued against him, tooke this as a most fit occasion to bring him into disgrace with the
F King: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the preferment it had pleased him to bestow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned the city of Tauris, and substituted in his place a most base person to represent the Kings Majesty, and to manage his Treasure: and that he absented himself far from that City and the court there, hauing withdrawn himself into the confines of Turky, no doubt for some mischieuous intent, either to yeeld

himself vnto them, or else to haue intelligence with them, and was like enough to be guilty to himself of the great error he had committed, by offering Sirvan vnto the Turkish King, and making promise of such large conditions, wherby he had obtained such a sure and safe Conuoy to conduct him; when as he had before discouered himself to be a fauorer of the Turkes, and a traitor to his owne king: and that therfore it were good to make trial of his inclination, and so peraduenture to decline some great mischiefe, tending to the danger of the Persian state. This malicious accusation slily contriued, so wrought in the mind of the jealous king, that he commanded *Emir Chan* secretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the court, and if he could not by other means, then by torture to wrest from him the truth of all those matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemy thus put into his hand, and thought it long til he had brought this shame vpon *Maxut*. Who hauing already heard some inkling therof, resolued with himself to do any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his fatall enemy. And therfore at such time as fifteen tall fellowes were for that purpose sent vnto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the kings name summoned him to the court; hee without making any shew that he took the matter otherwise than well, entertained them courteously, and made them good cheer: but when he perceiued them to be ouercome with sleep, which crept vpon them by reason of the excesse wherwith they had ouercharged themselues, hee caused them to be streitly bound, and with long cords hanged them down into a deep wel, and there shut them vp, secretly couered. Then gathering together the most precious things he had in the house, & setting his wiues, his children, his brethren, and nephews on horseback, fled with all his family in the euening, and the next day ariued at Salmas, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkish Bassa, and from thence conueyed to Van, where he was also curteously welcommed by *Cicala Bassa*, and honorably accompanied sent to *Sinan* the General; who very glad of his comming, sent him with all diligence to Constantinople to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the first interparlance of peace betwixt the Turks and Persians.

Maxut flieth to the Turks.

Sinan staied at Chars eight daies, and there again surueyed his army and prouision; and afterward set forward toward Tomanis, with resolution there to build a fort. But beeing come thither, he could by no means put that his designement in execution, by reason of the immoderat rain, which continually for eight daies together fel in such abundance, as that neither did the Sun appear, nor the sky clear. Beside that, *Sinan* greatly feared lest the enemy taking the opportunitie or this rain, of the streit, and of the building, should assault his army, & finding it in euil plight, and out of order, greatly indanger it. Wherefore casting off his former determination for fortifying at Tomanis, he remoued thence to cary succors to Teflis: but so soon as he was risen with his Army and past the streit, *Tal-Ogli* Captaine of the Ianizaries at Damasco, and *Homar* Sanzack of Saffeto, hauing receiued secret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good store both of corn and cattel; resolued to go thither to fetch in that booty: and so with two thousand soldiers greedy of prey they set forward. Now *Simon* the Georgian and the Persians following the Turks Army afar off, had diuided his souldiers into all such places as where there was either corn or water, or any such thing as might allure the Turkes to scatter themselues from the Campe: and perceiuing these hungry Turks carelesly to run headlong to lay hold on this desired booty, he suddenly set vpon them & cut them in pieces being disordered; so that of those two thousand escaped but *Tal-Ogli* the Captaine of the Ianizaries; *Homar* the aforesaid Sanzacke and all the rest beeing left dead vpon the ground.

Sinan holding on his way, in two daies came to Teflis, where presently calling a Councell of all the chiefe men of his Army, hee tooke order, That euery man should vpon his oath depose the truth concerning the greatnes of Teflis: which he did only in reproch of *Mustapha* the great Bassa; who most vntruely had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as Damasco: wheras in truth it was not in any respect to be compared to that so famous a City. After that, he diuided the treasures and succors he had brought, among the soldiers of the Fortresse; cheering them vp with good words, & promises of great matters. And becaus the soldiers there in garison complained greatly against the Bassa their Captain, he caused a bill of complaint to be framed against him; & finding him guilty, That he had conuerted the soldiers pay to his own vse, he condemned him to the restitution therof, and so immediatly discharging him of his office, placed in his room *Guisuf Bey* a Lord of Georgia; who for the antient

A tient enmity betwixt him and *Simon* had yeelded himself to the Turks; and was of them so welcommed, that *Sinan* trusted him with the custody of that fort, which with so many dangers had bin maintained vntil that day.

All things thus set in order at Teflis, *Sinan* with his army departed thence, and hauing passed the streit of Tomanis, there came vnto him *Mustaffad Bassa* (afterward gouernor of Aleppo) declaring vnto him, That not far off was great store of corn and cattel, and no body but a few Georgians to keep the same; and therfore wished him to send forth some to fetch it in, wherof if it had bin much more his army then stood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected to this *Mustaffad*, and therefore the easilier induced by him to send for the aforesaid booty. But mooued with the fresh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal Ogli* and *Homar*, hee
B gaue order, That to fetch in this prouision there should goe out ten thousand horsemen and their seruants, with *Mustaffad* as their General. Now stood *Tocomac*, *Simon*, and the other Persian captaines in secret ambush, waiting when any of the Turkes should come to fetch in this booty. Wherupon the aforesaid souldiers beeing now come as they desired, and hauing almost charged all their mules and horses with that which best pleased them to make choice of, the hidden Persians all on a sudden issued out of their lurking places among them, & with great slaughter put them to flight, and with such fury pursued the victory, that they slew of them 7000, carrying away many prisoners aliue, and the mules and horses laden with the stolne booty. *Mustaffad* was the first that fled, and the first that brought the vnhappy news of that ouerthrow to *Sinan*; which was forthwith confirmed by such as had by speedy flight e-
C scaped the fury of the enemy. Wherupon *Sinan* dispatched the Bassa of Caramania with a great power, charging him whersoeuer he should finde the enemy, to set vpon him; and presently rising himself with his whole army followed the said Bassa: but all too late; for the Persians after the aforesaid victory, without staying had withdrawn themselues into their strong places, known only to such as were wel acquainted with the difficult passages of Georgia: and hauing there disposed of their prey, were now returning to await some fresh occasion of new slaughter. But when they descried the whole army of the Turkes vpon the rising of a certain hil, they were afraid to meet them, yea and stood in some doubt also, lest *Sinan* should descend from the hil and so assault them. For which cause they retyred themselues again into the strength of the mountains, yet not with such speed, but that the Turks ouertooke some
D few of them, and slew about fifty or threescore of them, whose heads in signe of triumph they carried a good part of the way vpon their speares point, and tooke prisoners about threescore and ten more.

Seuē thousand Turks slaine.

At last *Sinan* with all his Army, hauing passed these dangerous places of Georgia, ariued at Triala, where it was told him, That the Persian King in person himselfe, being already departed from Tauris, with an exceeding great Army was comming to bid him battel. At which newes he caused proclamation to be presently made thorow all his Army, That euerie man should put himselfe in readinesse for the voyage to Tauris, whither he himselfe meant to goe to meet with the King his enemy. In the mean time (as is reported) hee dispatched certaine Posts to the Persian king then at Carachach, to intreat him to send another Embassador vnto
E *Amurath* for peace; thinking by that means (as some do conjecture) to alter the Kings resolution for comming to assail him, if he had any such meaning. After this proclamation made, he descended into the open and large plains of Chielder; where presently he mustered his whole army, and gaue it out, That before he would set forward toward Tauris, hee would make triall of the readinesse and nimblenesse of his soldiers, as if they should presently join battel with the enemy. Which without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally ranging his whole army in order of battel, and then sending out some few others to shew themselues vpon the top of certain hils, as if they had bin enemies that came to seise vpon his Army; he caused al his artillery to be discharged, and commanded euery man to skirmish & bestir himselfe altogether after the same manner as if the enemy had been there present before
F them: where the thundring of great and small shot, the thicke stormes of arrowes, with the brightnesse of the armour and weapons yeelding forth lightnings as if it had bin fiery beams, and the noise of Drummes and Trumpets, and other instruments of Warre, with the ensignes of blew and yellow flying in the winde, made such a medley of all things, as if it had bin the turmoile of a very battell indeed. In the end he caused the retreit to be sounded, and then

setting

setting all his army in order again, made the like shew the second time, and so the third time also. Which was indeed performed with the great scorne and derision of his souldiers, who deemed it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Bassa. These counterfeit shewes of war thus finished, yet did he not set forward toward Tauris, as hee had giuen it out, but loitred eight daies in those plains of Chielder. At which time there arriued out of Persia one *Aider* the Aga, as Embassador from the King, who was by *Sinan* with great joy entertained. Diuers were the things by this Embassadour propounded, such as had *Maxut Chan* before: but the conclusion of all was, That the Persian King would bee content voluntarily to relinquish Chars and Teflis, and so remain as he did before in amity with *Amurath*; and so desired *Sinan*, to conclude a peace with his master, if it might be; as for himselfe, this message don, he was presently to return into Persia. For this peace *Sinan* promised to deale with *Amurath*, so that the Persian King would send another Embassador to Constantinople. Wherupon the said *Aider* returned into Persia, and at Tauris declared to the King, what he had seen, what promises he had receiued from *Sinan*, and withal exhorted him to send a new Embassadour to the Turkish Court. After this, when the publique rumor of the comming of the Persian king was found to be false, *Sinan* in stead of going to Tauris, returned to Chars, where he idely staid a whole month, to the general maruelling and murmuring of his whole army, astonished to see themselues, to the great charges of the King, and the disturbance of the whole kingdom, brought forth not for any honorable conquest, but as it were only of purpose to make a vaine shew of war.

Sinan breaks vp his army.

At last he departed from Chars, for that Winter was now come on, and the frost and snow did his army great harm; and so comming to Erzirum, there presently dismissed euery man to go and winter in his owne Countrey, but remained stil himselfe in the same City. From whence he by speedy Posts diligently aduertised *Amurath* of the succours he had left at Teflis, of the losses he had receiued from the enemy, of all that which was by *Mustapha* mis-reported; of the comming of the Persian Embassador vnto him; of the promise made vnto him touching a new Embassador; and to be short, of all his whole actions. Besides all this, hee aduertised *Amurath*, That the enterprise of Persia was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and such a one as needed another manner of preparation than had been as yet appointed for it. And that if he desired to subdue the whole kingdom of Persia, it was then very necessary that he should speak with him at large, and discourse of many particularities; which could not so wel without exceeding tediousnesse be declared by writing. After that, he sent other messengers also, to solicit *Amurath* for his returne to Constantinople; continually telling him, That it was not possible to signifie by writing, what he purposed to report to him by word of mouth for the better accomplishing of the enterprise begun. Nothing did *Sinan* more abhorre than this War, hauing his mind altogether bent against the affaires of the Christians in Europe, and therefore sought by all means possible to diuert those Warres from the East, into some other quarters. At last he wrought so much, hee entreated so much, he writ so many Letters, and solicited the matter so earnestly, that *Amurath* was persuaded to send for him to Constantinople, as soon as euer he was certified of the arriual of the new Embassador from Persia, of whom *Sinan* had before aduertised him. For he was resolued either to grow to a peace with the said Embassador, if he came with honourable canditions; or if he came not, or that after his comming they could not agree vpon the peace, then to put in execution those conceits wherof he must needs in particular talk with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promised Embassador called *Ebrahim Chan*, a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in Persia, came to *Sinan*; wherof *Sinan* gaue present intelligence to *Amurath*, beseeching him again to permit him to come to Constantinople. Which *Amurath* then granted. Wherupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court, where he attended the vniuersall gouernment of the whole Empire. At his first comming to the presence of *Amurath* (wherein hee discourst not with him of any thing but of the comming of the Persian Embassadour) the conditions were set down which they were to require for the reducing of the Capitulations of this peace vnto a good end. After which agreement the Embassador being now come, and most magnificently receiued at Constantinople, had audience. At which time he with much glorious speech labored to persuade *Amurath*, That his king earnestly desired a reconciliation, and to joyne his forces with his against the Enemies of the Mahometane Religion; and for that very purpose

A poſe, he was now eſpecially come thither: which his good purpoſe, if it were anſwered with like zeale on his part, there would therof enſue the greateſt vnity and friendſhip that euer was between any Mahometan Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other anſwer, but that he ſhould therof talke with his Viſier, and with him intreat of all matters concerning the peace: and ſo he was by *Amurath* entertained and diſmiſſed both at one time.

Now had *Amurath* called to Conſtantinople his eldeſt ſon *Mahomet* (who afterward ſucceeded him in the Empire) being then about ſixteen yeres old, to circumciſe him, according to the cuſtome of the Turks; following therein the inueterate Law of the Hebrews. Vnto which ſolemnitie many Chriſtian Princes were ſolemnly inuited; who accordingly ſent thither their Embaſſadors with great gifts and Preſents, in token of peace & confederacy, name-
B ly *Rodulphus* the Emperour, *Henry*, the third the French King, *Stephen* King of Polonia; the State of Venice, the King of Perſia, the Moore Kings of Morocco and Fez, the Princes of Moldauia, Valachia, and others. With al triumph and ioy was the circumciſion of this yong Prince ſolemniſed by the ſpace of forty days and forty nights, in the great market place of Conſtantinople; where all the Embaſſadours aforeſaid had their ſcaffolds prepared and furniſhed according to their degrees and States, & receiued ſuch entertainment as might be ſhewed at ſuch a kind of barbarous ſpectacle: Only the Perſian embaſſador, who had alſo his ſcaffold ſeuerall to himſelf, but not regarded as the reſt, reioiced not at theſe feaſts and triumphs: for among ſundry other wrongs and ſcorn done by the commandement of *Amurath* vnto the Perſian nation (as by hanging vp certaine counterfeit pictures of Perſians made of laths and
C ſticks, and then burning them, and in many ſcornfull ſorts abuſing them) the Turke, for the great diſpleaſure he had conceiued for the harm done to *Oſman Baſſa* and the Turks in Siruan much about that time, and for the diſdain he had taken againſt *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condiſcending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yeelding to any more than the other Embaſſador had done before, ſeeming to haue come as a Spie to mark the Turkiſh affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the minds of the two mighty Princes) commanded the ſtanding before appointed for him, in diſgrace of him to be caſt down, and himſelfe and all his followers to be ſhut vp as cloſe priſoners in the houſe of *Mahamet Baſſa* at Conſtantinople; where he was ſo ſtreightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which ſhortly after began to
D wax hot in the city, yet could he not obtain ſo much fauor as to be remoued into ſome other place, but there was inforced to tarry it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he ſhould be carried thence as priſoner to Erzirum. To end theſe ſolemnities, *Mahomet* the yong Prince was circumciſed, not publiquely, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Baſſaes, ſomtime the Emperor *Solymans* Barber.

1581

Amurath circumciſeth his eldeſt ſon Mahomet.

Io. Leunc. Sup. Annal. Turc. pag. 82.

Now whilſt *Sinan* as great Viſier ſat commanding in Conſtantinople, the garriſons of Chars and Teflis (kept in by the enemie, and hauing receiued none other reliefe than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from Erzirum, had by good hap cauſed to bee ſecretly conueyed vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing leſt thoſe two places which had with ſo much ado been both gained and maintai-
E ned, ſhould for want of new ſuccours fall againe into the hand of the enemy: he both boldly and freely counſelled *Amurath* to ſend a new garriſon to Van, for the ſafety of the countrey thereabouts, and then vnder the conduct of ſome valiant captaine, to ſend ſuccours to Teflis. Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himſelfe of ſome fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleaſed him; for why, he was before reſolued, in deſpight of *Sinan* and of his counſel, to beſtow this charge vpon *Mahamet Baſſa* nephew to *Muſtapha* the late Baſſa, and for his ſake hated of *Sinan*. This Baſſa *Mahamet* he ſent to Erzirum, with the title of the Baſſa of that Prouince, honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the army for Teflis. And preſently gaue commandement to *Huſſan* the Baſſa of Caraemit, to *Muſtaffa* ſometime called *Manucchiar* the Georgi-
F an, to all the Sanzacks, the Curdi, and the ſoldiers of Erzirum, that they ſhould reſort to the ſtandard of *Mahamet* their Generall, and ſo to follow him to Teflis. Whereupon there aſſembled together out of all the ſaid places about fiue and twenty thouſand ſouldiers, with all things neceſſarie for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed garriſon which was in Teflis. Commandement was alſo giuen to the Baſſaes of Aleppo and Maras, to repaire to Van with all their

ſouldiers,

souldiers,and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did,not molested not trou- G
bled by any enemy.

In the end of Auguſt, *Mahamet Baſſa* departed from Erzirum, with the Baſſa of Caraemit, and all his army,carrying with him mony,corn,and all other things needfull for the reliefe of Teflis, and in eight dayes came to Chars,and from thence to Archelec, not troubled by any. At Archelec he found *Muſtaffa* (otherwiſe called *Manucchiar*) the Georgian,with all his ſouldiers,whom the Generall moſt ioyfully entertained,and honoured him with gifts, and withal admoniſhed him to continue his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his army the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way to Teflis:for that ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt to goe by Tomanis;and ſome other,by the way of *Muſtaffa* his countrey:wherin *Muſtaffa* did readily re- H
ſolue him, that the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way lay through his owne country,being alſo in his opinion the ſafeſt. This counſell of *Muſtaffa* pleaſed *Mahomet* greatly,ſo that he made choice of him to be the guid of his army, repoſing himſelfe wholly vpon his good direction: and ſo departed thence towards Teflis, paſſing through Altunchala and Carachala,both belonging to the ſaid Georgian,abounding with all things neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of man, neither were they euer diſturbed by any enemy. Hauing paſſed *Muſtaffa* his countrey, they came to a friendly Caſtle called Gori, from whence they diſcouered in certain fields a great army of the Georgians mingled with Perſians, but apparelled after the manner of Georgia: theſe were thoſe captains of Perſia, ſent from the Perſian King (as in other yeres before) to aid the Georgians;who ſecretly conioyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had changed their apparell, be- I
cauſe the treaty of peace ſhould not be diſturbed,and their King acounted vniuſt of his word; who vnder a colour of a treaty of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended nothing elſe but to ſuccour and defend his conquered countries,without purpoſe to annoy any other places,went about to procure the deſtruction of the Turks. Theſe then as ſoon as they ſaw the Turkiſh army, and perceiued that they alſo themſelues were by them deſcried, ſent Heraulds vnto them with haughty words of defiance,and to offer them battel. With great griefe of mind did the Baſſa receiue this proud defiance:but hauing no other purpoſe but to bring his ſuccors ſafe to Teflis,he diſmiſſed the Heraulds, and ſtudied by all means he could to ſhun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpoſe by the great and continuall rain which then fell, and ſerued for a reaſonable excuſe of his delay:but the next day prouing faire,and the Sunne ſhining bright,both the armies marched in ſight one of the other all day,vntill about four houres and K
an halfe before night; at which time the Turks arriued neere to a riuer that ſeparated the one army from the other. There the Baſſa fell in conſultation with *Muſtaffa*, whether they ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer before night,or ſtay on that ſide they were till the next morning. In which caſe *Muſtaffa* aduiſed him to ſtay,as fearing leſt the enemy ſhould ſet vpon the army diſordered in paſſing the riuer,and ſo annoy them. Notwithſtanding the General diſliked this aduice of *Muſtaffa*, hauing taken a ſtrong conceit euen vpon the firſt diſcouery of the enemie, that there was ſome intelligence and compact betwixt *Muſtapha* and the Perſians, and that to that end he had malicioufly perſuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of Tomanis: and therfore the Baſſa thinking, that if there were any ſuch plot laid between *Muſtaffa* and the enemie, to ſet it in ſome confuſion, would not in any caſe follow the counſell of the L
ſuſpected Georgian, to ſtay that night; but commanded, that with the greateſt ſpeed that might be,all his ſouldiers with their treaſure and corn ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer, to the end that before night he might on the other ſide of the riuer incamp his army in ſome good place, to the ſcorn and deriſion of his enemies. *Mahamet* his lieutenant, a bold young man & an hardy,was the firſt that ventured ouer,and after him the carriages of money and of corn,and then the whole army, with ſuch ſpeed, that ſome of the confuſed multitude were drowned in the paſſage,being rather troden downe with the horſes and camels, than brought to their deaths, either by the depth of the channell, or ſwiftneſſe of the riuer.

Mahamet Baſſa refuſeth battel offred by the Georgians and Perſians.

As ſoone as the Georgians perceiued that the Turks had paſſed the riuer, without ſtaying vntil they might ſettle themſelues in any good order,they in great haſt & fury ran vpon them, M
and preſently aſſailed them, whiles they were yet all in confuſion and out of order: by reaſon whereof the Turks, although they turned their faces vpon their enemie,and made ſome good reſiſtance,yet in ſhort time you might haue ſeen the banks of the riuer in many places ſtained with the Turkiſh bloud, and many carkaſes of the Turks here & there ſcattered,without any

apparant

A apparant losse among the Georgians and Persians. Amongst them that fell in this slaughter, were a number of Sanzacks, of the Curdi, and Mesopotamians: which the rest perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne, coniecturing the losse of others, turned their backes and fled: the like did the remnant of the Mesopotamians, and after them at last the whole army: whom the Georgians pressed so sore in their flight, that many of the Turks seeing no other way to escape, cast themselues into the riuer, and so (though hardly) escaped with their liues. Great was the shame, great was the confusion, but greatest was the losse they receiued, for that in the heat of the battel the Kings money and corn was taken by the Georgians and Persians, euery man sauing only so much for himselfe as he could secretly hide vpon his owne body, or conuey by the means of some trusty slaue, which by the help of their swift horses was preserued rather by fortune than by valour.

The Turks discomfited, & the treasure and corne taken by the Georgians and Persians.

B The Turks thus discomfited and spoiled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered themselues together againe, one with another cursing the Heauens, the King, and their aduerse fortune: some of them also threatning the Georgian Renegate *Mustaffa*, as though all this mischiefe had hapned through his trecherie and secret intelligence with the enemie. Notwithstanding, when they found that they had still remaining so much money and other easements as might suffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the soldiers besieged in the fort, they resolued to hold on their way towards Teflis; and in their journy vsed such speed, that the day following they arriued there in the euening. But when they of the Fort saw their friends whom they had so long expected, arriued in such bad sort, and so euill furnished, they were astonied and wonderfully grieued at this common losse, and all in a confusion protested to *Mahamet*, C That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith necessarie prouision made for them. But the Generall after he had with large promises mitigated their first furies and insolencies, presently in the morning caused a Diuano or counsell to be called in the castle, where hauing gathered together all the chiefe men in his army, he spake vnto them in this manner:

Mahamet with his discomfited army commeth to Teflis.

The Oration of Mahamet Basse in the castle of Teflis.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased God, that so great and important an occasion of victorie which was offered vnto vs for the honour and glory of euery one of vs, is now fallen out so vnfortunately, that it hath not only not ministred vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies as we should haue done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carry away from vs both the triumph, and also our armor, our horses, our slaues, and our spoiles; yea and (the remembrance whereof doth most grieuously trouble and afflict me) our Sultans money, and our publique munition and forces solemnly deliuered to our conduct, is now become a booty and a prey vnto them: that the honour which might haue made euery one of vs famous among noble and valorous soldiers, is now fallen from our forheads, and to our great detriment doth adorn the heads of strangers, or rather of our enemies: and that notwithstanding all this, we are now come to those couragious soldiers, which with their great valor haue defended this Fort euen in the midst of their enemies weapons and treacheries; and to whom we should yeeld that aid and reliefe which the vertue of euery one of their minds doth deserue, and which King Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them; there is now no remedie, but to resolue vpon some good means, that we fall not wholly into the vtter disgrace of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintain these souldiers in the custody and defence of this Fort: and though it had bin with all our wants, and all our owne dishonours, to comfort these that haue so long time looked for vs, and so well deserued all manner of reliefe. We cannot excuse our selues, that our enemies were better than we either in number or instruments of war; for both in the one and the other we were far beyond them: neither yet can we say, that they set upon vs by night, or at vnawares; for when we saw their number, their weapons, their horses, and finally their approach, and their manner of assault, yet we would needs passe ouer the riuer, and ioyn battell with them. Which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable vnto vs, because we were more ready to take our flight, than to endure the fight, and to vse our feet, than to occupie our hands. And therfore it is very requisit, as well to satisfie the rigor of justice, as to performe the duty of soldiers, that we suffer not our Lord and King to lose his mony, which he trusted into our hands, and which we haue lost, not by greater strength nor by any trecherous stratagem of our enemies, but by our own too too important feare, and too base a regard of our liues, before which, it was the duty of euery one of vs to haue preferd the care of honor. For if by fighting and couragious sustaining the assaults of our enemies, though they had bin stronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned vnto vs, and that we could in any sort haue represented to the King and the world an honorable and bloudy battell, wee*

D

should

should not now haue any need to seek meanes how to repay this losse, and to transport the thing that violently was taken from vs by such as were more mighty than our selues, and these honourable souldiers should more easily haue digested with vs this lamentable calamity. But we haue lost that mony, and in very deed hauing as it were willingly bestowed it vpon the Georgians and Persians, to redeeme our liues, and to saue vs from their fury, are bound to repay it, or else for euer hereafter to be challenged by the King as lawfull debtors vnto him for it. And therefore my good friends and companions, if you will take a good course, let euery one of vs without further consultation, put his hand into his priuat purse (if he haue not foolishly cast that into the hands of the rauonaus enemy) and with our own money let vs succour the necessitie of these men, and haue regard to the honour of our King. So shall we make our flight lesse blame-worthie, wee shall iustifie our actions more honestly, and that which is of greatest importance, wee shall better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, *which he might most iustly conceiue against vs. I my selfe before you all am most ready to disburse foure thousand duckats towards it: if it shall please you all to follow me accordingly, we shall deliuer these souldiers from their great necessitie, and acquite our selues from the intricate bonds of most troublesome displeasures.*

The Turks out of their owne priuat purses relieue the Garison of Teflis.

There might a man haue seene a thousand countenances changed a thousand manner of waies; for one softly whispered many a curse and shame vpon the King, vpon *Mahomet*, yea and vpon God himself; another denied to disburse any thing; another determined priuily to steal away; and some said one thing, and some another: but in the end euery man was induced to follow the example of *Mahamet*; and thereupon hauing made a purse according to euery mans ability, there was collected thirty thousand Duckats among them. And presently after, word was sent to *Leuent Ogli* at Zaghen, to send thither grain, muttons, and other necessary prouision, that they might the better continue the defence of the Fort.

Two dayes onely stayed *Mahamet* in Teflis, and hauing changed such souldiers as desired to be dismissed, and also appointed *Homar Bassa* Gouernour of Teflis, in stead of *Giusuf* that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure consultation was had, Whether they should keep the way of Tomanis, or the way they came through the countrey of *Mustaffa* the Georgian: and in the end they resolued to keep the way of Tomanis, and thereupon order was taken that they should all passe the riuer. The Curdi were the first that went ouer, and had alreadie pitched their Tents vpon the farther side of the water; when the Generall began to reuoke his former order, and sent them word, That they should returne, because he was now determined to goe backe the same way he came. At which message the Sanzackes were in a rage, and in plain termes sent him answer, That these mutabilities beseemed not them, being men accustomed to warre, but to be rather childrens play, than manly resolution; and that for their parts they were minded not to change their journy, but would go on the same way they had begun: and so forwards they went (say the General what he could) and by the way of Tomanis arriued at Chars long before *Mahamet*; who was much grieued at this their so great disobedience: but seeing no other remedy, he with the Bassa of Caraemit and *Mustaffa* the Georgian, put themselues on their journey, euen by the same way they came to Teflis. At last *Mahamet* arriued at Altunchala, the chiefe Castle of *Mustaffa* the Georgian, and burning with the desire of reuenge of those losses, (which he thought himself to haue receiued by the treacherie of *Mustaffa*) or, as some thought, seeking by this meanes to make *Amurath* beleeue, that in truth all the forepassed mischiefes had hapned not through their cowardise, but through the treacherous and malitious deuices of the Georgian, and so to make their receiued losses seem more pardonable: he deuised with himselfe how to finde out such a plot, as that *Mustaffa* might vpon the sudden be taken away, as guilty of so foule a treason. And that he had deuised, was in this sort: To call a Councell into his owne Pauilion, as if hee had receiued some commandement from the Court; and hauing caused *Mustaffa* to come into that roome, whilest the said counterfeit commandment should be in reading, to cause his lieutenant with those chief of his band that stood about him, to fall vpon him and presently to cut off his head. This pretended Councell was accordingly called; wherein sate the Bassa himselfe, and with him the Bassa of Caraemit, certaine Sanzackes subiect to the Iurisdiction of Erzirum, the Capagi Bassa or chiefe Gentleman Vsher, and the Generals lieutenant, with whom hee had vpon their solemne oaths for secrecie, communicated his intended deceit. The Georgian *Mustaffa* was also called accordingly: who both

Mahamet purposeth to betray Mustaffa.

A both becauſe he was loued of moe than one, and had alſo vſed all diligent circumſpection, but eſpecially hauing heard in the army ſome priuy whiſperings of ſuch a matter, knew full wel of all that was deuiſed againſt him, and therfore prouided alſo for his own defence. But as touching his going to the Councel, he thought he might not deny ſo to do, leſt by his abſence he might ſeem guilty of the fault, wherof he was (peraduenture not without cauſe) ſuſpected; and therby to leaue his cities for a prey to the enemy, now in the heart of his Country. And therfore reſoluing to go, he deuiſed how ſo to do with moſt ſafety; and ſo, as if need ſhould be, he might be able to turn the miſchief intended againſt him, vpon the head of the General himſelf. And therfore hauing choſen out fifty of his moſt faithful and reſolute ſoldiers, he commanded them to follow him to the Councel appointed in the Generals pauilion; and being come thither, to ſtay there ready and attentiue at his firſt and one only cal, ſuddenly and forcibly to thruſt into the pauilion with their weapons, and rather than any wrong ſhould be don vnto him, to ſhew their valor againſt the Turks, without exception of any perſon whatſoeuer. Theſe men by nature enemies to the Turks, vnderſtanding well his meaning, ſetled themſelues vpon the execution, and taking vnto them ſome other alſo of their faithfull and truſty friends, followed him euen to the pauilion of *Mahamet*: where *Muſtaffa* entring the place of counſel, deſired of the General to know what his pleaſure was. Who preſently cauſed the counterfeit commandement to be read; wherunto *Muſtaffa* gaue an attentiue ear. But when the other Baſſa's and Sanzacks began to ſit down (contrary to the manner of the Turks, who whenſoeuer any commandement from the Emperor is in reading, vſe alwaies to ſtand vp
C and not to ſit down vntil it be ful read) the Georgian took his leaue, promiſing to be euer ready to perform not only that order of the Kings, but alſo whatſoeuer els he ſhould command. And being about to depart, the Capigi Baſſi or great Vſher of *Mahamet* came vnto him, and plucking him by the ſleeue, would haue forced him to ſit down. Then *Muſtaffa* crying aloud drew his ſword, wherwith he ſtrook *Mahamets* lieutenant, that was right againſt him; and hauing with his left hand wrought the roll from his pate, with his right hand ſuddenly (to the great aſtoniſhment of all that were there preſent) at one only blow parted his head, his necke, and his breſt in twain euen to his very ſtomack; ſo that he died (a ſtrange ſpectacle to behold) being thus cut in ſunder, with his cleft head and two ſhoulders hanging down vpon their ſeueral ſides. After this firſt he redoubled his ſecond ſtroke, aiming at the head of the Baſſa of
D Caraemit: but it being defended with the wrythen rolls of the turbant, it ſlipped down by his ear; yet ſo, that with a piece of the ſaid turbant it carried his ear quite away, with a little alſo of the fleſh of his cheek: and all inraged, eagerly aſſailed *Mahamet Baſſa* the General (who now all in confuſion was riſen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fiue mortal wounds, which were yet afterward by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him euen to deaths door. At the cry of this Georgian al his people ruſht in together: vpon whoſe confuſed tumult, and the fear that *Muſtaffa* through his fury had ſtrook into the Turks, the camp was preſently raiſed, and euery man with all ſpeed departing thence, put himſelfe on his way toward Chars; whither alſo were brought the two wounded Baſſa's, and the reſt that were il handled & much ſcared with theſe ſudden and vncoth ſtirs.

Muſtaffa notably reuenged vpon Mahamet.

E Of all this treachery intended againſt him, *Muſtaffa* ſent preſent information to the Turkiſh Emperor; finding himſelf greatly agrieued at the falſe ſuſpition that *Mahamet* had vniuſtly conceiued againſt him, to his great diſhonor: and wrought ſo cunningly, that *Amurath* in token of his good liking and contentment, ſent him both cloth of gold, and a battel-ax all gilt. *Mahamet* on the other ſide intermedling here and there with all the art he poſſibly could deuiſe, all hateful and iniurious termes, ſent large aduertiſements of all the misfortunes that had hapned; and aggrauated to the King, both the treacheries of *Muſtaffa*, and alſo the ſlender ſecurity of thoſe waies and countries.

As ſoon as *Amurath* vnderſtood the calamity of his ſouldiers, the loſſe of his money, the great diſhonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherin the fort of Teflis ſtood, when
F it was like to be abandoned; all inflamed with rage and anger he called vnto him the Baſſa's of his court (among whom ſate as chief the proud and hauty *Sinan*) and rated them al exceedingly; reprouing their lewd counſel, and recounting the loſſes that he had from time to time receiued, as if they had hapned through their defaults. And eſpecially *Sinan*, as the principall occaſion of all theſe miſchiefs: who like an improuident fool (as he ſaid) would needs relin-

quiſh the charge of his army,and like a king ſit idle at Conſtantinople, ſtanding as it were at G
ſome publique triumph, to behold and heare the miſeries and misfortunes of others, hauing before in the time that *Muſtapha* was General,vainly boaſted,with the like power that he had, to fetch the Perſian king out of Casbin,and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*; but had indeed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could do no leſſe but make anſwer to the wrathful King,yet not with ſuch mildneſſe and modeſty as he ſhould in ſuch a caſe peraduenture haue done;but in proud and peremptory manner, without any reuerence or regard told him plainly,That as the laſt year a little before his return to Conſtantinople, ſuccours had bin conueied to Teflis without any loſſe or trouble (as in truth they were) euen ſo had they bin this year alſo,if he had put his aduice in execution,as much as he deſpiſed and contemned it: for he did then giue him to vnderſtand,That *Mahamet Baſſa* could not be a fit man H
for ſo great a charge; and that it was neceſſary to haue choſen in his room ſome other Captain of valor and diſcretion. But ſeeing he would needs make choice of the ſame vnfit man, he was not now to blame any other for this errour,but only himſelfe. As for his comming to Conſtantinople,it was a thing long before thought moſt needful,not only for his aduice,how the matter of peace might be brought to ſome good pas, but alſo becauſe if that treaty came not to the deſired iſſue,then he had to talk with him how he might compas the ouerthrow of his enemy:which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare vnto him,but was now ready to reueal it,if it were ſo his pleaſure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieued with this ſullen anſwer, when he conſidered that a ſlaue of his own ſhould ſo arrogantly and manifeſtly reproue him of folly and improuidence. Notwithſtanding being deſirous to know of him what that ſecret I
and important matter was, which he had to reueal vnto him for the eaſie compaſſing of his commenced enterpriſe; he diſſembled his diſcontentment conceiued againſt him,and commanded him to diſcloſe thoſe his deuices which he had to vtter. *Sinan* in brief,of all his aduices propounded theſe two things:firſt his counſel was,not to proceed in this war as hitherto they had don,by ſeeking with forts and fortreſſes to hold and keep the enemies countries; for that their treaſures were not able to yeeld ſuch ſtore of money as were ſufficient to maintain ſo many and ſo great garriſons:contrary to the opinion of *Muſtapha* (of late dead) who with great pertinacy had perſuaded that dangerous,chargeable,and difficult manner of War. His ſecond aduice was,That the true means to bring this war to wiſhed end, conſiſted eſpecially in the reſolution of *Amurath* himſelf,who if he would go in perſon, & againſt ſo great K
a king oppoſe the perſon of a king,then might he moſt aſſuredly promiſe to himſelf all ſpeedy and honorable victory,for that at the only name of his comming the Perſians would eaſily come to any agreement;or if not,he might then proceed in his wars, and ſo obtain moſt glorious conqueſts.This his aduice ſo little pleaſed the effeminat king,that in ſtead of the great opinion which he before held of him,he now conceiued an enuious affection againſt him: & a further ſuſpition(ſoſtred by the great ladies of the court,eſpecially *Amuraths* mother)That *Sinan* had thus counſelled the king, himſelf to go in perſon, not for any good could come of it,but only that ſo he might finde meanes for the prince his ſon to make himſelf king, and to driue out his father. Which ſuſpition was in ſuch ſort nouriſhed in *Amuraths* mind, eſpecially being aſſured of the great affection which the prince caried toward *Sinan*,and he alſo to- L
ward him,that he reſolued to rid him out of his ſight;and ſo depriuing him of all charge preſently baniſhed him the court,& out of Conſtantinople to Demotica a city of Thrace; from whence he afterwards by moſt humble ſupplication obtained to be remooued to Marmara a little beyond Selymbria. And into his place of Viſierſhip was preferred *Sciaus Baſſa*,who had maried *Amuraths* ſiſter;an Hungarian born,a goodly perſonage, and of honorable iudgement, but aboue all men a ſeller of juſtice and preferments,and yet a great friend to the peace with the Chriſtian princes,which *Sinan* had alwaies moſt wickedly maligned.

Sinans proud anſwer to Amurath.

Sciaus Baſſa made Viſier in Sinans place.

1582. The Perſian Captaines in the mean time, with their ſpoyles and diuers of the enemies Enſignes, were with great ioy and triumph receiued at home in Perſia. But when the diſcord that fell out between *Mahamet Baſſa* and *Muſtaffa* the Georgian was alſo reported,the former M
ioy was redoubled; euery man in generall being of opinion, That theſe diſcords might bee great impediments vnto the Turks further attempts into Perſia; which it was much feared they would the next year attempt,to the great danger of Naſſivan & Tauris. Vpon which occaſions the Perſian king perceiuing he could not haue a fitter opportunity to imploy himſelf againſt

A againſt *Abas Mirize* his ſon (then with him in diſgrace) determined with himſelf to leaue the matters on this ſide of his kingdom in their preſent ſtate, and to march toward Heri. Whereunto he was earneſtly ſolicited by his eldeſt ſon *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but eſpecially by *Mirize Salmas* his Viſier. Vpon which reſolution, committing the defence of Reivan, Naſſivan, and that ſide of his kingdom to *Emir Chan* gouernor of Tauris; hee ſet forward himſelf with his army towards Casbin, and ſo marching thorow diuers prouinces, arriued at length at Saſuar, being on that ſide the chief of all the cities ſubiect to the juriſdiction of Heri: which city he took by force, & without delay cauſed the gouernor therof to be beheaded, although he aledged a thouſand excuſes for himſelf, and obiected a thouſand accuſations more againſt the ſeditious Viſier. The King after this departing thence, and hauing alſo put to death certaine
B captains and Sultans, that were accuſed by the Viſier to be confederats in the rebellion of his ſon, he arriued at laſt at the deſired city of Heri. Very ſtrong is this City by ſcituation, compaſſed about with a good wall, and watered with deep chanels of running ſprings, conueyed into it by *Tamerlane* their founder or reſtorer. Beſides that, there were in it many valiant captains, enemies to *Mirize Salmas*, ready to lay down their liues in defence of themſelues and of *Abas* their Lord; ſo that the winning therof could not but proue both long and difficult. So ſoon as the King approched the city, he felt in himſelf many troubled paſſions ariſing of grief and pitty; it grieued him to think that he ſhould beget ſo graceles a ſon, who in ſtead of maintaining his ſtate and honour, ſhould ſeek his ruin and deſtruction. It grieued him alſo to remember the bloud of his ſubiects, before ſpilt vpon ſo ſtrange an occaſion; and ſcarſly durſt
C he enter into the cogitation, thenceforth to ſhed any more of the bloud of his people. Neuertheles being ſtil more and more ſolicited by his Viſier, he attempted to vnderſtand the mind of his ſon, and if it might be poſſible, to get him into his hands. But while the king trauelling with theſe thoughts lay with his army before Heri, *Abas Mirize* in the mean time writ diuers letters to his father and his brother; wherin he beſought them, That they would make known vnto him the occaſion of this their ſtir: for if deſire of rule had mooued them to ſeek the depriuation of him, being their ſon and brother, from the honor he lawfully poſſeſſed, & which his father himſelf procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*, they ought to abandon their imagination, for that he was alwaies ready to ſpend his wealth and his bloud, together with his eſtate, in their ſeruice, and acknowledge his father to be his good father and King. But if
D they were not induced herunto for this cauſe, but by a deſire they had to reuenge ſome treſpaſſes that he had committed, to the preiudice of the crown of Perſia, or his fathers honor, he was moſt ready to ſubmit himſelf to any amends, and with all reaſon to yeeld vnto them the kingdom, yea the whole world, and euen his own life, the rather to ſatisfie their minds with a more ful contentation. With twice or thrice reading ouer, were theſe affectionat letters conſidered and digeſted; and at laſt, both the father and brother perceiuing in them ſuch liberality of words, and ouercome with pitty, or if not with pitty, yet with great admiration and contentment, they determined to put the matter in practiſe; and moderating their deſire of reuenge, to attempt to reduce the yong mans mind to ſome good paſſe. Wherupon they wrot back vnto him, That no greedy deſire to vſurp his gouernment had induced them to make ſo
E great a voyage, to trouble ſo much people, and to ſhed ſuch abundance of bloud; but only his diſobedience and preſumption, in that he had cauſed himſelf to be called the King of Perſia, and had not ſent ſo much as one captain to aid them in the late wars againſt the Turks. Glad was *Abas* the yong prince, when he vnderſtood the accuſations that were laid againſt him; hoping to make it manifeſt before all men, how the King and his brother were miſ informed in theſe particularities: and therfore incontinently did write back vnto them, That if they would faithfully promiſe him, honorably and without any outrage to receiue his Embaſſadours, hee would ſend them ſuch euident matter, and ſo cleer information touching thoſe his accuſations, as that they ſhould not onely plainely perceiue that there was neuer any ſuch kinde of thought in him, but alſo that he had alwaies deſired and labored the contrary; & would more-
F ouer open vnto them ſuch matter, as in reſpect of other men, and not of himſelf, might cauſe their comming to proue profitable & commodious to all the kingdom of Perſia. Which his requeſt they both ſolemnly promiſed faithfully to performe, beeing very deſirous to vnderſtand what thoſe ſtrange nouelties ſhould be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* ſent vnto them two of his chief counſellors, men of great account and reuerence both for their years and wiſdom,

Mahamet the Perſian King reſolueth to go to Heri againſt his ſonne Abas Mirize.

Mahamet commeth to Heri.

Abas Mirize by his Embassadors purged of treason.

with full instructions, who after many speeches, in the end swearing (according to their Custome) by the Creator that spread out the aire, that founded the earth vpon the deeps, that adorned the heauen with stars, that poured abroad the water, that made the water; and briefly, of nothing, brought forth all things, swearing by the head of *Ali*, and by the religion of their Prophet *Mahomet*, that such peruerse thoughts neuer entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they alledged many testimonies and manifest proofes, that most loyally in all due time, as well when he was aduanced to the kingdome of Persia, as also in his battels against the Turks, his son had alwaies caused deuout prayers and supplications to be made to God for his prosperitie; neither euer desired to heare any other but happy and fortunat succesſe of him. They brought with them 10000 and 1000 precepts and loyall letters, which the young man had caused to be written, as occasions required to the Gouernours that were his subiects, for the gouernment of the State, wherin he neuer named himselfe king of Persia, but only, Your King and Gouernor of Heri. They prayed the king also, to cause a diligent processe to be framed against his son; and if there should be found in him any sign or shadow of so wicked a suspition, then to take from him his estate and liberty; offring themselues to remaine as hostages for him. But when all this should be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from these vniust accusations, then (falling euen to the earth and kissing it) they besought him, and as it were coniured him, not to leaue the matter thus imperfect, to the preiudice of his bloud; but returning to his counsellor, to take information likewise, vpon what mind and consideration he had aduised the King, to take vpon him this vnorderly and dangerous voyage; where no doubt hee should find nothing in him but malignant, ambitious, and wicked affections; and such as euen deserued, that with his bloud there should be reuenged all the bloud of those, which till that hour had bin brought to their vnworthy & vndeserued deaths. And forasmuch as nothing remained, wherof the Visier had informed the king against his son, but the commandement that was giuen by *Abas Mirize* to the Gouernours vnder him, That they should not go to the wars against the Turks: they confessed in truth, that such an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traiterous end and purpose as was reported to the king by his great counsellor, but onely in respect of an inuasion iustly feared in those quarters by the Tartarian *Iesselbas*; who by diuers inrodes had alreadie don great harm in the country about Heri, and put young *Abas* and his counsellors in such a feare, that they durst not disfurnish their Cities of their guards and forces: and therfore had commanded the said Gouernours, not to go to war against the Turks, but to stay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing signified vnto the Visier himselfe: which he of a malicious mind had concealed, only to try, if in these common troubles he could bring to passe, that *Abas Mirize* and the king might be taken away, & *Emir Hamze* succeed in his place, and so he himself remain the Superintendent of his son in law, and Moderator of that so famous kingdom. Of which so treacherous a purpose, they (for all that) thought *Emir Hamze* the young Prince altogether ignorant (knowing his honourable disposition and loue towards his owne kindred) but imputed it only to the immoderat and ambitious desire of the wicked traitor *Mirize Salmas*.

The Embassadors of Abas accuse Mirize Salmas the Visier.

Of these graue speeches of the Embassadors, *Mahamet* the father (by nature credulous) began to make great construction; and deeply to consider of their so earnest and important requests; which seemed vnto him so vpright and equall, as that he could not chuse but hearken vnto the same. And therefore calling vnto him the Gouernors, the Captaines, the Iudges, and Treasurers of all the cities that were subiect to Heri: he demanded of them, how and in what sort they esteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of honour he desired to be esteemed of them: and of them all receiued one answer, That they held him for their Lord & lieutenant to the king of Casbin, and that himselfe had alwaies desired to be so taken and thought of: for proofe whereof, euery one of them brought in diuers letters, precepts, and orders; wherein he neuer caused himself to be honored with any other title, but only, Your king of Heri. He demanded further, Whether any such warres were attempted by the Tartarian *Iesselbas* or not: whereof he receiued a large and solemne information, that so it was, to the great detriment of all those territories. And thus the king was throughly persuaded of the innocencie of his son; who before was noted vnto him by his Visier, to be an obstinat Rebel. Vpon which occasion only, although he might iustly haue put him to death, as author of so great troubles & bloudshed; yet because he would be better inform'd of the truth of the accusations laid against him

by

A by the Embaſſadours, he reſolued to make a curious & diligent inquiſition thereof: and therfore firſt of all in great ſecrecie he examined *Emir Aamze* his eldeſt ſonne, wherefore he had aduiſed this journy againſt his brother *Hbas*, whom he had found guiltles of all thoſe crimes that were obiected againſt him? Whereunto the Prince anſwered, That he had no other certaintie of the pretended euill behauiour of his brother, but only that which proceeded from the great credit that he alwaies gaue to his father in law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom as to a chief Counſellor, his father in law, and protector of the Kingdome, he had alwaies yeelded aſſured credence: and ſo diſcharged the whole tempeſts of all thoſe miſchiefes vpon the Viſier. Touching whom the King made diligent inquiſition, as well among thoſe of the Court, as of the army; and therby found him guilty of all that the Embaſſadors of Heri had accuſed him: and
B that being alwaies acquainted with the true occaſions which reſtrained the Gouernours of Heri (ſubiect to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the war againſt the Turks, he had moſt maliciouſly concealed the ſame, of purpoſe to hatch ſuch a ſtrange and dangerous diſcontentment, as had wrought the vnworthy death of many great men, and almoſt defiled the hands of the father with the innocent bloud of his guiltleſſe ſon. For which ſo foule a treaſon the falſe Viſier was worthily condemned to die, and his wily head by commandment of the King, ſtrucke from his carkaſſe. Iuſtly rewarded, with the ſame puniſhment which he vniuſtly ſought to haue conuerted vpon others; and with his own deſtruction pacified the diſſention and battels that were riſen between the two Princes. And ſo the two brethren being reconciled together, and the ſon to the father; after that *Abas* had again promiſed his wiſhed obedience (which he
C afterwards moſt dutifully performed) King *Mahamet* returned with the Prince towards Caſbin: where by reaſon of new and vnexpected motions of the Turks, he had now been long looked for and deſired.

Mirize Salmas beheaded for treaſon.

Amurath through the rough ſpeeches of *Sinan*, was more and more ſetled in his purpoſe for the continuing of the Perſian warre; accounting it ſo much the more to his owne glory, as it ſhould in happy ſucceſſe fall out contrary to the opinion of many: and therupon began to bethinke himſelfe, whom he might chuſe for his Generall, to whom he might commit ſo great a charge. Among the Baſſa's of the court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe yeres, but yet fierce of courage, tough of opinion, in counſell as hardy as might beſeeme his age, ready for all ſudden & ſtrange aduentures, but aboue all, a vaſſall moſt deuoted to the king: of this man, at laſt
D he was reſolued to make choice to haue the leading of his army: and therefore calling him apart, declared vnto him what he had in himſelf purpoſed; incouraging him to take the charge vpon him, with a firm reſolution to perform all things anſwerable to ſo worthy an enterpriſe, with the opinion he had conceiued of his valor. Very willing did *Ferat* accept of this new office; and thought himſelf (as indeed he was) highly fauored by the King: and thereupon made him a large promiſe, to imploy his ſtrength, his wit, and vttermoſt deuoire, to put in execution whatſoeuer ſhould be offered vnto him, either by occaſion, or by his royall commandement.

Ferat Baſſa choſen Generel in Sinans place

At firſt *Amurath* had no other purpoſe to imploy him any further, but only to aſſure the paſſage to Teflis, and ſo into all Georgia; and to haue deſtroied the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, who had ſo audaciouſly iniured the lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole army
E in confuſion: but being certainly aduertiſed of the troubles in Perſia between the king & his ſonne, he changed his purpoſe, and commanded *Ferat* to imploy all his forces to erect a fortreſſe at Reiuan, a place belonging to Tocomac, and to aſſure the paſſage from Chars to Reiuan; for ſo they ſhould be reuenged of many harms they had receiued by him, and lay open the way to the city of Tauris, to the great glory of *Amurath*. As for *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, although he had well deſerued to be chaſtiſed for his raſh attempt againſt *Mahamet Baſſa*, being then his Generall, yet he willed *Ferat* to diſſemble his euill opinion of him; and (if it were poſſible) ſo to work, as to vſe him as an inſtrument to conuey treaſure and ſuccors to Teflis: for by this means the paſſage being made ſafe, all Georgia would without any moe fortreſſes be ſubdued, and then the next yeare they might attempt the enterpriſe for Tauris.

F Highly did *Ferat* commend the deuices of *Amurath* his Lord, and ſhewed himſelfe ready for any attempt. And ſo the time being come wherin it behoued them to ſet on foot their important deſignements, in the beginning of the yeare, 1583, commandements were ſent out to al the cities of the empire, which were wont to make their appearance at theſe wars, that vpon 1583.

freſh ſummons they ſhould be ready to return againſt the Perſians, and to put in execution G
that ſhould be injoined them by their new General. The fame wherof flew as far as Siria, Iury, Paleſtine, Meſopotamia, Babylon, to Balſara, to Sivas, to Maras, to all Bithynia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Armenia; yea & beyond Conſtantinople to the borders of Hungary and Græce, and in brief, to all the regions that were wont to come to this war: all which ſent their captains and ſoldiers accordingly. And ſo at laſt General *Ferat* departing from Conſtantinople, & paſſing
Generall Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople ouer to Scutari, by the way of Amaſia and Sivas came to Erzirum, where he took a view of all his armor & prouiſion; and from thence in eight days ariued at Chars, conducted by the Perſian fugitiue *Maxut Chan*; and from Chars ſet himſelf on his way toward Reivan. Three days before he came to Reivan, of certain ruins of an old caſtle which the Turks cal Aggia Chalaſi (or the caſtle of Strangers) he erected a new fortres, and left in it a Gariſon of 400 ſouldiers, H
with a Sanzack and certain pieces of Ordnance; and then went to Reivan. This country is diſtant from Tauris eight or nine days journy; betweene which two places is ſcituat Naſſivan, Chiulfal, Marant and Sofian; all inriched with goodly gardens and pleaſant greens. But in the way are many craggy mountains to be climed, and ſundry hard paſſages either for Army or traueller.

He buildeth a great fort at Reivan. Here then did *Ferat* incamp himſelf with his Army, and taking aduice of his chiefe Captsins, where he ſhould build the fort, they all with one conſent aduiſed him to ſeiſe vpon the houſes and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, incloſing the gardens with ſtrong walls and deep Ditches round about, wherinto he conueyed water from a certain riuer, that comming down from the mountains ran into Araxis. Which worke I
he performed with ſuch expedition, that within the ſpace of 15 days the fortres was finiſhed, being in circuit ſeuen hundred and fifty yards. It grieued *Tocomac* exceedingly, thus to loſe his country and dwelling, and ſo much the more, for that it hapned ſo ſuddenly, and as it were vnlooked for. He himſelf, as ſoon as he vnderſtood that the Turkiſh army was comming vnto that coaſt, hauing withdrawn himſelf and his men of War out of the City he could not keep, ſought by all means to be reuenged, if not altogether, yet in ſome part, of this ſo great an injury: and therfore he writ to the king at Chorazan, to *Emir Chan* at Tauris, to *Simon* in Georgia; he gathered ſoldiers out of the villages, and vſed all his poſſible indeauor to inable himſelf to anoy the enemies army. But from none of theſe places could he receiue any helpe; the King being ſo far off in wars againſt his ſon, the Georgian being buſied, by hindring any reliefe to K
be brought to the beſieged in Teflis: as for *Emir Chan* (who by ſolemn promiſe vnto the King before his departure to Heri, had vndertaken the defence of that ſide of the kingdome againſt the Turks) he either would not or could not ſtir, nor ſent ſo much as one ſouldier, hauing (as ſome ſuppoſed) ſecret intelligence with General *Ferat*, not to diſturb him in this his Worke. So *Tocomac* deſtitute of all other help, and not able to do much himſelf againſt ſo mighty an enemy; yet ceaſed not to lay ſuch priuy ambuſhes for the Turks as he could, killing of them ſomtime 100, ſomtime 150, and ſomtimes moe, as they fell into his danger. And to eaſe his ſtomack againſt *Emir Chan* (who ſitting ſtil at Tauris as it were to behold his miſerie, would not ſo much as ſhake a ſword againſt theſe ſpoiling Turks) he ſpared not to diſpatch certain horſmen in haſt to the king at Chorazan, and by eloquent letters to amplifie the cowardiſe of L
Emir Chan; intermedling withall ſome cauſes of ſuſpition that he had intelligence with the Turkiſh General.

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at Reivan, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furniſhed it with artillery and all other things needful for defence therof, appointed *Sinan Baſſa* (the ſon of *Cicala Baſſa* a Renegat of Genoa, whom *Selymus* the late Emperour in the flour of his youth created Aga or Captain of the Ianizaries) with a garriſon of 8000 ſoldiers to keep the ſame. And ſo departing thence by the way of Aggia Chalaſi, in ten days arriued with his Army at Chars.

Ferat had not long ſtayd at Chars, but ſtrange news were brought thither, That *Muſtaffa* the Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had ſent thirty thouſand ducats by two of his Capigi and two M
of his Chiaus, to haue by him bin conueyed to Teflis for the relief of them in the Fort) was reuolted from the Turkiſh obedience, and being now become a Rebel, had left that fortreſſe in moſt manifeſt danger to yeeld, if by ſome other means it were not relieued. Which ſtrange

nouelties

A nouelties exceedingly troubled the General; who to know the certaintie therof, called before him all such as were the messengers of this misfortune. By whom he was certainly informed, That *Mustaffa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themselues vpon their way toward Teflis with the treasure, garded with a conuoy of 500 of his soldiers, in the mid way had met with his cousin *Simon* the Georgian, by whom he was persuaded to return to his antient faith and religion (which he had to the great peril of his soul so prophanely abandoned) and to shake off the seruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other recompence than an hateful and infamous captiuitie, and in the end some fraudulent and treacherous death. And that his persuasions had so preuailed with *Mustaffa*, that he caused the two Capigi and the Chiaus to be apprehended and presently beheaded, and diuiding the treasure with his said cousin, had
B with him and his other kinsmen vowed a solemne and perpetual confederacie: and so hauing withdrawn themselues to their wonted passages, lay there in wait for such succours as should by the Turks be brought to Teflis.

When *Ferat* vnderstood these and such other particularities, he all in a fury swore, that he would not return to Erzirum til he had put all the Country of *Mustaffa* to fire and sword. Yet first he thought it needfull to relieue Teflis, which otherwise would be in danger to yeeld to the enemy: and for that purpose made choice of *Hassan Bassa*, who in the last year of the Generalship of *Mustapha* had most couragiously conueied the like succors, and taken *Aliculi Chan*. Vnto him therfore did the Generall assigne forty thousand Ducats, with other prouision ne-
C cessary for that seruice; and for the more security appointed him fifteen thousand of the most choice and valiant souldiers of his whole Army, to conduct the same. In ten dayes space *Hassan Bassa* went and came from Teflis, hauing in his journey to and fro had many skirmishes with the Georgians, wherin he lost some few of his men, without any further losse worth remembrance.

After this, the General sent one *Resuan Bassa* with six thousand souldiers to spoil the Country of *Mustaffa* the Georgian the late Renegate, but now become a Rebel to the Turk. Which *Resuan* without any long stay ouer-ran all his territory, burnt his towns, and committed most vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the insencible trees, and caried away with him many captiue souls, with much Corn and Cattell, like a raging tempest destroying whatsoeuer came in his way. Now was the General also retyred to Ardachan, whither came *Resuan*
D to meet him with his aforesaid booty. But because they had now performed what they before intended, and the approch of Winter persuaded their return, they remoued from Ardachan, and by the way of Olti retyred to Erzirum; from whence all the souldiers were licensed to depart to their seueral places of abode, and a memorial sent to *Amurath*, of all the actions had bin performed, and especially of the good seruice don by *Hassan Bassa*: Who for the same was now once again honored by the King with cloath of gold, a battel-ax and Targuet all gilt. *Ferat breaketh vp his Army.*

About this time one *Podolovius* a gentleman of Polonia, sent by *Stephen* king of Polonia to Constantinople, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certain horses in Anatolia; returning homeward with 24 goodly horses which he had bought, was notwithstanding the great Turks Passe
E by his commandement staid vpon the way, all his men (in number 34) slain, except one boy, who getting into a Wood escaped; and *Podolovius* his head struck off. The horses brought back to Constantinople, were by the appointment of *Amurath*, some bestowed into his owne stables, and the rest giuen amongst the Bassa's, oftentimes pointed at with the fingers of the Turks, in derision of the King of Polonia. This injurie *Amurath* commanded to be don in reuenge of an outrage don by the Polonian Cossacks against the Turks: wherof news was but euen then brought to the court.

The 29 of Nouember, *An.* 1583, died *Hama Chadum*, the widow of the late Emperor *Selymus* the second, and *Amuraths* mother, who lieth buried by her husband *Selymus*, and his fiue sons, strangled by their brother *Amurath*. *The death of Amuraths mother.*

F All the rest of this year 1583 *Ferat* spent at Erzirum, and afterwards sent out his ordinarie commandements to all the accustomed cities, to summon the soldiers against the next spring in the year 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and enginiers than euer had bin gathered in these Wars heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would go to Nassivan, and there do great matters. At which report the Persians were much mooued, and began 1584. *Ferat raiseth a new Army.*

gan to caſt many things in their heads about it:but aboue al others the King;who vnderſtanding at Casbin of all that had before hapned at Reivan, and of the new preparations of the Turks,began to fear that they would this year paſſe to Tauris,or at leaſtwiſe(as was reported) to Naſſivan,and in thoſe places build new fortreſſes,to the great danger of the Prſian empire. And therfore retaining ſtil ſuch forces as he brought with him from Heri, and commanding as many moe as he could out of all the cities that were ſubiect vnto him, to follow him vnto Tauris,he arriued there with his army not long after the ariual of *Ferat Baſſa* at Erzirum. This vnexpected comming of the Perſian King with ſo great an army to Tauris, filled the World with expectation of great matters to haue bin don by him againſt the Turks: inſomuch that *Ferat* the general,before he would proceed any further,thought it good to aduertiſe *Amurath* of the matter:declaring vnto him,that his deſire was to go to Naſſivan, and there to build a fortreſſe,according to his commandement,and ſo to lay open a paſſage to Tauris. But hauing certain intelligence,that the Perſian king was come to Tauris with a huge army,and ful reſolution to incounter him; he thought it his duty not to put in execution his aforeſaid determination,without his expres commandment. To whom *Amurath* preſently wrot back,that the matter ſo ſtanding,he ſhould not go to Naſſivan,but only imploy his forces to aſſure the paſſages to Tomanis and Lori,that ſo the fort of Teflis might the year following be relieued by ſome ſmall band,without ſending any great army for the conueying of ſuccors thither. This new commandement of his Lord *Ferat* kept ſecret to himſelf, cauſing the rumor of his going to Naſſivan to be more and more increaſed; of purpoſe to nouriſh the opinion that the Perſians had before conceiued of his comming thither: and ſo deluding them, with leſſe danger to build the forts he had intended,for the quieting of thoſe moſt dangerous paſſages of Lori and Tomanis.

The Perſian king at Tauris with a great army.

Vpon this reſolution *Ferat* hauing gathered together his people,with all things neceſſary for his purpoſe,remoued with his army from Erzirum towards Chars,where he ſtaid ten days to take a new ſuruey both of his ſouldiers and prouiſion. And ſo departing thence,ſet forward toward Lori; ſending before him *Haſſan Baſſa* with fiue thouſand light horſemen to ſcour the Country euen to Tomanis, and to learn what he poſſibly could of the enemies purpoſes,and of the ſtate of Georgia. Which thing *Haſſan* dutifully performed,ſpeedily ſcouring ouer all the woods,and diſcloſing all the paſſages from thence to Lori, and ſo to Tomanis,not meeting with any vpon whom to aſſay his valour:only certain Robbers vpon the highway,whom he cauſed to be ſlain,as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and Perſian affairs,and their heads to be ſet vpon the tops of their launces; and ſo returned again to Lori. Where hauing ſtayd one day he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that had hapned in that excurſion. *Ferat* being come to Lori,there incamped his Army. This place did ſomtime belong to *Simon* the Georgian,wel ſtrengthned with an high caſtle, compaſſed about with very deep Ditches,and a thick Wall almoſt a mile in circuit, but was then ſomewhat weakned with time. It is diſtant from Teflis about two daies journy of a Cariers pace. Vpon this Caſtle *Ferat* ſeiſed,and hauing repaired the Walls, and ſtrengthned the breaches, he placed therin *Ali Baſſa* of Greece, with ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers for the defence therof, and planted vpon the Walls two hundred ſmall pieces of Ordnance. And ſo when he had ſet all things there in good order, he departed thence with his Army towards Tomanis, hauing before commanded *Ali Baſſa* at ſome conuenient time to fortifie Saitan Chalaſi (a Caſtle about ten miles diſtant from Lori) and therin to place a conuenient garriſon of ſouldiers and Artillery.

Ferat builds a fort vpon the ſtreit.

Four daies were they going from Lori to Tomanis, being ordinarily but one daies worke from the one place to the other:but now the General would needs ſo make it,to take the ſpoil of thoſe rich fields,abounding with corn,cattel, and fruit, and to leaue to the country people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At laſt being come to Tomanis,in times paſt a Caſtle of *Symons*, but by reaſon of theſe Wars by him then abandoned) he began to conſult with the other Captains,how and where the Fort ſhould be erected for the aſſurance of that country. But after many diſcourſes,it was at laſt concluded not to fortifie in that caſtle,as being too far from the ſtreit,to make that dangerous paſſage ſafe & ſecure;but to go a little farther, and to build a Fortreſſe vpon the very mouth of the ſtreit. So the Army marching forward a few miles,at the very entrance of the narrow paſſage found the ruins of another caſtle,

and

A and neer therunto ſtaid themſelues. This ſteep headlong caſtle was ſo compaſſed round about with a thicke wood, which hindred all diſcouery afar off, that it was not conuenient to found ſuch a caſtle there, from whence their Ordnance could neither auaile them to whom the defence thereof ſhould bee committed, neither indamage thoſe that ſhould come to offend it. And therefore the Generall commanded, that euery man with all his endeauors ſhould lay to his hand for the cutting down of that thicke wood, and making way through thicke and thin, to lay it for an open champaign, that was before the receptacle of a thouſand dangerous treacheries. In very ſhort ſpace were the trees laid along on the ground, the place made lightſome and open, and a very commodious ſcituation prepared for the foundation of a caſtle. The plot *The compaſſe of the caſtle built at Tomanis by Ferat.*
of the old ruined Caſtle was compaſſed about with a wall of a thouſand and ſeuen hundred
B yards, and in the midſt therof was erected a ſtrong Keep, ſundry lodgings and chambers builded, and 200 pieces of Ordnance diſtributed vpon the new wals. After that, the Generall ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* and the Baſſa of Caraemit, with 20000 of his moſt choice ſouldiers, to conuey ſuccors to Teflis: who marching cloſely together in the direct way, in one day arriued at the ſaid Fort; wherein they beſtowed their ſupplies, and changing the Gouernor thereof, ſubſtituted in his room one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occaſion only called a Baſſa. Whileſt *Reſuan* yet lay thus incamped vnder Teflis, *Daut Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of theſe wars, at the comming of *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall into Georgia, had fled out of Teflis, came now with all his family, and offered himſelfe as a ſubiect and deuoted vaſſall to the Turkiſh Emperour: whom *Reſuan* entertained with great promiſes and large aſſurances of all
C good ſucceſſe, according to his deſire.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* ſtaying at ths ſtreits of Tomanis with his army, had ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* with a far leſſe number than indeed he had, to ſuccor Teflis: Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Reſuan*, and to giue him battell. Vpon which reſolution without further delay, being accompanied but with 4000 Georgians, partly ſubiects of his owne, and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all ſpeed poſſible went againſt *Reſuan*. But whileſt *Simon* was going thitherwards, Generall *Ferat* fearing the worſt, had already by chance diſpatched away the two Baſſa's of Caramania and Maras, with 10000 ſoldiers, to the end that ioyning themſelues with the ſoldiers of *Reſuan*, they ſhould at all aduentures be ſo much the ſtronger. Now *Simon* going reſolutely on, found *Reſuan* incamped
D with 6000 ſoldiers only, at the foot of an hill, on the backe ſide whereof lay all the reſt of the army; and preſently gaue a charge vpon him: when the ſoldiers behind the hill being aware of his comming, were ready all at once with their weapons to receiue him. Who now perceiuing his error, repented himſelf to haue ſo raſhly aſſaulted his enemies, ſeeing now no other remedie but to be vtterly vndone. But ſeeing that he had now ſo far ingaged himſelfe, as that hee could not by flight but increaſe his grief, and make the iſſue more lamentable; with theſe few ſouldiers which he had, he endured the fury of the great army of *Reſuan*, ſo that on both ſides there was ioyned a moſt cruell battell: wherein the ſtrange and vnuſuall valour of thoſe few Chriſtians was much to be wondred at: yet in the end the huge number of the Turkiſh ſwords and ſpeares ſo preuailed vpon that ſmall number of the Georgians, as that they were brought
E to great extremitie: yea *Simon* himſelfe hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, fel downe headlong to the ground, and in his fal was very neer to haue bin taken priſoner, as was his lieutenant and many other his followers, had he not been relieued by an vnexpected and maruellous chance: *Simon in danger to haue bin taken, eſcapeth by a ſtrange chance.*
for whiles the battell was euen at the greateſt heat betweene them, *Reſuan* diſcouered the two Baſſaes of Caramania and Maras, who (as is before ſaid) were newly ſent by General *Ferat* to ſuccour him; but both by the ſaid *Reſuan*, and alſo by the reſt of his army, were indeed thought to be Perſians: whereupon they were incontinently ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, inſomuch that they now became very doubtfull of the victory, whereof they thought themſelues before aſſured. In this ſuſpence and doubtfulneſſe of mind the battell was alſo intermitted, and the victory by the ſight of thoſe their friends diſturbed: whereby the Georgians,
F and eſpecially *Simon*, whoſe eſtate was almoſt deſperate, tooke the opportunitie to eſcape and ſaue themſelues; leauing behind them moſt ſure ſignes of their valour among the Turks, of whom many remained there ſlaine, many wounded. and many filled with great maruell and vnexpected feare. Thus eſcaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his knowne places of refuge, there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his ſubiects. But *Reſuan*

after

after he had discouered the Bassa's approching toward him, to be his known friends and confederats, fretted in himself exceedingly, that *Simon* had so escaped his hands: yet holding on his way to Tomanis, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the standards of *Simon* al along the ground, and causing many of the Georgians heads to be caried vpon his soldiers launces, to the great ioy of General *Ferat*, to whom he deliuered all the prisoners taken in the battell, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who hauing in times past renounced his first faith, was become a Persian; and now again despising the vain superstition of the Persians, had yeelded himself to the vanity of the Turks, and made himself a voluntary slaue to *Amurath*. G

Now was the year so far spent, that euery man began to fear the winters approch; and therfore the General determined to remoue thence, and to withdraw himself into places of more safety. And so hauing set all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Hassan* to be Bassa of Tomanis, and left with him 8000 select soldiers, chosen out of all the army, for the defence of that fort and the country therabout. Deeply had *Ferat* laid vp the outrage committed by *Mustaffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manucchiar*) in taking away the Kings treasure, and killing the two Capigi and the Chiaus; and therfore resolued with himself, not to return to Chars or Erzirum, vnles he had first passed into the Country of the sayd Georgian, and in most cruel maner reuenged those notable injuries before receiued. In three daies he arriued at Triala, and there incamped: but lying there, such an vnwonted dearth and scarcity of all things possessed the Army, but especially of victuals, that euery fiue bushels and a half of wheat was sold at fiue hundred Ducats, to the vniuersal calamitie of the whole Army. H

A wonderfull dearth in the Turks army at Triala.

From this place the General was minded to go on forward toward the country of *Manucchiar*; but whilst he was vpon the raising of his tents, one *Veis* Bassa of Aleppo came vnto him and told him, that it was not good now to spend the time in wandring about those countries, for that there were three very great enemies confederat together, to make this enterprise very difficult, and almost impossible and desperat: one was the season of the year, being now ful of snows, frost and tempest: another was the want and scarsnes of all things necessary, especially of victuals: the third was the people of Georgia, who by a common vniting of themselues together, and peraduenture aided by the Persians, might work some notable mischief against the army. This speech of *Veis* so much offended the Generall, that he most sharpely rebuked him, and with bitter terms reproued him; telling him flatly, that he well perceiued that he was brought vp among mountains and villages, and of a villein (as he was) vpon some superfluitie of grace, or foolish importunity, aduanced to the honour of a Bassa, and that therefore he should not haue presumed so much as to thinke it lawfull for him, so impudently and malapertly to come and giue him such aduertisements; whereas it had bin his duty rather to haue held his peace, and to haue hearkened to the commandements of his betters and superiours, yeelding himselfe obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the same. With this rebuke the Generall passed on to Archelech, burning and in a maner destroying the country before him, though indeed it was in amity and confederation with the Turks. But the inhabitants of Archelech vpon the comming of the Turks had abandoned the city, and for feare withdrawn themselues into the mountains. In Archelech *Ferat* incamped, and staied the space of foure daies among the rocky crags, and in a barren soile yeelding necessary sustenance neither for man nor beast; so that euery man there endured vnspeakeable miseries: yet for the space of foure daies the souldiers with patience endured this so great a calamity. But in the end, the fall of an huge snow being added to these extremities, did so greatly increase their griefes, that all the Ianizaries and Spaoglans of Constantinople arose in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in despightfull and contemptuous manner with very haughty and resolute termes said vnto him: I K L

The insolent speech of the mutinous souldiers against Ferat their Generall.

And how long shall we endure this thy tedious and insolent gouernment? Where is the due commiseration that thou oughtest to beare toward the Vassales of thy Soueraigne, thou rusticall and vnreasonable Captaine? Dost thou thinke haply, that we keep our Harlots as thou dost vnder thy sumptuous pauilions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate viands, whilst others liue in miserie? Doest thou beleeue that we haue as thou hast, our dainty sugars, spices, and conserues, whereby to restore vs, in the common calamitie of others? And that we haue at command meat and pretious wines, which thou minglest with thy cleere and pleasant water, partly prouided for thee by the art of the cunning M

Doctors,

A *Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured that so much people should continue in this famin, afflicted with nakednes and many other inconueniences: and therfore get thy self vp and return toward ErZirum; otherwise we shall be inforced to do that which will breed more displeasure vnto thee than to any man liuing.*

The General in a great agony presently called a Councel, wherin it was concluded, That they should all send their strong sumpter horses to Ardachan, and the rest to follow him into *Manucchiars* Countrey, whither he had appointed to go only to make an inrode, and with the spoil and booty of that country to refresh the minds of his soldiers, afflicted with the miseries both past and present. This commandment of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as well
B becausse he promised them a speedy voyage, as also for that euery man desired the sack of Altunchala, with other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journy thorow certain low vallies between the high & craggy mountains, continually accompanied with great famin and scarsity, at length brought his army to Clisca, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for fear of the Turks quite abandoned and forsaken by the inhabitants, who with their wiues and children, and all the best stuffe they had, were fled into remote and safe places, vntil the fury of the enemy was ouerpast. In the fields neer to this place (abounding with corn and cattel, and plenty of fruit) the General refreshed his whole army; and hoping that al the soldiers would like it wel to stay a while in that such ease, determined with himself to erect a fort in that place: and with this resolution gaue commandment to *Resuan Bassa* to go vp to the
C tower, and in the top therof to set vp an Ensigne, with a proclamation and publique report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort, & fortifie it as he had don the other forts before. *Resuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Bassa of Caramania, according to the commandement of the general, in the top of the tower set vp an ensigne or two; which so soon as the soldiers had espied, the forenamed Ianizaries and Spaoglans thinking themselues too much abused by the General, arising again al in an vprore, repleniſhed with fury and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take down the ensignes that were set vp vpon the tower; and taking them in their hands, rapt the said *Resuan* once or twice about the pate, discharging withal many iniurious and despightful words vpon him, and sharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himself to countenance the action of *Resuan*) with
D gestures ful of despight, contempt and disdain, reuiling him with many shameful and scorneful terms, they protested vnto him,

That they were not come to the wars to exercise the occupation of Masons and daubers, and to bee emploied in such vile and dishonorable offices; but only to manage their weapons, and therby to demerit their ordinary wages, and to purchase to themselues glory and renown at the Kings hand. And therfore if he loued his head, and would not see those arms turned against himself, which hitherto had bin the reuengers of the enemies injuries, he should resolue with himself to leaue these new buildings and vnseasonable designements, and giuing place to the contrary seasons of the yeare, to haue due care of their common desires and necessity. *The mutinous soldiers again threaten their Generall.*

E

Whilst they were yet thus expostulating the matter with him, one more bold than the rest, and more forgetful of his duty, did not stick to assault the Generall, and to threaten him to wreak his fury vpon him: which in that tumult had haply bin don, had not the Bassa of Caramania lent the General his own horse, and so conducted him to his pauilion. Yet was hee neuertheles stil pursued by the tumultuous souldiers, and again sharply accused for the stay that he made there, and for not resoluing presently to remoue thence: and at last after many reprochful speeches, said expresly, That if he did not the next morning remooue out of those
F quarters, without all fail he should lose his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* disdaining to yeeld to them that should of duty haue bin ready and obedient at euery beck of his, and seeking by all means (notwithstanding all this stir) to stay there so long time as should bee sufficient to build a fort, that would so much offend *Manucchiar*; answered them again,

That he made no account of their threatning him with his life, which he had alwaies offered to lay down *The stout answer of Ferat.*

down for any ſeruice of his King. But if they had no care to ſerue their Soueraign in this new building, they might go their waies: as for himſelf he was reſolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatſoeuer he had commanded him; for the honor of whom euery one of them ought to think their liues very well beſtowed. G

Vpon this anſwer there followed diuers railings and curſings againſt the King, againſt the General, and againſt them all: and in this confuſed tumult euery man betook himſelfe to his weapon; in euery corner was heard grumlings and whiſperings ful of wrath and indignation, ſo that there was a great fear of ſome dangerous euent, but greater was the ſuſpition of the generals life. And now euery man had withdrawn himſelf to the garding of ſuch things as hee eſteemed moſt; when ſuddenly and in a trice you might haue ſeen the pauilions of the Baſſa's & captains fal down flat to the ground, all the cords therof being cut in ſunder by the wrathful ſoldiers; and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattel the Generall & Baſſa's led with them for their ordinary vſe, were ſeiſed vpon by the ſame ſoldiers, & garded with all diligence poſſible. And ſo far was it off, that any man durſt challenge or reuenge this their inſolencie, that they themſelues turning afreſh vpon their General, being now in a maze and deadly fear, began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remooue from thoſe countries, and turn his journy toward Erzirum, thoſe vallies & fields ſhould without all fail become the ſepulchres of the Baſſa's, and thoſe hils retain the eternall memory of ſo bloudy a day. H

Ferat in danger to be ſlain by the ſoldiers.

With a little liberality might the Generall haue don with his people whatſoeuer hee had liſted, but being loth to gratifie them in any thing, he was inforced to performe their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great ſhame to obey them, whom with right vſage he might haue made obedient to himſelf: and therfore to auoid their deſpightful threats, to his exceeding great reproch, he was glad to yeeld to them, in remouing out of thoſe quarters. The firſt day he arriued at Ardachan, with the great trouble of all his ſouldiers: for wheras the journy was wont to be two days work ordinarily, as wel in reſpect of the length of the way, as the difficulty of the paſſage; the General would now needs haue it don in one, the rather thereby to grieue his ſoldiers. But of this his wilfulnes he receiued euen the ſame day the iuſt reward; for that the chariots wherin his women rid were conueyed away, together with the Eunuchs their keepers. Some ſay by the Georgians that lay in wait for ſuch a prey: others ſay by the Ianizaries, who the more to diſhonor their Generall wrought him this iniury. I K

Ferat breakes vp his army.

Great was the reproch that *Ferat* receiued in the Army, but far greater at Conſtantinople, when theſe news were there known. But there was no remedy, he muſt now perforce indure it, and diſcontented as he was, to keep on his way towards Erzirum. In Ardachan he took a ſuruey of his Army, and there gaue his ſouldiers leaue to depart: himſelf afterwards arriuing at Erzirum, hated of all his ſouldiers, envied by his Captains, derided for the loſſe of his Women, and fallen into diſgrace with euery man. No leſſe than the reſt was the Turkiſh Emperor diſcontented with him alſo; firſt, for that he had don nothing worth ſpeaking of, in reuenge of the ſhameful iniury don by *Manucchiar* the Georgian, and yet ſo mightily diſcontented his ſoldiers. Secondly, for that without any care he had ſuffered *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian priſoner to eſcape away, about whoſe flight it was thought he could not chuſe but haue ſome intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the Court, to diuert his journey from Naſſivan, to the ſtreits and narrow paſſages of Georgia; being deſirous to be throughly informed of thoſe dangerous waies, in this ſecond year when he remoued from Erzirum, tooke *Aliculi Chan* out of priſon, of purpoſe to vſe him as his guid in thoſe dangerous ſtreits, and therfore carried him vnder a gard (whatſoeuer it was afterwards) of his moſt faithful vaſſals; ſtill intreating him wel, and taking ſuch order as that he wanted nothing. At laſt being come to the ſtreits of Tomanis in Georgia, where the caſtle (as it is before ſaid) was erected, he from thence ſecretly eſcaped into Perſia. The manner of his eſcape is diuerſly reported. Some ſay that *Ferat* in diſcharge of his promiſe, for his good direction had gratified him with his liberty. Others ſay, That *Ferat* corrupted with mony, gaue him opportunitie to eſcape. Some others (with more probability) That his eſcape was made neither for mony, nor diſcharge of promiſe, but by the only vigilancie of *Aliculi* himſelf, and the ſleepines of his Keepers. And that watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all eſcapes) he ſtarted away. Howſo- L M

euer

A euer it was, in fine he was deliuered from his long captiuity, to the diſcredit of *Ferat*, and returned into Perſia, to performe ſuch enterpriſes againſt the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

The dangerous paſſage from Reiuan to Teflis ſecured vnto the Turks.

General *Ferat* (before his departure out of Georgia) had commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Græcia (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new caſtle of Lori) to fortifie a certaine caſtle called Saitan Chas (in our language, *The caſtle of the Deuill*) which he with great diligence performed, and left therein fifty pieces of artillery, and a thouſand ſoldiers vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and ſo quieted the paſſages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from Reiuan to Chars, and from Chars to Teflis, were made eaſie and ſafe; and all the meanes taken away whereby the enemy might be able to plot any new treachery vpon thoſe paſſages: which was
B no ſmall peece of good ſeruice.

The Perſian King in the meane time lying at Tauris with his army, vnderſtanding that the Turks had changed their purpoſe from Naſſiuan to Georgia, ſo that there was no further need to imploy his army againſt them for the defence of Tauris or Naſſiuan; at laſt reſolued with himſelfe to licence his ſoldiers to depart, and to apply himſelfe to more priuate reuenges. For calling *Emir Chan* vnto him, whom he had left Gouernor of Tauris, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occaſion, why he had not performed the great promiſes which he had made to him before his departure to Heri. nor done his endeauour to hinder the Turks Fabrick at Reiuan: and why he went not out with other ſoldiers appointed for that purpoſe, and namely, with the Turcomans (as he had promiſed) to reuenge ſo great an injury,
C and in beſt maner he could, to haue indamaged the Turkiſh forces? Sundry excuſes did *Emir Chan* alledge for the colouring of his manifeſt default, but none ſufficient to cleare him of the crimes obiected againſt him by the king and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the King adjudged to haue his eies burnt out with an hot yron; and ſo depriued of his ſight, to be deſpoiled of all his goods and ſhut vp in cloſe priſon. Which heauy doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the ſpace of a few moneths, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous ſoldier) miſerably died in priſon. Whoſe death ſo highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great eſtimation) that they abſolutely denied their defences for the crowne of Perſia: and the more, when they heard that the King had beſtowed the roome of *Emir Chan* vpon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many reſpects deſerued all pre-
D ferments, yet for that he was an antient enemy to certain Turcoman captains, they would not in any wiſe endure that he ſhould be exalted to ſo great an honour. And therefore they waxed more diſdainefull and ill affected towards the King, whereby the Perſian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

Emir Chan hauing his eies put out, dieth miſerably in priſon.

The Turks notwithſtanding the league yet in force betwixt *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor then reigning, did many times make incurſions into the vpper part of Hungary, burning the country villages, and carrying away the people into captiuity: but in their return, they were oftentimes cut off by the Emperors ſoldiers and ſlaine. Which being reported at Conſtantinople, much moued the Turkiſh tyrant: but when he vnderſtood that his men had without any cauſe made thoſe inrodes into the territory of the Chriſtians, and ſo receiued
E the foreſaid loſſes, he was againe appeaſed, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the Emperor for eight yeares more.

Ferat from Erzirum aduertiſed *Amurath* of all that had hapned in his late expedition; deſiring him to command what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But beſides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like alſo, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious ſort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the eſcape of *Aliculi Chan*, the ſhameful loſſe of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with *Veis Baſſa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himſelfe, the diſorders of his whole camp for his want of diſcretion; and to be ſhort, the particularities of al ſuch actions as had not altogether ſo honorably bin by him performed that yeare: cauſes of themſelues ſuffi-
F cient to induce the king to remoue the ſaid *Ferat* from his Generalſhip. To which occaſions, were alſo added ſundry other ſecret reſpects: for euer ſince the laſt departure of *Ferat* from Erzirum, *Amurath* had ſtill in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterpriſe of Tauris, and thereby to ſtir vp through the World a famous report of his conqueſt correſpondent to his greatneſſe. Now among the captaines whom he eſteemed to be worthy men, to

whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, he bethought himſelfe of *Oſ-* G
man Baſſa, left at Sumachia in Siruan by Generall *Muſtapha* in the firſt yeare of this war: who hauing in that prouince remained euer ſince, had without any helpe of the Tartarians, by his owne induſtry and valor, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large country into a reaſonable obedience to the Turkiſh Empire: and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Turkiſh Emperour, had in a country ſo far diſtant, maintained his army, wherewith he had done all this without any expences at all to his king; hauing now a good while leuied his ſouldiers ſtipends vpon the lands and territories of that region; and ſtill exerciſed a kind of gouernment and ſouereignty ouer thoſe places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had cauſed intelligence from time to time to be ſent vnto the court: by which means, and other fauorers which he had about the King, there was foſtered in the minde of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opini- H
Amurath ſendeth for Oſman into Siruan. on of him; ſo that now without delay he reſolued to ſend for him to Conſtantinople; and for that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arriued at Erzirum, he had diſpatched certain Capigi & Chiaus to call this famous warriour vnto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court, & alſo theſe diſignements of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chiefe Viſier (who rather for the comelineſſe of his perſon and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high room) did greatly feare, leſt *Oſman* whoſe courſe it was to ſit next vnto him in the order of the greateſt Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of war, and partly for the good affection the king did beare vnto him, ſhould at his comming to Conſtantinople perſwade the king to what he lifted, and ſo peraduenture take from him the chiefeſt office, & get into his hands the whole I
gouernment of the empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of theſe feares, he caſt about by all means to keep him from comming to the court: but becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous, he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and ſecret meanes. This *Sciaus* in conſiderttion of many gifts beſtowed vpon him by *Mahamet* the Cuman-Tartar king, had many times excuſed him to *Amurath* of diuers accuſations which *Oſman* by his letters had laid to his charge; For not aiding him in the ſubduing of Siruan, as he was both by promiſe and duty bound: and for all his ouerſights alledged ſuch reaſons in his behalfe, as if they did not altogether perſuade *Amurath* to be kinde vnto him, yet at the leaſt not to carry a mind of reuenge againſt him: and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was be- K
twixt them confirmed an interchangeable amity and mutuall confederacy. Him *Sciaus* imagined to find willing and ready by al means poſſible, to hinder the comming of *Oſman* his enemy to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoone as he vnderſtood the certain reſolution of *Amurath*, to call *Oſman* to the court, ſecretly wrote to the Tartar king, who lay incamped neer to the hauen of Caffa vpon the Fens of Meotis; certifying him, That *Oſman* was to come to the court; and that therefore it were good for him to call to mind, how great an eneny he had beene to him, and how much he had endeauoured by letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and diſpleaſure againſt him: and withall, That if he was able to doe ſo much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with very reaſonable ex- L
cuſes, the King had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; hee ſhould then imagine with himſelfe, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to do, when he ſhould come in perſon to the preſence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, betweene themſelues determine of all matters what they ſhould thinke conuenient. Theſe, and peraduenture worſe Letters which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, miniſtred matter enough vnto him to reſolue to do what he might, not to ſuffer ſo pernitious an enemy of his to arriue at Conſtantinople: and eſpecially perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt he repoſed all his hope and all his protection, did ſo
The Tartar King ſendeth 12000 Tartars to lie in wait for to kill Oſman. greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he commanded twelue thouſand ſoldiers, that changing their weapons and apparell, they ſhould goe and lie in wait for *Oſman* in the borders betweene Cholchis, and Iberia, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by which way he was to come; and ſo making an aſſault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. M
Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done, could not, or would not, be imputed to his procurement, but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to the Muſcouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to be ſhort, rather to any body elſe, than to him. This commandement of the Tartar King, was accordingly by the ſouldiers put

in

A in practise: who without further stay joyned themselues together, and so rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the messengers sent from *Amurath*, come to *Osman*, who presently put himselfe on his way towards Constantinople, hauing left behind him at Derbent and Sumachia, two Bassaes, thought to be the most sufficient men in Seruania: hauing also appointed very good orders in the same, and an assured establishment of all those countries and places which *Mustapha* had first subdued, and he himselfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of *Amurath*. He had also prouided for the safety of his own person, in passing those troublesome and dangerous passages through which he was to trauell, by chusing out foure thousand souldiers which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his owne discipline; through
B whose valor, he doubted not safely to passe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the populous squadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from Derbent, and coasting along the rocks of Caucasus (that at al times of the yeare are all white and hoary with continuall snowes) leauing on his left hand Media, Iberia, and Colchis; and on the right hand, the famous riuer of Tanais and Volga, euen at his first entrance vnto the shores of the Euxine sea, he was by the aboue named twelue thousand Tartarians, being apparelled like theeues that lie vpon those waies, suddenly assailed & fought withall. But like as a huge rocke lying open to tempest and waues, standing fast and vnmoueable in it selfe, resisteth the thundrings and rushings of the great and fearefull billowes: so stood *Osman* fast & firme, and couragiously sustained this treacherous assault, turning the bold
C countenances of his resolute souldiers, against the rebellious multitude of those traiterous squadrons: who, as is their manner in the beginning, vsed great force, but finding so stout resistance in those few, whom they had thought with their only lookes and shoutings to haue put to flight, they began at length to quaile. Which *Osman* quickly perceiuing, couragiously forced vpon them, and in a very short space, and with a very small losse of his own, put those Tartarians to flight, killing a number of them, and also taking many of them prisoners: by whom *Osman* was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conceiued, lest when he came to Constantinople he would procure his destruction from *Amurath*, had sent this army to seeke his death. Of which treason *Osman* caused a perfect processe to be made, together with the depositions of the Tartarian prisoners, which he sent the shortest way
D he could deuise to *Amurath* at Constantinople, with letters declaring all that had passed, inflaming him to reuenge so dangerous an injury and so wicked a practise. *Amurath* receiuing these aduertisements from *Osman*, according to the necessity of the matter, tooke order that *Vluzales* his Admirall with certain gallies well appointed, should passe ouer to Caffa to fetch *Osman*; and withall to carry with him *Islan*, a brother of the Tartar kings, commanding *Osman* by letters, that he should (to the terror of others) put to death the treacherous king, and place his brother in his roome.

Osman assaulted by twelue thousand Tartars.

Osman ouercommeth the Tartars

This Tartar King was one of those mighty Princes, who basely yeelding to the *Othoman* power, led vnder them a most vile and troublesome life, as their tributaries and vassals, alwaies at command: whose yonger brother *Islan* (presuming of the sufficiency of himselfe and the fauor of the people) going to Constantinople, became a sutor to the Turkish Emperor, to haue
E his eldest brother thrust out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill gouernment hated of his subjects, and to be placed himselfe in his roome. Which his suit was so crossed by the Embassadors of the king his brother (who spared for no cost in the behalfe of their master) that the ambitious youth was sent from the Turks court to Iconium, and there clapt fast vp in prison: where apparelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his misery, with such a kind of externall innocency, as if he had beene void of all hope or ambitious desire of a kingdom, but rather like a forlorn and vnhappy wretch with vain affliction & impious deuotion to prepare himselfe to a laudable and honorable death. But whilst he thus liued, sequestred from all wordly cogitations, vpon the discouery of the king his brothers rebellion, he was in
F more than post haste sent for to Constantinople, and put into the gallies bound for Caffa, with letters to *Osman* of the tenour aforesaid. Now in the meane time *Osman* had by cunning means got into his hands this Tartar king, being as is reported betraied by his owne counsellours, corrupted by the Turks gold: whom with his two sonnes *Osman* vpon the receit of the aforesaid lerters from *Amurath*, caused to be presently strangled with a bowstring, and *Islan* his

Osman strangleth Mahomet the Tartar king with his two sons, & placeth Islan his brother in his stead.

yonger brother be ſaluted king in his place, yet as vaſſall to *Amurath*. This ſhamefull death, G
the vſuall reward of the Turkiſh friendſhip, was thought juſtly to haue hapned vnto this Tartar king, for that he long before, ſupported by *Amurath*, had moſt vnnaturally depoſed his aged father from that kingdome, juſt reuenge now proſecuting his ſo great diſloyalty.

Oſman embarked himſelfe in the forenamed gallies at the Port of Caffa, paſſing ouer the Euxine ſea, and entering into the Thracian Boſphorus, arriued at Conſtantinople; where he was receiued with great pompe and ſingular ſignificatons of good loue. But with moſt euident and expreſſe kinds of joy was he ſaluted by *Amurath* himſelfe, when by his owne ſpeech and preſence he declared vnto him euery particularitie of the matters that had hapned in his long and important voiage, and in liuely maner repreſented vnto him the perils & trauels that he had paſſed, and the conqueſts that he had made in Siruan. After all which diſcourſes *Amu-* H
rath who longed after nothing more, than to ſee the Perſian king ſomewhat bridled, and the famous city of Tauris brought vnder his owne ſubjection, began to enter into conference with *Oſman* about that enterpriſe, and in the end would needs know throughly of him, what iſſue he could promiſe him of this his deſire; and in what ſort by his aduice and counſell the forces ſhould be imploied, and the armies diſpoſed for the ſubduing of that city, which ouer all the nations of the world was ſo famous, and ſo great an honour to the Perſian kingdome. To all which demands his anſwer and reſolution was, That foraſmuch as the matters of Georgia were now well ſetled, the trecherous paſſages by the new built forts aſſured, and the prouince of Siruan vnder his obedience eſtabliſhed, there was now no cauſe why he ſhould any longer foreſlow ſo famous an enterpriſe, but by the conqueſt of Tauris, and erecting of a fort in that I
proud city, to bring a terrour vpon all Perſia, and to raiſe a glorious renowne of ſo mighty a conqueſt among the Nations of Europe: for the accompliſhment whereof, he thought that either the ſame army, or at the moſt a very little greater would ſuffice, ſo that it were raiſed of the beſt and choiſeſt ſouldiers.

Amurath demandeth Oſmans opinion concerning the enterpriſe of Tauris.

Oſmans reſolution.

By reaſon of one of the letters which *Sciaus Baſſa* had written to the late Tartar king, and by the inſtigation of the yong Sultan *Mahomets* mother (jealous of the neere alliance of the great Baſſa with her husband, as prejudiciall and dangerous to her ſonne) *Amurath* had in the open Diuano depriued the ſaid *Sciaus* from the office of the chiefe Viſier, and hardly pardoning him his life, at the interceſſion of his wife, being his ſiſter, had baniſhed him the Court, ſo that he liued afterwards about Calcedon, vpon the borders of Aſia, not far from Conſtantinople, in a K
cloſe palace he had there built for his owne pleaſure: in whoſe roome he appointed *Oſman* to be chiefe Viſier; and to honour him the more, nominated him the Generall of his army againſt the Perſians. Such power hath Vertue, that euen from the very ſcum of the raſcall ſort, and out of the ruſticall rout of mountain peaſants (which notwithſtanding cannot be truly juſtified of this *Oſman*, his father being Beglerbeg of Damaſco, and his mother, the daughter of the Beglerbeg of Babylon) it doth oftentimes in the courſe of this variable world draw diuers men into Princes courts, and aduance them to the higheſt dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuat ſouldier, though well born, he by ſundry degrees grew vp to the higheſt honor of that ſo great an Empire, and was at one inſtant created the chiefe Counſellor and Generall of the *Othoman* forces. Great was the joy that *Oſman* conceiued hereat; & great was the deſire he had to make L
himſelfe worthy of ſo honorable fauors; and the greater confidence he perceiued that *Amurath* had repoſed in him, the more eagerly was he ſpurred on to doe any thing poſſible whereby he might ſhew himſelfe to haue deſerued the ſame. And therefore aduiſing with himſelfe, that foraſmuch as the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe required a greater army than was leuied in former yeares, ſo was it neceſſary alſo for him the ſooner to ſend out his aduertiſements into all his ſubject prouinces, and by his own example to ſtir vp the other captaines and ſouldiers euen in the Winter (though it were as yet ſomewhat troubleſome) to paſſe ouer to Scutari, and from thence to Angori, to Amaſia, to Siuas; and there in thoſe territories to driue out the time, vntill his ſouldiers which were ſummoned, were all gathered together. And becauſe vpon this his great ſpeed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemy miſdoubting his pur- M
poſe for Tauris, might prouide a greater army than they would otherwiſe, he cauſed it to be giuen out, That he muſt goe for Naſſiuan; to the end, that the Perſians ſo beguiled, ſhould not regard the gathering of ſo mighty an Army as they would haue done if they ſhould haue heard of the Turks comming to Tauris: and ſo the generall couſening rumor flew, not onely

Oſman Baſſa made chiefe Viſier & Generall of the army.

through

A through all the cities subiect to the Turks, but into the countries of the Persians also: who notwithstanding being very iealous of the city of Tauris, and fearing that the matter would fall out as indeed afterward it did, ceased not to make most curious and diligent inquiry about it. And although the disgrace offered to his Embassador at Constantinople, dissuaded him from sending any other for treaty of peace: yet to spy out the secrets of the Turks, and to vnderstand the certainty of their purpose for Nassiuan or Tauris, he sent diuers messengers to *Osman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace; but in very deed for nothing els but to sound his designements: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could vse possibly discouer, but still remained doubtfull as at the first, the Fame still running for Nassiuan.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* sent one *Mustapha*, one of the meanest of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of Polonia, to excuse the death of *Podolouius* (so shamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the same had hapned by the insolency of certaine soldiers, and not by his commandement: who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two base fellowes, as authors of that outrage, for the King to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no such men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for some other fact worthy of death, and now sent thither to serue that purpose: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatning maner in the name of his Master) required to haue present restitution made of all such goods as the Polonian Cossackes had not long before taken from the Turks, and the captaine of the said Cossackes to be deliuered also
C vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and so hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithstanding the vnworthy death of *Podolonius* and his followers, and the taking away of his horses) all the goods taken by the Cossackes were forthwith restored: which the Chiaus almost in triumphant manner presented vnto *Amurath* at Constantinople.

This Summer also, *Amurath* disporting himselfe with his Mutes, was almost dead. These Mutes are lusty strong fellows, depriued of their speech; who neuertheless by certaine signes can both aptly expresse their own conceits, and vnderstand the meaning of others: these men for their secrecy are the cruell ministers of the Turkish tyrants most horrible commands; and therfore of them had in great regard. With these Mutes mounted vpon faire and fat, but heauy and vnready horses, was *Amurath*, vpon a light and ready horse, sporting himselfe (as the maner
D of the Turkish Emperors is) riding sometime about one, sometime about another; and striking now the horse, now the man, at his pleasure; when suddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling sickenesse, his old disease, and so falling from his horse, was taken vp for dead: insomuch, that the Ianizaries supposing him to haue been indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the spoiling of the Christians and Iews, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or captain to restraine their insolency, to the terror of the rest, hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuertheless, *Amurath* shortly after recouered againe, and to appease that rumor of his death, openly vpon their Sabbath, (which is the Friday) rid from his palace to the temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others saw him (saith *Leunclauius*) his countenance yet all pale and discoloured.

Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag 91.

E This yeare also hapned such a chance as had like to haue raised new warres betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: which, forasmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in silence to passe ouer. The widow of *Ramadan Bassa*, late Gouernor of Tripolis in Barbary, with her sonne, her family, and a great number of slaues of both sorts, being about to depart from Tripolis to Constantinople, had rigged vp a faire gally for the transporting of her selfe and her substance, reported to be worth eight hundred thousand duckats: vpon which galley for her more safety, she had joyned two others as consorts. Thus embarked, she came to the mouth of the Adriaticke; where sailing by Corfu, she was by force of tempest driuen into the gulfe of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies, had the charge for the keeping of that sea against pyrats, and all other ene-
F mies whatsoeuer. He hearing of the Turks comming into the gulfe, without delay set vpon them; and being too strong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exercised most barbarous cruelty, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing slain the men, in number two hundred and fifty, and the sonne of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he caused the women, being before rauished, to haue their breasts cut off, and afterwards to be cast ouer-boord

A most barbarous outrage committed by Petrus Emus a Venetian.

into the sea, being in number about forty. The brother of *Emus* chancing vpon a beautiful virgin, was by her most earnestly intreated to haue spared her honor; and the rather, for that (as she said) she was a Christian, taken about 12 years before in Cyprus, since which time she had liued in most miserable captiuity among the Turks, and being now fallen by good hap into the hands of a noble Venetian, was in good hope to be set at liberty inviolated. Which shee most humbly besought him for the loue of God to doe, and not to imbrue his hands in her guiltles bloud, or to dishonor himself by forcing her. But all she could say preuailed nothing with the cruel and vnbridled youth; who after he had at his pleasure abused her, cast her with the rest into the sea. It is thought that *Emus* suffered this so great an outrage (and so far vnbeseeming the honor of the Venetians) to be don, to the intent that none should be left aliue to bewray the greatnes of the booty, or the villany there committed. Which was neuertheless (God so appointing it) reuealed by one of the Turks, who saued by a Surgeon of Crete that knew him, and afterwards comming to Constantinople, openly declared the same. With the odious report wherof, the Turks were so inraged, that in euery corner of the city a man might haue heard them threatning vnto the Venetians most cruell reuenge: yea, they had much ado to hold their hands from the Bilo or gouernor of the Venetian merchants in Constantinople and to forbear to spit in his face as he went in the streets. At that time was one *Iohan. Franciscus Maurocenus* (or as they commonly call him *Moresin*) Bilo at Constantinople: who vnderstanding that *Amurath* in his rage was about to send one of the great gentlemen of his court, whom the Turks call Zausij (the great Turks vsual Embassadors) to Venice about that matter, found means to haue him staid at Constantinople, and another of lesse authority sent to expostulate the matter with the Senat, and in the name of *Amurath* to require to haue the offendor punished, and the gallies with the slaues and goods restored: so should the League betwixt him and them continue firm; wheras otherwise hee should be constrained by force of arms to reuenge the wrongs done to his subjects. This message being by the said messenger deliuered at Venice, the Senators after diligent examination of the matter, returned this answer, That the widow of *Ramadan* with her family comming to Zacynthus an Island of theirs, was there honorably entertained, and presented with certain curteous presents: but departing thence and comming to Cephalenia another of their Islands, her people running on land, contrary to the conditions of the league, made spoil of whatsoeuer they could light vpon, sparing neither man nor beast. Of which insolencie their Prouidetor vnderstanding, and making after them, found them in arms within the gulf; & comming neer vnto them, were neither by them saluted, as the maner is at sea, neither was any top sail strook, in token that the commaund of that sea belonged to the Venetians; all which they ought by the League to haue done. For which their outrages and proud contempt their Prouidetor had taken such sharpe reuenge. Neuertheless they promised in that case to do what beseemed them in reason and justice to do, for the satisfying of his desire. With which so reasonable an answer *Amurath* seemed to be wel contented; but being indeed loth to intangle himself with Wars against that mighty State at sea, his wars against the Persians being not as yet finished. Yet shortly after, *Emus* was for his dishonourable and cruell dealing with the Lady and her family, worthily condemned and beheaded, and the gallies with all the goods and slaues restored. This great woman had in those gallies four hundred Christian slaues, all which vpon the taking of the gallies were, as the manner is, set at liberty, for whom the Venetians made restitution of as many other of the Turks.

The villany discouered.

Amurath sendeth a messenger to Venice, to expostulate the injury don vnto his subjects.

Petrus Emus beheaded. Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag 92.

Ramadan Bassa the husband of the aforesaid great Lady was gouernor of Tripolis in Barbary, and of the country therabouts: who hauing wars with one of the barbarous Kings of the Moors, went out against him with all his forces; wherin were certain companies of Ianizaries sent by *Amurath* from Constantinople. Now in this country, as in many other places of Affrick, are great and desart sands, ouer which whosoeuer is to passe, must prouide himself both of victuals and skilful guids, without which they are not without great danger to bee passed. *Ramadan* with his Army vnprouided both of the one and the other, hauing entred these Desarts, was at length brought to that case, that hee could neither goe forward, neither without losse of his men returne. Yet at length he retyred and got home, but not without the losse of some of his people, and the manifest danger of his whole Army: for which his improuidence the Ianizaries fel into such a rage, that not respecting the honor of the man, or regarding the

Ramadan Bassa slain by the insolent Ianizaries.

displea-

A diſpleaſure of their ſouereigne, they fell vpon him and ſlew him. At which their inſolency if *Amurath* did winke, and paſſe it ouer vnpuniſhed, let no man maruell: for why, the antient obedience of thoſe martial men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more ſeuere diſcipline gouerned; but now growne proud and inſolent (as the manner of men is liuing in continuall pay) with weapons in their hands doubt not to do what ſoeuer ſeemeth vnto themſelues beſt, be it neuer ſo foule or vnreaſonable. Which although it be in many places of this Hiſtory to be ſeene; yet for the more manifeſtation thereof, I thought it not amiſſe here brefely to ſet downe an example or two of their notorious inſolencie.

Achmetes Baſſa Gouernour of Cyprus, ſlain by the Ianizaries.

Not many yeares before, the Ianizaries in Cyprus with like inſolency ſlew *Achmetes Baſſa* gouernor of that Iſland: pretending for the color of ſo foule a fact, that he had defrauded them
B of their pay, and oppreſſed them of the country with intollerable exactions. *Amurath* highly offended with this their diſloyalty in killing their General, whom they had neuer before complained of; thought it much to concerne the majeſty of himſelfe, and the repreſſing of the like inſolency in others, not to ſuffer it to go vnpuniſhed: and for that purpoſe ſent another new gouernor into Cyprus, with ten gallies furniſhed as well with other neceſſary prouiſion, as with ſuch a conuenient number of ſoldiers as might ſuffice to chaſtiſe the inſolency of the chief offendors. This new gouernor arriued in Cyprus, diſſembling the ſecret commandement he had for the executing of the tranſgreſſors; by certaine truſty men gaue it out among the Ianizaries, That *Amurath* was ſo far from being angry with the death of *Achmetes*, as that he thought him worthily ſlaine by the Ianizaries, for defrauding them of their wages, and oppreſſing of
C his other ſubjects. Which report the new Gouernor had of purpoſe giuen out, to put them in ſecurity, and without further trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Ianizaries cheerefully and with all due reuerence receiued their new Gouernor: but ſhortly after to be ſure, they by an vnexpected guile when as nothing was leſſe feared, compaſſed in all the new come ſoldiers, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne; and not ſo contented, ſeiſed alſo vpon the gallies that brought them. Which ſecond outrage, though *Amurath* tooke in euill part, as ſeeing his majeſty therein contemned, yet was he content to paſſe it ouer, being loth to adde domeſticall troubles to the great wars he had in hand with the Perſian.

Another inſolency of the Ianizaries.

But to end this matter with the opinion of one of their owne greateſt Baſſaes, concerning theſe maſterfull men. It fortuned that whileſt *Busbequius* (Embaſſador for *Ferdinand* the Empe-
D ror, vnto *Solyman*) lay in the Turks campe, at ſuch time as *Solyman* in perſon himſelfe was gon ouer the ſtreit in Aſia, to countenance his eldeſt ſon *Selymus* againſt his younger brother *Bajazet*, That vpon a light quarrell (though heauily taken) betweene the followers of the ſaid Embaſſador, and certain Ianizaries waſhing themſelues at the ſea ſide, the Embaſſador for the quieting thereof was glad to vſe the helpe of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, *Solyman* his ſon in law: who vnderſtanding the matter, by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe aduiſed the Embaſſador to cut off all occaſion of contention with thoſe moſt naughty fellowes: asking him further, if he knew not that it was now the time of war, in which time they ſo reigned, as that *Solyman* himſelf was not able to rule them, but ſtood in feare of them. Which ſpeech fell not raſhly from *Ruſtan*, a
E man right well acquainted with his Lord and maſters griefe: for that moſt notable prince feared nothing more, than leſt ſome ſecret and dangerous treaſon ſhould lie hidden among the Ianizaries, which breaking out vpon the ſudden, might worke his finall deſtruction: whereof he needed not to ſeeke for any further example, than to his grandfather *Bajazet*. For, as true it is, That great are the commodities of a perpetuall army of a Princes owne; ſo are the incommodities alſo not ſmall, if they be not carefully met withall: but eſpecially for that the Prince is euer in doubt of rebellion; and that it is ſtill in the power of thoſe armed ſouldiers, at their pleaſure to tranſlate the kingdome to whom they liſt. Whereof there haue bin many great examples, although there are many waies for the remedying of the ſame.

Busbeq. Legationis Turcicæ Epiſt. 3.

But now that we haue by occaſion of the occurrents of that time a little ſtept out of the way, 1585
let vs return again vnto the wars of Perſia, the chiefe object of *Amurathi* hauty deſignes. Now
F according to the commandements gon out thorow all the cities of the Empire, the ſouldiers of all ſorts began to flocke together: and all thoſe that were either deſirous to be eſtabliſhed in their former charges and gouernments, or ambitiouſly ſought to be now promoted, repaired to *Oſman*, as vnto a king, and the ſouereigne moderator of the Turkiſh empire, preſenting him very large and liberall gifts, wherby he gathered together a huge heape of infinit treaſure: and

ſo

so entertaining them with all affable curtesie, and promising both rewards and honors to such as would follow him in his purposed expedition, he leuied a wonderfull great number both of men and monies. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards Erzirum, where he was greatly expected of his huge army there assembled together. And notwithstanding the great dearth of victuall that commonly reigneth in those quarters, yet thither he must, where he arriued about the latter end of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare 1585 : and there taking a view of his whole army, and of all the prouision necessary for so important and famous an enterprise, he dayly labored to hasten his departure. In this city of Erzirum were met together all the soldiers of the prouinces that were wont to send helpe, but yet in greater number than euer was gathered by any Generall before : for that euery man forsooke his owne priuate businesse, and vpon assured hopes of new rewards and vnwonted honours, were all induced to follow the fame of this their new Visier and General: only the people of Ægypt and Damasco were busied with other more priuat quarrels at home, wherof because they were both of great importance, and also fell out at this very instant (leauing *Osman* with his army for a while at Erzirum) I will in as few words as I may make a briefe rehearsall.

Hassan Bassa the Queenes Eunuch sent to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Hassan Bassa* the Eunuch out of the Seraglio, from the charge he had there to serue in the Queenes Court, and at her instance sent him as Bassa to Caire the great city of Ægypt. Which great office, beside the honour belonging vnto it, is also beneficial to them whose good hap it is to be aduanced thereunto : the riches, the multitude of people inhabiting therein being so great, that it seemeth not to be one city, but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding couetous, and therfore desirous to handle the matter in such sort, as that he should little need to seeke for any more such grants at the Kings hands ; sought by all manner of means to oppresse the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes, without regard of honesty or reason. By which his sinister and corrupt dealing hee had now made himselfe so odious and intollerable to the people in generall, that they in great number, and many times, began to goe to Constantinople, and with humble petitions to request the King to take from them such a cruel and vnjust Gouernor : so that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and mischiefes that were reported of the couetous Eunuch. At last *Amurath* seeing these publique exclamations went dayly so far, as that he could not for shame let them go any further without due punishment, he resolued with himselfe to call him to the Court : and hauing sent vnto him certain messengers, admonished him sundry times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue so fit an occasion to enrich himselfe, did still delay his returne, alledging diuers feigned excuses for his longer stay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderstood, thinking himselfe thereby deluded, he determined to prouide for so great a disorder, and by punishing of the mischieuous Eunuch, to satisfie in some part the discontented minds of his oppressed subjects in Caire.

Ebrain Bassa in speech to marry Amurath his daughter.

There sat at that time among the chiefe Bassa's of the Court, one *Ebrain* (or as some cal him, *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian, a young man of the age of 23 yeares, or thereabouts, of very faire conditions, and of a reasonable judgement ; vpon whom *Amurath* himselfe had determined to bestow his owne daughter to wife, and so to make him his son in law. And therefore being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to satisfie the city ; and being also willing withall to giue means for his said sonne in law to enrich himselfe ; he resolued to send him as general Syndic & soueraigne Iudge into Ægypt ; giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predecessor had dealt before him. And so this new Bassa took his journy towards Ægypt, although there ran before him a great rumor of his comming, and of the great authority wherewith he was sent. At which report, as the Ægyptians rested content and joyfull, so the Eunuch waxed very sad and sorrowfull : persuading himselfe, that this alteration could not but engender some strange issue and effect against him. Whereupon aduising himselfe to prouide better for his owne affaires and the safety of his life ; he resolued not to stay the comming of the new Gouernour ; but departing out of Ægypt, hee with great care and circumspection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, trauelled towards Constantinople in hope to appease the Kings wrath, or at least by mediation of bribes, and by the intercession of the Queene, to finde him more fauourable than hee should finde *Ebrain* ; who without doubt would not haue spared any extremity or cruelty, to haue bereft him both of his

goods

A goods and life together. *Amurath* aduertiſed from *Ebrain*, of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of Ægypt,& hearing withall,that he kept not the high way from Caire to Conſtantinople,began to feare,leſt when he came into Soria,he ſhould fly into Perſia to the King, and ſo worke him double and treble damage;as one that had already gathered a huge treaſure,and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret affaites thereof, and had learned all the priuy deuices and faſhions of the Seraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence diſpatched his Imbrahur Baſſi (whom we call Maſter of his horſe) with forty of his Capigi (all Gentlemen Vſhers,and officers of moſt ſecret and neereſt roomes about him)with charge and commandement,that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the court;vſing all the aid and aſſiſtance of his people that might be requiſit: and for that purpoſe deliuered vnto him very effectuall
B and large letters,after the beſt manner of the Court. This meſſenger with his appointed train departed,and without any extraordinary inquiry,found the Eunuch in Soria, incamped in the plaines neere vnto the city now called Aman,but in times paſt Apamea, the principall city of that country. As ſoone as the Eunuch vnderſtood of the comming of the Imbrahur himſelfe, he gaue order to his guard of ſlaues, which in great number with ſpeares and arcubuſes did ordinarily kept his pauilion,that they ſhould not grant entrance into his tent to any, but only vnto the Imbrahur himſelfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the reſt of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in very good time giuen; for as ſoone as the kings officer had diſcouered the tents of the fugitiue Baſſa,in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, and ſeeking out the greateſt among them,went preſently thither, to haue entred with all his followers:but the
C ſlaues being in armor,oppoſed themſelues againſt them, and permitting only the Imbrahur to enter in,entertained the reſt of his traine without. The Imbrahur being come in,read vnto him the commandement which he had from the King to bring him to the court;and moſt inſtantly moued him,that without any further reſiſtance, he would quietly go with him. To whom the wary Eunuch anſwered,*Behold,how without any calling of the King,or conducting by you, I come of my ſelfe, well aſſured to finde not only pardon and pitty, but alſo fauour and grace in the ſight of my Lord;whoſe vpright and milde nature the wicked treacheries of my falſe accuſers cannot abuſe, to the prejudice of me an innocent*. And ſo without more ado they went all to Conſtantinople: the Eunuch ſtill ſtanding vpon his guard.

The warineſſe of the crafty Eunuch.

The politike and crafty Eunuch had in this meane time diſpatched diuers poſts with let-
D ters to the Sultan ladies,certifying them of his comming,& principally beſeeching the queen to protect him,and to appeaſe the kings wrathfull indignation that haply he might haue conceiued againſt him:and ſo at length they arriued at Scutari. As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood of his comming thither, he cauſed all the treaſure which hee had gathered to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his priuat ſubſtance, and the wretch himſelfe to be clapt in priſon in the Iadicula or ſeuen towers. Where after he had languiſhed many daies, ſtill fearing ſome deadly blow, he at length receiued from the Queene, an vnexpected, but moſt welcome aduertiſement, That he ſhould be of good cheare and quiet himſelfe, for that his wealth had already ſaued his life,and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his liberty. Which indeed ſhe brought to paſſe; for ſhe her ſelfe made earneſt petition to *Amurath* her husband,
E that ſoraſmuch as he had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at laſt deliuer him out of priſon, and reſtore him vnto her againe. Which requeſt of the Queenes was granted accordingly,and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treaſure that he had ſo vnjuſtly ſcraped together in Ægypt,that remained ſtill among the gold and other jewels of the Kings.

The Eunuch caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople,and his euill gotten goods confiſcated.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new commiſſion now arriued in Ægypt, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter means than had the Eunuch before him,ſcrapt together ſuch an infinit heap of riches,as was able only of it ſelfe to make him worthy of his promiſed wife,and therfore he was called home to the court,to accompliſh the intended mariage. With this commandment to returne to Conſtantinople,he receiued alſo in charge,to make his journey through the people of Druſia;and ſuch as he ſhould find loyal,to confirme them in their due obedience,& to make
F them pay their antient duties;but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborne and diſobedient,he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This commandement *Ebrain* preſently put in execution, and hauing packed vp together all the riches he had gathered in the time of his gouernment,and raiſed good ſtore of ſoldiers in that prouince,he tooke with him thirteen Sanzackes,that were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as aſſiſtants vnder the gouernment of the Baſſa

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in the ruling of the populous territories of Caire, and ſo ſet forwards towards Gaza, paſſing ouer thoſe vaſt and huge wilderneſſes of ſand that lie betweene Caire and Gaza. From Gaza, joyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to Ieruſalem; and from thence, cauſing the Sanzacke there alſo to follow his traine, he turned by Saffetta, by Lezium, by Naplos (called in times paſt Samaria) ſtill taking with him the Sanzacks of all thoſe places, and at laſt turned himſelfe towards Damaſco: ſo that before he joyned with the band of Damaſco, he had gotten together eighteene Sanzacks, with all their ſquadrons of ſouldiers and ſlaues. Beſides theſe, he had alſo his own priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous, and two hundred Ianizaries of Conſtantinople, whom *Amurath* would needs haue him to take with him at his departure from the Court, ſo that he had in his army almoſt twelue thouſand horſemen. From Damaſco, *Veis* the Baſſa was come as far as Ieruſalem to meet him, with all the ſouldiers vnder his gouernment, in number about two thouſand perſons. Beſides that, there came vnto him by the way of Sidon, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Cyprus, with all the band of that deſolate and deſtroied Iſland: which captaine with his ſoldiers was tranſported ouer into the maine, in thoſe gallies that by the Kings appointment were ſent to fetch *Ebrain:* who now ſtrengthned with all theſe ſouldiers, had purpoſed the vtter ruine of the diſobedient Druſians, and the raiſing of his own glory by triumphing ouer them.

The Druſian people: what they are.

Theſe Druſians, againſt whom theſe great preparations were now made by this new Captaine, and of whom the Turkiſh Emperor is ſo ſuſpitious and doubtfull, are ſuppoſed to be by diſcent Frenchmen, the relikes of thoſe that with great deuotion did in times paſt fight thoſe memorable and Chriſtian battels in Iury, and recouered the holy city: but being afterwards brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the fury of the Barbarians, mingled their ſeed with the circumciſed nation, and ſo together with their authority & command, loſt alſo their firſt faith and religion: yet ſo, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, & abhorring the circumciſion of the Iewes, betooke themſelues to a new Prophet of their own called *Iſman*, whoſe doctrine they follow. The right Druſians liue vncircumciſed, neither do they forbeare wine, as do the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (moſt vnlawfully) to marry with their own daughters: the Turkiſh gouernment they haue ſought by all means to eſchue, and notwithſtanding all the endeuors and attempts of the Turkiſh tyrants, but eſpecially of *Selymus* the ſecond, yet haue they alwaies bin ſubject to their own naturall Princes, and would neuer admit any captain or gouernor of the Turks within the countries which they poſſeſſed. They are a people very warlike, ſtout, reſolute, and religious obſeruers of their own ſuperſtition: in battel they vſe the arcubuſe & ſcimitar, yet ſome of them at this day do ſerue with lances and darts: they are apparelled after the manner of the Eaſterne people, with a turbant on their heads, & breeches they neuer weare, but in ſtead therof they couer thoſe parts with their coat; which reacheth down to their knees, buttoning it vp before: their feeding is groſſe, and of mountaine meats: they inhabit all the countrie that is inuironed within the confines of Ioppa, aboue Cæſarea & Paleſtina, and within the riuers of Orantes & Iordan, ſtretching it ſelf euen to the plaine of Damaſco, neere to the hils that compaſſe it about vpon the coaſt of mount Libanus. They were all in times paſt good friends & confederats, ſo that they were greatly eſteemed: but noow being at variance through greedineſſe and couetouſneſſe, they were diuided among themſelues, one ſeeking the deſtruction of another. At this time they were gouerned by fiue chiefe captains or gouernors: one of them was called *Ebne-Man*, and of the Turks *Man-Ogli*; another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-Manſur*; the fourth *Ebne-Frec*; and the fifth *Ali-Ebne-Carfus*, by the Turks called *Ali-Carfus-Ogli*. Vnder theſe (who indeed carry the title and authority of an Emir, that is to ſay, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieutenants or deputies whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne Man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the mountains and fields that are contained vnder the juriſdictions of Cæſarea, of Ptolemaida, of Tyrus, and of Sidon, and had his reſidence for moſt part vpon the hill, in a town called Andera; he was very mighty in men & armour, and ſince the time that by treachery his father was murthered by *Muſtapha* then Baſſa of Damaſco, alwaies a deadly enemy to the name of the Turkes. *Ebne-Frec*, *Ebne-Carfus*, and *Ebne-Manſur* were alwaies great friends; but now eſpecially at the comming of *Ebrain Baſſa* they ſhewed themſelues more ſtreightly confederated together. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer oppoſite againſt them: ſo that the one ſide procuring the ouerthrow of the other, they loſt their ſtrength, and left no meanes to defend themſelues

The Countrey which the Druſians inhabit.

Fiue chiefe Rulers or Gouernors among the Druſians.

A ſelues againſt the Turks, who had long lien in wait for their liberty. Now as ſoone as the news came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from Caire, was comming into Soria to ſubdue them; the three confederates aboue named reſolued among themſelues to goe and meet this great Baſſa, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, of purpoſe to turne all the intended miſchiefe vpon *Serafadin* and *Man. Ogli* their enemies. And ſo hauing packed vp great ſtore of money, cloath of ſilke, cloath of woollen, and cloath of gold, with many loads of ſilkes, and other things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied, one with ſome two thouſand, another with ſome three thouſand men, they put themſelues vpon their journey towards *Ebrain*, and met him at Ieruſalem, where he was already arriued. This their comming *Ebrain* tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteouſly accepted thoſe their rich and great preſents
B which they brought him; and by the offers of their fidelity, and the grieuous accuſations they made againſt the other two Druſian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his intended enterpriſe: for why, he ſaw that nothing could more eaſily compaſſe their ouerthrow, than this their diſcord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of Damaſco, to the champaigne of Bocca, and there incamped. This was in the month of Iuly this yeare 4585. The whole army that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning alſo the ſoldiers of the three Druſian lords, was about the number of twenty thouſand horſemen ſtrong. In this place there came people out of all quarters thereabouts, with preſents to honour the Baſſa; to whom he likewiſe yeelded ſuch ſmall fauors as his couetous nature could afford them.

Three of the Druſian lords met Ebrain at Ieruſalem with rich preſents, & a great traine of men.

From this place alſo *Ebrain* preſently ſent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby he in-
C uited them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obedience vnto the Sultan: for that otherwiſe they might aſſure themſelues to be in ſhort time depriued both of their eſtates and liues. For all that, *Man Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in wealth and forces, reſolued to come, in hope by rich preſents to purchaſe his attonement with the great Baſſa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loads of ſilke, great ſtore of money, and many cloaths of good value and beauty, and alſo attended vpon with diuers of his ſubiects, he arriued at laſt at the pauilion of *Ebrain*, with theſe his rich preſents; which were there readily receiued, and he himſelfe with great attention heard: whoſe ſpeech in effect tended to no other thing, but only to perſuade the Baſſa, That he had alwaies beene a de-
D uoted vaſſall vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall deſire to be imployed in any his ſeruice; and that now being led by the ſame affection, and aſſured of his fauour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to ſhew himſelfe vnto him to be the ſame man, and ſo profered him whatſoeuer lay in his ſlender power to performe. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no anſwer at all; but onely asked him the cauſe why he liued continually in diſcord and brawles with the three Emirs (who alſo ſat at that time in the ſame pauilion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* anſwered, That it was not long of him, who as one deſirous of peace, had not at any time taken vp armes, but in the juſt defence of himſelfe, againſt the injuries of thoſe his enemies, who becauſe they were more mighty than he, ſought continually to oppreſſe him. Hereat the three conſpirators aroſe, and with their grim looks bewraying their inward hatred, falſely charged him to haue beene euer the author of thoſe brawles: ad-
E ding moreouer, That his inſolency was at that time growne ſo great, as that no ſtrange veſſell durſt for feare of him arriue at the ports of Sydon, Tyrus, or Berito; nor any merchant or merchandiſe paſſe ouer the plaines; but that thoſe countries, as though they were a prey and ſpoile to the theeues of Arabia, were generally ſhunned of all trauellers both by ſea and land, to the great hinderance of the Sultans cuſtomes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but preuented by *Ebrain*, and ſurcharged with many injurious words, was committed to the cuſtody of the two hundred Ianizaries of Conſtantinople. And ſo being by them brought into a rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the ſtocks faſt chained, and continually guarded with a rruſty gard of the ſame Ianizaries. In the meane time came the anſwere of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Baſſa *Ebrain* as fol-
F loweth:

Serafadin commeth with preſents to Ebrain.

To the Lords of Lord, Souereigne aboue the Great Ones, the mighty, the noble Captaine couſin to the grand Lord, and the worthieſt among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, *the noble and famous Lord* Ebraim Baſſa, *God giue good ſucceſſe to his haughty enterpriſes, and proſperity in all his honour. I wiſh*

A letter of Man Oglies, to Ebrain Baſſa.

(euen

(euen as thou doeſt louingly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee, and ſerue G
thee alwaies in any occaſion that it may happen thee to ſtand in need of my helpe. For I know that thou
wouldeſt reſt aſſured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy Lord, and of the moſt feruent deſire wherin
I liue to ſerue him, and to imploy both my life and my ſubſtance in his ſeruice: whereof I haue alſo giuen
ſome teſtimony, though but ſmall, in the managing of his cuſtomes that I haue receiued: wherein I haue
alwaies ſo carried my ſelfe, as that I am not his debter of one aſper: a thing I wis that Ebne Manſur (who
is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his comming to meet thee euen as far as Ieruſalem, he
would make a ſhew of his fidelity, yet doth hee vſurpe more than two hundred thouſand duckats of the
Kings, which he doth moſt vnjuſtly detaine from him of his cuſtomes. But my hard fortune will not grant
me the fauour that I may come vnto thee: for there are at this time preſent with thee three of mine ene-
mies, who (I know well) being not contented to haue alwaies diſquieted and troubled my eſtate, doe now H
ſeeke to bring me into ſo great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddeſt me in thy hands, thou wouldeſt
without any conſideration bereaue me of my life. And I am aſſured, that this ſending for me importeth
no other thing but only a deſire thou haſt to impriſon me, and ſo to kill me: for I know how much thou art
giuen to great enterpriſes. Beſides this, my comming is alſo hindered by mine antient oath that I tooke:
when as being yet but a childe, I ſaw mine owne father ſo villanouſly betraied by the murthering ſword of
Muſtapha, being at that time the Baſſa of Damaſco, who vnder the colour of vnfeigned friendſhip, got
him into his hand, and traiterouſly ſtrucke off his head. For in truth I carry the image of my fathers re-
uerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my minde, which oftentimes preſenteth
it ſelfe vnto me, as well ſleeping in the darkeneſſe of the night, as alſo waking in the light of the day; and
talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelity of the murthering Tyrant, and exhorteth me to I
keep my ſelfe aloofe from the hands of the mighty. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy requeſts,
and in that reſpect it grieueth me that I ſhall ſeeme diſobedient vnto thee, being in any other action and
in all my cogitations wholly addicted to doe any ſeruice not only to thee, who art moſt worthy to be reueren-
ced of far greater perſons than I am, but alſo to euery the leaſt vaſſals of Amurath. Thou wilt pardon me
I hope, and thou ſhalt well perceiue, that if there be any thing neere me that may be acceptable vnto thee,
all that I haue whatſoeuer, though in reſpect of thy ſelfe it may ſeeme vile and baſe, yet is it thine, and is
now reſerued wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell; and command me, and hold me excuſed vpon
theſe juſt cauſes which thou heareſt, for my being ſo backeward in comming to honour thee, as my duty
requireth.

K

The poore and the leaſt among the ſlaues of the grand Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebrain burneth 24 Townes of Man Oglies.

Ebrain perceiuing by this letter the reſolution of *Man-Ogly*, reſolued alſo in himſelfe to go vpon him with all his army, and either by force or ſleight to get him into his hands; or at leaſt to draw from him ſo many arcubuſes, and as great gifts and tributes as poſſibly he might: and therefore riſing with his campe, and turning himſelfe toward the country of *Man-Ogli*, he burned and deſtroied foure and twenty of his townes, and ſo mounting vp certaine rockes of Libanus, vpon the top of a large hill (that ſtandeth ouer Andara and other places belonging to L
Veis Baſſa and his ſon diſcomfited by the Druſians. *Man-Ogli*) he incamped himſelfe. But whiles the army was thus marching forward, *Veis Baſſa* of Damaſco with a great part of his people, and his ſonne the Sanzacke of Ieruſalem, with his ſoldiers likewiſe, to the number of fifteen hundred perſons, hauing ſeparated themſelues from the reſt of the army in manner of a rereward; as they were buſie in raiſing their tents, vpon the ſudden were furiouſly aſſaulted by a great band of Druſians of the faction of *Man-Ogli*, and diſcomfited. Which victory the Druſians ſo proſecuted, that they became lords of the pauilions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horſes and their carriages, put to the ſword fiue hundred perſons, and ſcarce gaue any leiſure of eſcape either to the Baſſa the father, or the Sanzacke his ſonne, who fled ſtreight to Ieruſalem, and neuer returned againe to *Ebrain*; but *Veis* his father ſtill followed the army with thoſe few which he M
had left, and was thought worthy of all men to be pitied.

Vpon the hill aforeſaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty foure daies together, with abundance of all things neceſſary for victuall: during which time he attended nothing els, but to try all deuiſes how he might draw mony and preſents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might traine him into

his hands. For the compaſſing wherof he diſpatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manſurs* Agent) vnto *Man-Ogli* being in Andrea, to tel him, That foraſmuch as he would not giue credit to the promiſe that was made him, nor aduenture himſelfe into the hand of his friend, he ſhould ſend him all the arcubuſes he had; for that the Sultans pleaſure was, that his people that went not to the wars in his ſeruice, ſhould not be furniſhed with ſo great ſtore of weapons, to the danger of their neighbors, and of the ſubiects themſelues. With great griefe of mind did *Man-Ogli* behold the meſſenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the agent of his deadly Enemy: yet in regard of him that ſent him, he forbare to doe him injury, or to giue him any reproch; telling him, That all his people and weapons were diſperſed abroad ouer his territory, ſo that he could not tel what arcubuſes to ſend him: with which cold anſwer *Gomeda* returned. *Ebrain ſeuds for arcubuſes to Man-Ogli.*

Which thing when *Ali* Baſſa of Aleppo vnderſtood, he offered the Generall to goe himſelfe vnto him, and that to ſome better purpoſe. Many reaſons did *Ali Baſſa* vſe to perſuade the wary Druſian to come and yeeld his obedience to *Ebrain*, ſwearing that no harm ſhould bee don vnto him, and withall promiſing him great and honorable fauors. But neuer could he remoue the reſolute and prouident mind of *Man Ogli*, or win him to yeeld himſelfe into ſuch a mans hands whom he thought to be ſo murderous: yet at laſt with much ado, he ſo far preuailed with the Druſian Lord, that in ſigne of the reuerence he did bear toward the Generall, and his obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to ſend a preſent to *Ebrain*. And therupon he gaue him 320 arcubuſes, 20 packs of Andarine ſilks, and fifty thouſand ducats to carry to the Baſſa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For the better effecting wherof hee ſent his own mother vnto the great Baſſa, who in the behalf of her ſonne performed a very worthy meſſage, excuſing him as wel in reſpect of his enemies that ſate there ſo neer vnto him, as alſo in regard of the oath which he had ſolemnly ſworn, That for the treachery of *Muſtapha*, hee would neuer commit himſelf into the hands of a Turk: and therefore beſought him to accept of the gifts that were ſent him, and withall a mind and heart moſt ready to ſerue and obey the King in all occaſions; and that he would hold him excuſed, for that his excuſes were but iuſt reaſonable. Whereunto the Turk replied, That although ſhe had found ſo foul a fault in *Muſtapha* (who vnder the aſſurance of his promiſe and fidelity had betraied her husband) yet for all that ſhe ought not to fear any ſuch infamous or wicked act at his hands, who ſtood vpon his honour, and the word of a ſouldier. And ſo by oath proteſting all faithfull and conſtant friendſhip towards him; in token of his ſincere meaning, he caſt a white vail about her neck, and put another vpon himſelf, and the third he gaue her in her hands: Willing her to report vnto her ſon the othes he had made, and to carry that vail, and bring him with her; proteſting no otherwiſe to intreat him than as a friend and a brother. The peaceable old woman went away accordingly, but ſhee neither could nor would go about to alter the purpoſe of her ſon, but returned to *Ebrain* ſuch an anſwer as did not greatly pleaſe him. After which time hee ſought more than euer before to get the wary Druſian into his hands, or at leaſt, without regard of ſhame, to draw from him moe preſents and weapons. And therfore once again he ſent the crafty *Gomeda*, to exhort him, vpon faith and promiſe giuen, to come vnto him: but for all the craft and lying ſpeeches that the treacherous meſſenger could cunningly vſe, he could obtain nothing of the Druſian lord but good words only: yet at laſt after much fineneſſe, he preuailed ſo much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to ſend another preſent to *Ebrain*; with an expreſſe condition notwithſtanding, That hee ſhould cauſe *Ebrain* to depart out of thoſe quarters, and that he ſhould not himſelf return any more to requeſt any thing further of him. Which he very largely promiſed, only deſiring him to ſend a good number of Arcubuſes, therby to content the Baſſa fully: ſo he gaue him fifty thouſand ducats more, and foure hundred and fourſcore arcubuſes, with a thouſand goats, a hundred and fifty Camels, an hundred and fifty Buffles, a thouſand oxen, and two hundred weathers. With this rich Preſent came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring vnto him, that this he had got from him vpon promiſe that he ſhould not moleſt the Druſian any more. For which promiſe ſo made, *Ebrain* ſharply reprooued *Gomeda*, and threatened to make him know what it was to take vpon him ſo dangerous a liberty: and for the greater deſpight both to the one & the other, *Ebrahin* would needs haue *Gomeda* himſelfe to returne again with the like meſſage to trouble the Druſian. Wherefore although he went in great feare of ſome miſchiefe by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was there no remedy, but needs he muſt follow the commaund of him, in whoſe power it was to take *The notable diſſembling of Ebrain Baſſa.*

take from him both his honor and his life, and therfore on he went. But as ſoon as *Man-Ogli* ſaw *Gomeda*, thinking as the truth was, that he came again about his wonted requeſts, hee was at the very ſight of him ſo far mooued, as that he was euen at the point to haue thrown a dart at him, and ſo to haue diſpatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects ſtaid his fury: yet ſpared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to diſburthen his choler. Notwithſtanding *Gomeda* could doe no leſſe than accompliſh the effect of his fraudulent deſires, and ſo wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burdens of Arcubuſes more, ten ſwords, ten gilt daggers, certain ſiluer belts, ten packes of ſilke, and ſome few pence. Cauſing him withall to proteſt vnto him, Neuer to ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded to come again; for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen after what would of it. With great ioy and triumph did *Ebrain* receiue this preſent, and thinking now with himſelf that he had gotten a ſufficient booty from him, he determined to riſe with his army, and to ſacke all the reſt of *Man-Oglies* country. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir-Ebne-Frec*, burned Andrea, the place of *Man-Ogli* his reſidence; and in two daies burnt and deſtroied 19 of his townes, with vnſpeakable cruelty committing all things to fire and ſword. After all this ſacking and raſing, *Ebrain* ſent diuers meſſengers to *Man-Ogli*, to try whether he would be yet perſuaded to come to him. But nothing could mooue the reſolute Druſian to commit himſelf into his hands, but rather increaſed his conſtancie to auoid a moſt certaine death. Now the great Baſſa ſtil thirſting after bloud and reuenge; vnderſtanding by a ſpy, That the Captain of Andrea (being one of the factors of *Man Ogli*) with 350 ſouldiers was got vp to a certain hil, into a place of great ſecuritie, he ſent *Emir-Ebne Frec* to intice him, and to tell him, That ſeeing his Lord *Man-Ogli* would not come and yeeld himſelfe, he ſhould come to him: which if he would doe, he would aſſuredly in deſpight of *Man-Ogli* make him a Sanzacke of ſome place he moſt deſired, The ambitious and vnheedy Macademo ſuffered himſelfe to bee eaſily perſuaded, and being accompanied with his 350 followers, went with the ſaid *Ebne-frec* and came at laſt to the pauilion of *Ebrain*, hauing firſt cauſed his aforeſaid men to ſtay behind in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not ſo much as ſee the Macademo, although both in reſpect of the nimblenes of his perſon, and alſo the fierceneſſe of his lookes, he was worthy to be looked vpon; but commanded him to keep in a ſeueral place from *Serafadin*, and in the mean time deuiſed, how hee might with the leaſt loſſe of his owne men, put to death thoſe three hundred and fifty, the Macademo's followers: which was by training them by means of the ſaid *Ebne-frec*, into a certaine Vineyard, and ſo hauing brought them into a ſtreit, ſuddenly to ſet vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed; for being by the treacherous *Emir* brought into the place appointed for their ſlaughter, fearing nothing leſſe, they were ſuddenly incloſed by the Turks Sanzacks or Ianizaries, and ſlaine euery mothers ſon. This maſſacre thus finiſhed, *Ebrain* commanded the Macademo to be brought before him, and without delay to be ſtript and flaied quick. Who being come, ſtoutly vpbraided *Ebrain* with his promiſe and his oath: and among other ſpeeches which he vttered whilſt they ſtripped him, ſaid, *Cut me off my members, and firſt putting them into the priuities of that infamous* Ebrains *wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himſelf: for ſo I trow he will be contented and ſatisfied with my fleſh.* And to them that were the executioners of his painful death, hee ſaid, *It is your great good fortune indeed, that with ſuch violence and needleſſe deformity you are now able to ſpill my bloud, and to take my life from me: whereas none of you all had bin able, or once durſt, man to man, to haue drawn one drop of it from me, no nor to haue endured my countenance. But go too, proceed in your wicked & vnſatiable deſire of my bloud, and fulfill the cruell command of your Viſier: for in the end there will alſo light vpon you the iuſt reward of this ſo villanous a fact.* With theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches the miſerable wretch was ſtripped, and three great gaſhes made on his backe, where they began to flea him: he in the mean time not ceaſing to blaſpheme their religion, and to curſe their King and their falſe prophet alſo. But the barbarous ſoldiers proceeding in their cruel action, made other-like gaſhes vpon his breaſt and ſtomack; and ſo drawing the skinne downward, could not bring it to his nauel, before he was with the extremity of the pain dead. After this, *Ebrain* cauſed the followers of *Serafadin* (in number about an hundred and fifty) to be cruelly ſlain, and all his country to be moſt miſerably waſted, he himſelf ſtill remaining in chaines.

Man-Ogli his lieutenant inticed to come to Ebrain, is ſlain quicke.

Whilſt the fire and ſword thus raged in the Druſian Country, *Ebrain* by ſpeedy poſts ſent

to

A to Sidon, where his gallies lay at rode, commanded, That dis-barking 4000 ſouldiers, they ſhould ſack all thoſe countries alongſt the ſea coaſt, euen as far as Cæſaria in Paleſtine, ſparing neither age nor ſex, of what condition ſoeuer. Which his cruel command was preſently put in execution, and three thouſand ſoules brought away captiues, great booties made of much rich merchandiſe, many towns burnt, ſundry caſtles raſed & layd euen with the ground; and to be ſhort, all the whole countrey both of *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* layd vtterly waſte and deſolate.

Ebrain was now in readineſſe to depart for Conſtantinople, where hee was by *Amurath* expected, as wel for his gold, as the accompliſhment of the mariage. But bethinking himſelf, that whatſoeuer he had hitherto don, would bee accounted little or nothing, vnles hee prouiB ded in ſome ſort for the quieting of thoſe people vnder the Turkiſh obedience, he derermined to nominat one of the three Druſian Emirs that came to him to Ieruſalem, to be Baſſa of all thoſe regions. And becauſe Emir *Aly Ebne-Carfus* was the richeſt and moſt obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honored him with that dignity, yet not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thouſand ducats. Wherfore he apparelled him in cloath of gold, gaue him a horſmans mace and a ſword all gilt, and deliuered vnto him the Kings commiſſion, cauſing him withal to ſwear faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And ſo hauing (at leaſt in ſhew) ſet in order the affairs of thoſe mountaines, which an hundred of the Turks great Captaines had in former time vainely attempted, hee returned to Damaſco, where he ſtaied twelue daies, by ſhamefull ſhifts extorting money from diuers perſons. At C laſt hauing no more to do in thoſe parts, he turned himſelf towards Gazir and Baruto, places vnder the gouernment of *Ebne-Manſur*, where he arriued with all his army, and found the Gallies which he left in the port of Sidon, now in the hauen of Baruto, as he had before commanded. Now vpon a certain hil aboue Baruto, neer vnto the ſea, *Ebrain* had pitched his own tent only and no other; and hauing ſent all the reſt of his beſt and goodly things which he meant to carry with him to Conſtantinople, aboord the gallies, ſhrouded himſelfe onely vnder that narrow and baſe tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Manſur*, and in pleaſant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make paiment of the debt of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand ducats, which he owght the King his Lord for the cuſtom of Tripoli and Baruto; for that he could not longer ſtay in thoſe quarters, but was to return to Conſtantinople, which hee knew D not how to do, vnleſſe he caried with him the diſcharge of that debt. Wherunto *Ebne-Manſur* made anſwer, that it would not be long before his Macademo's would come with his monies, and that then he would without further delay make paiment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be but an excuſe, and therfore determined with himſelf to thruſt him into the gallies: and becauſe he could not carry the mony vnto the King, yet at the leaſt to bring him his debtor. But foraſmuch as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of ſome inſurrection among the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the ſaid *Ebne-Manſur*, as for that he ſaw him to be greatly beloued and fauoured of the other two Druſian Lords, *Ebne-Frec* and *Ebne-Carfus*; he therefore thought it better policie, by concealing this his purpoſe, to ſhew him in his outward actions all good countenance, and by ſecret and E ſubtil means to take him priſoner. Wherupon hee deceitfully told him, That foraſmuch as he was to ſtay there about his buſineſſe that night, and was reſolued the next day to make a road into the Country of *Man-Ogli*; he therfore praied him to do him the fauour to be his guid; and for that purpoſe when he ſhould ſend for him at midnight, that he would come vnto him very ſecretly, becauſe he was minded to depart without any ſtirre, only with fiue hundred men in his company. The Druſian Lord verily beleeued the matter, that ſo it was, and withall was in good hope, by that means to find ſome way to eſcape his hands. Wherupon being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who preſently charged him (whom all men thought he had eſpecially affected) with many abhominable and foul terms, cauſing a chain to be caſt about his neck and his arms, and ſo faſt bound to be caried into the F Gallies. And yet not ſo contented, took the ſpoil of all his Country, whereby there was leuied ſuch a prey as was maruellous to behold: for beſides mony (wherof there was a very huge ſum) the ſtore of cloaths of ſilk and gold was ſuch, and ſo great, as might better beſeem ſome great Prince, than ſuch a mountaine ruſtical Lord as he was. When the Baſſa had conueyed all this into his Gallies, hee ſailed to Tripoli, where hee found *Serafadin* in the cuſtody of

Ebrain notably diſſembleth with Ebne-Manſur.

Ebne-Manſur in chains ſent to the gallies.

Veis Baſſa and *Ali Baſſa*; and hauing ſtaid there ſome few daies, wherin he committed ſundry villanous and abhominable outrages, hee cauſed the ſaid *Serafadin* to be put into the Gallies, with all his ſilks and other wealth, and ſo departed for Conſtantinople. Where at ſuch time as he entred into the chanel of the city, accompanied with 24 gallies, he was incountred and receiued by a wonderful number of his friends and fauourits, and ſaluted with an honourable peal of artillery out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi*, the beſt reporter of this hiſtory, as alſo of the late wars betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, being then at Conſtantinople, & hauing (as he reporteth of himſelfe) good means to ſee the bountifull & the beautiful preſents which the ſpoiling and rauenous Baſſa gaue the Turkiſh King; reporteth the ſum thereof to haue bin a million of gold, beſides the yearly reuenue of Cair, amounting to 600000 ducats, with 60 horſes moſt richly garniſhed, of ſingular beauty, but eſpecially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffle (which is a beaſt like a Camel and a Panther) two great crocodiles dead, a Chair of maſſie gold richly ſet with pretious ſtones, a Casket alſo beſet with pretious ſtones and gold, many packs of moſt fine cloathes, woollen and ſilkes, certaine other cloaths with fringe of gold & ſiluer, and the Barbarian cut-worke, moſt fine linnen of Alexandria, and all the arcubuſes taken from the Druſians: beſides ſundry rich preſents giuen by the proud Baſſa to the great Ladies of the court, reported by *Leunclauius* to haue bin worth two hundred thouſand Sultanines.

Ebrahims rich preſents.

Io. Leun. ſup. An. Turc. p. 95

But now foraſmuch as we haue before made mention of the Sanzack of Ieruſalem and his flight, it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to our hiſtory (though ſomwhat out of time) to declare in few words what paſt between him and the Arabians of Paleſtine a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Baſſa into thoſe quarters: by which little the deſirous Reader may eaſily perceiue the woful and troubleſome ſtate of that ſomtime moſt bleſſed and fruitful, but now moſt miſerable and barren land of Iury, and of thoſe places in holy writ ſo much renowned.

Troubles in the land of Iury.

In the confines of Sodom, and in the places that lie not only betwixt the lake Aſphaltites and Damaſco, but alſo in the plains and in the vallies of Iericho and of Samaria, and in other places about Bethlehem, Emaus, Bethany, Bethfage, Capharnaum, Nazareth, Leuir, Bethſaida, Naplos, and other Townes of name thereabouts, there do haunt and liue certain Arabian captains, who ſpreading themſelues euen as far as Rama and Ioppa, ouer-run at their pleaſure al the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages, as wel againſt the ſaid Cities, as alſo vpon the goods and wealth not only of the inhabitants there, but alſo of ſtrangers: yea, and their inſolencie oftentimes groweth ſo great, that they dare to aſſault the fenced cities; beſides the ſpoiling of Trauellers, that by reaſon of their buſineſſe haue occaſion to paſſe from one city to another. They are good horſmen, but they vſe no armour; their horſes are very ſwift to run, and ſpare of diet, and are themſelues bold and aduenturous theeues. Theſe Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforeſaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzack of Ieruſalem, was in mind to raiſe all the Sanzacks thereabout, and joining himſelf with them and his father the Baſſa of Damaſco, to reſtrain their inſolent liberty, & to work their deſtruction; reſolued with themſelues not to ſtay vntill hee and his Confederates were ready, but rather by ſundry inuaſions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of Ieruſalem, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him ſo to do, they compacted with a certaine Subbaſſi of Bethlehem their friend, to incourage and animate the Sanzacke therunto, by promiſing him good ſucces and proſperous euents. The ambitious yong man, ſeduced with the glorious perſuaſions of the falſe Subbaſſi (of whom hee made good reckoning) and prouoked by their inſolencies, reſolued, as they had wiſhed, to iſſue out of the city into the open field; and therupon hauing armed an hundred of his Vaſſals, and raiſed all the horſmen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of ſix hundred, he made a rode toward Iericho, ſending before defiance vnto them. Againſt whom the Arabians came accordingly, and with their arrows and Indian canes ouerwhelming his arcubuſes, as if it had bin a raging floud, wrought him great wo: when as in the very nick, the battel yet being at the hoteſt, the traiterous Subbaſſi fled towards Bethlehem, and left the ſouldiers of Ieruſalem in the hands of the Arabians, who put moſt part of them to the edge of the ſword, and ſcarcely gaue liberty to the Sanzacke to ſaue himſelfe by flight. The Sanzack certainly informed of this fraud of the diſſembling Subbaſſi, to be reuenged vpon him, began alſo in like manner to diſſemble

with

A with him, feining that he would once more try his forces againſt the ſame Arabians; and ſo vſed the matter, that the Subbaſſi arming himſelfe, came vnto him without any ſuſpition of the miſchief intended againſt him. But as ſoon as he was come the Sanzacke tooke him, and preſently cauſed him in moſt cruel maner to be ſlain quick.

The Subbaſſi of Bethlem ſlaine quicke.

Thus hauing paſſed ouer the troubles that ſtayed the people of Egypt and Damaſco, and the countries therabout, from reſorting to *Oſman* the Turks great Generall at Erzirum, let vs again return thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations againſt the Perſian; and proſecute thoſe affaires, which of all others moſt exerciſed the forces of the two mightieſt Mahometan Monarchs; and with the expectation therof filled the World from the Eaſt to the Weſt.

B The ſtreit commandement of *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Oſman* the General, had drawn together ſuch a world of people of all ſorts to Erzirum, as that it ſeemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherfore *Oſman* perceiuing that he had gathered together too great a number of people, and too huge an Army, and that it might ſo fall out that hee might want victualls for ſo many (neither ſo greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead ſo populous an Army againſt them) determined to diſcharge a great number of ſuch as he thought moſt weake, and leaſt able to endure trauel: ſo that out of this great multitude he drew about 40000 perſons, who liberally according to euery mans ability redeeming the ordinary perils of the wars, returned home to their own dwellings. And ſo in *Oſmans* army remained 180000 perſons or therabout.

The number of Oſmans army.

C With this multitude the General departed from Erzirum about the 11 of Auguſt this yeare 1585, towards Tauris, continuing for all that the ſpeech for Naſſivan. But he had ſcarce marched two daies, when diuers ſoldiers of Grecia and Conſtantinople preſenting themſelues before him, vpbraided him with great improuidencie, telling him, That they began already to feel the want of victual, by wanting the ſame day their ordinary allowance of Corne for their horſes: ſo that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of ſo long a journey, they felt ſuch want, they could not tell with what iudgement or diſcretion he meant to lead ſo great a company ſo far as Naſſivan; nor by what cunning conceit he had preſumed to ſuſtain ſo great an army in the ſeruice of their Lord. *Oſman* quietly heard their complaints, and preſently prouided for them, by cauſing ſuch ſtore of barly to be diſtributed among them, as they deſired:

D and ſeuerely puniſhed the officers who had the charge for allowance of corn, who moſt couetouſly began to make merchandiſe of the common prouiſion, by conuerting it to their owne priuat vſes. And hauing thus quieted their troubled minds he proceeded on his journy, & by the way of Haſſan Chalaſſi and Chars, arriued vpon the Chalderan plains, famous for the memorable battels there fought between *Selymus* and *Hyſmael*. In theſe plains he took a general review of his Army, wherein he wanted a number, that by reaſon of ſicknes beeing not able to continue the journy, were inforced to ſtay behind, ſome in one place, ſome in another. Remouing thence, he took his way not to Naſſivan, as he had ſtil hitherto giuen it out he would, but now directly to Tauris. Which ſo ſudden an alteration of the journy, ſo ſoon as the ſouldiers of Grecia and Conſtantinople heard, they fel into a great rage; and comming againe before

E the General, reuelled with him in this ſort to his face:

The ſoldiers inſolent ſpeech to Oſman.

And what are we, thou villain, thou Turk, thou dolt, whom thou handleſt in this ſort? We are neither Oxen, nor ſheep of the mountains, for the leading of whom thou thinkeſt thou art come out: neither can we brook theſe thy lies and deceits. If thou haſt publiquely profeſſed to lead vs to Naſſiuan, and by that ſpeech haſt trained vs from the fartheſt bounds of Grecia, to what end now, after thou haſt wearied vs ſo much, doſt thou deceiue vs with ſuch vanities, and prolong our iourney, & ſet before vs ſuch ſtrange and important dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy firſt purpoſe and intent, and that now, not fooliſhly or by chance, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changeſt thy opinion, why didſt thou diſmiſſe ſo many ſoldiers as might haue made the army more terrible and ſtronger for the en-

F *terpriſe of Tauris? Doſt thou think, that by ſuffering others to redeem their liberties, ſo to increaſe thy riches, thou ſhalt ſet our liues to ſale, and make vs ſlaues to the Perſians?*

At theſe proud ſpeeches the General was exceedingly troubled, ſeeing his good meaning, and the erneſt deſire hee had to aduance the majeſty & glory of his king, taken in ſo euil part,

and thoſe his beſt ſoldiers ſo highly offended. And although hee could indeed haue readily vſed the ſharpeſt and hardeſt prouiſions and remedies for it, that in ſuch occaſions are ordinarily applied; yet vpon good aduice he forbare ſo to doē, and in ſtead of rigor and puniſhment reſolued to work by more eaſie means. Wherupon cauſing many of the captains and chiefe men among thoſe ſeditious ſoldiers to come before him, he firſt perſuaded them, G

That the former ſpeech for Naßiuan was not raiſed at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to go for Tauris; but all that was don, he had don to fulfill the commandment of the Sultan, who had charged him ſo to do, to the end to leſſen the Perſian preparations, which they would haue vndoubtedly made farre greater, if the ſpeech had bin giuen out at firſt for Tauris. Which his princely care for their ſafety, they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in ſo doing they ſhould ſtill preſerue that great opinnion which both the King and the world had conceiued of their valor and fidelity. Neither needed they to H *fear, that the ſoldiers which were diſmiſſed might weaken the Army; for that they themſelues were not only ſufficient to pierce into Tauris, and to open the way vpon the enemy, but to daunt them euen with their looks: and that thoſe which were diſcharged, had but purged the hoſt of all cowardiſe, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage.*

By this mild anſwer of the General the tumultuous ſoldiers were ſufficiently pacified: but much better apaied & contented they were, as ſoon as he put his hand to the common purſe, and beſtowed among them a ſmall quantity of monies: for by this his kind vſage al their ſtomacks were ouercome, and they themſelues became ſo willing and ſo couragious, that now they durſt venture not to Tauris only, but to Casbin, yea euen to the fartheſt parts of all the Perſian kingdom. I

Theſe important outrages thus appeaſed, the General turned himſelf with all his army towards Coy, a City ſcituat beyond Van, in the midſt betweene Tauris and the Martian Mere, where he refreſhed his Army with all things he could deſire. From Coy hee paſſed to Marant, a city ſubiect to the Perſians, plentiful alſo of all things needful both for man and beaſt. From thence he leaned down toward Soffian, a fruitful place ſubiect alſo to the Perſians: from whence he began to diſcouer Tauris. Great was the ioy of the whole camp, and now the mutinous ſoldiers of Græce and Conſtantinople could highly commend the aduice of the General, or rather of *Amurath* himſelf, in giuing out the rumor of Naſſivan for Tauris, as the only means wherby they were come in quiet ſo far; the Perſians being wholly occupied (as they ſuppoſed) about Naſſivan. Inſomuch that euery man beeing waxen couragious, and repleniſhed with ioy, without any feare at all began proudly to plot vnto themſelues nothing but ſackings, pillings, taking of priſoners, rauiſhments, robberies, and all thoſe inſolent and outragious actions that vſe raſhly to proceed from the greedy affections of thoſe barbarous Victors. Eſpecially they of the Vauward, who being deſirous of booty, and to diſcouer the enemies Countrey, deſcended downe toward certaine pleaſant gardens full of all ſorts of trees, ſprings, and fruits: where hauing ſatisfied their appetites, they withdrew themſelues to a certain little riuer, neer to a bridge called *The bridge of ſalt* water, and there ſtayd at pleaſure, attending the comming of the army. But while they were thus injoying the water, the fruits, the ſhade, the green graſſe, and other delights of the place, the Perſian Prince *Emir-Hamze*, King *Mahamets* eldeſt ſon, who with ten thouſand good ſoldiers had cloſely couched himſelf, watching ſtil when ſome of the enemies bands ſhould come downe to thoſe reſting places, ſuddenly ſet vpon them with ſuch ſpeed, courage, and fury, that as if it had been a lightening, and in a maner without any reſiſtance, he ouer-ran all thoſe Turkes and diſperſed them, putting to the ſword about ſeuen thouſand of them. And ſo leading away with him many priſoners, horſes, ſlaues, with ſundry enſignes and Turkiſh drums, he withdrew himſelfe backe toward his blinde father, who lay then incamped about twelue miles from Tauris, with 50000 ſoldiers or therabouts. *Aliculi Chan* gouernor of Tauris being left in the city with 4000 ſoldiers only. A greater army than this, not exceeding the number of threeſcore and four thouſand, was not the Perſian King able to levy: the principal occaſion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the Turcoman Nation beeing waxen rebellious and diſobedient, would not by any means be brought to defend that city, wherof *Aliculi Chan* their capital Enemie was now Gouernour. And from Gheilan and Heri there came not ſo much as one ſouldior to relieue the neceſſities of Perſia. So that with theſe ſmall forces (in compariſon of the Enemies) the Perſian King had no ſtomacke to meet the Turkiſh Army in plaine battell, but

The Turks diſcouer Tauris.

The Perſians ouer-run the vauward of the Turkes Army.

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ſought

A sought how he might with as little losse to himself as possibly he could, make trial of his forces, and by all politique means to weaken and anoy his strong enemy.

Osman vnderstanding of this discomfiture of his vauward, forthwith dispatched *Sinan Bassa* the son of *Cicala*, and *Mahamet* the Bassa of Caraemit, with 14000 souldiers to pursue the victorious prince: who in their pursuit vsed such expedition, that at length they ouertook him in the way toward his fathers camp. But as soon as the prince saw the Turks so neer him, that without a dangerous and shameful flight he could not auoid the battell, couragiously he turned his face, and ioyned with them a most bloudy conflict: which being begun two hours before night, was most fiercely maintained vntil the darknes of the night bereauing them of the vse of their weapons, inforced both the one side and the other to retyre. Which was don with
B the notable losse of the Turks, who in this second conflict (as it was commonly reported) lost 6000 men, and had as was thought suffred a generall slaughter, had not the night interrupted so vncoth an action, wel worthy a thousand day-lights. So that hitherto the Turks sustained the losse of more than ten thousand souldiers, and yet had scarce discouered or seen the City which they so greedily longed after.

A bloud conflict betwixt the Turks and Persians.

The next morning the Turks camp remoued and came within two miles of Tauris, where they incamped. But whilst they were setting vp their tents, *Aliculi Chan* issuing out of the city with all his garison and such of the city as were fit to bear Armes, set vpon the face of the vauward, being now renued, and with many cunning turnings and windings so charged them, that with great losse he forced them to retyre euen vnto the main battel; where after hee had
C espied the great artillery, he without hurt withdrew himself again to the city. The confusion of the Turks in this skirmish was notable, for in a very small time the vauward was disordred, and almost 3000 slain. But *Aliculi* not so contented, in the shutting in of the euening sallied out of the city the second time, and swiftly running along that side of the army which lay toward Tauris, slew the Bassa of Maras, and did great harm in that quarter. Which don, without any staying he fled to the Kings camp, and forsook the defence of that sorrowful city which he could not hold. Neuertheles the Taurisians, as many of them as remained in the City, gathered themselues to the gates of the City, well armed, prepared to make a bloudy entrance for the Turks whensoeuer they should come. All the night was spent in watching, without rest on either side, and yet nothing attempted. But vpon breake of day, a great multitude of
D the seruile sort of the Turks, and of the common rascall rout, without any order from their captains, armed with corslets, spears and swords, went to the city with resolution to haue sacked it, and so to haue inriched themselues with the spoil and pillage of that wealthy city. But when they came to the garded gates, they found there contrary to their expectation, a terrible rescue, and were inforced there to ioyn a hard and mortal battel, so that the wals, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with bloud, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carkasses. And yet for all that, though the Persians stood fast and firm at the ariuall of this seruile rout; at the last they were constrained to yeeld the entrance, being ouercome by the multitude of them that out of the camp flowed in vpon them like a floud; and retyring into the city now astonied and amased on euery side, they fortified themselues in their houses
E vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the streets; from whence with their arrows and some few arcubuses they did the Turks that entred great harm: yet were they not able to kil and destroy so many of their enemies, but that at the last they were too mighty for them, and wrought many grieuous mischiefs in that wofull city. And so a great number of this rascall people that remained aliue, returned to the Turkish Campe, carrying with them too manifest tokens of the poor oppressed city: wherin the miserable women and impotent souls stood embracing and straining the doors and posts of their houses, and kissing their natiue soil, with prayers, mournings, and complaints bewailing their present miseries, and yet feared worse to come. *Osman* the Generall now made acquainted with these calamities, caused a proclamation to be published, That no man should be so hardy as to molest the Tauri-
F sians: and in the mean time went himself about the city, viewing throughly the scituation of it, and surueying the place wherein hee might both incampe himselfe safely, and with better foundation and greater security erect a castle or Fort, for the more assurance of that conquered country.

A great slaughter at Tauris.

The city of Tauris, seated at the foot of the hil Orantes, about 8 daies journy from the Caspian

The description of Tauris.

ſpian ſea, and is ſubiect to winds, cold, and ſnow, yet of a very wholſom air, abounding with al things neceſſary for mans life, and wonderfull rich with perpetual concourſe of merchandiſe brought thither out of the Eaſt to be conueyed vnto the Weſt; and alſo of others brought out of theſe Weſtern parts, to be diſperſed into the Eaſt. It is very populous, ſo that it feeds almoſt 200000 perſons; but yet open to the fury of euery Army, without walls, and vnfortified. The buildings (after the manner of thoſe of the Eaſt) are of burnt clay, rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of the Perſian Kings reſidence, vntill ſuch time as that the late King *Tamas* remooued his ſeat further into his kingdome to Casbin. Neuertheleſſe both before and ſince, although it had beene ſundry times moleſted by the inrodes and fury of the Turkiſh Emperors, yet was it ſtill held in great eſtimation and renown. G

Of this city *Oſman Baſſa* hauing taken diligent view, cauſed his Tents to be pitched on the South ſide therof, where was a ſpacious garden all flouriſhing and beautiful, repleniſht with ſundry kinds of trees and ſweet ſmelling plants, and a thouſand fountains and brooks deriued from a pretty riuer, which with his pleaſant ſtream diuided the garden from the city of Tauris, and was of ſo great beauty, that for the delicacie therof it was by the country inhabitants called *Sechis Genet*, that is to ſay, the eight Paradiſes; and was in times paſt the ſtanding houſe of their Kings, whileſt they kept their reſidence in this City: and after they had withdrawne their ſeat from thence to Casbin, became the habitation and place of abode for the gouernors of Tauris. Of theſe gardens and places *Oſman* made choice to build his caſtle in, wherof he gaue the model himſelf, & commanded that all the whole circuit of thoſe pleaſant greens ſhould be inuironed with wals, and trenches digged round about them, to conuey the water from the aforeſaid riuer. Which was accordingly don with the greateſt care that might bee poſſible; the foundation of the imbattelled wals layd, the ditches digged fourteen foot broad and a mans height in depth; and in the ſpace of 36 daies the whole work fully finiſhed; great ſtore of Artillery mounted vpon the walls, and diuers baths, lodgings, and ſuch other houſes neceſſarie for the Turkes vſes, built within the Caſtle. The firſt day of this building *Oſman* fell ſick of a feauer with a bloudy flix alſo; which haply was the cauſe both of the ſlowneſſe of the building, and of many other loſſes which afterwards happened, as ſhall be in due time declared. H I

The caſtle of Tauris built in 36 dayes.

Fiue daies after the building of the caſtle was begun, news was brought into the Turkiſh camp, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaoglans were ſeen ſtrangled in a bath within the city of Tauris. Wherupon the Zaini, Spahini, and Ianizaries came preſently to the general, declaring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order, That no man ſhould hurt or moleſt the Tauriſians, and that according to his pleaſure, euery man had vſed modeſty towards them, and obedience to him; yet the Tauriſians themſelues had moſt audaciouſly ſtrangled in one of their baths, eight Ianizaries and certain Spaoglans: which injury and inſolencie they ſaid in their iudgment was not to bee ſuffered. This outrage ſo mooued the General, that without any further delay he commanded the City to be ſacked, leauing it wholly to the pleaſure of his ſoldiers; who forthwith ſo vſed the matter, not as if they would haue reuenged an injury, but forthwith haue brought an vtter deſtruction vpon the whole City. Euery place was filled with ſlaughter, rauiſhment, rapine and murther; virgins were defloured, men children defiled with horrible and vnſpeakable ſins; yonglings ſnatcht out of their parents arms, houſes laid euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money caried away, and in briefe, all things ruinated and waſted. Neither were theſe miſchiefs committed once only; but the ſecond followed worſe than the firſt, and the third vpon that worſe than the ſecond. So that it was a miſerie almoſt inexplicable, to behold that city, ſo populous, ſo rich, ſomtime the court and palace of the Perſian Kings, and honour of that empire, now ſubiect to the fury of the Turks, plunged in calamitie and vtter deſtruction. K

The miſery of the Tauriſians.

The wofull aduertiſement hereof ſore troubled the Perſian King, but the yong prince his ſonne much more: who mooued with the paſſions of moſt inward grief, diſdain, and deſpaire, and deſirng nothing more than reuenge, reſolued to attempt any thing, wherby to requite ſo great a wrong. In which reſolution hauing confirmed his army, he commanded fiue hundred of his horſmen to preſent themſelues euen to the very ſight of the enemies tents, & as it were to dare them to battel. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant ſhew M

of

A of themſelues. At the diſcouery wherof the Turks imagining that the Perſians were come in great number to aſſail the army, order was giuen by the ſick Generall, That *Cicala Baſſa* and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of Caraemit, with the people of Grecia and all their owne forces, ſhould go to incounter the enemy. Who preſently with their enſignes diſplaied (vnder which there ſtood about 34000 ſtrong, beſides a number of ſeruile people, yet men exerciſed in labours and perils, in all wel neer 40000) ſet forward. Now the 500 Perſians with a maruellous cunning kind of skirmiſhing dallied with the Turkiſh ſouldiers, and drew them forward for the ſpace of eight miles and more: and being brought ſo far on, and now forewearied with the skirmiſh, were luſtily aſſailed by the Perſian Prince, who with part of his army, to the number of about 20000 perſons, couragiouſly ſet vpon the two Baſſa's, and joined with them the
B deadlieſt and cruelleſt battel that euer was written of. Wherin the Perſians hauing giuen a perillous onſet, and don great harm, it was thought that they would haue contented themſelues with ſo lucky an incounter, and ſo haue retired. Which the Turks minding to preuent, and not to return without a notable victory, hardly preſſed vpon them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and ſo to giue them a bloudy and deadly ouerthrow. But the Perſians hauing quietly and with great aſſurance for a reaſonable ſpace indured the charge, at laſt as if they had bin freſh men made head vpon them afreſh, and began a moſt terrible battell anew, wherin the Baſſa of Caraemit aboue named was put to flight, and being wholly diſmaied and diſcomfited, fled back again to the camp, carrying with him the moſt manifeſt tokens of the vnhappy iſſue of the battel. *Cicala* the other Baſſa notwithſtanding valiantly and with great
C cunning ſtil ſuſtained the fury of the Perſians, laboring by all means to incourage his ſouldiers, and to haue reſtored the battel: but when he had don what he might, ouercome at laſt by greater valor, he was inforced to betake himſelf to flight alſo; and ſo altogether diſcomfited, came to the camp without any enſigne, hauing left behind him 8000 of his ſoldiers dead vpon the ground. *Eight thouſand Turkes ſlain.*

The Perſian Prince incouraged with this ſo fortunat a victory, by ſpeedy heraulds ſent to the ſick Viſier (whom he thought notwithſtanding to haue bin in health) and gaue him to vnderſtand, That if he were willing to fight, he was ready for him, and in what ſort ſoeuer it pleaſed him to accept of battel, to make him good account of his valor, and to cauſe him to know, not only that *Amurath* his maſter had moſt vniuſtly raiſed this war, but alſo that it had beene
D good for himſelf not to haue taken the ſame in hand. Of this offer *Oſman* accepted: but being not able himſelf to anſwer the prince in perſon hand to hand, by reaſon of his ſickneſs, which euery hour mortally increaſed, he ſent out all his captains with his army to date him battel.

The prince lay ten miles or therabouts diſtant from the camp of *Oſman*, toward whom the Turks ſet forward in this manner: The main battel was guided by the Baſſa of Caraemit and *Cicala Baſſa*, with all the ſouldiers of Aſſyria and Babylon: The left wing was led by the Baſſa of Natolia, with the band of Grecia; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath* Baſſa of Caramania, with the people of Soria; to the number of threeſcore thouſand, beſides thoſe that were left behind at Tauris, with the truſty gard of the Ianizaries, and the Artillery, for the ſafegard of the ſick Viſier. In this order they confronted the Perſian prince, who was him-
E ſelf in the midſt of his army, with all his people in very good order, hauing on the one ſide the ſoldiers of Perſia and Hircania, and on the other them of Parthia and Antropatia, in all to the number of forty thouſand. The Turks feared nothing more, than that the Perſians fetching a great compaſſe about, ſhould with all celerity and fury ſet vpon their Tents, and the riches they had layd vp together in their pauilions: and therfore at euery motion of theirs they continually feared this ſudden out-rode. Whereof they had ſo much care, that retyring themſelues as much as they might, and feigning as if they had giuen place to the Perſians, it wanted not much, but that they had brought them euen within the iuſt leuel and mark of their Artillery. Which the Perſians perceiuing, without any further dallying hardly began to aſſaile the maine body of the battell. The Prince himſelfe beeing entred amongſt the ſouldi-
F ers of the Baſſa of Caraemit (who as Generall ſuſtained the place of *Oſman*) and preſſing into the middeſt of the battell, diſpatched euery man that came in his way, and hauing ſingled out the Baſſa from the reſt, ſmote off his head, and gaue it to one of his followers to carry vpon the top of his Launce. The which being openly deſcried, brought a great terrour vpon the *The Baſſa of Caraemit ſlain, and his head cut off.*

Turks,

Turks,and exceedingly incouraged the Perſians; who imbrued with the bloud of their Ene- G
mies,and intermingling themſelues more and more amongſt them,made of them a moſt con-
fuſed and generall ſlaughter; wherein beſide the Baſſa before named, there died the Baſſa of
Trabſzonda,the Sanzack of Bruſia,with fiue other Sanzacks, and as it was commonly repor-
ted, 20000 Turks more. It hapned *Amurath* Baſſa of Caramania to bee there taken priſoner,
with diuers other common ſoldiers. But night comming now on, & the Perſians being come
ſomwhat too nigh the Turkiſh artillery, they gaue ouer the fight & retyred themſelues back
to the place where the King lay incamped with the reſt of his army.

But now were diuers daies ſpent,wherin the new fortres at Tauris (as we haue before ſayd)
was fully finiſhed;when the ſoldiers of Grecia & Conſtantinople,wearied to ſee their friends
and fellows thus ſlain before their faces, and hauing alſo ſafely layd vp in their owne cuſtody H
ſuch preys and booties as they had gotten in the ſack of the City, reſolued with themſelues
to procure their own departure; and ſo much the rather, for that the Winter was now faſt
comming on. And foraſmuch as the Generall was through the immoderate flux of bloud
brought weak,and in deſpair of life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his phyſitians, and
therfore not to be ſpoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of ſuch as were their truſty
friends about him, to repreſent vnto him the neceſſity of their returne,and withall,after many
reuerend intreaties,cauſed it alſo to be ſignified vnto him, That if hee ſtood obſtinate, and
would needs ſtay dallying out the time, in thoſe dangerous places where no need was, they
ſhould be inforced to withdraw themſelues,and to forſake him. *Oſman*,who had now nothing
els to do in thoſe countries, but only to leaue ſome conuenient garriſon in the new fortres at I
Tauris,liberally promiſed to ſatisfie their requeſts,by departing thence the next morning. So
calling vnto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis,a man of a crafty and cruel nature,hee
made him gouernor and keeper of the new built fortres at Tauris. And the more to encou-
rage him to take that charge vpon him,he gaue him freely for the ſpace of three whole yeares
not only the office & authority,but alſo the rents and reuenue of the Baſſa of Caraemit, late-
ly ſlain by the Perſian Prince,and withall honored him with the title of a Baſſa of the court:
ſo that after hee had finiſhed his three yeares office of Caraemit, hee was then to goe and
ſit among the ſoueraign ſeats of the Baſſa's of the port. The Baſſa ſeeing ſo fair and ſo nigh a
way for him to mount to thoſe high honors (greater than which there is none in the Turkiſh
empire)readily accepted the offer,& diſpatching his lieutenant to Caraemit,to gouern thoſe K
countries in his abſence,with a hundred of his own followers;ſetled himſelf in the ſayd Fort
with a garriſon of 12000 ſoldiers,furniſhed with all neceſſary prouiſion vntil the next ſpring.
The General hauing thus ſet all things in order, and carefully prouided for the ſafety of the
Fortreſſe,departed according to his promiſe,and the ſame morning (which was the 87 day af-
ter his departure from Erzirum) came vnto a place called Sancazan,ſeuen miles diſtant from
Tauris.

Giaffer vpon Oſmans departure made Gouernor of Tauris.

The Turks were now vpon the point of their incamping, in a confuſed diſorder and hurley-
burly;when thoſe that were hindermoſt in the army heard the neying of horſes, and the noiſe
of drums and trumpets, as if it had bin the comming of an Army. Which when the whole
Camp vnderſtood, they ran all headlong and diſordered as they were, to the reſcue, on that L
ſide where the noiſe of the horſes and warlike inſtruments was heard. But whilſt the Turkes
were thus intentiuely buſied on that ſide to expect the comming of the enemy, the Perſian
Prince without any ſigne or token of battell, with 28000 horſemen was ready vpon them on
the other ſide: Who hauing diſcouered their Camels and other Carriages, wherupon their
booty,their ſpoiles,and their riches were laden,which they had taken at Tauris, beſide much
of their prouiſion of victuals for the ſuſtenance of the Army,he turned vpon them, and with a
prouident and ſafe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteen thouſand of the Camels and Mules
well loden with the ſame booties and victuals;which the Prince ſent preſently away with ſix
thouſand of his ſouldiers: and he himſelf with his two and twenty thouſand Perſians entred
into the Turks army,who now to withſtand his aſſault,had on that ſide alſo made head againſt M
him. A gallant thing it was,and terrible withall,to ſee what a mortall battel was made, what
ſingular proweſſe ſhewed euen preſently in the forefront of the battell; for in a moment you
might haue ſeen the tents and pauilions turned vpſide down, and their incamping Lodgings

The battell of Sancazan.

reple-

A repleniſhed with dead carkaſſes and bloud, victorious death raging and reigning in euery corner. The Turks themſelues were aſtoniſhed and maruelled, to ſee their enemies (ſo few in number, and intermingled among ſo populous an army of warlike people) more like fatal miniſters of death, than mortal men, to brandiſh their ſwords ouer them as if it had been lightning, and to make ſo generall a ſlaughter; & do to this day with great admiration recount the valor and proweſſe of the Perſians. But they al now doubting leſt the enemy in his fury ſhould forcibly haue entred the very lodgings of the ſick Viſier, it was commanded (not by himſelf, for he lay now at the laſt gaſp; but by him who that time commanded in his name) That the artillery ſhould ſpeedily be vnbarred and diſcharged; which in that medly and confuſion of both armies, without any exception or diſtinction of perſons, ouerthrew both friends & foes,
B and did more harm perhaps among the Turks themſelues, than among the Perſians: for at the firſt thundring noiſe therof the prince with all ſpeed retyred; after whom preſently followed al the reſt: ſo that the Turks which remained behind, were more anoyed with the deadly ſhot than were the Perſians, who flying away could not feel the damage, but that the Turkes muſt firſt be wel payd for their labor. The Turks purſuing the flying Perſians, made ſhew as if they would gladly haue ouertaken them; but night comming on, they feared to proceed any farther than they might without danger returne. In this battel of Sancazan were ſlaine 20000 Turks, without any notable loſſe of the Perſians.

20000 Turks ſlain.

Among the reſt, in the ſame place died the Viſier *Oſman*, General of the late dreadfull, but
C now deſolat army, not by the hand of the enemy, but conſumed with the vehemencie of an Ague and flux of bloud. Whoſe death notwithſtanding was kept ſecret from the whole Army, euery man verily thinking, that it was but only the continuance of his ſickneſſe, becauſe the chariots wherein he lay were ſtill kept cloſe: and in his name *Cicala Baſſa* (for ſo he had commanded in his wil) gaue out anſwers and commandements to the whole army. Neuertheleſſe it was diſcloſed to the Perſians by means of three yong men, who in the life of *Oſman* hauing charge of his jewels and treaſure, were with the beſt thereof and the faireſt of his horſes fled to the Perſian King, to whom they reuealed the Generals death. The Perſians (who before had thought it not poſſible for ſo great cowardiſe and diſhonorable kind of fighting & ordering an army to haue proceeded from the vertue and valor of *Oſman*, of whoſe worth they had too manifeſt a trial and experience in times paſt) now vnderſtanding of his death, were therby
D incouraged to attempt the vtter ouerthrow of the Turkiſh remnant, and ſo to giue them an honorable farwel. Wherupon the Perſian Prince with 14000 men followed the Turks, who had now raiſed their camp, and were remoued to a certain riuer of ſalt water, not far from Sancazan, where the prince cauſed a few tents to be pitched, about four or fiue miles diſtant from the Turks camp, the aforeſaid brook running in the midſt between the two armies. Now the Prince had purpoſed to aſſail the Turks in the morning, whilſt they were loding their carriages, hoping in that confuſion to haue wrought them ſome notable miſchiefe: which his deſignement was reuealed to the Turks by one of his ſpies whom they had caught; and therfore did neither riſe ſo early in the morning as their maner was, nor load their ſtuffe vntil ſuch time as they were all armed, and on horſe-back ready to receiue their enemies. By which their wa-
E ry and vnuſual manner of riſing the Perſians perceiued that their purpoſe was by ſome means diſcouered. And yet conſidering, that if they ſhould loſe this occaſion, they ſhould finde no other good opportunity to anoy them before the next ſpring, they vtterly reſolued to aduenture the aſſault: and hauing obſerued that the enemies Artillery was on the right ſide of the army, they in the ſight of euery man began to enter on the left: but the Turkes preſently ſo vncouered and vnbarred their artillery againſt the aſſailants, as was to their great loſſe & danger. Howbeit they were ſo nimble and ſo quick to ſhroud themſelues vnder the enemies Army, and to auoid the miſchieuous tempeſt, that being come very neere the Turkes ſquadrons, they muſt needs join battel with them. The Perſians had purpoſed before, as ſoon as they ſaw the Turks begin to ſtir, to retyre, and ſo to draw them on into a very filthy and deepe mariſh;
F which being then dry, was not feared or doubted of any, but only by thoſe that were acquainted therwith, or born therabouts. Which their policie the rebel *Maxut Chan*, and with him *Daut Chan* (as being well acquainted with thoſe places) perceiuing, gaue notice therof vnto *Cicala Baſſa*, who preſently cauſed a great compaſſing wing to be made, commaunding them to ſet vpon the Perſians, and to charge them home: which was forthwith put in execution, ſo

that

Generall Oſman dieth.

that their forefront opened it ſelf with very large and ſpacious wings vpon the Prince. Who G
no ſooner ſaw this their vnwonted order of comming on, but by and by he perceiued that his purpoſe was diſcouered: and therupon without any ſtay he began to retyre, calling his people after him: which could not ſo ſuddenly be don, but that 3000 of them remained behinde, all miſerably ſtifled, ouertrodden in the mire; with very little loſſe to the Turks. And this onely battel, of fiue that were fought vnder Tauris and in thoſe quarters, was leſſe hurtfull to the Turks than to the Perſians.

The Prince returned to the King his fathers camp, recounting vnto him the whole action, together with the departure of the enemy. And ſo the Turks came to Salmas, where the death of the General was publiſhed. From Salmas they went afterwards to Van, where they tooke a ſuruey of their army, and found wanting therin about eighty fiue thouſand perſons, or as ſome H
The Turks army diſcharged at Van. ſay more. At Van all the ſoldiers were diſmiſſed; and *Cicala* from thence gaue notice to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, of all that had hapned. Where firſt was pnbliſhed the death of *Oſman* the General (for whom were made many ſignes of great ſorrow) and together with his death were blazed the bloudy and mortal actions that were in that expedition performed: ſo that the whole city ſeemed to be greatly diſcomforted, and in many places were heard much ſecret railing vpon the king, many curſes of this war, and inſolent maledictions of theſe manifold miſchiefs. After that, was diſperſed the great fame of the new fortres erected at Tauris, of the ſacking of the city, and of all the loſſe that had hapned therin; and a general edict publiſhed in the Kings name, That through all the Cities of his Empire they ſhould make ſolemn feaſts, with other expreſſe tokens of ioy and reioycing: Which was accordingly done I
both in Conſtantinople and other places. There was alſo word ſent to the Embaſſadours of Hungary, of France, of Venice, and of other Countries, That they ſhould do the like: but they all with one accord anſwered, That it was neuer the cuſtom of Embaſſadors to make any ſuch ſignes of rejoicing, but onely when the King himſelfe in perſon returned from any the like victories.

In the mean time conſultation was held at Van, for the ſending of ſuccours to Teflis in Georgia. Vnto which important ſeruice *Daut Chan* to deſerue ſome reward at the hands of *Amurath*, offered himſelf: Vnto whom *Cicala Baſſa* deliuered thirty thouſand Cecchini to be conueyed to the fort at Teflis. Which piece of ſeruice the Renegat performed, and without any trouble relieued the ſouldiers in the fort. Which was ſo well accepted of *Amurath*, that K
he for the ſame good ſeruice honored him with the dignity of the Baſſa of Maras. *Maxut Chan* alſo the other Perſian Rebel, that guided the Turkiſh Army to Reivan, and afterward to Tauris, was in like manner by the ſame *Amurath* honoured with the great rich office of the Baſſa of Aleppo.

The miſeries the Turkiſh army indured in this expedition for Tauris, beſide the loſſes before rehearſed, were wonderfull: for as the Sanzack of Aman (a city of Soria in antient time called Apamea) preſent in all this action, reporteth in a letter which he wrot vnto *Ali Baſſa* of Aleppo, There was ſuch a dearth in the Turkes Army, that they were inforced to giue their
The miſery of the Turks army at Tauris. camels bisket and rice, and when that failed they gaue them pack-ſaddles to eat, and after that pieces of wood beaten into pouder, and at laſt the very earth: which dearth indured vntil L
they arriued at Van. And at Tauris whilſt the fortres was in building they were of neceſſity conſtrained to giue their horſes their dung in very dry pouder. By reaſon whereof there followed a grieuous mortality of horſes, camels, mules, and men; and the ſtink that grew of this mortality was ſo great, that euery man was faine to carry a piece of a ſtrong ſmelling Onion vnder his noſe, to auoid the heauineſſe therof.

The fort ſo lately built in the royal city of Tauris exceedingly grieued the Perſians in generall, but eſpecially the King and the prince his ſon: to let it alone they reckoned it too great a ſhame; and how to demoliſh it they wel knew not, finding themſelues not only deſtitute of artillery, but alſo of ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as was requiſit for performance of ſo great an enterpriſe: yet prickt on with the deſire of glory, & the neceſſity of the cauſe, they determined M
euen in the depth of Winter to gather new forces, and with trenches of earth to approch the ditch, and to try if they could aduance a countermure as high as their wals, & ſo to attaine to the conqueſt therof. But in the gathering of their men they diſcouered new difficulties; for, to hire any ſouldiors either from Heri or Gheilan, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amet Chan*;

and

and their Turcoman nation, which might haue bin the readieſt and the neereſt at ſuch a need, for the late death of *Emir Chan*, and for the ſucceſſion of *Alicul*, were growne very contumatious: ſo that neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the Preſidents and Gouernours of that kingdome, could tell which way to turne themſelues. At laſt for the common ſafety, they determined to draw the Turcomans to a reconciliation, hoping that by promiſing them any honeſt ſatisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themſelues grieued for the death of their captain, they would become more tractable to do them ſeruice in their common neceſſities. Wherupon the king ſent kind letters to the heads and captains of thoſe nations, and principally to *Mahamet Chan*, and to *Calife* the Sultan, declaring plainly vnto them the perils of his ſtate, and of the liberty of the whole kingdome, with the confidence he had in their valor: and that therefore forgetting all that was paſt, as done not in ſhame or ſcorne of their nation, but only for zeale and loue to the kingdome, they would demand ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired, and that he would be ready to agree to any juſt requeſt they ſhould make. To which letters they readily anſwered, that they would come vnto him, to put in execution whatſoeuer he ſhould for the common neceſſity or honour of his State command. Now they had craftily amongſt themſelues already concluded not to ſuffer any other to ſit in the roome of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor, but only young *Tamas* the kings third ſon. Which concluſion they had plotted to themſelues, with a reſolution in the end, to cauſe him to be accepted for king at Casbin, in deſpight of the King himſelfe and of the Prince *Hamze*: nothing regarding, that by this action far greater troubles would ariſe in Perſia than euer were yet heard of; but only being wholly bent to reuenge the death of one only *Emir Chan*. With this malitious and fraudulent reſolution, they to the number of ten thouſand (vnder the conduct of two captains, *Mahamet* and *Calife*) went to the king, in all reuerence offering themſelues with all readineſſe to be emploied in the enterpriſe whereunto they were called. The old credulous King, not ſuſpecting any miſchiefe plotted by theſe ſecret rebels, was greatly comforted at their comming: and although by ſome of his Sultans that had felt ſome inckling of this conſpiracy, he was aduiſed to deale circumſpectly and warily with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their truſt; yet did he thinke euery houre a thouſand vntill he had offered them ſatisfaction: promiſing them, that what captain ſoeuer they would deſire in the room of *Emir Chan*, if it were poſſible, they ſhould haue him. Wherunto the diſſembling *Mahamet Chan* made anſwer, That their deſire aboue all things was to do him pleaſure and ſeruice; not doubting but he would appoint them ſuch a chieftain, as ſhould be valorous, noble, and acceptable vnto them. The king could ſtay no longer, but frankly declared vnto them, That to aſſure them of his good will, and to giue them an hoſtage in pawn therof, he had made choice of young *Tamas* his ſon, to ſucceed in the roome of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor. As ſoone as *Mahamat Chan* heard this reſolution of the king, who beſide all expectation, voluntary of himſelfe yeelded them the means to put in execution what they had malicioufly before contriued againſt the peace and liberty of the kingdome: he became more jocond than he was wont to be, and outwardly ſhewed himſelfe ready for whatſoeuer the king ſhould command him; and in the names of the reſt, yeelded alſo large promiſes of fidelity and obedience, ſo that the matter might be performed for which he had now giuen his word.

Ten thouſand Turcomans offer their ſeruice vnto the Perſian King.

The king, who deſired nothing more than to ſee the fort of Tauris raſed (which could hardly be done without the helpe of thoſe Turcomans) contrary to the aduiſe of the wiſeſt of the Sultans, and of the Prince, ſecretly, and as it were by ſtealth, gaue his yong ſon *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*, as chiefe of all the Turcomans. Who to nouriſh the good opiuion and credulity of the king, and to ſecure the prince and the Sultans, gaue a luſty beginning by the help of his followers, with trenches and rampiers to approch the fort. Neither was there any great time ſpent therein; for they had now almoſt made their trenches and mounts euen with the enemies wall, and the ditch it ſelfe was almoſt filled vp with earth, ſo that there wanted but little more labour to begin the deſired aſſault: when contrary to all mens expectation, the falſe and wicked traitor *Mahamet Chan* with all his Turcomans, leading away with them the childe *Tamas*, departed in the night time, and vpon a ſudden, from ſo noble and honourable an enterpriſe: and blinded with deſire to put in execution his ill hatched purpoſe, couertly & without any noiſe remoued from the beſieged wals, and put himſelfe on his way towards Casbin: ſtill tearming *Tamas* by the name of the King of Perſia, and ſundry wayes abuſing and mocking the

The Turcomans forſake the ſiege and fall into rebellion.

the poore old king and the prince. This ſo ſudden and ſo dangerous a rebellion, whereby not only ſo honourable and ſo neceſſary an enterpriſe was to be abandoned, bnt the whole ſtate of the kingdome like to be indangered, exceedingly grieued all good men, but moſt of all the old King and the Prince his ſon: who no leſſe carefull of his rightfull ſucceſſion, than was the aged king of his preſent eſtate, both now hazarded by this rebellion; wholly inſenced with griefe and anguiſh of mind, began to caſt a thouſand deuices in his troubled head, what courſe to take, and what to reſolue vpon. To abandon the ſiege it grieued him aboue meaſure, and to ſuffer ſo pernicious a rebellion to go forward, ſeemed too dangerous for the ſtate of Perſia: and to prouide for both theſe miſchiefes at once, was altogether impoſſible. In theſe huge waues of contrary thoughts, he reſolued at laſt to turne himſelfe againſt the Turcomans, and to ſuppreſſe that rebellion, as moſt dangerous to the State. And ſo with twelue thouſand ſoldiers, and a part alſo of the kings ordinary guard, all couragious and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious Turcomans; and marching directly toward Casbin, he ouertooke them at a place called Caliſteza, a daies journy on this ſide Casbin, and there joyned battell with them. Wherein many of them being ſorry for that they had done, would not ſo much as draw their ſwords againſt the Prince: many others fled alſo away for feare, ſo that he eaſily obtained a wiſhed victory ouer them. The ſeditious *Mahamet Chan* was taken priſoner; and by the Princes commandement preſently beheaded: ſo was alſo *Calife* the Sultan, and diuers other captains of this peſtilent conſpiracy. Yong *Tamas* was alſo taken, & by the direction of the Prince ſent to the caſtle of Cahaca. Fiue thouſand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebel *Mahamet*, fled out of the battell towards Babylon by the way of Siras, and yeelded themſelues to *Solyman Baſſa* of that city; who afterwards repenting themſelues of their folly, ſought to returne againe into the fauor of their king, but all in vaine: ſo that being become rebels to the one, and ſuſpected to the other, they did at one time loſe their country, their liberty, their honor, and the fauor of all men as well friends as foes. The Prince after this victory held on his way to Casbin, and there ſtaying, laboured to gather the diſperſed Turcomans, eſpecially thoſe that (moued with the honeſty of the cauſe) would not beare armes in ſo vnjuſt an action; intending afterwards to returne to Tauris, to attend the beſieging and conqueſt of the fort. This was the end of this dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cauſe that Tauris was not againe recouered out of the hands of the Turks, to the great weakening of the Perſian kingdome.

The Turcomans diſcomfited, & Mahamat Chan and Calife the Sultan beheaded.

Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa Gouernour of the Caſtle of Tauris, fearing leſt the Perſian Prince would with a greater army again return to the ſiege; perceiuing himſelfe to wax euery day weaker and weaker, by reaſon that many of his men ſecretly fled from him, beſide them that periſhed with ſickeneſſe, and others ſlain in aduenturing too boldly to go abroad to ſeeke for victuals; ſent oduertiſement thereof to *Cicala Baſſa* at Van: ſignifying further vnto him by writing, That if the Prince ſhould again return to aſſault the fort, he ſhould of neceſſity be enforced to yeeld it: and that therefore as he tendred the honor of his Sultan, he would be carefull to ſend him ſuccour, whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer, That now it was moſt eaſily to be done, becauſe there were no forces of the enemies in thoſe quarters, ſauing onely a few which remained about the King, lying 12 miles off from Tauris. *Cicala* moued with the importance of the enterpriſe propounded, and withall deſirous to gaine ſome credit of glory and renowne with his king, entertained the aduices of *Giaffer*, and getting him to horſe with a traine of three thouſand harquebuſiers and good ſtore of munition, ſet forward toward Tauris. The Perſian king aduertiſed therof, ſent out ſpies to learn what way they held, meaning to meet them and to ſet vpon them: but theſe ſpies comming neere to Salmas, were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicala*, and being put to torture, reuealed at laſt, how that their king was in atms, and on his way towards Sancazan. At which news *Cicala* was greatly aſtonied, as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with him were likely to fall, as alſo for that by any loſſe which his troups ſhould ſuſtaine in this expedition, the city of Van (being indeed the greater and moſt noble frontier town in all thoſe countries) muſt needs be in hazard to be loſt, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a very few ſoldiers. Whereupon he determined to relinquiſh this dangerous enterpriſe, and to withdraw himſelfe backe to the defence and preſeruation of the city committed to his truſt and gouernment. But although theſe expected and deſired ſuccours were not conueyed to Tauris as was intended, yet had *Giaffer* as good fortune as he could wiſh: for the preparations of the

Giaffer Baſſa ſenteth to Cicala Baſſa for aid.

Prince

A Prince were so long and troublesome, and his returne so much prolonged, that there was time enough yeelded vnto the Turks great Generall now newly chosen (as by and by shall be declared) to go wth a strong army into those quarters, and so to preserue all that which the only expedition and celerity of the enemy might haue put in great hazard, and almost haue brought to a desperat case.

In the mean time, *Amurath* the Turkish Emperor was greatly troubled at Constantinople in making choice a new Generall: on the one side, *Osman Bassa* hauing by his last will left *Sinan Cicala* to be his successor, as a man of approued valor; and the many dangers he had run thorow in the late seruice about Tauris, with the great fauours he had in the Court, did not a little encline the King to his election: on the other side, he heard of a publike rumor spread amongst B the soldiers, that they could by no meanes endure to be commanded by so young a captaine; and that some in plaine termes should say, That they would not obey him: Which caused *Amurath* to doubt, that some dangerous discord might thereof ensue in the army, if he should proceed to make choice of him. Then there was also *Ferat Bassa*, the same man which had already sustained that charge before *Osman*, who now very ambitiously sought againe for this honour, hauing of late performed some good seruice to the good liking of the King. Of any other to make better choice he had none, so that he stood in great doubt what to do. In the end, because he was in good time to prouide for his affaires, he made choice of *Ferat Bassa*, the same man whom he had before made proofe of: a man of great fidelity, of an honourable carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of such an army; to whom he C granted the ordinary authority, to mannage at his pleasure such affaires of the empire as concerned his journey. Vpon this resolution, generall precepts were sent out to all cities within the kingdome, to the Bassaes & other Gouernors, with speciall commandement, that all their soldiers, together with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armor, artificers, and to be short, all their necessary furniture and prouision should be ready and in order, vpon the first warning should be sent them the next Spring. Great prouision of money was made, and in Soria (besides the ordinary sum that is bestowed vpon the yearely pay of souldiers in Reiuan, Erzirum, Lori, Tomanis, Teflis, and Chars, which swallow vp all the reuenue of that country, and of the city of Tripoli, amounting to the sum of six hundred thousand duckats) there was taken vp in in prest of priuat merchants in the city of Aleppo only, the sum of threescore thousand Cec- D chini, to be repaied vnto them with the first monies that should be receiued by the officers of his custome houses. A matter that moued an extraordinary grudging among the people, for that it seemed to euery man a very strange and intollerable exaction, beside so many grieuances laied vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workemen, to endure this burden also of lending their mony, without hope of restitution thereof: yea, and indeed euery man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill aduised, to make it knowne to the Christian Princes what scarcity and want of mony they had. The Generall had also with him foure hundred pieces of artillery, and did beside so worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Bassa of Aleppo) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his army, as he had been of *Osmans*; and that *Cicala Bassa* of Van (scarce his good friend) was remoued from thence and sent E farther off out of his way as Bassa to Babylon.

The returne of Soria six hundred thousand duckats.

And thus hauing put all things in readinesse, he departed from Constantinople in the month of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and passing ouer the streit into Asia, came to Siuas something later than he should haue done, being hindered partly by the Plague which then raged exceedingly in Constantinople, and partly by other occasions incident to such actions. At Siuas he staied so long for the comming together of his army, and in mustering men, that it was the later end of Iuly before he departed thence; staying indeed the longer at Siuas, by reason of the exceeding dearth and want of victuals at Erzitum: which dearth was also so great in Aleppo, that a Venice bushell of wheat was sold for twelue Cecchini. 1586

Ferat departeth from Constantinople, and commeth to Siuas.

Ferat yet making his abode at Siuas, but ready to depart, was aduertised by certaine Posts F sent from *Giaffer* the Bassa of Tauris, how that the Persian Prince was hourely expected with a great army, and that if he did foreslow to send succours, and to preuent the comming of the Prince, and so giue him time & leisure to assault the castle, he doubted greatly how he should be able to hold the same. Vpon which aduertisement *Ferat* presently remoued, and so hasted his journy, that about the beginning of August he was at Erzirum: and still hearing more and

more of the Princes comming, ſtaied not there, but haſted to Van : where hauing gathered together all his ſouldiers, and taken a new ſuruey of his army, he departed thence; and being preſently come into the open and large champaignes, to make proofe of the readineſſe of his ſoldiers, he marſhalled them in ſuch ſort as if he ſhould forthwith haue joyned battell with the enemy, and ſo in ſeemely order marched on. G

The Turkiſh Generall continually feared, leſt the Perſians ſhould come vpon him with ſome ſudden aſſault: beſides that, The conſtant report of the princes comming to Tauris with his army, much increaſed his troubled thoughts. But on the other ſide, he repoſed great confidence in the conſpiracy that was now plotted againſt the life of the Prince, with the priuity of *Alicali Chan* the protector and champion of *Abas Mirize* of Heri: who vnder colour of accompanying the Prince to aſſiſt his forces, had reſolutely concluded with himſelfe, and abſolutely promiſed *Abas* (hauing alſo giuen intelligence therof to the Turkiſh General) to rid the Prince *Hamze* of his life; or at leaſt (which he thought might more eaſily be brought to paſſe) in the ſundry reuolutions and variable changes of the battell, at ſome time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and ſo to ſettle his lord and maſter *Abas* in his eſtate. Vpon theſe trecheries *Ferat* grounding himſelfe, began with greater confidence to diſpoſe his deſignements, and ſomewhat leſſe to feare the fame of the huge preparations of Perſia againſt him. Which preparations in truth, as by moſt wicked deuiſes and malitious conſpiracies they were turned quite contrary from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them; ſo if they had bin emploied with ſuch faith and fidelity as ſo righteous a cauſe required, without all doubt the writers of our time ſhould haue had matter enough in this 1586 yeare to ſhew and repreſent vnto the World ſuch accidents as ſhould be nothing inferior to thoſe of the yeare before going. But foraſmuch as rebellion and diſcord, the two infernall miniſters of the diuell, haue for the vtter vndoing & ouerthrow of the glory of the Perſia, continually fauored the Turks army, no maruell it is that the Perſian nation cannot vaunt of any reuenge taken for the indignities offered them by their enemies; and that our Writers cannot chuſe but write of the true and vndoubted victories of the Turks, and the bare ſhadows of the Perſian exploits; which notwithſtanding many Chriſtians vainly beleeue, becauſe they moſt earneſtly deſire them to be true, although they do ſee to the contrary, by the manifeſt proſpering and euident conqueſts which the Turks haue in diuers their States and countries. H I

The glory of the Perſian kingdome ouerthrowne by rebellion and diſcord.

The Perſian Prince about the later end of Iuly arriued at Tauris with the greateſt part of his army, where he (contrary to the opinion of all men) ſtaid not, for what cauſe is vncertaine. But vnderſtanding that *Zeinel Baſſa* of Salmas, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the city, who of a Perſian was become a Turke, and had done great harme againſt the State of Perſia; he determined ſuddenly to ſet vpon him, and to chaſtiſe him for his rebellion. According to which reſolution, being accompanied with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, he rode to Salmas, where finding *Zeinel* with all his people encamped as he had beene before informed, he gaue him the aſſault. *Zeinel* more ready to fly than to fight, and his ſoldiers as ready as he, fled preſently, and fell before the Perſians, ſo that the Baſſa himſelfe with a few others had much adoe to eſcape and ſaue themſelues in the cloſeſt corners thereabouts, leauing the city committed to his charge, for a prey vnto the angry enemy: who entering into the ſame, ſacked and ſpoiled it, exerciſing thereon all ſuch cruelty, as partly the naturall deſires of ſouldiers vſe to practiſe, and partly ſuch as the Turks themſelues ſhewed vnto them in that miſerable and moſt lamentable ſacking of Tauris the laſt yeare. The like ſpoiles did the Perſian army in all thoſe quarters round about, and ſo would haue peraduenture returned to Tauris, but that certaine ſpies arriued vpon them with aduertiſement, That the Baſſa of Reiuan being iſſued out of his fortreſſe with fiften hundred harquebuſiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and fields thereabouts, as the Prince had done about Salmas. With which newes the Prince was greatly moued; and immediatly riſing with his army, and marching towards Reiuan, not far from the city encountered the Baſſa: who diſcouering the enemies forces afar off, began in great diſorder to fly and retire into his fort, leauing the greateſt part of his ſoldiers (making not ſo much ſpeed in flight as himſelfe) to the fury of the Prince, who put them all to the ſword, and did what harme he poſſibly could in all the places thereabouts. K L M

At the very ſame time great troubles aroſe in the Druſian country: for *Man-Ogli* the valiant Druſian (of whom we haue before ſpoken) in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him and his

A ple by *Ebrain Bassa*, and by a valiant kinde of restitution to recompence himselfe of all those bribes and presents which by so many shifts and subtilties were by the couetous Bassa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing wasted and sacked all the territory of *Ebne-Mansur* and of his other enemies who had yeelded their obedience vnto the Turks, without let forced all that country with sudden inuasions and inrodes, euen very neere vnto the cities of Balbecke and Tripoli, and did there exceeding harme. For redresse whereof, *Amurath* was glad to dispatch away from the court *Ali Bassa* borne at Aleppo, with the title of the Bassa of Damasco, and with authority to muster fresh souldiers, and so wholly to attend the vtter subuersion of *Man-Ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, so that his presence in that country serued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongst them,
B than for the prosecuting of any further warre; which at that time was most necessary for the Turks to be auoided, as well for want of mony in the common treasury, as for the exceeding scarcity of victuals.

Now the Persian Prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and spoiles before mentioned, retired himselfe to Tauris, and so towards his fathers campe, where the rest of his army was now arriued, to the number of about forty thousand: of whom the Prince dispatched away the soldiers of Heri to the number of eight thousand, vnder the conduct of the traiterous *Aliculi Chan* their Generall: and part also of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanguli Chan*; with speciall charge, That they should by the way in places of most aduantage, meet and receiue the enemies army; and in those narrow and troublesome passages to do them what mis-
C chiefe they possible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this means to weaken the enemies forces, and so at their arriuall at Tauris, to come vpon them with all his power, and so vtterly to destroy them.

Both these captains departed accordingly, making shew that they would with all affection accomplish the commandement of their Prince: yet neuer was there heard any seruice of moment put in execution by them: for *Aliculi* ful of treason, after their departure began to alledge many forced reasons & excuses, Why they should surcease from meeting with the Turks: and *Emanguli* as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purposes and mischieuous trechery of *Aliculi*, suffered himselfe to be misse-led by him also. By the delaies and negligence of these two Persian captains, the Turkish General took leisure without any losse or hinderance at all, to arriue
D at Tauris, and to put the desired succors into the fort: at what time the Persian prince by good hap had got knowledge of the trechery of *Aliculi*, and of the designements which many of the Sultans had lately contriued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkish Generall. Of which suspition he being greatly afraid, durst not only not trust himselfe to performe those battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this noble and honorable enterprise, wholly emploied all his care and study for the safety of his own person, and so left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turks. And thus those great hopes and expectations which the Persians had conceiued of great exploits to heue bin done against the enemy, did not only proue vain and come to no good issue, but contrariwise by this discouery were conuerted into most strange disturbances, and all Persia ther-
E by endured sundry alterations and reuolutions of most important consequencies. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his complices were pursued by the Prince, as rebels and traitors: and also *Abas Mirize* of Heri was manifestly discouered for a wicked and trecherous contriuer of his brothers death: whereby the common mischiefes were encreased more than euer they were before, and the publike calamities yeelded greater hopes vnto the Turks than they had euer before conceiued in all the course of these wars.

When *Ferat* had thus relieued them in the castle of Tauris, leauing for the custody thereof *Giaffer* the Bassa with his former companies, hee returned towards Erzirum: hauing first caused a fort to be erected at Curchiue Tauris, a place neere vnto Tauris; another at Coy; and the third at Cum: in euery one of which forts he left a conuenient number of souldiers, with
F all things necessary and sufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they were to keepe. He sent also succors to the fort at Teflis in Georgia, which they had long expected, and now most joyfully receiued. But the Persian Prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of Tauris, thought himselfe now wholly deliuered from the great feare of treason and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therefore in as great hast as he could, put himselfe on

Aliculi and Emanguli Chan performe nothing against the Turks, as was by the Prince expected.

Ferat putteth succours into the fort at Tauris.

on his journey towards Genge : in which place hauing gathered together a good number of G
ſouldiers, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the ſuccors that were by the Turks to be brought to Teflis. Now he had alwaies found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithfull and wiſe, and in him he repoſed an aſſured confidence to performe any enterpriſe that he had in hand, and communicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in theſe wars. And therefore he made head and joyned with him ; and lodging moſt familiarly in his city, he ſtaid there for the ſetting in order and diſpoſing of his aforeſaid deſignements, being very deſirous not to let ſuch an opportunity to ouerſlip, without ſignification vnto the World of ſome notable nouelty, which might be correſpondent to the fame that of matters paſſed and performed the yeare before, was now ſpread and publiſhed abroad ouer all the World. But when he was euen at the very faireſt to haue put this his deſire in execution, and leaſt of all feared any trechery or H
treaſon, vpon a ſudden in the night time as he ſlept vpon a pallet he was miſerably ſtrucken
The Perſian prince ſlain by one of his Eunuchs. through the body, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him : and ſo the moſt reſplendent and bright luſtre that euer ſhined in Perſia, was vtterly extinguiſhed. What was the occaſion thereof, and who procured his death, diuers and ſundry are the opinions of men. Some thinke, that his brother *Abas Mirize* of Heri, who had before conſpired to haue had him betraied into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall, had now by force of money and gifts enduced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue beene done without the priuity of his father, as more deſirous to prefer *Abas Mirize* his other ſon vnto the kingdome. Diuers others do diuerſly reaſon of the matter : ſo that to affirme of a certainty, that thus or thus the death of ſo worthy a Prince was procured, were great raſhneſſe : and therefore we leaue it, with the I
further proceſſe of the Perſian State, vnto the further diſcouery of time, the antient mother of Truth.

Notwithſtanding the league betwixt the Chriſtian Emperour *Rodolph* the ſecond and *Amurath* the great Turke, many ſharp skirmiſhes oftentimes fell out betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, eſpecially in Hungary, Croatia, and Stiria : as now in the later end of this yeare 1586 in the month of December, the Turks, after their inſolent manner making an inrode into the borders of Croatia, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Chriſtians being in number much fewer : where amongſt others, the Baſſa of Boſna with his brother was ſlaine ; whoſe head with certaine priſoners was ſent to Vienna to *Erneſtus* Archduke of Auſtria, the Emperors brother. This Baſſa of Boſna and his brother, K
ſlaine in this conflict (as we haue ſaid) are reported to haue beene the ſons of *Muhamet* the late great Viſier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the ſecond, *Amurath* his ſiſter. For diuers yeres following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himſelfe (as it ſhould ſeeme) with that he had already got from the Perſians ; and holding his league in ſome reaſonable ſort with the Chriſtians : yet not ſo, but that many a bloudy broile, tending at laſt euen to the breach of the league, paſſed betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians ; which for the continuation of the Hiſtory we will briefely ſet downe, as they are vnto vs by the Writers of our time reported.

1587 In February the yeare following, which was the yeare 1587, the Chriſtians prouoked by the
The Caſtle of Koppan in Hungary ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians. often outrages of the Turks, ſetting vpon the caſtle of Koppan, not far from the lake of Balaton, being then frozen, by good fortune ſurpriſed it. There were at that time in the caſtle three of the Turks Sanzackes, and about a thouſand Turks, of whom an hundred and ninety of the better ſort, with ſeuenty women, beſides diuers of the meaner ſort, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians ; the reſt ſauing themſelues by flight, or by creeping into ſecret corners : an hundred horſes for ſeruice were there taken alſo, and ſo much booty as was eſteemed to be worth forty thouſand duckats. Of the three Sanzackes that were there preſent, *Alis* Sanzacke of Koppan was taken, and brought firſt to Vienna, and afterward preſented to the Emperor : Another of them ſtanding vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there ſmothered : the third eſcaped by flight, but was afterwards the ſame yeare taken with diuers others, as ſhall be forthwith declared. M

The eight of Auguſt following, foure of the Turks great Commanders in Hungary, *viz.* the Baſſa of Ziget, the Sanzackes of Mohas, of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and the new Sanzacke of Koppan, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers brake into the borders of the Chriſtians, and in moſt cruell manner deſtroyed ſeuenteene countrey villages about Limbach : carrying away with them

A them all the miſerable countrey people, with the ſpoile of the countrey. Whereof *George* County *Serinus* (ſonne to that moſt valiant County *Nicholas Serinus* ſlaine at Ziget) commander of the garriſon of Caniſia, vnderſtanding, with as much ſpeed as was poſſible raiſed ſuch forces as he was able out of his territory betwixt the riuers of Dranus and Mura, and calling vnto his aid the County *Nadaſti*, the Lord *Bathianius*, and ſome other valiant Captaines that had the charge of thoſe frontiers; with ſuch diligence tooke the ſtreits and paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs returne among the mariſhes, that the Turks comming backe again that way with a very rich prey and many priſoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged by thoſe moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiers, in thoſe ſtreit and troubleſome paſſages about a mile from Caniſia, were at length diſcomfited and put to flight with ſuch a miſerable ſlaugh-
B ter, that many of them yeelded vp their ſcimitars, pittifully crying for mercy; other ſome fled backe into the woods and forreſts; and many running headlong into the mariſhes, there periſhed, or ſticking faſt in the deepe mud, cried together for mercy and helpe of their enemies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of Quinque Eccleſiæ (ſon to *Haly Baſſa* ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto) was taken priſoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of Mohaz, thinking to eſcape through the mariſh, ſtucke faſt with his horſe, and was ſhot through the head with a ſmall ſhot and there died. The Baſſa of Ziget, with *Chaſan* the new Sanzacke of Koppan, ſeeing all deſperat and loſt, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of Koppan wandering vp and downe in the woods, was the next night after the battell with others taken: the Baſſa of Ziget almoſt ſpent with hunger and griefe of minde, eſcaped on foot ſeuen daies after to Breſenza. There
C were taken of the Turks a thouſand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their wounds. In this battell there were ſtain of the Turks, with them that periſhed in the mariſhes and woods, about 2000, and of the Turks horſes were taken aboue 1500. All the prey before taken by the Turks, with the miſerable captiues was againe recouered. The number of them that performed this notable ſeruice, was in all but fifteen hundred foot & fiue hundred horſe, of whom there was but eleuen ſlaine, but moſt of the reſt wounded. Foure hundred heads of the ſlaine Turks were (after the manner of thoſe bordering ſouldiers) carried for ſhew to Caniſia, with fiue hundred priſoners. The Chriſtian ſouldiers with the helpe of the countrey people, ceaſed not for certaine daies to hunt after the Turkes that were fled into the woods, as after wilde beaſts, of whom they found a great number: diuers others alſo ſeeing no meanes
D to eſcape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themſelues.

Aly Baſſa of Buda ſtrangled by the commandement of Amurath.

Amurath vnderſtanding of all theſe troubles that had ſo happened, commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Buda to be ſtrangled, for that he had broken the league, and not reſtrained the inſolency of the Sanzackes, whom he might haue commanded: and in his ſtead placed *Sinan Baſſa*, whom before in diſgrace, hee had now at the requeſt of his wife againe receiued into fauour, and reſtored to his former dignity. About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* (the King of Sweden his ſonne) now after the death of King *Stephen* choſen King of Polonia, and *Maximilian* the Emperours brother rejected; euen in the beginning of his reigne ſought to renew the league which *Stephen* his predeceſſor and other the Polonian Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predeceſſors the Turkiſh Sultans. And to that purpoſe writ vnto him as fol-
E loweth:

Sinan Baſſa againe receiued into fauour.

Sigiſmund the third, King of Polonia, vnto *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turks, ſendeth greeting.

Sigiſmund the Polonian King his letter vnto Amurath.

THE *Almighty long keepe and preſerue your Majeſty in health and honour. Moſt Mighty Prince, our beſt beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodneſſe of God were choſen to gouerne the kingdome of Polonia, and the Embaſſadours of that kingdome had ſignified ſo much vnto vs; we prouiding vs of neceſſaries, came to Danske the eighteenth of October, from whence we ſent* Iohn Zamogil *our Secretary, to giue your Majeſty to vnderſtand of this our comming. For being told by the*
F *Polonian Embaſſadors, That we were choſen vnto the gouernment of that kingdome, vpon condition, That according vnto the cuſtome of our predeceſſors the Polonian Kings, we ſhould keepe loue and friendſhip with the moſt Excellent* *Muſſulman *Emperors; we promiſe vnto your Soueraigne Majeſty, That we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amity and friendſhip with your moſt excellent Majeſty and the* Othoman *Emperors your Succeſſors. For confirmation whereof ſo ſoone as*

* *The Turks deſire to be called Muſſulmen, which in their language ſignifieth a true beleeuer.*

as we ſhall come vnto Cracouia the regall city of Polonia, and there be crowned, we will forthwith ſend our great Embaſſador vnto your Majeſty. In the meane time we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, that our kingdome may on your Majeſties behalfe reſt in ſafety and peace: which we perſuade our ſelues you will eaſily grant. So wiſhing vnto you all health and happineſſe, we bid you farewell. From Danske the eighteenth of October, in the yeare 1587, and of our reigne the firſt. G

Vnto which the Kings requeſt and letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this anſwer in writing:

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turks; vnto *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, greeting. H

Amurath his anſwer vnto the letters of Sigiſmund.

I Take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your Embaſſador Iohn Samogil *came with your letters vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, the refuge of diſtreſſed Princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to vnderſtand, how that in ſtead of the moſt excellent and famous King* Stephen, *of worthy memory, late King of Polonia; you, diſcended of the ſame noble ſtocke and race of the Polonian Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous kingdome of Polonia and the great Kingdome of Lithuania, choſen King of Polonia: and being ſent for by lawfull Embaſſadors, by the fauour and goodneſſe of God, to be come vnto the city of Danske, and from thence to be about to go vnto Cracouia, the chiefe city of the kingdome of Polonia. And when you are there arriued, to ſend your Embaſſador vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, to confirme, preſerue, and eſtabliſh the league and amity commodious and neceſſary for both our Kingdomes, honoured and kept by your antient predeceſſors, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea, and that with greater zeale and deuotion than any your noble Anceſtors. And therefore your Embaſſadour in your name requeſteth, That no inuaſion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the Kingdome of Polonia, or any harme there done: and that the moſt noble Tartar Prince* Isban Gerai, *(whom God bleſſe) ſhould be warned, that he neither make nor ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the confines of the Kingdome of Polonia. All which things in your letters contained, with the reſt which your Embaſſadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with ſpeed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore, our moſt ſtately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto ſuch as reſort thereunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulſe, neither ſhall hereafter haue: wherefore it beſeemeth you, as ſoone as theſe our letters ſhall be brought vnto you, to open your eies, and to beware that nothing be on your part done againſt the Majeſty of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amity be neither in much or little diſturbed, but as beſt beſeemeth, well and ſincerely kept: and ſo perſuade your ſelfe it ſhall be on our part alſo be moſt inuiolately obſerued. Our Letters are alſo directed vnto the moſt excellent Tartar Prince* Isban Gerai *(whom God bleſſe) ſtreitly charging and commanding him, not to make or ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the borders of Polonia. In briefe, the league and amity ſhall be on our part religiouſly kept: and whoſoeuer ſhall preſume to do any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of Polonia, ſhall therefore without faile receiue from vs due puniſhment. So on your part alſo it is requiſite that the ſame be done, and that in declaration of your loue, you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, ſuch certaine occurrents and newes as ſhall happen in thoſe parts: which ſhall be vnto vs a ſigne of your ſincere loue and friendſhip. So know you and giue credit vnto this our ſeale. From Conſtantinople.* I K L

Neither was King *Sigiſmund* vnmindefull of this his promiſe before made for the ſending of his Embaſſador; but being poſſeſſed of the Polonian kingdome, ſent *Chriſtopher Dziercius* (his ſecretary) Embaſſador vnto *Amurath*, for the confirming of the league: which hee hath euer ſince ſo firmely kept with the Turke, that he could neuer by any entreaty of the Emperor, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in reſpect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowſhip of this long and religious war, ſo hardly maintained by the Emperor and ſome few other Chriſtian Princes his confederats; firſt againſt *Amurath* whileſt he liued, and euer ſince againſt *Mahomet* his ſon, which now reigneth; the iſſue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable. M

1588 *Genge taken by Ferat.* The yeare following, *Ferat* (yet the Turks Generall in Perſia) tooke the city of Genge, being before for feare of the Turks quite abandoned & forſaken by the Inhabitants; who yet vpon his faith giuen for their ſafety, returned againe, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yerely tribute

A but of fiue thousand ducats. But when he would haue gon farther into the enemies country, hauing part of his army cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous souldiers soulely entreated, wounded and enforced to retire. *Cicala Bassa* also passing ouer the riuer Euphrates, had in those quarters diuers bloudy skirmishes with the Persians, sometime carrying away the better, and sometime the worse, as the fortune of the field serued. Vntill at length *Amurath* himselfe no lesse weary than his people of that long and chargeable war, and the Persian King also inclining to peace; he by the persuasion of *Sinan Bassa* (but lately before receiued into fauour) was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the same: moued thereunto as well by reason of new troubles then in other places arising, as for the great famine and plague then
B raging in Constantinople. And considering withall what a great Territory he had won from the Persians, and how necessary it was for him by peace to confirme himselfe in those his new conquests, and by the building of certaine strong forts for the succour of one another, and by the placing of the Timariots therein, to assure the same vnto him: all which without peace he could not possibly do, as the old Bassa right wisely told him. For which reason he yeelded to peace; and so Embassadours passing to and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon betwixt these two great Mahometan Princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto himselfe the places he had already gained; namely, Tauris, Genge, Siruan, and Chars, with all the profits thereof arising, for the maintenance of his garrisons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new stirres would eftsoones arise; the Turks growne insolent of their late victories,
C being not able to content themselues with the conditions of the league; and the Persians not willing to liue in continuall feare of the Turks, especially seeing themselues to be dayly by them more and more oppressed; and withall doubting lest the Turks after they had taken fast footing in those new conquered Countries, and so growne strong, and gotten better knowledge of the passages, should (after their ambitious manner) seeke to possesse themselues of the rest; not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations of the league. Which was neuertheless (as we said) on both sides for the space of ten yeres orderly confirmed with all due circumstances and ceremonies, in like occurrents by the great Potentats of the World vsed: and for the more assurance thereof, one of the Persian Kings sons, or as some others say, one of his nephews, giuen vnto the Turke in hostage, as *Amurath* required.

D These long wars thus ended, shortly after a great sedition was raised at Constantinople by the souldiers of the court, which returning out of Persia, with great insolency demanded their pay. For the satisfying of whom, by the consent of the great Sultan himselfe, the value of the coine was inhaunsed, and a new kinde of subsidie for leuying of mony imposed vpon the subiects in generall, none excepted; who standing vpon their antient liberties and priuiledges, refused to pay it, especially the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court. Wherefore their Aga or captaine was commanded to appease them, and to persuade them to pay the demanded tribute: in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been slaine by the insolent Ianizaries; and yet neuertheless for preuailing no more with them, was in displeasure thrust out of his office, and another placed in his roome that should haue married *Amuraths* daughter; of whom
B for all that, the Ianizaries would not accept in any case, but threw stones at him and threatned to kill him. The next night a great fire arose in the city; for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries were commanded (as their duty was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only most obstinately refused to do, but also kept backe others that brought water for the quenching thereof, and together with the other soldiers of the court, did what they might to make it burne the faster. With the rage of this fire were consumed seuen of their Temples, 25 great Innes, fifteene thousand houses, with many warehouses and shops. To appease this dangerous stirre, and to preuent further mischiefe, commandement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of Grecia and *Dauid Passy* a Iew (the first authors of this new imposition) that they should either gather the aforesaid tribute by them deuised, and pay the soldiers, or by some other meanes to
F giue them contentment. But here began the Priests publikely to dissuade the people from paiment of this new tribute, or any other such like; persuading them in any case to defend their antient liberties and customes; wherupon the churches were by the Priests shut vp, publique praiers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Bassa's houses assaulted, and all the city on a new hurley burley. For the appeasing whereof *Amurath* was glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries,

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Constantinople.

Great harme done by fire in Constantinople.

Ianizaries, to pay the ſouldiers out of his owne treaſure, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two perſuaders thereof to the pleaſure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the ſtreets at horſes tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in ſcorne toſſed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had bin tenniſe balls. G

Sinan Baſſa of Buda inuadeth the vpper part of Hungary.

About the latter end of September, *Sinan Baſſa* of Buda, hauing with the aſſiſtance of the Sanzackes about Fille, raiſed an army of eleuen thouſand ſoldiers, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled all the vpper part of Hungary, came the ſixth of October before the caſtle of Putnoc, and gaue thereunto ſummons: but finding them in the Caſtle better prouided and more reſolute than he had before ſuppoſed, he departed thence, and paſſing the riuer Schayo, came to Sixo, a towne of about fiue hundred houſes, which after a ſore battery he tooke, and burnt it downe to the ground. In the meane time *Claudius Ruſſell* Generall for the wars in that part of Hungary, hauing aſſembled his forces, came vpon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worſe, when he had ſlain of his Turks about two thouſand fiue hundred, beſides three hundred other drowned in the riuer Schayo. Shortly after, the Chriſtians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turks, tooke from them the caſtles of Blaueſtein, Geſtes, with ſome other ſmall forts thereabouts in the vpper part of Hungary. H

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589 *Sinan* for that he had contrary to the league, and without the commandement of *Amurath*, ſo vnfortunatly attempted war in Hungary, was the next yeare in great diſpleaſure ſent for to Conſtantinople, and *Ferat Baſſa* of Boſna (late General of the Turks army againſt the Perſians, and now but newly come home) placed in his roome at Buda. I

Amurath before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the King of Spaine had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was termed) by him ſet forth for the inuaſion of England (the fame whereof had of long before filled a great part of the World) as alſo of the euill ſucceſſe thereof the laſt yeare, *viz.* 1588; and of the purpoſe her Majeſty of England had for the troubling of his rich trade, eſpecially vnto the Weſt-Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of Portugall: wrot vnto her about this time concerning thoſe and ſuch like matters as had beene moued by her Agent, as followeth: K

Nicholaus Reuſnerius Epiſt. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42.

Amurathi Letters vnto the Queen of England.

Amurath the third, Emperor of the Turks, vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, France, and Ireland, greeting.

Moſt honourable Matrone of the Chriſtian Religion, Mirror of chaſtity, adorned with the brightneſſe of ſouereignty and power amongſt the moſt chaſte women of the people which ſerue Ieſu, Miſtris of great kingdomes, reputed of greateſt Majeſty and praiſe among the Nazarites, Elizabeth *Queene of England, to whom we wiſh a moſt happy and proſperous reigne. You ſhall vnderſtand by our high and Imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator reſiant in our ſtately and magnificent Court, hath preſented vnto the throne of our Majeſty a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares ago you haue made wars vpon the King of Spaine, for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threatned all other Chriſtian Princes, and purpoſeth to make himſelfe the ſole Monarch both of them and all the World beſide. As alſo how that the ſame King of Spaine hath by force taken from* Don Anthonio *(lawfully created King of Portugall) his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ſhips which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be imbarred and ſtrayed from that nauigation: wherein are yearely brought into Spaine, pretious ſtones, ſpices, gold, and ſiluer, eſteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforeſaid King as with a great treaſure enriched, hath meanes to moleſt and trouble all other Chriſtian Princes: which if he ſhall ſtill proceed to do, he will make himſelfe dayly ſtronger and ſtronger, and ſuch an one as may not eaſily be weakened. After that, your aforeſaid Orator requeſted our Highneſſe, in the beginning of the next Spring to ſend out our Imperiall fleet againſt him, being aſſured that the King of Spaine could not be able eaſily to withſtand it, for that he had now already receiued a great ouerthrow by your fleet: and being ſcarce able to withſtand you alone, if he ſhould be on diuers parts inuaded, muſt needs be ouercome, to the great benefit of all the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of our Imperiall ſtate. Beſides this, that whereas the aforeſaid* Don Anthonio *is by force driuen out and depriued of his kingdome, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitours of happy memory, whoſe graues the Almighty lighten) ſhould alſo giue the aid and ſuccour of our magnificent ſtate, as did they, vnto all ſuch as had recourſe vnto their high Courts and palaces for reliefe. In briefe, all theſe things, with many* L M

others

A *others which your aforesaid Orator hath at large declared vnto our Imperiall throne, we haue well vnderstood and laid them vp in our deepe remembrance. But forasmuch as we for many yeares past haue made wars in Persia, with a full resolution and intent vtterly to conquer and subdue the kingdome of that accursed Persian heretike, and to joyne the same vnto our antient dominions; and now by the grace of God, and helpe of our great Prophet, are vpon the point of the satisfying of our desire: that once done, due prouision shall be assigned vnto all such things as you haue of vs requested or desired. Wherefore if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of amity and friendship with our high Court, you shall not find more secure refuge or safer harbour of good will or loue. So at length all things shall go well and according to your hearts desire in your wars with Spaine, vnder the shadow of our happy throne. And for as much as the King of Spaine hath by fraud and deceit got whatsoeuer he holdeth, without doubt these deceitfull de-*

B *ceiuers shall by the power of God in short time be dispatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to lose any opportunity or time, but to be alwaies vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue noeice here to our high Court, of all the new wars which you shall vnderstand of concerning the said King of Spaine, for the behoofe both of your selfe and vs. To be briefe, your Embassador after he had with all care and diligence dispatched his Embassage, and here left in his place one* Edward Bardon *his Deputy and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull seruice he there did, worthy to be of you esteemed, honoured, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all those his deserued honours and preferments, let him or some other principall Embassador without delay be appointed to our Imperiall Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought good to haue you*

C *certified of vnder our most honourable Seale, whereunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our Imperiall palace at Constantinople, the fifteenth of this blessed moneth* * *Ramazan* 1589. * September.

Yet for all these faire shewes, it may seeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the state of the Turkish affaires at those times, and that which hath ensued since, that *Amurath* glad of the discord of these two so great Christian Princes, and not well assured of his new conquests in Persia, had no great mind to the inuasion of Spaine, as too far from the strength of his Empire, an enterprise not to be so easily managed by sea, as were the wars he shortly after vndertooke against the Christian Emperor *Rodolph* by land: wherwith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as did his sonne *Mahomet* that reigned

D after him.

About this time also the Polonian borderers (whom they call Cossackes) a rough and warlike kinde of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turks and Tartarians, vpon the sudden surprised Koslaw a port towne within a daies journey of Caffa, where they had the spoile of many rich warehouses of the Turks merchants, and the rifling of certain ships lying there in harbor; and hauing taken their pleasure, burnt the rest, and so with a great booty returned to their lurking places. With which injury the Tartars prouoked, and set on by the Turks, to the number of forty thousand brake into Podolia and the prouinces neere vnto Polonia, and resting in no place, but burning the country before them, slew the poore country people without mercy, and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, besides the spoile,

E carried away with them many thousands of most miserable captiues: the greatest part whereof for all that, the Polouians rescued, with the notable slaughter of the enemy, surprised in their returne. Whereupon such vnkindnesse rise between the Turkish Emperor and *Sigismund* the Polonian King, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open wars, had not the Polonian by his Embassadors and the mediation of the Queene of England, wisely appeased the angry Turke, and so againe renewed his league.

The Polonian Cossacks inuade the Tartarians and Turks.

Amurath now at peace with the World, from which he by nature abhorred not, and sitting idle and melancholy at home, was perswaded by the Bassa's his Counsellors, to take some new war in hand: for that great empires (as they said) could not without the continuall vse of armes long stand or continue: as appeared by the Roman state, which so long as it was at wars with

F Carthage, or their great Captaines and Commanders occupied in armes against their neighbour Princes, still remained triumphant, and commanded ouer a great part of the World; but giuing it selfe to ease and pleasure, and the martial men not after their wonted manner imploied, it in short time by ciuill discord fell, and of the Mistresse of the World, became it selfe a prey euen vnto the basest nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wisedom foreseeing, cried out in

1590

The reasons wherwith the Visier Bassa's perswade Amurath to make war.

the

the Senat, That the ſouldiers and men of warre were to be kept ſtill buſied in armes far from G
home, for that in ſo doing, all ſhould go well with the State, and the glory thereof increaſe.
Whereunto the *Othoman* Emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing reſpect, propounded not
peace as the end of their wars (as do other weake Princes hauing their owne forces in diſtruſt)
but as inuincible conquerors, ſtill ſowed wars vpon wars, making one victory the beginning of
another: whereby they not onely brought that their Empire vnto that greatneſſe it was now
of, but by ſuch continuall imploiment made their ſouldiers more couragious and ready, and
alſo kept them from rebellions and tumults; whereunto in time of peace, and liuing at eaſe,
theſe martiall men are moſt commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing,
to do that is euill and naught. Euery thing (as they ſaid) was by the ſame means to be main-
tained, whereby it was at the firſt increaſed; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by H
wars begun and augmented, ſo were they by continuall wars alſo to be from time to time eſta-
bliſhed; whereas otherwiſe the ſouldiers liuing in peace, and forgetting their martiall prow-
eſſe, would for moſt part grow cowardly, as giuing themſelues quet to the loue of their owne
dwellings, of their wiues, and of their children, and other pleaſures; or elſe conuerting their
ſtudies to Merchandiſe, or other profitable trades, would in time forget the vſe of armes, and
be thereunto againe hardly drawne: vnto the great weakening of his ſtrength both by ſea and
land, and the diminiſhing of the number of his great commanders and expert captains, not to
be had without the continual vſe of war. With theſe and ſuch like reaſons, the great Baſſa's of
the Court perſuaded *Amurath*, That he muſt of neceſſity take ſome new expedition in hand,
and not to ſuffer his valiant ſouldiers, but now lately returned out of Perſia, to grow lazie or D
inſolent for lacke of imploiment. Which they did not ſo much for the loue of their Prince,
or zeale vnto the State, as for their owne particular profit; eſpecially the two old Baſſa's *Sinan*
and *Ferat*, the enuious competitors the one of the others honour: who although they both,
much and almoſt all commanded both in peace and war, yet was their honours greater, and
their profit far more, in commanding of the Turks great armies abroad, than in ſitting in the
Diuano at home: vnto which no leſſe honourable than profitable preferment they both with
like ambition aſpired, accompanied with the hot deſires of their great and many fauorits both
at home and elſewhere. Theſe perſuaſions well pleaſed *Amurath*; who although hee were
himſelfe no ſouldier, yet was he deſirous of new conqueſts, and to increaſe his name: accoun-
ting it no leſſe honour vnto himſelfe, by his ſeruants at his appointment to performe great K
things, than it was vnto his Anceſtors to do that they did themſelues in perſon. But in this ſo
ſerious a matter, and of ſo great conſequence, *Amurath* at the firſt could not tell what beſt to
reſolue vpon; not for that he was not deſirous of warres, but becauſe as yet he certainely knew
not againſt whom he might with greateſt profit and leaſt difficulty & danger conuert his for-
ces: vpon which point his Counſellors agreed not, but for diuers reaſons were of diuers opi-
nions. Which foraſmuch as they containe matters of greateſt importance of all things then
in the World don, but eſpecially concerning the profit of the Chriſtian commonweale, I ſhall
not thinke it vnworth my labour, to ſet them downe in ſuch order as I finde them credibly re-
ported; hauing moreouer in them many letters and moſt weighty matters not yet come to
all mens knowledge: as alſo opening the deuiſes of the Turkiſh Tyrant againſt the Chriſtian L
Princes; a motiue not only for them to joyne in counſell together how to withſtand him, but
for the common Chriſtian Commonweales ſake to forget and forgiue all their priuat diſplea-
ſures, and with their vnited forces and power honourably and couragiouſly to make war vpon
him, and ſo at length by the mercy of God to ouerthrow him, together with his tyrannicall
Empire, the greateſt terror of our time.

The cauſes why Amurath would not ſuddenly reſolue vpon war.

Eight ſeuerall opinions of the Viſier Baſſaes, concerning the war to be taken in hand.

The great Baſſa's concerning the intended war were of eight ſundry opinions: whereof the
firſt was, That the wars againſt the Perſian ſhould be renewed: the ſecond, for the inuaſion of
the King of Morocco and Fes: the third, for war to be taken in hand againſt the king of Spain:
the fourth for the beſieging againe of Malta: the fift was, to ſet vpon the Venetians: the ſixt,
for the inuading of ſome part of Italy: the ſeuenth, for the King of Polonia: the eighth and M
laſt was, for warre to be made vpon the Emperour and the kingdome of Hungary. With all
the which aforeſaid Princes, except the Spaniard, although the Turke were then in league,
and could not with all or any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his faith
and honour: yet was that neuer made queſtion or ſcruple of, but onely, Which might beſt

ſtand

ſtand with the profit of his ſtate for him to ſet vpon. His barbarous law allowing him that liberty, for the more aſſuring of his ſtate, and inlarging of his empire, to break all faith & promiſe, eſpecially with the Chriſtians; not more in any thing to be pitied, than in repoſing any credit or confidence in the faith of ſuch a miſcreant.

The firſt opinion and reaſons to haue the Perſian wars renued.

The reaſons the great Baſſa's alledged for the renuing of the Perſian war, were, for that the Perſian King was of himſelfe like to break the league ſo lately with him concluded, ſo ſoone as he ſhould know the Turks intangled in any other war; moued thereunto as well for the recouery of his country, to his great diſhonor loſt, as alſo in reuenge of ſo many and ſo great injuries to him of late don by the Turkiſh Emperors. Beſide that, the Chriſtian princes would perſuade him and prick him forward therunto; eſpecially the Spaniard, who for the neernes of India might without his great charge procure him ſo to do, and alſo conueniently furniſh him with great Ordnance and Cannoniers, which it was wel known he of late did. The countries alſo but lately conquered, were not yet, as they ſaid, in quietnes or ſafety; and the fortreſſes therin but of late built, together with the garriſons therin, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way, and difficultie of the paſſage, not to be ſtill ſpeedily relieued: inſomuch that if the Perſians did them no other harm, but only to forrage and waſt the countrey about them, they ſhould bring the inhabitants into ſuch diſtres, as that thoſe new conquered countries were again by the defendants to be forſaken, or elſe they muſt themſelues with hunger periſh. True glory, they ſaid, conſiſted not ſo much in conquering, as in the vſe of the conqueſt, and the proſecution of the happy victory: And that therfore *Amurath* ſhould take heed that he prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the great Prophet *Mahomet* againſt him; who hauing by his good fauour and guid obtained mo victories than any his predeceſſors, againſt the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious and deuout prince ſeuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious Warre *Vsbeg Han* the Tartar King, as alſo the Prince of Gheilan, offered their ready help. As for the euent of the victory, now as good as in his hand, he was to iudge by the ſucces of his former Wars. Neither that he need to fear the Perſian horſemen, although they vſed Arabian horſes, beeing by his men many times ſhamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt leſt the Georgians in fauor of the Perſians ſhould take vp arms, for that many of them were already vnder his obeiſance, and ſubiect to the Baſſa of Teflis and other his commanders; the reſt were his vaſſals, or els ſuch as following the fortune of their princes *Simon* & *Alexander*, ſought after no greater matter, but contenting themſelues with their own countrey, although but ſmall, thought themſelues wel if they might keep and defend the ſame, by nature and ſcituation ſo ſtrong, as that there is ſcarce any way vnto it, by reaſon of the high and broken mountains, the thick woods, and ſtreit paſſages.

The ſecond opinion, for war with the King of Morocco.

The ſecond opinion which was deliuered, was for the tranſportation of his Wars into Affrick againſt the King of Morocco, commonly called the Seriphe; and that for theſe cauſes moſt: It would be a great ſhame and reproch (as they ſaid) vnto the *Othoman* Empire, that it was not yet able to ſubdue thoſe Moores and people of Africke, in number but few. Neither was it leſſe ſhame or diſhonour to the *Othoman* Emperours to haue ſo ſmall a territory in Africa, being the third part of the world, which by reaſon of the neereneſſe vnto Italy, had a long time held wars with the Romans. Beſides that, Algiers and Tunes could neuer be ſafely kept by the Turks: neither that the ſubiects and pyrats which inhabited thoſe Cities, would euer be content or at quiet, vntil they had again got that kingdome into their hands. The promontory of Aguero, and port of Larace (two ports without the ſtreits) were, as they ſaid, to be taken, as places very commodious for the Turks friends, ſeeking in thoſe ſeas after booty; and for the ſecuring of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himſelfe a Mahometan, and held his kingdom as a Tributary vnto the *Othoman* Empire, yet had hee ſecret intelligence with the Spaniard and the Knights of Malta, whereby they not long ſince had vpon the ſudden almoſt ſurpriſed Tripolis, he in the mean time as it were winking therat. And that although the Spaniard poſſeſſed in Africke, Maraſchebir, Oran, Pegnon, Tanger, Arzilia, Mazaga, Ceute or Septa, places whereby he might help and aſſiſt the Moors; yet might his forces and attempts by a ſtrong fleet be eaſily hindered, and Spaine it ſelfe infeſted. Beſides that, The Spaniards had yet in ſuch freſh remembrance the loſſe of Tunes and Guletta (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Baſſa* to his immortall praiſe taken) as

that they would not for the Moors ſake eaſily ſeem to attempt any great thing againſt the victorious Turks.

The third opinion, touching the conqueſt of Malta.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made againſt them of Malta, which was by a ſtrong fleet to be performed; for that the gallies of Malta did daily great hurt as wel to the Turks merchants, as vnto ſuch as for deuotions ſake trauelled by ſea to Mecha. And that therfore the war was thither to be transferred, not only for religions ſake, and to aſſecure the paſſage thither from the incurſions of the Malteſes, but in reuenge of the old & late iniuries by them don; and eſpecially to blot out the infamy and diſgrace which the great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at ſuch time as he had in vain beſieged that Iſland, and to requite the loſſe by him there ſuſtained. Beſide that, they alſo alledged the common complaints of the ſubiects, for that there were many which pittiouſly lamented the miſery and calamitie, ſome of their friends, ſome their kinsfolk, whom they knew to liue in moſt woful ſeruitude with thoſe Knights, and whom they moſt earneſtly deſired to haue now ſet at liberty: Complaining, his ſubiects to haue bin ſo far from ſuffering any ſuch things from thoſe Knights in the time of his anceſtors, as that contrariwiſe they themſelues were by them driuen out of the Iſland of Rhodes, the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the Chriſtian commonweal toward the Eaſt. Beeing moreouer worthy alſo to be chaſtiſed, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moors with all kind of munition, and had themſelues attempted to haue ſurpriſed Modon.

The fourth opinion, for war to be made againſt the Spaniard, and the reaſons why.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, That it were beſt for him to make war vpon the king of Spain. Theſe men alledged it to be impoſſible for the Turkiſh empire to attaine to the monarchy of the whole world (wherunto all the Turks actions and deuiſes were alwaies as at a certain mark directed) except the Spaniard his great ſtrength and power were firſt weakned; wherin he ſeemed to ſurpaſſe all other the Chriſtian kings and princes: and that there was no fear leſt he ſhould beſiege Algiers, which hee knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fift. And that although the Spaniards without ceaſing beſought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reaſon of the new loſſes and harmes which they daily receiued from the Pyrats of Africa, yet would he not hearken vnto their requeſt, for fear of the danger imminent both to himſelf & his ſubiects from the enemies fleet, which he ſhould in ſo doing draw into the Spaniſh ſeas: neither would the Spaniſh gallies eaſily come into the Turks countries in the Eaſt, for being too far from their own country, which for moſt part ſtood in need of their help. And that the king of Spain was with the multitude of his buſines and other his vrgent affairs ſtill ſo hindred, that he could not ſuddenly put in execution what his Councell for the Wars ſhould decree. As alſo how much it was to be gathered by that which hapned not long ſince at Preueza & Navarinum, that the Spaniard ſhunned the *Othoman* forces: and alſo how warily the king dealt in all his affairs, leſt at length againſt his will he ſhould be inforced to enter into warres with the Turk, was moſt manifeſt; as was to be ſeen when as of late about the end of the Perſian war, he refuſed to aid the Perſian King, whom hee might haue holpen, and was ſo before wont to doe. And in caſe that he would ſtand vpon his gard, and by force ſeek to repel force; yet ſhould he ſcarſe haue ſo much ſtrength, as (beſide thoſe wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake alſo a new war, and to find ſo many ſouldiers, and ſo much coin & other things neceſſary for ſo great a war. It ſtood him in hand (they ſaid) to defend the low-countries, and to recouer againe the prouinces there loſt, which of themſelues wonderfull ſtrong, both by reaſon of the ſea and the multitude of the Riuers, were alſo with wonderfull courage and pertinacy defended by the inhabitants, for their liberty and religions ſake. Wherunto the Engliſh (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great help, if they ſhould inuade Portugal, or with their ſhips lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incurſions into other his kingdoms, as they did not long ſince at the Groin and Cadez, places moſt fit to trouble Spain, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Beſide that, hee was at that time ſo intangled with his wars in France, as that he could ſcarce finde how to diſpatch himſelfe therof, without the loſſe of his honor and credit. And admit he ſhould make peace with the aforeſaid Princes, in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not from thenceforth from them receiue any harme; yet were other meanes to bee ſought and taken in hand for his further diſturbance, as by troubling his rich Trade for Spices and other merchandiſe, whereof hee reapeth great profit; as alſo if need were, by driuing his ſhips out of the Perſian gulf, by the help

of

of those gallies which still lie at rode at Possidium, which we now cal Suez. And that the fortresses and strong holds he there possesseth, were to be set vpon, and if it might be taken from him; as was once attempted against the Portugals at Diu and Ormuz. The like wherof *Alphonsus Albuquercius* (the king of Portugals Viceroy in India) attempted, when as with his light horsmen running thorow that country, he thought vpon the sudden to haue spoiled Mecha, and to haue robbed the sepulchre of *Mahomet*, as had hapned vnder the empire of the Sultans, and as *Trajan* the Emperor had long since in like maner attempted to rage and spoile. Those places which he possessed in Africk were (as they said) to be set vpon, and the coast of Spain toward the Mediterranian to be infested: so at length to gratifie the Moors his subiects, who stil instantly requested the same, that so they might more safely trafique and trauell; and that so the Moors might at length be deliuered from the imperious commaund of the Spaniards. Of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in his life time well persuaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiously don, for that the Mooriſh Nation was now greatly increased, and much oppressed by the Spaniards, and hauing got great wealth by trade of merchandise, euen by nature or Religion had conceiued a mortall hatred against the Spaniards: wherunto might not a little auaile the ports in Africke, whereinto the Turks fleet might at all times in safety retyre. And in briefe, that which was of greatest importance for the better succes of this war, the French King and the Queen of England had of their own accord promised the continuation of their wars, & that the French King should inuade Nauar, and by force of arms recouer the right he pretended to that kingdom: whilst in the mean time the Queen of England should not only trouble him in the West Indies, and other places of the Ocean toward the North and West, but might also stir vp new broils in the kingdome of Portugal, where most of the people with great impatience did bear the proud commaund of the Spaniard; as persuaded (and that truly) all their prosperity and quietnes to haue bin lost together with their last king their true and lawfull soueraign. For he at peace with the kings of France and England, exceedingly thereby inriched his subiects by trafique; whereas since they fel into the hands of the Spaniard, they daily complain of their new losses and dangers, by reason of his perpetual wars. Moreouer, That there was to bee found great store of exiled Spaniards dispersed here and there, which being male-content, and weary of the Spanish gouernment, were fled not only out of Portugall, but euen out of Aragon and other parts of his kingdom: which now liuing in France, England, and Constantinople, both secretly & openly offered great helps: the like wherof many of the Moors also promised. All which together seemed to promise a most easie expedition and certain victory, if any should vpon the sudden inuade Spain; for that there was almost no vse of arms, the inhabitants at home seldom times exercising themselues therin: neither in places needful hauing any ordinary garisons, and but few horses fit for seruice. And that in fine it was to be considered, Spain to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and couragiously to mannage Armes, by the often choice they make of them; which were almost daily transported into the Indies, Italy, and the Low-Countries. Wherby the strength of his Countrey must needs bee exceedingly impaired: so that if he should be inuaded with any strong and mighty Army, they might seem hardly able to be holpen and defended by their owne people, but should need the helpe and aid of other neer Prouinces that were subiect to his kingdom. Which if they should be either letted, or stay to come in good time, they should then leaue so much the more easie victory vnto their Enemies.

The third opinion for inuading the Venetians, and the reasons why.

In the fifth place were they which went about to persuade *Amurath* to breake his league with the Venetians; vsing reasons rather probable than true, although they might seeme lesse doubtfull to the Turkes, for that men easily and willingly beleeue such things as they themselues desire. These men went about to proue no expedition to bee lesse difficult than this, as iudging of things present by the euent of former wars passed; wherin the Turks had alwaies taken somthing from the Venetians; who to redeem their peace were diuers waies inforced to satisfie the Turks. That the Venetian Commonweal was afraid of the Turks, and abhorred war, was manifest, they said, in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it self peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their ancestors, neuer entred into wars, but enforced thereunto; and would haply vpon the first denouncing of Wars, willingly part with certain places, for feare of greater harme, or to bee vtterly ouercome, as it appeared they did in the

yeelding vp of Cyprus. The power and force therof was not ſo great, as that it could alone ſtand againſt the great Sultan: and to confederat it ſelf with others would require no ſmal delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vſed to ariſe in making of Leagues; not being now ſo conjoined with the Spaniard as in times paſt, of whoſe aid it being of late deſtitute, was conſtrained to make a hard peace with *Selymus*: and if ſo be the Spaniard would needs join himſelf vnto the Venetians againſt the Turks, yet that he could by no means afford vnto them ſuch aid and ſupplies as were of neceſſity to be required vnto ſo great a War, hee himſelf being in his Wars otherwiſe ſo intangled. As for all other confederation they could make without him, to be but weak and to no purpoſe. That which the Pope could do herein to be but little; for albeit he ſhould (according to his duty) exhort other Chriſtian princes to giue aid, and to ſtir them vp vnto this war; yet that beſide ſome little ſupply of mony hardly drawn out of his own coffers and the Eccleſiaſtical reuenues, he could ſcarſe performe any thing more: or when he had don his vttermoſt deuoir, could but joine fiue gallies of his owne vnto the Venetian fleet, which with the gallies of the duke of Savoy, of the knights of Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of ſome 20 gallies, which was but a ſmal matter. Beſides that, the Turkes were perſuaded, that betwixt the Venetian ſtate and the other Chriſtian Princes was no ſuch friendſhip and good agreement, as the greatnes of the imminent danger of that War, and as the neceſſity of the cauſe would require: And that hitherto their treaſures had bin ſo exhauſted in paying the debt they were run into in the laſt war, and in building of fortreſſes, that haply they were not now ſo furniſhed with coin, as was requiſit for defraying ſo great a war. And vnto this War againſt the Venetians conſented almoſt all the Viſier Baſſa's; differing only in this, Where, or againſt what place of the Venetian Territory this war were to be firſt begun: ſome naming one place, ſome another, for diuers reaſons them therunto leading, which for breuity we paſſe ouer.

The firſt opiniõ for attempting Italy, and the reaſons therof.

Other ſome of the Baſſa's in the ſixth place, rejecting all the former opinions concerning the war to be taken in hand, would haue had all the forces of the *Othoman* Empire, as well by land as ſea, to haue been conuerted againſt Italy, for that otherwiſe the Turks ſhould neuer come vnto the monarchy of the whole world, wherunto as at a mark they had directed al their actions, except they did firſt ſubdue Italy. For that this country, as the centre of the whole world, was wont to giue both counſel and aid vnto the reſt of the limbs, whereby the deuices of others were croſſed: and that the Romans had at length commanded ouer all the World, eſpecially for that they held in poſſeſſion this country. Herat did the Hunnes, the Alani, and Goths, the Vandals, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Saraſins direct all their thoughts and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more honourable and profitable than this: for that Italy was a Queene amongſt other prouinces, for commodious ſcituation, the wholſomnes of the aire, the plenty of all things neceſſary for mans life, for great, fair, and rich cities, for the antient glory and majeſty of the Roman Empire, and many other cauſes alſo. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much difficultie, for that Italy was vnder the rule of diuers princes, vnto whoſe command moſt of the ſubjects vnwillingly obeyed. As alſo for that the inhabitants of that country had now for many years liued in continual peace, and were therfore the more effeminat and fearful, and ſo vnfit for the wars. And that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand, before the corn were full ripe, the Turks in that ſo fruitfull a Country could neuer want neceſſaries for them to liue vpon; wheras the inhabitants in great number wanting the ſame, and ſhut vp within the wals and fortifications of their Cities and ſtrong towns, ſhould be brought into extream wants. Which was the more euidently to be ſeen, for that at this time wherein they were at peace, they had not corn ſufficient in the Countrey for ſo great a multitude of people to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, eſpecially from Peloponeſus, Conſtantinople, and the Cities vpon the coaſt of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be conſidered, That moſt part of the Italians liued by no other meanes but by their handy labour, or the trade of merchandiſe; of which means if they ſhould be depriued, they ſhould in ſhort time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of ſuch conditions as the victor ſhould propound vnto them, or as tributaries to ſubmit themſelues vnto the *Othoman* gouernment. Neither that the ſoldiers would vnwillingly be drawn vnto that War; for that they were not to paſſe through barren regions of the enemy, frozen with ice, or deſolate,

either

neither by rough woods or inacceſſible mountains, but were all the way thither to trauel thorow their own country, and as it were in the ſight of their own houſes: and if the Turks could oftentimes enter ſo far, when as they had their confines more remote, and their paſſages more difficult, that the ſame might now much more eaſily be effected, when as they had a far greater opportunitie, and their enemies ſo neer at hand.

The 7. opinion, for wars with the Polonian.

The ſeuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it beſt to haue the war transferred into Polonia, and from thence into Hungary and Germany: for which they alledged theſe reaſons; firſt, For that they thought it a diſgrace vnto the majeſty and reputation of the *Othoman* Empire, That the king of Polonia had ſomtime refuſed to pay his tribute due (for ſo the Turkes account of all ſuch preſents as are vnto their Sultan vſually ſent by their neighbor princes, of curteſie) and that therfore he was by force of armes to be compelled therunto. Which they thought would the more eaſily be obtained, for that there was much ſecret hatred and heart-burning amongſt the Polonian nobility. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous war to be taken in hand, foraſmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldavia, the Tartars, and the Sanzack of Acherman, Bendera, and Voſia: and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer haue any aſſured or full poſſeſſion of Moldauia or Valachia, except the inſolencie of the Polonians were repreſſed; the Vayuods of which Countries, when they had inriched themſelues with much wealth, vſed ſtil to fly into the kingdom of Polonia. Beſides that, they ſhould therby reuenge themſelues for the injuries don them by the Coſſacks; and haue more free & ſafe traffique into Muſcouy, and bring a terror vpon the Duke of Muſcouy, by reaſon of the nighnes of the country: which great Duke was an impediment to the *Othoman* Emperour, that hee conquered not the whole kingdom of Perſia. And when he had by this means by little & little drawn vnto Germany, haply it might ſo come to paſſe, that the Chriſtian emperor ſhould therby receiue ſome notable loſſe, his empire being ſtil more & more expoſed and inuironed with the Turks forces and gariſons. Polonia they ſaid to be a plaine and open countrey, neither to haue any ſtrong places for to withſtand them; and the inhabitants to haue ſmall skill in martial affairs, for that they had now long liued in peace. For as for the war that they had with *Maximilian* the Archduke of Auſtria, it continued not long: and king *Stephen* in the late wars he had with the Muſcouit, vſed for the moſt part the Hungarian ſoldiers, & ended thoſe wars rather by beſieging than fighting.

The eight opinion, for war againſt the emperour, and the reaſons therof.

They which in the eighth and laſt place deliuered their opinions concerning the intended war, perſuaded to haue it conuerted vpon the Chriſtian Emperour, whom the Turks call the King of Vienna. The cauſes they alledged for the beginning of this War were, For that the Vſcocchi were grown ſo inſolent, as to make good priſe of the Turks both by ſea and land, in ſuch ſort, as that not onely for the harms they did, but euen for the majeſty and honor of the *Othoman* Empire, their inſolencie was not longer to be ſuffered. By whoſe injuries it chiefely came to paſſe, that the merchants to their great hinderance in priuat, and the Sultans great loſſe in common, hauing left the town of Narenta or Narona in the Turks dominion, had remoued their mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a town of the Venetians; and that yet for al that was not ſo ſufficiently prouided for the ſecurity of the ſaid merchants, although there were peace betwixt the Emperor and the Venetians: for that theſe vnruly men for moſt part liuing vpon the ſpoile, troubled all both by ſea and land with their robberies, driuing away mens cattel, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes and laps. Whereby it was eaſily to be ſeen what mind they were of, and that it was not to be doubted, but that if occaſion ſhould ſerue for them to ſurpriſe any of the Turks ſtrong holds vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the ſame: which what a diſhonor and infamy (not to ſpeak of the loſſe) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* Empire, euery man may eaſily gheſſe. Neither that it was vnknown, how little the Chriſtian Emperor had eſteemed of the Turk, at ſuch time as he was in war with the Perſian, paying his tribute too late at his pleaſure; an euident ſigne rather of violating than of eſtabliſhing the league. And that the good ſucces of this war was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtful; for that the attempt might be giuen both by Croatia, Hungary, and Auſtria, Countries abounding with all things neceſſary for the maintenance of a great army; as alſo for that they were almoſt to trauell all the way in the Turks own territory. Beſide that, the chiefe fortreſſes of Hungarie, namely Belgrade, Buda, & Alba-Regalis, with many other ſtrong places, were already holden

by the Turks garrisons, whither their Armies in all cases of extremity might in safety retire, G
or out of the same garrisons repair their losses, if any should be. The Roman empire (as they said) was more desirous of peace than of war; & the princes of nothing more careful, than how to heap vp and preserue their treasures: and the people of Germany, for that of long time they had had no wars, to be lesse fit now to bear armes, and worse to be commanded by their Captains; alwaies hauing in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, beeing not at vnity amongst themselues, but diuided, especially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, lest forrein princes should aid the Emperor in this war: The Polonian and Transylvanian to liue now in peace with the Turk, and therfore would by no meanes turn the heat of this War into their own bosoms; as also for that the Polonians were afraid, lest in so doing they should be H
driuen out of their country, and inforced to remoue themselues toward the frozen sea: and the Transylvanian hauing receiued his soueraignty from the Turke, no lesse in feare (if he should so doe) to be of him again stript and spoiled of the same. As for the king of Spaine, although he were of such power as might afford vnto the house of Austria great aid, yet that hee was in other places now too much busied: and that the Bishop of Rome could not bee ready in all places to serue his turn: the princes of Italy would not spend their subiects and treasures to pleasure another man: and that the Venetian State would not rashly stir vp the Turkes arms against themselues, but rather at ease expect the euent of the war, than to intangle themselues with other mens dangers.

These were the chief opinions of the great Bassa's, concerning the war to be taken in hand; I
not so much proceeding from any ripe or sound aduice (as commonly they doe) but rather from a certain barbarous insolencie and contempt of others; wherwith they mooued, do oft-times vainly persuade them of the easie performance of many expeditions, which in proofe they find to be not only most difficult, but vnto themselues also most pernicious.

Amurath resolues to make war with the Emperor.

In this so great diuersity of opinions stood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to resolue vpon: desirous he was in all places to shew his power, and if it were possible, to exceed the glory of his predecessors, as he thought himself to haue already don in Persia; hauing, as he boasted, by his seruants there performed more than they could themselues in person with their mighty armies: wherfore contenting himself with that he had already don in the East, he resolued now to turn his forces against the Christian Emperor toward the West. And that for diuers K
respects: first, it grieued him to see the honor of the house of Austria, and that it durst make head against him. Besides that, to make war with a country confining vpon his own, would be a thing of far lesse difficulty than was the Persian war; where his armies were now still to be led thorow his own peaceable countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatsoeuer els they needed. In which opinion he was also confirmed by *Sinan Bassa*; who hauing in vain persuaded him to haue made war against the Venetians, furthered now this war, in hope therby to recouer his credit and reputation (before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in Persia; as also at Constantinople, by the discord betwixt him & *Ferat Bassa*, commonly called the black Serpent) as also to increase his wealth and riches. Which shortly after sorted to his desire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* ap- L
pointed General for those Wars. But aboue all others, *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna furthered this matter, in hope therby to haue gained great riches (as the Turks maner is) together with the greatest honours of the field, as he was most vainly persuaded by his cold prophets, to whom he gaue no small credit. He therfore daily certified *Amurath* of the harms which the Vscocchi and other the Archdukes subiects and seruants did vpon the frontiers of his territories; telling him of their burnings, spoilings and robbings, inciting him to begin his war in Croatia, and so to continue the same either against the Emperour or the Venetians, or els vpon the sudden that way to break into Italy, as had somtime the like been done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Bajazet*, and *Solyman*, his noble progenitors: whereby to bring a great terrour vpon all the princes of Italy, and to inrich his soldiers with great spoiles. By which importunity he (as a M
most mortal enemy not only to the house of Austria, but vnto all Christendom) got leaue to begin those stirs in the frontiers of the empire, which were first fatal vnto himself, and did afterwards notably exercise the armes of the two *Othoman* Emperors, *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the Christian Emperour, with others his friends and confederats. Yet vnto this leaue

granted

granted to the Bassa, was this condition at the first anexed, That he should not seem to doe it by *Amuraths* commandement, but of himself, vnder colour to restraine the Vsocchi; who as well by land as by sea (as he pretended) spoiled both the Christians and Turkes, by the great liberty of the princes of Austria, hauing small care to chasten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Hassan Bassa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord & Master had commanded, for the disturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Christian Emperor: the Turks leagues with their neighbor princes being seldom so religiously kept, but that as well their souldiers in garrison vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by sea, might to keep themselues doing, vpon a military insolencie (as the Turks term it) now & then at their pleasure make incursions for booty both by sea and land: which being answered with the like
B from their neighbors so molested, there neuer wanted new grieuances, and iust causes of complaint, to the stirring vp of greater troubles euen among the greatest princes. The Venetians 1591.
thus wronged at sea, and their merchants robbed; by their Embassadors complained at Constantinople, of the injuries don them by the Turks pirats, requiring to haue them called home and justice don vpon them. In like maner the Emperor also, seeing many things both this year and the next, attempted by *Hassan Bassa* in Croatia, and the other Turks in Hungary, contrary to the league; to the great disturbance of his subjects in both those countries; by his Embassador then lying at Constantinople complained of these outrages, desiring to know whether ther they were don by the consent & knowledge of *Amurath*, or not; and if not, then to require that order might be taken for the restraining therof. Which was accordingly don, and those
C incursions for a while staied, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* still making shew, as if the league agreed vpon for eight years, should not be in any wise on his part infringed. At *The Persian hostage dieth in the Turks Court.*
which time the Persian Kings son (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turks court, where he lay in hostage: whose dead body *Amurath* caused to be honourably sent home to his father into Persia, with an apologie in defence of himself, against the suspition conceiued by some, That he should haue bin the cause of the vntimely death of the yong prince; stil vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the prince had like enough to haue bin broken. Wherof *Amurath* was the more desirous, for that persuaded by his Bassa's (as is aforesaid) to make wars with the Emperor (although he notably dissembled the same) he was in hope therby to adde vnto his empire the reliques of Hungary, with some
D good part of the territory of the house of Austria also, and so to open himselfe a way into the heart of Germany. For which purpose he now caused very great preparation to be made, and a strong army to be raised, and at the same time put a great fleet of gallies into the Archipelago, for the safety of his Islands in that sea.

According to these designements, the Bassa of Bosna by the commandement of *Amurath*, 1592.
with an army of fifty thousand entred into Croatia, and without resistance burnt and destroyed the country before him, sparing nothing that came in his way. And not so contented, laid siege to the city of Wihitz, being the metropolitical city of that country, strongly scituat as it were in an Island, compassed about with the riuer Vna. Which city, after he had sore bat- *wihitz in Croatia yeelded to the Turks.*
tered, and twice assaulted, was by the distressed defendants (now dispairing of relieue, and not
E able longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Bassa, vpon composition, That the German souldiers there in garrison might in safety with bag and baggage depart; and that such of the Christian citizens as would, might there stil remaine without hurt from the Turkes either in body or goods. Which conditions the Bassa faithfully performed vnto the garison soldiers, whom in number but four hundred, he sent with safe conuoy into their own territory: but afterwards contrary to his faith and promise, exercised all maner of Turkish tyrannie vpon the poor citizens. The Emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuasion of the Turkes, sent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times imployed in embassages to the Turk) to craue aid of the German princes against the common Enemy. Who according to the greatnesse of the danger, in large terms promised their helpe. The first that made head was *Ernestus* Archduke
F of Austria the Emperors brother, who with fiue thousand souldiers came from Vienna to Savaria, commonly called Greis, the metropolis of Stiria: to whom repaired daily more strength out of Carinthia.

In the mean time the Turks army daily increasing in Croatia, inclosed six thousand foot-

men

The Christians ouerthrown.

men and fiue hundred horſmen of the Chriſtians (who had taken the mountaines, woods, and ſtreit paſſages) and ſo hardly beſet them, that of all that number few eſcaped with life: among whom many valiant ſouldiers and expert Captaines were ſlaine, namely *Iames Prants*, *George Plesbach*, and *Iohn Weluerdurff*. The Baſſa after the barbarous maner of the Turks, to make his victory ſeem more famous, laded ſix wagons with the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians. G

The Turks thus raging in Croatia, brought a general fear vpon all Hungary, Bavaria, Bohemia, Stiria, Carinthia, Sileſia, and the reſt of the prouinces therabout. Wherupon the emperor calling together the States of Sileſia and Moldavia, declared vnto them the iminent danger; perſuading them to joine their forces with the reſt, for the repulſing of ſo dangerous an Enemy.

After long delay, *Erneſtus* the Archduke the tenth of Auguſt came to the Emperour his brother, with the embaſſadors of Hungary; and the ſeuenth day after were called together the Embaſſadors of the kingdoms and prouinces of the Empire; where it was throughly debated, how the Turks were to be reſiſted, and their attempts infringed; as alſo from whence forces, mony, and other warlike prouiſion was to be raiſed. For now it was manifeſtly ſeen, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great Commander of Grecia, with threeſcore thouſand ſelect ſoldiers both horſe and foot, of long time exerciſed in the Perſian war, was ere long expected, who joining with the reſt of the Turks army, might do great matters both in Hungary and the places adjoining. H For preuenting of which ſo great and manifeſt dangers, they ſate daily in councel at Prague, yea oft times euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and eſpecially the Lord *Nadaſti*, a moſt Noble and valiant gentleman amongſt them, inſtantly vrged to haue ſuccors ſent into Hungary; foraſmuch as the Turkiſh Emperor, if he ſhould get into his hands the reſt of the townes and caſtles yet holden by the Chriſtians in Hungary, it was to be feared leſt he ſhould in a ſhort time after indanger the whole ſtate of Germany; the ſtrength whereof the Turks feared not ſo much, as he did thoſe poor reliques of Hungary. Others were no leſſe carefull of the dangers of Croatia and Styria, as more propet to themſelues, the enemy there now raging. In theſe ſo great dangers, the Hungarians with the reſt of the diſtreſſed cried vpon the Emperor for help; and he likewiſe called vpon the Princes of the Empire. Diuers aſſemblies were made in Bohemia, Hungary, Moravia, Sileſia, and other the Emperors prouinces; and Embaſſadors ſent from almoſt all the German princes, to the Emperor. All was full of conſultation, but as for help, that came in very ſlowly: yet ſuch as was to be had was forthwith ſent into Croatia, to defend the fortreſſes thereagainſt the further attempts and proceedings of the furious Enemy. K

Certain vain attempts of the Turks.

The 18 of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouiſion vpon the ſudden by night aſſaulted the ſtrong caſtle of Toccay in the vpper Hungary, in hope to haue ſurpriſed it. But finding it a matter of more difficulty than they had before imagined, they departed thence, & attempted the leſſer Comara, which ſtanding in a mariſh ground, was alſo eaſily defended. At which time alſo the Baſſa of Buda with his power entred into the frontiers of the Chriſtians; but hauing wel viewed the cities, towns, caſtles, and forts vpon thoſe borders, & finding nothing for his purpoſe, he without any thing doing returned again to Buda. L

The 26 day of September *Haſſan* the Baſſa of Boſna incamped with his army betweene the riuers of Kulp and Savus, and in the darkneſſe of the night paſſing ouer part of his army into Turopolis, with fire and ſword moſt miſerably ſpoiled all that pleaſant and fertile Iſland; the Lord of Bonny, to whom the keeping therof was committed, labouring in vain to defend the ſame.

Turopolis ſpoiled by the Turks.

About the end of this moneth, the Baſſa of Ziget, with the Sanzackes of Mohas, Koppan, and Quinque Eccleſiæ, and other Turks of great name, came with a ſtrong Army, and incamped between Ziget and Rodeſto. And ſhortly after, newes was brought to the Emperours Court, That Caniſia (a City of Stiria not far from the riuer Zala) was hardly beſieged by the Enemy; and that the Turkes in comming thither had taken many Chriſtians Captiues, M whom they had ſent to be ſould at Conſtantinople; and that there was in the Turks Army about an hundred and ſixty thouſand men. But foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Army daily increaſed alſo, and was now growne to the number of threeſcore thouſand, men began to hope well,

A wel,that the enemies rage would be ſtaid from any further proceeding. About the ſame time *Erneſtus* the Archduke appointed General of the Army,with the Marquis, ſonne to *Frederick* the Archduke, his lieutenant,came both vnto the army.

In theſe preparations,about the beginning of October heauy newes was brought vnto the Emperors court,how that 7000 men,whom he but a little before had ſent into Croatia,vnder the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Bean*, *George Gleichſpacher*, and *Dionyſius Denke*, to hinder the courſe of the Turks proceedings,being incamped betwixt Wihitz and Carolſtat,and hauing the twelfth of September diſcouered from an high hil certain companies of the Turks(which were indeed of purpoſe come thither to view the Chriſtian army) ſent out fifty horſemen to diſcouer the Turks army where it lay,and what it attempted. Who finding no moe of the
B Turks than thoſe they had before ſeen from the mountain,returned again vnto the army with ſuch ſimple intelligence. Wherto the Chriſtians giuing credit,became ſecure in their tents as men out of fear of the enemy,and ſo kept but negligent watch. But in this ſo great ſecurity the enemy on a ſudden came vpon them, and with 100000 men brake into their trenches: where the Chriſtian footmen for all that for the ſpace of foure houres maintained a notable fight, wherin many were on both ſides ſlain:but the poor Chriſtians being beſet round,& oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, were ſlain almoſt all; yet the Captaines ſeeing the danger,by ſpeedy flight ſaued their liues: for which their cowardiſe and careleſſe negligence they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almoſt all the common ſouldiers were there ſlain; yea ſuch as fell aliue into the hands of the enemy, were moſt cruelly cut in
C pieces. The ſpoil alſo of the tents of the Chriſtians fell vnto the enemy; wherein beſides aboundance of other things, they found ſixty thouſand Dollars, brought but two daies before from Lutz for the ſoldiers pay. The Turks after their barbarous maner,in oſtentation of their victory,laded 14 wagons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians,which they ſent into diuers of their places therabouts. This was indeed a great victory, but gained by the Turkes with much bloud: for the Chriſtians fighting as men deſperat,ſlew of their enemies aboue twelue thouſand; and died themſelues as men rather with number oppreſſed, than with true valour vanquiſhed.

The night following, the Turkes vpon the ſudden in the dead time of the night ſurpriſed the caſtle of S. *George*,and without reſpect of age or ſex,cruelly put to the ſword al that were
D therin, except 150 perſons,whom they caried away captiue:and ſo ſetting the Caſtle on fire, departed. At the ſame time diuers companies of the Turkes were ſeen about Siſeg,who led away with them about ſix hundred Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this ſo miſerable a waſted Countrey, three hundred Waggons charged with all manner of prouiſion,ſent out of the prouinces there by for the reliefe of the garriſon ſoldiers in Croatia, were all intercepted by the Turkes, and ſo carried away.

The caſtle of S.George ſurpriſed by the Turks.

The Emperor conſidering theſe proceedings of the Turkes, and that their ſtrength daily increaſed,gaue notice by writing to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what incurſions the Turks had of late made into Croatia and the frontiers of Hungary,with other places neer
E vnto them:and that the Beglerbeg of Grecia,with the Baſſa's of Boſna,Buda,and Temeſwar, without regard of the league yet in force,had taken diuers Cities,Towns,Caſtles and ſtrong places,& ſo extended the bounds of their dominion aboue forty German miles, hauing ſlain or caried away into captiuitie the poor inhabitants of thoſe countries;& now to be grown to that hight of pride,that except their further proceedings were with like force repreſſed,they would in ſhort time ſet foot into Germany it ſelf,and poſſeſſing themſelues of Stiria and Carinthia,would from thence daily more and more incroch vpon the empire. Which to hinder, was not in his power only,but required their help in generall. Wherfore he requeſted them, now at length in ſo publike a danger to open their coffers,and to ſend out their forces againſt the common enemy. Which requeſt of the Emperor,with the due conſideration of ſo great a
F danger,mooued not only the Princes and States of the Empire,but others alſo farther off, to yeeld liberal contribution to ſo neceſſary and general a Cauſe.

The Emperour craueth aid againe of the Germã princes

The Turks now hearing of the great preparation of the Chriſtian Princes, beſide the army which was already in the field, and that they had made a ſtrong bridge ouer the riuer of Dranus, which they had alſo fortified;therby in ſafety at their pleaſure to tranſport their Army: with-

without further delay furniſhed ſuch places as they had gotten, with ſtrong garriſons, and ſo withdrew themſelues into their own territory: which they did the rather, for that the Plague then raged ſore in Conſtantinople, inſomuch that there died a thouſand a day. Which contagion had alſo taken hold of the Turkiſh Army; ſo that the Chriſtians for fear of infection ſlew what Turk ſoeuer fel into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this year, beeing as it were an introduction for greater to inſue the year following. G

1593. *Diuers incurſions of the Turkes vpon the Chriſtians.*

The Turks together with the beginning of the new yeare began alſo their wonted incurſions into the frontiers of the Chriſtians. They of the garriſon of Petrinia (a ſtrong fort but lately and contrary to the League built by the Turkes vpon the Riuer Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuaſion of Croatia) made daily incurſions out of that new fort, and entring into the Iſland Turopolis, ſpoiled and burnt the town and caſtle of Beck-Vocobinam, and hauing made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them 400 priſoners. And in Hungary the Turkiſh gariſons to ſupply their wants, made diuers inrodes vpon the Chriſtians, and did exceeding much harm; of which adnenturers, 600 paſſing ouer the frozen lake, were all drowned in the midſt therof. In another place three thouſand of them neer to Nuhuſe diuiding themſelues into two companies, the one ſhewed it ſelf in the ſight of the townesmen, the other ſtill lying cloſe in ambuſh. They of the town vpon the ſight of theſe Turks ſallied out, and cauſing them to retyre, followed them ſo far, that they were paſt the place where the reſt of the Turkes lay; who preſently ſtarting vp, ran with all ſpeed toward the town in hope to haue ſurpriſed it: and wanted not much of that they deſired; for there was ſcarce a hundred of the Germans there in gariſon left in the towne, who had ſcarce ſo much time as to draw vp the bridges. Which don, they with the great ordnance from the wals inforced the Turks to retyre and forſake the town. About the ſame time alſo, the Turks in gariſon at Petrinia ſallying out vpon the ſudden, took the town Martenize, which they ſpoiled; and hauing ſlain and taken about 700 perſons, ſet fire on the town and ſo returned, hauing loſt in this exploit not paſt a hundred & fifty of their own men. Not long after, the ſame garriſon ſoldiers of Petrinia took another caſtle three miles diſtant from the riuer of Kulp, wherinto the Chriſtians dwelling round about had for fear of the enemy conueyed all their wealth, with great ſtore of victuals: all which the Turks took, and hauing ſlain 600 men in the caſtle, returned with an exceeding rich booty to Petrinia: which they bought with the liues of 500 of their fellowes ſlain in taking the caſtle. With like inſolencie did all the other gariſons of the Turks rage in al the other parts of Hungary. About Saſſovia in the vpper Hungary they caried away about three hundred Chriſtian captiues. And in the nether part of Hungary they took the ſtrong caſtle of S. *Hedwig* vpon the lake of Balaton, which they ſpoiled and burnt: and ſo likewiſe the Caſtle of Iſna; but attempting the leſſer Comara, they were by the garriſon ſoldiers valiantly repulſed. They alſo fortified the Caſtle of Stock, which they had but a little before taken, that ſo it might ſerue as a ſafe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages contrary to the league euidently declared the deſire they had to begin that bloudy war which preſently after inſued: and was indeed the more ſuſpected, for that at the ſame time the Emperors Embaſſador *Frederick Corcowitts* was by *Amuraths* commandement ſhut vp cloſe in his houſe at Conſtantinople, and not ſuffered to ſpeak with any man, neither to write or to ſend any meſſenger vnto the Emperor. Which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect ſome great matter to be by the Turke intended, and therfore began to raiſe new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians alſo ſeeing their Townes and Caſtles thus taken, their Prouinces ſpoiled, infinite numbers of people led away into captiuitie, and the enemy daily increaſing in ſtrength; at length agreed vpon their own charges to maintaine a certaine number both of horſe and foot, for the repreſſing of theſe the Turkiſh iucurſions. H I K L

Now although the Emperor knew right wel, al theſe outrages of the Turks contrary to the league, could not be don without the knowledge and good liking alſo of *Amurath* (as before informed therof by his Embaſſadour from Conſtantinople) yet to ſhew himſelfe willing to haue the league on his behalf kept, as alſo to make a further proof of *Amuraths* reſolution for peace or war, he wrot vnto him as followeth: M

Rodolph

A

Rodolph the second, Emperor of the Romans; Vnto *Amurath* the third, King of the Turks.

WHereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted, for the preseruation and continuance of the League and amity betwixt your most excellent Majesty and vs, by the renued capitulations of peace; and that we haue with all sinceritie and loue performed, and are herafter ready to perform whatsoeuer is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, so for euer herafter also make offer of the same: we most assuredly promise vnto our selues on your Maiesties behalfe, that you in like manner will not suffer any thing on your part to be wanting, but gladly and willingly to do all things which shall be meet and needfull for the preseruation and keeping of this mutuall loue and friendship. Vpon which good hope grounding our selues, to declare our plain meaning and sinceritie indeed, we will cause our most honorable present (which is now ready) to be brought to your most royal Majesty, at such time as shal be agreed vpon betwixt our Embassador and you: vnto whom in all such matters as he by our commandement shall haue to deal with your most excellent Maiesty, your Visiers, or seruants, wee request you to giue full credence. In the mean time your Excellencie shall do well to prouide, that as we haue now seuerely commaunded our subiects to keep the peace vpon our frontiers, so that your souldiers also make no incursions as Enemies into our territories, nor to do in them any harm, but to indeauor themselues also to peace and quietnes: and especially, that all such things as contrary to the capitulations of the league haue bin there of late taken from our people, or otherwise vniustly possessed, may be again restored, the losses recompenced, the new fort of Petrinia demolished, and the Bassa of Bosna and others the authors and breakers of the league punished and displaced: wherby we shall gather your royall Maiesties most noble and kind affection toward vs and our State; which as it shall bee a thing most iust, so shall it be a singular confirmation of our league. But concerning these matters, and others to the same belonging, our Embassadour is to declare our mind more at large, that so our prest desire for the continuance of our league and friendship with your Majesty may be more plainly known. So wish we all health and prosperity vnto your most royall Maiesty.

The Emperors Letters to Amurath.

B

C

From Prague the 8 of March, 1593.

The Emperor also at the same time and to the same purpose writ to *Sinan Bassa* in this sort:

D

Rodolph the second, Emperor of the Romans; To *Sinan Bassa* the chiefe Visier, Greeting.

WE write at this present vnto your most excellent Emperor our most honored friend and neighbor, concerning such matters as we thought fit for the preseruation of the peace & league between vs, lest haply we might seem to haue forgotten our duty. Now it shall well beseem your vprightnes and good will, which we haue at other times proued, for the high place and authority which you hold (and which we rejoice to be again restored vnto you) to giue vnto these things such easie passage before his Maiesty, as that we may acknowledge you kindnes and fauor, and haue occasion therfore to shew our selues vnto you thankfull. First, we offer our selues most ready to continue the peace, and to performe whatsoeuer is according to the conuentions of the renued peace on our part to be performed: as also to send the honourable present, as yet not sent, whenas our embassador shal haue with you appointed any certain time wherin it may be sent. And we also assuredly hope, so to preuail with your Emperor, that on your part the places within our Territory by your people forcibly possessed, together with all such things as haue bin wrongfully taken away, may be again restored, and the fort of Petrinia rased. The Bassa of Bosna also (who we thinke would haue bin kept within the compas of duty, if you at that time had held the place of chiefe Visier) and whosoeuer els, guilty of the wicked breach of the league, to be worthily according to their deserts punished and displaced; and your soldiers seuerely charged, not to make any further incursion, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the league. As we likewise shall with streit commaunds most carefully restraine our garison soldiers vpon our frontiers, from all such incursions and enemies actions. But of these things our Embassador is more fully and at large to intreat with you: vnto whose speech wee desire such credence to be giuen as vnto our own; and we will so prouide, that you shall haue good proof of our great good will toward you.

The Emperors Letters to Sinan Bassa.

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From Prague the 8 of March, 1593.

Vnto which the Emperors Letters *Sinan* returned answer as followeth:

Sinan

Sinan Bassa, chiefe Visier to *Amurath* the third; Vnto *Rodolph* the second, Emperour of the Romans, Greeting.

Sinan Bassa's letters to the Emperor.

BY *these we giue your Majesty to vnderstand, That two of your Majesties Letters were brought hither before we were chosen and confirmed chief Visier in this most royall Court; wherin your Maiestie excuse your selfe, and shew causes why the sending of the wonted Presents hath bin so long deferred, by laying the fault vpon the insolencie of our garrison soldiers in Bosna, and the breach of the publick peace. Which your letters being by vs read before our most mighty Emperor, his Highnes in choler burst out into these words*; And thy son the Beglerbeg of Buda hath stil hitherto writ, and giuen vs to vnderstand, That the vsuall Presents would certainly come, and that the King of Vienna would not in any case consent to the breach of the league, or of the amity betwixt vs and him. And yet for all that, the presents are not hitherto come: wherfore thy sons writings and relations are not true. *But now the Bassa of Bosna hath sent word to the Court, That your Maiesty will not send them, and all your doings to be but meer deceit and fraud. For which cause our most mighty Emperour hath remoued my son from his place in Buda, and rewarded the Bassa of Bosna with honorable garments; wheras my son is for your sake displaced. Now on our behalf nothing is don against the peace, but our soldiers as with a bridle kept in: wheras on your Maiesties behalfe, excursions and harms into the territories of our Emperor neuer cease, especially in Bosna; wherinto your soldiers haue of late in warlike maner broken, although they were by our garisons ouercome, their great ordnance taken and brought hither to the Court. Wherfore seeing the case so standeth, your Maiesty is to resolue vs vpon two points; whereof the first is, Whether you be minded to keep friendship with vs as beseemeth, and to send hither the two last years presents or not? And the second, Whether you will set at liberty our captiue Sanzacks or no. Now if your Maiesty shall be content to keep the legue, and within these two months next to send the two years presents, as also to dismisse our Sanzacks; the league shall on our part be likewise vndoubtedly kept, your territories shal be in no case molested, such Christian Captiues as your Maiesty shall require, be inlarged, and a most firm and sure friendship by vs continued. Wheras if you shall vpon any cause or excuse longer delay to send those honorable presents, and vnto these our demands send vs nothing but vain and windy answers; let God on high be therfore for euer praised: for now our most mighty and victorious Emperor, who wanteth neither ability nor power, hath commanded, That we our self should in person go in this war, and putting our confidence in the Highest, with the army of the right beleeuing Turkes to come into those parts. And therfore assure your Maiesty we will not fail there to incounter you; at which time shall appear vnto the world, what is by God our Creator (whose holy name be for euer praised) in his deep wisdom preordained and set down for vs. Wherfore seeing that all which concerneth the League, together with the safety and quiet of our people on both sides, is vnto your Maiesty thus declared, you are to consider the end, and to follow our good aduice: Wheras if otherwise you shall be the cause of the breach of this so wholsom a peace and vnity (which we hitherto haue so sincerely and firmly kept) the excuse therof both in this world and in the world to come, shall lie vpon your self. Now we requeste of you no more, but forthwith to send vs answer of these our letters. As for the rest, well may he speed that taketh the right way.*

From Constantinople the last of the moneth **Giuma Zuleuel*, in the yeare of our holy Prophet *Mahomet* 1001

* *which is the 16 of March, An. Dom. 1593*

Yet for all these fair offers of peace thus by *Sinan Bassa* made in his letters, was his purpose nothing lesse than to haue performed the same: seeking onely to haue drawne the two yeares presents from the Emperor, amounting to a great summe of mony, and so neuertheles to haue prosecuted the intended war. The Emperor being the only man, of whom *Amurath* his great master had amongst all the Christian princes made choice to exercise his force vpon. Of all which things the Emperor was not ignorant, being therof (as we said) fully before by his embassador aduertised from Constantinople.

These troubles of the Spring thus past, ensued the Summer much more troublesome, for *Hassan* Bassa of Bosna, chiefe author and deuiser of these broiles, ceased not for the increase of his credit, to worke what mischiefe he could against the Christians that bordered vpon him. This

A This great Baſſa mortally hated the Gouernour, or as ſome call him the Abbot of Siſeg, a ſtrong caſtle ſcituate vpon the borders of that part of Croatia, yet holden by the Chriſtians, where the riuer Kulp falleth into the famous riuer of Savus or Saw (and was indeed the very bulwarke of that countrey) the cauſe of which his hatred is reported to haue beene this. The yeare before, the Baſſa had ſent a meſſenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliuer the caſtle or monaſtery vnto him: which meſſenger for certaine daies the Abbot entertained with many honourable ſpeeches, learning in the meane time of him ſo much as he poſſibly could of the Baſſaes intention, with what power, in what place, and with what engines he had determined to beſiege the caſtle. In the meane time it was diſcouered, that his ſteward had long before plotted with the Turke to haue betraied the caſtle, and had for certaine yeres paſt receiued of
B him a yerely penſion. Vpon which occaſion, the Abbot cauſed both the meſſenger & his own ſteward to be apprehended, and ſo faſt bound hand and foot, to be caſt out at a window of the caſtle into the riuer of Saw. The Baſſa ſeeing his meſſenger not to returne, ſent another to the Abbot; grieuouſly threatning him, if he did not ſend him back again his meſſenger: wherunto the Abbot anſwered, that he had diſmiſſed him certaine daies before, and therefore maruelled if he were not as yet returned: neuertheleſſe concerning his demand, that he was reſolued to yeeld the monaſtery vnto the Baſſa, againſt whoſe forces he ſaw himſelfe vnable to hold it: requeſting only, that it would pleaſe him to ſend ſome men of account to receiue it at his hand, for that it would be no ſmall diſhonour vnto him to deliuer it vp vnto common ſoldiers. The Baſſa glad of this meſſage, ſent forthwith certain principall men of great account, hoping now
C without any loſſe to haue that ſtrong place yeelded vnto him, which had ſo long time ſtood in his way. Three daies after, certaine tronps of horſemen ſent from the Baſſa, came to the monaſtery as was appointed, and finding the gates open, entred, firſt the noblemen, and after them fiue hundred others or thereabouts: who were no ſooner within the gates, but that the portculleis was let fall, & certain murthering pieces (ſecretly placed in the court for that purpoſe) diſcharged; with the violence whereof, the Turks that were already entred, were moſt miſerably rent in pieces, their heads, armes, and legs, flying in the aire; when preſently the garriſon ſouldiers ſtarting out of their lurking places, made a quick diſpatch of all them that had eſcaped the fury of the great artillery. The reſt of the Turks ſhut out, hearing the noiſe and cry of them within, turning their horſes, betooke themſelues to ſpeedy flight. The great Baſſa hea-
D ring of this ſlaughter of his men, and how he had beene deceiued, ſwore in great rage by his *Mahomet*, to raſe this monaſtery downe to the ground, and to plucke the Abbots skin ouer his eares: and ſo by threatning letters gaue him to vnderſtand as followeth:

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna, vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

The threatning letter of Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

IT is not to thee vnknowne, how often wee haue ſent vnto thee our meſſengers with letters, declaring vnto thee our loue and good will; requeſting thee in friendly ſort, and without further reſiſtance to yeeld vp vnto vs thy fortreſſe of Siſeg, not longer to be by thee holden. Vnto which our requeſt thou haſt hitherto moſt wilfully at thy pleaſure oppoſed thy ſelfe, not without the ſlaughter of our men; and in ſo do-
E *ing, haſt giuen cauſe vnto the great Sultan to ouerthrow and raſe that thy fortreſſe, whereof thou for the Emperour wilt needs be the chiefe. Thinkeſt thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou haſt ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly circumuented and ſlaine our Embaſſadors and ſeruants ſent vnto thee? Nay aſſure thy ſelfe, that if* Mahomet *grant vs life, we ſhall neuer giue ouer the ſiege of that thy fort wherein thou ſo much truſteſt, vntill I haue before thy face ouerthrowne it, and (if thy God ſhall giue thee aliue into my hands) haue pluckt thy skin ouer thine eares, to the great reproch and ſhame of the Chriſtians: for I am fully reſolued, not to depart from this place, but to continue the ſiege thereof vntill I haue it. Let a little time yet paſſe, and thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelfe on euery ſide beſieged, thy fort with moe and greater pie-*
*ces of artillery than euer, battered, and our power ſtrong enough to conſtraine thee. Thou haſt hitherto put thy greateſt hope and comfort in the * Banne* Erodius, *for whom by the help of* Mahomet *we are too*
F *much ſtrong. In briefe, we are of nothing more carefull than how to get thee into our power: which if we do, looke not for any mercy at our hands.*

** The Hungarian Bannes are Noblemen, in power much like vnto the Turks Baſſaes.*

Haſſan Baſſa inuadeth Croatia.

Neither was the Baſſa vnmindfull of his promiſe, or of the loſſe he had receiued, but now in the beginning of Iune with an army of thirty thouſand horſe and foot, came and beſieged the

fortreſſe of Trenſchijn, which with continuall battery and often aſſaults he at length tooke, ſacked the towne, ſlew moſt part of the inhabitants, except 800 or thereabouts of the younger ſort, which he carried away with him into captiuity. And being proud of this victory, remouing thence by a bridge which he had made, paſſed ouer the riuer, and ſo the twelfth of Iune came and incamped before the monaſtery of Siſeg: and after vain ſummons giuen to the ſame, the next day cauſed his great ordnance to be planted, and with great fury thundering againſt the wals, in ſhort time ouerthrew the new tower, in the fall whereof two of the Chriſtian canoniers periſhed. This furious battery he maintained by the ſpace of ten daies without intermiſſion, giuing no time of reſt to the beſieged; ſo that it ſeemed not poſſible for the monaſtery to be any long time defended, if it were not with ſpeed relieued. The Biſhop of Zagrabia, and *Rupertus Eggenberg* Generall of the Emperours forces that then were at Zagrabia, gaue knowledge thereof to *Andrew* lord *Auersberg* Gouernor of Carolſtat, crauing his aid and counſell: who calling together his owne forces, raiſed a good number of good horſe and foot, and called alſo vnto him the bordering horſemen of Karnia and Carainia: who the ſeuenteenth day of Iune met all together not far from Inſtawitz, and there tarried that night. The next day paſſing ouer the riuer Savus neere vnto Zagrabia, they joyned themſelues with the Emperors forces, and marched the nineteenth day in good order to Sceline, where they expected the comming of County *Serinus*. The twentieth day *Peter Herdelius* with his Huſſars, and the lord *Stephen Graſwein* came into the campe, with many of thoſe light horſemen whom the Hungarians called Vſcocchi. The one and twentieth day they lodged at Gradium, ſtill expecting the comming of the County *Serinus*, who otherwiſe buſied, could not come. The next day after, a ſouldier ſent out from the beſieged, came into the camp, who gaue the captains to vnderſtand, that except they made haſte that day to relieue the diſtreſſed monaſtery, it would vndoubtedly be loſt, for that the enemy had made it faultable, and would that night giue the aſſault; and the defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to maintaine the place, began before his departure thence to think of compoſition with the enemy. Vpon which news the captains forthwith began to conſult among themſelues, what courſe to take in ſo doubtful & dangerous a caſe: where *Auersberg* was of opinion, that it were beſt to march on, and to giue the enemy battell; with whom alſo agreed the lord *Rederen*: the reſt of the captains being of a contrary mind, for that the ſtrength of the Chriſtians compared to the Turks, was too weake; and therefore they thought it better in time to retire whiles they yet might, than to hazard vnto moſt manifeſt perils the liues of ſo many valiant men, at ſo great ods. At which counſel *Auerſberg* was at the firſt much moued, but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainely ſet before them the neceſſity of the cauſe, & with liuely reaſons cheered vp the fearfull Croatians; notably perſuading them all in generall, to put their whole truſt & confidence in God, to whom it was as eaſie to giue victory by few, as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their religion, their country, their liues, their wiues, their children and friends, and whatſoeuer elſe they held deare; againſt that cowardly enemy, whoſe valour neuer brought him into the field, but only the vaine truſt he had in his multitude; and would therfore no doubt eaſily be put to flight, if he ſhould contrary to his expectation find himſelf but a little hardly laid vnto. With theſe and other like reaſons he preuailed ſo much, that they all yeelded to his opinion, & with one conſent reſolued to go againſt the enemy, and to do what they might to relieue their beſieged friends. So vpon a ſigne giuen, the whole army (in number not aboue 4000) forthwith remoued, and with great ſpeed haſted towards the enemy; and being come within a mile of the camp, put themſelues in order of battell. The Turks by their eſpials vnderſtanding of the approch of the Chriſtians, brought all their horſmen ouer the riuer of Kulp, by a bridge which they had made, and hauing put themſelues in order, came to joyne battell with the Chriſtians: who had in their vauntgard placed the Croatians and Huſſars, in the left wing them of Carolſtat, and the Harquebuſiers of Karnia; in the right wing the borderers of Carainia, all horſemen; in the maine battell the reſt of the ſoldiers, with the horſemen of Sileſia, vnder the conduct of *Sigiſmund Paradiſe*; the rereward was incloſed with three companies of the Emperors ſouldiers. The Croatians and Huſſars in the vantgard gaue the firſt charge vpon the enemy: but hauing for a good ſpace made a great fight, they were about to haue retired, and diſcouraged with the multitude of the enemies, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when *Auersberg* (Generall of the Chriſtian army) came on with his ſquadron, and not only reſtored

Siſeg beſieged by Huſſan Baſſa

A great battell betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

the

A the battel,but ſo reſolutely charged the main battell of the Turks;that the Baſſa was conſtrained at the firſt to retire, and afterwards to fly, after whom all the reſt of the army followed. The Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array,purſued them with great ſpeed, and comming to the new made bridge before them,tooke from them that paſſage, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks; who ſeeing the miſerable ſlaughter of themſelues,and no way to eſcape, ran headlong ſome into the riuer Odera,ſome into Kulp,and were there for moſt part drowned;the reſt were all ſlaine by the Chriſtians, before determined not to take any priſoners. In the meane time, the Turks that remained at the ſiege, vnderſtanding of the ouerthrow of their fellows,ſet fire on their pouder and other prouiſion,and ſo in great feare betook themſelues to flight. Whoſe tents the Chriſtians immediatly after tooke, and in them nine great pieces of artillery, and
B good ſtore of great ſhot of 44 and 45 pound weight a piece, with the ſumptuous pauilion of the Baſſa,and much other rich ſpoile, which was all carried to the monaſtery of Siſeg. The number of the Turks ſlaine in this battell, and drowned in the riuers,is of diuers diuerſly reported, but moſt agree vpon eighteene thouſand. And amongſt them was *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelfe,found in the riuer neere vnto the bridge,known by his moſt rich and ſumptuous apparell; and neere vnto him *Mahomet-Beg*,and *Achmat-Beg*. In other places were alſo found the dead bodies of *Saffer-Beg*,the Baſſaes brother,of *Menibeg*, *Haramatan-Beg*, *Curti-Beg*,*Operd-Beg*, and *Goſchus*,the Baſſa's chiefe counſellor,and maſter of his houſhold.But of all others;the vntimely death of *Sinan Beg*, *Amurath* his nephew,his ſiſters only ſonne, ſent thither to haue learned the feats of armes vnder *Haſſan* the great Baſſa, was of the Turks moſt lamented. Of twenty
C thouſand Turks that came ouer the riuer Kulp, ſcarcely two thouſand eſcaped. This ſo great a victory obtained,all the army of the Chriſtians went thrice about the Monaſtery, and euery time falling all downe vpon their knees,gaue vnto God moſt hearty thanks for the ſame, as by him miraculouſly giuen, and not by themſelues won;and afterwards made all the ſhew of joy and gladneſſe they could poſſibly deuiſe.

Siſeg relieued.

Eighteen thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

Siſeg thus deliuered,and the Turks army ouerthrowne, the Chriſtians with all ſpeed laied ſiege to Petrinia the ſtrong new fort of the Turks, which they for the ſpace of fiue daies moſt furiouſly battered: but hearing that the great Gouernor of Græcia (whom the Turks call the Beglerbeg of Romania)was with a great power comming to the reliefe of the fort, they raiſed their ſiege, brake vp their army,and returned euery man to his wonted charge.

D Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Petrinia,a Poſt came from Conſtantinople to Buda, who brought thither the firſt newes of the ouerthrow of Siſeg, for the report thereof was not as yet come to Buda;wherfore the Baſſa called vnto him the meſſenger, author of ſo bad news, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof: who told him, that at his departure from Conſtantinople, nothing was there knowne of that loſſe, but that vpon the way as he came, he met with diuers horſemen but lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter,who told him of a certainty,that the Baſſa was ſlain,and his army deſtroied. Wherunto the Baſſa of Buda replied,That he was happy in his death,for that if he had by chance eſcaped, he ſhould for his indiſcretion vndoubtedly haue ſuffered ſome other more ſhamefull death at the court.

Newes of the ouerthrow of the Turkes at Siſeg, brought to Buda.

When newes of the aforeſaid victory was brought to the Emperor at Prague, he commanE ded publike prayers,with thankſgiuing to almighty God to be made in all churches: and ſent a meſſenger with letters to *Amurath*,to know of him how he vnderſtood theſe inſolent proceedings of his ſouldiers,and eſpecially this late expedition of the Baſſa of Boſna and his complices,contrary to the league yet in force betwixt them. After which meſſenger he ſent alſo the lord *Popelius*,with the yerely Preſent (or rather tribute) he vſed to ſend vnto the Turkiſh Emperor at Conſtantinople; yet with this charge,that when he was come as far a Comara in the borders of Hungary, he ſhould there ſtay vntill the returne of the aforeſaid meſſenger: who if he brought tidings of peace from *Amurath*, then to proceed on his journey to the Turkes Court; otherwiſe to returne againe with his Preſent: as he afterwards did. For *Amurath*
F enraged with the notable loſſe receiued at Siſeg, and prickt forward with the teares and prayers of his ſiſter (deſirous of nothing more than to be reuenged for the death of her ſonne) the ſeuenth of Auguſt cauſed open war to be proclaimed againſt the Chriſtian Emperor,both at Conſtantinople and Buda. The mannaging whereof he committed to *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemy of the Chriſtians,his Lieutenant Generall, and perſuader of this war: who departing from Conſtantinople with an army of forty thouſand, wherein were 5600 Ianizaries, was by

Amurath himselfe and the great men of the court brought a mile on his way: hauing in charge from the great Sultan, by the assistance of the Beglerbeg of Græce, the Bassaes of Buda and Temeswar, and other his Sanzacks and commanders in that part of his Empire, to reuenge the death of his nephew, and the dishonor receiued at Siseg. G

This war *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Christian Emperour and the rest of the Princes his confederats in this sort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in Heauen, the only Monarch of the World, a great and mighty god on earth, an inuincible *Cæsar*, King of all Kings, from the East vnto the West, Sultan of Babylon, Souereign of the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, triumphant Victor of Ierusalem, Lord possessor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, subuertor and sworne enemy of the Christians, and of all them that call vpon the name of Christ. H

The proud and blasphemous denunciation of war giuen out by Amurath against Rodolph the Christian Emperour.

WE denounce vnto thee Rodolph *the Emperour, and to all the Germane Nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Bishop also, all the Cardinals and Bishops, to all your sonnes and subjects: we earnestly (I say) by our crowne and Empire denounce vnto you open war. And giue you to vnderstand, that our purpose is, with the power of thirteene Kingdomes, and certaine hundred thousands of men, horse and foot, with our Turks and Turkish armes, yea, with all our strength and power (such as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet seene or heard of, much lesse had any proofe of) to besiege you in your chiefe and metropolitical cities, and with fire and sword to persecute you and all yours, and whosoeuer shall giue you helpe, to burne, destroy, and kill, and with most exquisite torments we can deuise, to torture vnto death and slay such Christian captiues as shall fall into our hands, or else to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall misery; to empaile vpon stakes your fairest sons and daughters: and to the further shame and reproch of you and yours, to kill like dogs your women great with childe, and the children in their bellies: for now we are fully resolued to bring into our subjection, you which rule but in a small country, and by strong hand and force of armes to keepe from you your Kingdome, as also to oppresse, root vp, and destroy the keyes and See of Rome, together with the golden scepter thereof: and we will proue whether your crucified Iesus will helpe you and do for you as yours persuade you. Beleeue him still and trust in him, and see how he hath holpen his messengers which hath put their confidence in him: for we neither beleeue, neither can we endure to heare of such incomprehensible things, that he can helpe, which is dead so many Worlds of yeares ago, which could not helpe himselfe, nor deliuer his owne country and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue so long time reigned. These things, ô yee poore and miserable of the World, we thought good to signifie vnto you, that you with your Princes and confederats may know what you haue to do and to looke for. Giuen in our most mighty and Imperiall city of Constantinople, which our ancestors by force of armes tooke from yours, and hauing slaine or taken prisoners all their citisens, reserued such of their wiues and children as they pleased, vnto their lust, to your perpetuall infamy and shame.* I K

Sinan with his army thus setting forward, kept still on his way towards Buda, but the Beglerbeg of Græcia with a farre greater power marched towards Croatia, as well to relieue the forts distressed by the Christians, as againe to besiege the strong castle or monastery of Siseg: which he with his huge army at his first arriuall compassed about without resistance, & with continuall battery ouerthrew the wals thereof, giuing no time of rest vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, & with restlesse labour notably repaired; the very fearfull women bringing tables, stooles, and whatsoeuer els came to hand, that might any wise helpe to keepe the enemy out, of whom a great number was in the breaches slain: but what was that handfull against such a multitude? At length the 3 day of September the Turks by maine force entred the Monastery, and put to sword all the soldiers therein: among whom were 200 Germans, of whom the Turks cut some in pieces, and the rest they threw into the riuer Kulp. One religious man there found among the rest, they did flea quicke in detestation of his profession, and afterward cutting him in small pieces, burnt them to ashes. So taking the spoyle of all that was there to be had; and leauing a strong garrison for the keeping of the place, they passed ouer Savus, burning the country before him, and carried away with them about L M

Siseg taken by the Turks.

about a thousand poore Christians into perpetuall captiuity. These inuasions of the Turks caused the Emperor to craue aid both of the States of the Empire, and other forreine Princes further off: which was by some easily granted, but not so speedily performed.

About this time *Peter* syrnamed *le Hussar* (for that he commanded ouer those horsemen which the Hungarians call Hussars) captain of Pappa, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* county *Hardeck* Gouernour of Rab, lay in wait for the Turks Treasurer in Hungary, who had the command of 5000 Turks: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was mustering and paying certain companies of his soldiers, mistrusting no such danger, and desperatly charging him, slew him with diuers of his men, and put the rest to flight, and so with the spoile and some few prisoners he returned againe to his castle, carrying with him the Treasurer.

Sinan Bassa besiegeth Vesprinium.

Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his army to Buda, resolued with himselfe to begin his wars in that part of Hungary, with the siege of Vesprinium. This Episcopall city was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Christians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566; since which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Christians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his army to Vesprinium, compassed the city round, and encamping as he saw good, planted his battery, wherewith he continually thundered against the city. The Christians there in garrison easily perceiuing that the city was not long to be holden against so great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpouder in certain mines they had made vnder the wals and bulwarkes of the towne, with traines that should at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed secretly out of the city in the dead time of the night, hoping so in the darke to haue escaped the hand of the enemy: which they did not so secretly, but that they were by the Turks descried, and most of them slaine. *Ferdinand Samaria* Gouernor of the city, after he had for a space valiantly defended himselfe, fell at last into the enemies hand, and so was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a German captain. The Turks entered the city the sixth of October, striuing who should get first in, for greedinesse of the prey, when suddenly the pouder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, slew a number of the Turks that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the city.

Palotta yeelded vnto the Turks.

From Vesprinium the Bassa remoued with his army to Palotta, and gaue summons to the castle: but receiuing such answer as pleased him not, he laied siege vnto it with all his power. Which at the first *Peter Ornand* captaine of the castle cheerfully receiued: but being afterward without any great cause discouraged (the castle as yet being but little shaken, & but one man slaine, and the rest of the soldiers ready to spend their liues in defence thereof) he sent vnto the Bassa, offering to yeeld the castle vnto him, so that he with his souldiers might with bag and baggage in safety depart. Of which his offer the Bassa accepted, and granted his request. But he was no sooner come out of the castle with his souldiers, and ready to depart, but the faithlesse Turke contrary to his oath and promise caused them all to be cruelly slaine, except only the captaine and two other. After that, the Bassa without any great labor tooke in all the country thereabouts neere vnto the lake of Balaton.

Now at last, though long first, about the middle of October the Christians began to muster their army, in number about 18000, all good and expert souldiers: with which power they shortly after passing ouer Danubius, at the first encounter with the Turkes, put them to the worse, slew a great number of them, and rescued a number of poore Christian captiues.

Alba Regalis besieged by the Christians.

In the later end of this month, county *Hardeck* Gouernor of Rab, and Generall of the Christian army in that part of Hungary, departing from Comara with all his power, came and laid siege to the strong city of Alba-Regalis, which by the force of his artillery he in short time made saultable; but in assaulting the breaches, was by the Turks there in garrison notably repulsed. So hauing made sufficient proof both of the strength & courage of the defendants, and perceiuing no good could be done without a long siege, for which he was not as then prouided; after consultation had with the rest of his captaines, he resolued to raise his siege: which he did the second of Nouember; remouing that day but halfe a mile from the city, because he would be sure of all his army. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his espials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almost in sight: which proued to be so indeed. For the Bassa of Buda by the commandement of *Sinan Bassa* the Generall, was come forth with thirteene Sanzacks, and twenty thousand souldiers, thirty field pie-

ces, and fiue hundred waggons laded with victuall and other warlike prouision, to raise the G
siege, and to relieue the city; and was now euen at hand, comming directly vpon the Christians: whereupon the county, assisted by the county *Serinus*, the lord *Palfi*, the lord *Nadasti*, *Peter le Hussar*, and other valiant captains of great experience, with wonderfull celerity put his army in order of battell, and so couragiously set forward to encounter the enemy. The Bassa seeing the Christians marching towards him, tooke the aduantage of the higher ground, and from thence discharged his field pieces vpon them; which mounted too high, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Christians for all that desirous of battell, & nothing regarding the disaduantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almighty, mounted the hill, and joyning battell with the Turks, by plaine force constrained them to fly. In this army of the Turks, being for most part horsemen, were about fiue thousand foot, and many of them Ianizaries, who in flying oftentimes made stands, and wounded many, and yet neuertheless were H
almost all there slaine, with many others: amongst whom were three great men, the Sanzackes of Strigonium, Setchine, and Nouigrade; seuen Chiaus, & many other men of mark, the most valiant captains of the Turks borderers. The lord *Nadasti* with some others taking view of the Turks that were slaine and lost in this battell, deemed them to haue bin at the least in number eight thousand: few prisoners were saued, all being put to the sword: which caused *Sinan* to sweare by his *Mahomet* neuer more to spare any Christian. All the Turks artillery, wagons, and prouision became a prey vnto the Christians: many ensignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hardly to be beleeued how much this victory encouraged the Christians, and daunted the Turks. Wherupon the county with great joy brought backe his army to Al- I
ba-Regalis, and encamped neere the bulwarke called Stopach, where the Turks most feared to be assaulted. *Palfi*, *Nadasti*, and some others, earnestly perswaded with the county, not to depart, from the city before he had won it: but he considering the hard time of the yere, the strength of the city (which was now full of souldiers, by reason of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things necessary in the army to maintaine a longer siege; and fearing also after long lying to be enforced with dishonour to forsake it, would not hearken to their perswasions, but calling a counsell, resolued to raise his siege, and to content himselfe with the victory he had already gotten; which was afterward imputed vnto him for more than an ouersight. So setting fire vpon the suburbs of the city, he rise with his army, and departed thence the fifth of Nouember, and returned to Rab. K

Sabatzka taken by the Lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after, *Christopher* Lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungary, who lay encamped at Cassouia, with his army of foureteene thousand souldiers remoued thence, and marching along the country two daies, came and laid siege to Sabatzka, one of the Turks strongest castles in those quarters, out of which they vsually did much harm among the Christians. This castle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places; and hauing at length made it saultable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the sword all the Turkes there in garrison, in number about two hundred and fifty, and in stead of them left a strong garrison of his owne: whereby all the Country thereabouts was restored to great quietnesse.

Filek besieged by the Christians.

Sabatzka thus taken, the Christian Generall remoued with all speed to Filek a strong city L
of the higher Hungary, which *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor tooke from the Christians in the yere 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the command of the Bassa of Buda. The Generall incamping before this city, the next day after planted his battery, and in most terrible manner without intermission thundered against the wals and gates of the city. The Sanzacke Gouernour thereof, considering the power of the Christians, got out secretly by night with a few souldiers, to acquaint the other Turkish Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Christians, and the number of their army; and further to consult with them, how the city might be relieued. The Bassa of Temesware, with the Sanzacks of Giula, Hadwan, Scanttzag, and Scirme, vndertooke the matter: and thereupon the Bassa sent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of late left by *Sinan Bassa* in garrison at Buda and Alba-Regalis; who all flatly refu- M
sed to goe to this seruice; saying, That they would not be led as beasts to the slaughter, as were their fellows but a little before at Alba-Regalis: Neuertheless they enforced the Armenians, whom *Sinan* and his son had brought thither, to go; but of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Scamboth, were sent only fifteene hundred common souldiers. For all that, the Bassa with

the

A the Sanzackes his followers, firme in their former reſolution for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed city, hauing made great preparation, and raiſed an army of 18000 ſtrong, with many field pieces, by night drew neere vnto Filek, and ſtaied within two miles of the city. But the Generall of the Chriſtians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderſtanding of their comming, with 7000 good ſouldiers choſen out of the whole army, went out preſently againſt them, and the one and twentieth of Nouember ſuddenly aſſailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight, whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued with a moſt terrible execution. In this fight and flight there were ſlaine 6000 Turks, and but few or none taken. The Baſſa himſelf, with the Sanzacke of Filek, and many others of great name, were found amongſt the bodies of the ſlaine Turks. This victory gained with little or no loſſe, yeelded vn-
B to the Chriſtians a rich prey, many gorgeous tents and faire enſignes, much cattel, and 20 field pieces, with 200 waggons laded with victuall and other prouiſion; all which they carried into the campe at Filek, and ſo more ſtreitly beſieged the city than before. The ſame day the Lord *Palfi* and *Martin Laſla* came to the campe with ſix thouſand ſouldiers; and forthwith three Trumpeters were ſent to them of the city, That if without further reſiſtance they would forthwith yeeld the city, they ſhould haue leaue in ſafety to depart with life and goods, although the Tuks had of late in like caſe broken their faith with the Chriſtians at Palotta: but if they refuſed his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermoſt, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turks nothing diſmaied, refuſed to yeeld: whereupon the battery began afreſh, and in more terrible manner than before; ſo that though the City was moſt
C ſtrongly fortified both with walls and rampiers, yet had the Chriſtians in three daies ſpace with continuall battery made a faire breach into it, whereby they in deſpight of the enemy entred without any notable loſſe the foure and twentieth of Nouember, ranſacked the city, and burnt a great part thereof. The ſame day they alſo tooke the vttermoſt caſtle, wherein the Sanzacks palace ſtood. This caſtle ſtandeth vpon a very high hill, ſtrengthened both by art and nature, and had in it a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſoldiers, who ſpared not luſtily to beſtow their ſhot amongſt their enemies, of whom they ſlew a great number. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians after they had for the ſpace of two daies and two nights with a moſt furious battery ſhaken the walls, by plaine force entred the caſtle the 29 of Nouember, and put to ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers, except ſuch as had in good time forſaken this caſtle, and retired themſelues in-
D to another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred with their wiues and children, without hope of reliefe, and ſeeing the cannon now bent vpon them, ſet out a white enſigne in token of parly: which granted, it was agreed that they ſhould depart with life, and ſo much of their goods as euery one of them could carry. Vpon which agreement the caſtle was yeelded the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, and the Turks with a ſafe conuoy brought vnto the place they deſired. In this caſtle was found a great booty, many pieces of artillery, and much other warlike prouiſion, but of victuals ſmall ſtore. The Generall with the reſt of the Captaines entring the caſtle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands caſt vp to heauen, thanked God for their victory, and for the recouery of that ſtrong city; but eſpecially for the deliuery of ſo many Chriſtians out of the Turkiſh thraldome: for it is re-
E ported, that there were aboue eight hundred country villages ſubject to the juriſdiction of Filek, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkiſh ſeruitude, by the taking of this only city. The Chriſtians forthwith repaired the wals, bulwarkes and trenches, and ſtrongly fortified euery place againſt the enemy: and ſo leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the city and caſtles, departed with their army, now in number about twenty thouſand, towards Sodoch, ſix miles from Filek. But as they were vpon the way, newes was brought vnto the Generall, how that the Turks had for feare abandoned the caſtles of Dijwin and Somoske: whereupon he ſent out certaine companies of ſoldiers to take in both thoſe places: who comming thither, found them indeed forſaken by the enemy, but yet many pieces of artillery and other warlike prouiſion there ſtill left.

Filek taken by the Chriſtians.

F In the later end of Nouember the Generall marched with his army towards Setſchine, a ſtrong towne in the Dioceſſe of Agria; but the Turks in that place had two or three daies before prepared themſelues to fly, and ſent their wiues, their children, and the beſt of their ſubſtance, ſome to Hatwan, ſome to Buda; and now hearing of the approach of the Chriſtian Army, ſet fire on the towne and fled. The Chriſtians immediatly entring, did what they could

Setſchine, Blaneſteine, and Sallek abandoned by the Turks.

to

to quench the fire, and ſaued a great part of the Towne: ſo leauing there a conuenient garri- G
ſon, he haſted with ſpeed to Blaueſtein, which the Turks did alſo ſet on fire, and betooke themſelues to flight. The Chriſtians comming thither the next day after, namely, the fourth of December, found a great part of the towne yet vnburnt, wherein they left a ſtrong garriſon: and from thence marched to Sallek, which towne they alſo tooke, being forſaken by the enemy, and put thereinto a good garriſon. The Generall was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue proſecuted this ſo happy a courſe of victory: but ſuch was the foulenesſe of the Winter weather, that he could not trauell with his great artillery, without which no great matter was to be done againſt the enemy, ſtill keeping himſelfe in his ſtrong hold. And his Army in that waſted and forſaken country began now to feele the want of victuals; ſo that many had withdrawne themſelues out of the army, vnto their dwelling places.

At the ſame time alſo the Lord *Palfi* going to Dregel and Palanka, and finding them forſa- H
ken by the enemy, furniſhed both places with garriſons of his owne men. Certaine other ſtrong places were alſo this moneth recouered from the Turks, as Ainacke, Sollocke, Weſtke, and others, and ſo much territory gained by the Chriſtians, as was in circuit thought equall with the lower Auſtria. The joyfull newes of the aforeſaid victories, with the recouery of ſo much of the country, and ſo many ſtrong towns and caſtles, made great rejoycing both at Vienna and Prague: for which cauſe publike praiers with thankeſgiuing to Almighty God were made in both places, with many other tokens of joy & triumph both there and in diuers other places of the Empire. Yet were not the dead bodies of the Turks ſlaine at Alba-Regalis buried; whereof roſe ſuch a loathſome and noiſome ſmell thereabout, that no man could abide I
to come nigh the place, to the great trouble of the inhabitants thereabout. At length certain Turks out of Buda and Alba-Regalis, to the number of three hnndred and fifty, met together, to haue buried thoſe loathſome carkaſſes. Vpon whom it chanced a captaine of the Huſſars to light with his horſemen, who fiercely aſſailing them, left moſt of them there dead for others to bury; and carried away the reſt priſoners.

The Turks in burying their dead, ſlain by the Chriſtians.

The Baſſa of Buda had cauſed *Murat* Sanzacke of Palotta to be ſtrangled, for that he ſuſpected him to haue had intelligence with the Chriſtians: in whoſe room he placed another, who comming with 600 Turks to take poſſeſſion of the preferment, was by the way ſet vpon by *Peter le Huſſar* with the garriſon ſoldiers of Pappa & Thurne, and ſlain, with moſt part of his followers: thirty fiue of them were taken aliue, with all the Sanzacks rich furniture. To end this K
yere withall, the Turks in garriſon at Petrinia, Siſeg, Caſtrowitz, and other places therabouts, met together in number about 3000: who the 19 of December paſſing ouer the riuer Savus, began to ſpoile the frontiers of thoſe countries. But before they were gon far, they were ſo incountred by the Lord *Graſwin* and the borderers thereabout, that fiue hundred of them were left dead vpon the ground, diuers of good account taken priſoners, & almoſt all the reſt drowned in the riuer: ſo that of all them that came ouer, few eſcaped with life. In the later end of this moneth great numbers of ſouldiers were taken vp in Saxony and other places of Germany; whereof ſome were ſent to Prague, and ſome to Vienna in Auſtria: and in Hungary the Chriſtians encreaſed their ſtrength with new ſupplies. In Auſtria alſo a new army was raiſed, and two and twenty great pieces of artillery ſent down the riuer of Danubius to Comara, and L
new preparation made in euery place for the next yeares wars.

1594

A great tempeſt at Conſtantinople.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor going out of the city of Conſtantinople the 11 of Ianuary, to muſter the army he had prepared againſt the Chriſtians for this yere, was ſuddenly ouertaken with ſuch a tempeſt of wind and raine, that it ouerthrew his tents, his chariots, yea, his horſes and men had much ado to withſtand it. Wherewith he being (as with an ominous prodigy) exceedingly troubled, returned with his army into the city, and oppreſſed with melancholy, caſt himſelfe downe vpon his bed as a man halfe ſicke. Where falling aſleepe, he dreamed he ſaw a man of exceeding ſtature, ſtanding with one of his feet vpon the tower of Conſtantinople, and the other ouer the ſtreit in Aſia; who ſtretching out his armes, held the Sun in one of his armes, and the Moone in the other: whom whiles he wondred at, the Monſter with his M
foot ſtrucke the tower, which forthwith fell downe, and in falling ouerthrew the great Temple, with the Imperiall Palace. *Amurath* awaked (as he thought) with the noiſe, and much troubled with the dreame (for the Turks are in ſuch vanities very ſuperſtitious) ſent for all his Wiſards and Interpreters of dreames, to know the meaning of this his ſo ſtrange or rather ſo melan-

Amurath dreameth.

melancholy a dreame, Who hypocritically answered him, That forasmuch as he had not with al his force as a tempest impugned the Christians, their great Prophet *Mahomet* threatned by that dreame to ouerthrow the tower, the temple and the Imperiall palace, that is to say, the religion and Empire of the Turks. Which vaine and feigned interpretation so much moued the superstitious Tyrant, That he swore from thenceforth to turn all his forces vpon the Christians, and not to giue ouer war vntill he had done what he might to subdue them. This the Turks dreame, with the interpretation thereof, and the solemne vow he had made for the destruction of the Christians, was publiquely read in the churches of Transyluania, and many godly exhortations made vnto the people, to moue them, by prayer and all other good means to auert that so threatned thraldome.

A faire present of the spoile of the Turkes sent vnto the Emperour.

Of the rich spoile taken from the Turks in the late victory neere vnto Alba-Regalis, the Christian Captaines made a present for the Emperor and the Archduke *Mathias* his brother, which they sent by the Lords *Gall* and *Brun*; and was by them presented vnto the Emperour and his brother the eleuenth of Ianuary at Vienna, in order as followeth: First went the Master of the ordnance of Rab, on both sides attended vpon with the other officers of the artillery: after them were drawne thirty great pieces of ordnance taken in the battell. After these pieces followed three Turkish horses with rich saddles and furniture studded with gold, the stirrups and bridles being of siluer, gilt and most curiously wrought: after them were carried 22 of the Turks ensignes, three of them were very rich, and the other right faire. Then followed the two Embassadours aforesaid, with each of them a gilt mase in his hand, such as the Turks Bassaes vse to carry: after them were brought many instruments of war, gilt scimitars, gleaues, bowes and arrowes, targuets, and ten of the Ianizaries drums. Two of the aforesaid horses were presented to the Emperor, and the third to the Archduke. The field pieces brought to the castle gate, and orderly placed vpon the plaine, were all, at such time as the rest of the Present entred the castle, forthwith by the canoniers discharged; and there for certaine daies left vpon the plaine for the people to feed their eies vpon. The Embassadors discharged of their Present, and rewarded by the Emperour with chaines of gold and other gifts, returned to the campe. Notwithstanding that it was now deepe Winter, yet many sharp skirmishes daily passed vpon the borders, betwixt the Turks and the Christians. The fifteenth of this present month, 2000 of the Turks assembled together, were making an inrode into the country about Filek: whereof the Lord *Teuffenbach* hauing intelligence, lay in wait for them, and setting vpon them fearing no such danger, slew and tooke of them fifteene hundred.

Mathias Archduke of Austria, now Gouernor of Stiria, Carinthia, and the countries thereabout, by the departure of *Ernestus* his brother (but a little before by *Philip* King of Spaine made Gouernor of the Low-countries) was now also by the Emperor appointed Generall of the Christian army against the Turks: who to be neerer vnto the enemy, and to further the new war, departed the 26 day of February from Vienna to Rab; after whom dayly followed the forces newly raised in Silesia, Morauia, and Hungary, with others also sent from Prague and Vienna. He considering to what small purpose it would be to haue the last yeare taken so many strong townes and castles, except the same were also well manned and furnished with all needfull prouision; by the persuasion of the Lord *Teuffenbach*, sent County *Schlike* with a thousand horse to Filek, for the more safety of that place and the country thereabout so lately gained from the Turks.

It fortuned that about this time, a soldier of the Turks taken not far from Dregel, & brought into the campe; among other things whereof he was examined, confessed that in Nouigrade (a strong towne and of great importance, but one mile distant from Vacia, and three from Buda) was left but a weake garrison of about eight hundred soldiers, who there liued in great feare to be besieged; and that the Turks doubting such a matter, had brought thither much prouision for the better fortifying of the towne. Vpon which intelligence the Christians began to remoue with their army, and being come betwixt Dregel and Nouigrade, vnderstood by the country people, that it was true that the Turke had reported: wherefore they resolued that night to lay siege vnto the towne. So forthwith some were sent to Dregel, to fetch thence certaine pieces of Artillery, whom certaine troups of German horsemen went to meet: who vsed such diligence, that the eight of March a little before the rising of the Sun, the whole army with the great ordnance was come before Nouigrade. That day the Christians spent in pitching

Nouigrade beſieged by the Chriſtians.

pitched their Tents, and incamping themſelues: yet before night they had planted certaine great pieces vpon an high hill, from whence they might ſee into the caſtle: whereof the maſter of the ordnance cauſed three of the greateſt about the going downe of the Sun to be diſcharged againſt the caſtle, to giue the Turks to vnderſtand that they wanted nothing for the ſiege. The ſame night alſo the Chriſtians caſt vp a great mount in the vally, from whence they preſently ſent ſix great ſhot into the caſtle: but early in the morning the Sun being yet ſcarce vp, and all things now in readineſſe, they began to batter the caſtle, & that day out of ten great pieces diſcharged 300 great ſhot againſt the caſtle: but to ſmall purpoſe; for the Caſtle was built vpon a moſt ſtrong rocke, fortified with high and thicke walls, and a deepe ditch hewen out of the maine rocke, which compaſſed the caſtle round; and for the more ſtrength thereof was ſo fortified with palliſado's made of ſtrong timber, as that there was no acceſſe vnto the wals: yet by the commandement of the Generall, certaine companies of the Chriſtians prepared themſelues to aſſault the breach, ſuch as it was: who beſides their weapons, carying with them dry faggots, and ſetting them on fire, burnt the palliſado in diuers places, and ſo opened the way vnto the walls: and encouraged with the ſucceſſe, approched neerer, and ſlew diuers of the Turks vpon the rampiers. Who diſcouraged with their owne weakeneſſe, and the forwardnes of the enemy, faintly defended themſelues, and yet ſlew diuers of them, beating them downe from the wals with ſtones, timber, fire works, and ſuch like. This aſſault giuen in the night, was continued vntill foure a clocke in the morning, and ſo giuen ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with 1000 horſe into the campe, and cauſed the battery to be againe renued; whereby it chanced that the chiefe canonier in the caſtle (being a renegat German) was taken with a great ſhot and ſlaine; whoſe death ſo diſmaied the reſt of the defendants, that they preſently ſet forth three white flags in ſigne of parley: which for all that the Chriſtians ſeemed not to regard, but ſtill continued their battery. The Turks then pittifully crying out, named two captaines, whom they deſired to haue ſent vnto them, with whom they might fall to ſome reaſonable compoſition. So for a while the battery ceaſed, and thoſe Captaines being ſent vnto the Towne, brought nine of the beſt of the Turks in the City with them vnto the Archduke: who by their Interpreter declared, That they well conſidered the force of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing no reliefe to come from the Baſſa of Buda, as he had promiſed, thought themſelues to haue already diſcharged the parts of good ſoldiers, and ſeeing no other remedy, were contented to yeeld the caſtle, yet ſo, as that with bag and baggage they might in ſafety depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palfi* (taking vpon him the perſon of the Archduke, for that he himſelfe would not be knowne) anſwered, That foraſmuch as they had not yeelded at the firſt ſummons, but holden it out to the loſſe of many of his mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthy any fauour; yet of his owne clemency he would receiue them, if they would abſolutely without any further condition yeeld themſelues to his mercy. This anſwer being reported to the Sanzacke Gouernor of the Towne, pleaſed him not, and therfore ſaid he would ſtill ſtand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Chriſtians were about to haue begun a freſh aſſault. But after a new parley, it was at laſt agreed, That the Turks yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, ſhould in ſafety depart with their apparell and ſcimiters only. With which agreement two of the Turks were ſent backe into the caſtle, and the reſt detained. Foure houres the Turks in the caſtle delaied the time, as men doubtfull what to do: but being earneſtly called vpon for a reſolute anſwer, and ſeeing the Chriſtians ready againe to aſſault them, they for feare yeelded: and ſo 450 of them came forth, amongſt whom was the Sanzacke Gouernor of the Towne, with his wife and daughter, the Sanzacke of Selendre (ſent thither to haue aided him) and one Chiaus lately come from the Court. Theſe great men brauely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant horſes, and had in their ſteads other bad jades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they paſſed by, as well the women as the men were ſearched, that they carried with them nothing more than their cloathes: if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the ſouldiers ſhare for good booty. This ſtrong towne of Nouigrade had continued in the poſſeſſion of the Turks about 60 yeares, and ſerued as it were for a bulwarke to Peſth and Buda; which now recouered out of their hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke committed to the Lord *Rebei* a nobleman of Hungary and kinſman to *Palfi*, with a ſtrong garriſon and certaine troups of Huſſars.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the archduke.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade, after he had loſt the towne, comming to Buda, was preſently apprehen-

A apprehended by the Baſſa, and laid in priſon: who although he excuſed himſelfe, by alledging that the towne was not poſſibly to be holden with ſo ſmall a gariſon againſt ſo great a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of Buda, for not ſending reliefe in time; and therefore appealed to the further hearing of *Amurath* himſelfe: yet all ſerued him not, but was by the Baſſaes commandement in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the gate of the city, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade hanged at Buda.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Emperor ſent his Embaſſadors to the great Duke of Muſcouia, the King of Polonia, and the Prince of Tranſyluania, to proue how they ſtood affected towards thoſe his wars againſt the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into Muſcouie was ſent one *Warkutch* a gentleman of Sileſia; who cumming to Muſco, found B in that Court the Embaſſadors of the Tartar, the Turke, the Perſian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all theſe, the Embaſſadors of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words rejected as miſcreants. The Emperours Embaſſador was honorably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, mede, aquavitæ, fleſh, fiſh, and fowle of ſundry ſorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great Duke the cauſe of his comming, and in the name of his Maſter requeſted his aid againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Duke anſwered, That he would giue the Emperor towards the maintenance of his wars againſt the common enemy, 500000 duckats, and allow him yearely 400000 during the time of that war; requeſting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promiſed to ſend him aid alſo of men in this war, C if he ſhould ſo need. The Perſian Embaſſador alſo honorably feaſted the Emperors Embaſſador, and had with him great conferance concereing the wars of the Chriſtians with the Turks, and in his maſters name promiſed the continuation of his wars againſt the Turke, ſo that the Emperor would likewiſe promiſe not to haue any league with him, ſo to giue him leiſure to turne all his forces againe into Perſia. This Embaſſador after he had almoſt foure months tarried in Muſcouia, returned to the Emperor. At which time Dr *Wacker* the Emperors Embaſſador into Polonia, returned alſo with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an army of eight and twenty thouſand had ſtopped the paſſage of an hundred thouſand Tartars whom the Turke had ſent for againſt the Emperour; and that if he needed, he ſhould be aided with the Poſonian Coſſacks: but vnto the reſt of his requeſts he could haue no anſwer of the States of that Kingdome, for that the King was then abſent in Sweden; and was therefore referred to be further anſwered at his returne.

At the ſame time, County *Serinus* with three hundred Harquebuſiers and certain troups of horſemen, and the footmen of Stiria and the countries thereabouts, aſſembling to the number of ten thouſand, departed from Caniſia, to beſiege Breſenza a caſtle of the Turkes. But they vnderſtanding before of his comming, conueied away the beſt of their ſubſtance, and ſetting the caſtle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The Earle comming thither, tooke the forſaken caſtle, and put therein a garriſon of his owne ſouldiers. In like manner he tooke alſo Sigeſta, forſaken of the Turks, where he alſo placed a garriſon of the Chriſtians. And ſo going on to Baboſtcha, beſieged it; which caſtle although it was ſtrongly ſcituated in a mariſh, and could not eaſily haue beene woon, was for all that, for feare abandoned by the Turks, and ſo taken by the County: by recouery of which places, there was a ſafe and eaſie way laid open euen to Ziget, the Baſſa whereof ſtood in no ſmall doubt to haue bin euen then beſieged.

certain caſtles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the County Serinus

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperor, had determined to ſend his fleet into the Adriatique, to beſiege Zegna a city of the Emperors ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt, in the bay Quernero, called in antient time Flanaticus Sinus. Which the better to effect, he ſent one of his Chiaus Embaſſador to the Venetians, to requeſt them, That his fleet might by their leaue paſſe alongſt the Adriaticke, and haue the vſe of their ports and harbours, as need ſhould require. Which his requeſt the Venetians hearing, refuſed in any caſe to yeeld thereunto: fearing (and not without cauſe) the vnfaithfulneſſe and treachery of the Turkes, whoſe oathes and promiſes are no longer ſtrong, or by them regarded, than ſtandeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheleſſe they moſt honourably vſed the Embaſſador, and ſo ſent him away without obtaining of that he was eſpecially ſent for.

In

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

In the vpper part of Hungary *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes Lieutenant hauing gathered an army of twenty thouſand ſoldiers, the ſixteenth of Aprill laied ſiege to Hatwan a ſtrong towne ſix miles from Buda, fortified with a triple ditch and bulwarkes of exceeding ſtrength. Againſt which although the Chriſtians could not do much either by mines or mounts, (by reaſon it was ſo inuironed with water) yet they ſo ſhut vp all the paſſages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the town. They of the town ſeeing themſelues thus blockt vp, by ſecret meſſengers certified the Baſſa of Buda in what caſe they ſtood, praying of him aid: who with 10000 choſen ſoldiers, which he had then in readineſſe, and the Sanzacks of Sirnah, Giula, Lippa, Lerwoge, and Tſchangrade, with 5000 moe, forthwith ſet forward toward Hatwan to raiſe the ſiege: and the laſt of Aprill being come within ſight of the Chriſtian army, about one of the clocke in the afternoone encamped on the ſide of the riuer Sagijwa: but when he could not or els durſt not, for the deepeneſſe of the way, the abundance of water and neereneſſe of the enemy, aduenture to paſſe the riuer, he retyred back againe to paſſe ouer at Iaſperin (otherwiſe called Iasbrin) where the riuer was ioyned with a bridge, and not far off a good foord alſo to paſſe ouer at; thinking ſo to haue come vpon the backs of the Chriſtians, and with more ſafety haue relieued the beſieged towne. But *Teuffenbach* perceiuing his purpoſe, forthwith after his departure paſſed the riuer with much difficulty, and ouertaking him with his army the next day, being the firſt of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, betweene Zarcha, and Fuſcaſalua, with his great ordnance diſordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and comming on couragiouſly with his whole army, began a moſt cruell fight: which the Turks a great while endured with wonderfull reſolution; but now deſtitute of their wonted multitude (their greateſt confidence) and hardly laied vnto by the Chriſtians, they in the end turned their backes and fled; whom ſix thouſand Hungarians and Germans fiercely purſued, and had the killing of them almoſt to Buda. In this battell the Chriſtians tooke all the enemies great Ordnance, with ſeuenteene enſignes, and alſo the caſtle of Iaſperin, which the Turks had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good ſtore of victuals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouiſion. Of this ſo notable a victory *Teuffenbach* by Letters preſently aduertiſed the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the ſiege of Hatwan. Which Letters becauſe they containe many particularities and circumſtances of this battell, I haue thought it not amiſſe here to inſert.

The copy of the leters of the L. Teuffenbach, to Matthias the Archduke, Generall of the emperours Army againſt the Turks.

Although (ſaid he) *I haue by a ſpeedy meſſenger vpon the very Kalends of May certified your Excellency of the notable victory which God of his great goodneſſe gaue vnto vs the ſame day ouer our hereditary enemy: yet afterward vpon diligent inquiſition we vnderſtood many particularities, as well of the captiues themſelues, as of the inhabitants about Zolnocke, Peſth, and Buda; whereof I thought good to aduertiſe you. The Captiues themſelues confeſſe, That the Baſſa of Buda, with the Sanzackes of Zolnocke, Zarwack, Giula, and Tſchangrad, Cippaio, Genne, and others, had with great celerity raiſed an army of 13000 ſoldiers, amongſt whom were many Tartars, with purpoſe to haue relieued the beſieged Towne of Hatwan, and vpon the ſudden to haue oppreſſed vs in our tents. Filled with which hope, they in great haſte came with all their power the laſt of Aprill towards Hatwan: but foraſmuch as they could not paſſe ouer the riuer Zagijwa by reaſon of the height of the water, they were the next day being the firſt of May, conducted by the Captaine of Iaſperin to a more commodious paſſage, ſo to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue ſurpriſed vs in our tents. But our moſt mercifull God hath auerted this ſo great a miſchiefe from vs, and turned it vpon their own heads. For as it is moſt conſtantly reported from Zolnocke, Peſth and Buda, and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the ſame places, there are 2500 of the Turks ſlaine, and as many wounded, of whom many periſhed, and are found dead vpon the high-wayes leading to Peſth and Zolnocke: of theſe we haue ſent a thouſand heads to Caſſouia, and cauſed many of the Turks to be buried for feare of infection in this ſo great heate. Verily it was a bloudy battell; ſo that the old Souldiers ſay, they haue not remembred or ſeene the Turks (no moe in number) to haue ſtood ſo long in battell, and to haue ſo fought it out without flying. Many men of great name and place there periſhed and fell, amongſt whom are redeemed the Sanzackes of Peſth, Nouigrade, and Temeske; Genne Alauus, Bogſte, Aluſtafa, Marielaus, and certaine Chiaus lately ſent from the Court, with the Baſſa his guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant ſouldiers, of whom few eſcaped with life. Many fell that would haue yeelded great ranſome; but it was agreed vpon betweene the Germanes and the Hungarians, not*

to spare any of the enemies, but to put them all to the sword; and that whosoeuer did otherwise, it should be imputed vnto him for dishonor. So that more than sixteen common soldiers, none were taken prisoners; of whom we might learn how things went amongst the Turks, with other circumstances of the battell. Wee took thirteen field pieces, whereof four were greater than the rest, which they called Organs, and 24 of the enemies Ensignes. The Bassa of Buda, beside other three wounds by him receiued, was grieuously wounded in the side. Of our men were lost about a hundred, and many of them most expert souldiers; and about six hundred others grieuously wounded, of whom there is small hope, many of them beeing already dead. Neither is the losse small we haue receiued in our horses and armor; for there are few amongst the Germane horsmen, which haue not lost one, two, or three of their horses or seruants, whereby our horsemen are wonderfully weakned. Yet was the victory great, to God be the praise, to him be the glory and thankes therefore. Let vs in the mean time prosecute the siege begun. The last night I commaunded the water to be drawn another way, so that now our trenches may be aduanced many paces, and bulwarks raised within two hundred paces of the wall. We haue already planted fiue great pieces of artillery in one bulwark, and hope the next night to place fiue moe vpon a mount fast by, and will do what shall be needfull for a streit siege: and when time shall serue, vndertake the town with all our power; God grant vs therin good successe and victory.

The Turks in garrison at Zabola a fort there by, discouraged with the ouerthrow of their friends, forsook the fort, which for strength and greatnes was comparable with Tocay or Erla. Which strong place the Christians without any losse now recouered.

Strigonium beseiged by the Christians.

Whilst this valiant captain the Lord *Teuffenbach* thus lay at the siege of Hatwan, *Mathias* the Archduke General of the Christian Army in Hungary, incouraged with the good succes he had at Novigrad, came with his Army, being 44000 strong, before Strigonium (sometime the metropolitical city of Hungary, but now of long a sure receptacle of the Turks) and the sixt of May incamped his Army about a quarter of a mile from the Castle, in a most pleasant medow, from whence both the city and the castle were plainely to be seene. Vpon whom the Turks out of the castle, and three gallies that lay vpon the riuer, discharged certain great pieces without any great harm doing. But after the Christian fleet was a little before night come down the riuer, and with their great ordnance began to answer them again, the enemy ceased shooting, and lay stil that night. In the mean time it fortuned, that a Turkish youth taken in a garden there by, and brought into the camp and examined, confessed that there was no garrison in the city more than four hundred Ianizaries, and that a new supply was daily expected from Buda. The Christians laboring that night, were by the breake of day come with their trenches to a hil ouer against the castle, where they placed their battery, and forthwith began to batter the city. The same day (being the seuenth of May) two and twenty Turkes heads were presented to the Archduke, and four men taken aliue, newly sent out of the city to haue viewed the Christian camp. About night certain balls of wilde-fire were shot into the City, wherof one fel vpon the tower called S. *Adelbert*, and set it on fire; wherwith first the church, and afterward a great part of the town fel on fire. The Sanzacks house, with all his horses and armor, and a great quantity of pouder was then burnt, and inestimable hurt done in the City. The next day the Christians had with continual battery made a breach in the castle wall: but adjoining vnto the wall was a high and broad sandy rampier, which could hardly be battered: for all that, the Germans gaue a fierce assault to the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruines of the wall: but not being able to get ouer the sandy rampier, were inforced with losse to retyre. The day following they began again the battery with eighteen great pieces: When about eight of clock in the morning, the Rascians that were in the old city gaue the General to vnderstand, That if he would at a place by them appointed, assault the greater city, to draw the Turks thither, they would in the mean time deliuer vnto the Christians certain little posterns, and receiue them into the old city; vpon condition that no violence should bee done vnto them or theirs. Which being so agreed vpon, the Christians accordingly gaue the assault the eleuenth of May in the euening, and by the help of the Rascians took the city: who according to promise were al taken to mercy, and the Turks slain, except such as by good hap recouered the new town. The keeping of this city was committed to the charge of two companies of German footmen, and 600 Hungarians, with 300 Rascians and other townesmen.

The Christians recouer the old city.

Thus was the old city of Strigonium gained by the Christians, the suburbs wherof they presently burnt; neuertheleſſe the new town with the caſtle was ſtil holden by the Turks. Wherfore the Christians hauing caſt vp certain trenches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought moſt conuenient, began again to batter the caſtle, and after they had by the fury of the cannon made it faultable, with great courage aſſailed the breach, which the Turks valiantly defended; ſo that the Christians were glad to retire, leauing behind them aboue 130 of their fellows, ſlain in the breach. The Turks a little before the Christians comming had fortified an hil, wherunto the caſtle was ſomewhat ſubiect, called of the Christians S. *Nicolas* his hil. This hil ſo fortified, the Christians with continual battery and aſſault gained the 17 of May, and put all the Turks left aliue therin to the ſword: and turning the ordnance, from thence alſo battered the caſtle. The 22 of May a little before Sun-ſet, certain enſignes of foot were drawn out of the Campe, to haue the next day aſſaulted the lower town; who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entred the towne in the dead time of the night, were notably incountred by the Turks ſallying out of the town vpon them. The Christians for all that hauing inforced them to retyre, proſecuted their former reſolution, and with much adoe got ouer the vtmoſt wall: but finding there contrary to their expectation ſuch a deep & broad countermure as was not poſſible to be paſſed, they ſtood as men diſmaid; neither could they in the darknes of the night wel ſee to get back again ouer the town ditch, but diſorderly retiring, ſtuck faſt many of them in the deep mud, and there periſhed. In this aſſault there were about 1000 of the Christians wounded and ſlain: and albeit that they twice or thrice renued the aſſault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were ſtill repulſed with loſſe. Many alſo of the Turks garriſon were ſlain, and the Sanzacke himſelfe hurt with a great ſhot; and many other wounded men ſent down the riuer to Buda, brought thither true news of the aforeſaid aſſaults and of the ſtate of the beſieged.

The Raſcians in armes againſt the Turks.

In the mean time news was brought to the Campe, That *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemy of the Christians, and the Turks great Lieutenant, comming towards Hungary with a great Army, and hauing by boats conueyed ouer part therof, was ſet vpon by the Raſcians (theſe are poore oppreſſed Christians dwelling on both ſides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and deſirous of their antient liberty, haue often taken vp arms againſt the Turks, as they now did, incouraged by the good ſucceſſe of the Christians on the other ſide of Hungary) and that after diuers skirmiſhes they had taken thirteen of the Turkes veſſels, wherein beſides victuals and certain great pieces of Artillery, they found about 2400 weight of pouder, 447 hundred of lead, 46454 bundles of match, 1200 great ſhot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound weight; and of ſmall ſhot for harquebuſiers 48500, with much other warlike prouiſion; a great part wherof was brought into the Camp at Strigonium, and the reſt reſerued to future vſes. This loſſe ſo troubled the great Baſſa, that he altered his purpoſe before intended for Caſſovia.

The fourth of Iune, about fiue hundred Turks ſent vp the riuer of Buda, conducted by two Sanzacks vnder two red and white enſignes, landed neer to Gokara on the farther ſide of Danubius ouer againſt Strigonium; where after they had a while refreſhed themſelues, and left ſome few for the more aſſurance of the place, all the reſt were conueyed ouer the riuer into Strigonium; where they had bin long looked for, the old garriſon being now ſore weakened by the former aſſaults. Four daies after, the Turkes incouraged with this ſupply, ſallied out vpon the ſudden, and had entred one of the forts of the Christians, but were forthwith againe repulſed, hauing loſt ſix and twenty of their men, and two of their enſignes. Not far off lay a troup of horſemen, if they had in time come in, not one of the Turkes had eſcaped. Long it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Christians aſſaulted this city; but were by the Turks ſo receiued, that in fiue aſſaults they loſt fiue thouſand of their men; amongſt whome were diuers Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, and others of good account: twenty three Cannoniers were alſo ſlain, and ten great pieces of Artillery ſo ſpoiled, as that they were no more ſeruiceable. The garriſon of this city conſiſted for moſt part of the Ianizaries (the Turks beſt ſoldiers) whoſe notable valor in holding out of this ſiege, was both of their owne people and their enemies much commended. Whatſoeuer was beaten down by day, that they againe repaired by night, and ſtill relieued with victual and things neceſſary from Buda, did what was

poſſible

A possible to be don for defence of the City. About the same time certain Turks chancing vpon a troup of German horsmen, in fight slew aboue fifty of them, and put the rest to flight: wherupon an alarm being raised in the Campe, many ran out to the rescue of their fellowes, taking with them certain small field pieces. Which the Turks perceiuing, began to fly; whome the Christians eagerly pursuing, were suddenly assailed by other Turks sallying out of a fort fast by, and inforced shamefully to retyre, and to leaue their field pieces behinde them. Which the Turks seising vpon, cloyed them, brake their Carriages, and made them altogether vnserviceable.

All this while the Lord *Teuffenback* lying at the siege of Hatwan, about this time requested aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other diffi-
B culties alwaies attending long sieges, so much weakened, as that hee had scarsly 6000 sound men in his camp. To whom the Archduke forthwith sent 1200 footmen, being loth to spare any more, for too much weakning his own army. *The Archduke sends aid to the siege of Hatwan.*

Amurath disdaining to see the frontiers of his empire in so many places impugned by the Christians, and daily to receiue from them so great harmes, sought by all meanes to be reuenged. Wherfore beside the great power of his own which he was now about to send with *Sinan Bassa* into Hungary, he had also procured from the great Tartar a wonderful number of those rough & sauage people to be sent into Hungary, there to join with his army. These wild people, to the number of 70000, according to direction giuen, breaking into Podolia, Valachia, and Moldauia, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and Kine; to this end & pur-
C purpose, that driuing them before them, they might both be assured of victuals, and the safer trauel thorow a part of Polonia. But when they were come vnto the borders of that country, and there found the power of *Samoschie* the great Chancellor and the Polonian Cossackes in arms, they easily perceiued that they could not that way passe without great losse. Wherfore they placed the aforesaid herds of cattel, some before, some behinde, and some on each side of the army, and so inclosed round about with those Cattell as with a trench, marched on. But when they were come neer vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice serued them to no other purpose than the ouerthrow of themselues; for the Polonians discharging their great Ordnance, so terrified the Cattel, that they turned vpon the Tartars, & ouerthrowing whomsoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harm. Whom the Polonians immediatly following, and
D hardly charging the confused Army, armed only with bow and arrows; after some smal fight put them at last to flight, & obtained of them a notable victory, with an exceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were lost about eighteene hundred, but of the Tartars were slain thirty thousand. The rest retyring into Podolia, and passing the Riuer Nester by the way of Transylvania, where they did exceeding much harme, came to Temeswar, and so afterwards further into Hungary: vnto whom the Turkes sent seuen hundred horsemen to conduct them to the army.

But to return again to the siege of Strigonium. The 14 of Iune, the Christians betweene eight and nine of the clock in the morning, with great fury assaulted the town in three places: which assault they most notably maintained vntil it was almost three a Clocke in the after-
E noone. Neuertheless the Turks so valiantly defended themselues, that at last the Christians were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retyre. The Archduke from an high place beholding the assault, had one of his footmen slain fast by him with a small shot. Many of the Turks were also slain in this assault, & among them one of the three Sanzacks that defended the city. The night following there arose a most horrible tempest, with such raging winde, and abundance of rain, that many thought they should neuer haue seen day: with the violence wherof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrown, and diuers others blown down or rent in sunder, were in the air carried from place to place. About the same time, the Lord *Palfi* within the sight of the castle cast vp a notable Fort, with high mounts and strong trenches (euen in the selfe same place where *Solyman* lay about fifty yeares before, when he besieged and won Stri-
F gonium) by which fort so built, the Enemy was embarred to conuey any thing vp the Riuer for relief of the City, to the great discomfiture of the besieged. To haue hindered which worke, the Enemy oftentimes sallied out, but to no purpose. This Fort beeing brought to perfection, the Christians tooke also another fort in an Island on the further side of the riuer, which the Turkes had but a few daies before taken from the Christians, and cloyed the great *Strigonium assaulted.*

pieces therin: which fort the Christians now again repaired, furnishing it with a sufficient garrison, and other great ordnance. G

Strigonium sore battered.

These things thus don, the castle and the lower town were in fiue diuers places, out of the new built fort, the old town, and the Island, so battered with continual shot, that a man would haue said that one stone should not haue bin left vpon another, but that all should haue beene beaten down and layd euen with the ground. The 17 of Iune one of the Christian cannoniers so dismounted one of the great pieces in the Castle, that the piece together with the Turkish canonier that had the charge therof, fel down out of the castle into the ditch. The same day a mason that fled out of the castle into the camp, among other things reported, that many of the Turks were slain with this continual battery and often assaults; and that not past an hour before, forty of them were slain in one chamber, and now acknowledged themselues to be indeed besieged: and to haue resolued, That when they were brought to the last cast, then desperatly to sally out vpon the Christians, and so either to returne with victory, or to make shift euery man for himself as he might. Which his report seemed not altogether feigned; for about midnight a thousand of the Turkes sallying out of the castle vpon the fort newly built vpon the riuer, in hope to haue surprised it, were by the Christians therein notably repulsed, and inforced to retyre: in which conflict fifty of the Turks were slaine, and many moe wounded and taken prisoners. And the same day toward euening, eight Turks of good sort beeing taken and brought into the camp, confessed, That about six daies before, they had seen seuen boats full of wounded and dead men sent down the riuer from Strigonium to Buda. Wherby it was easily to be gathered how bloudy a siege this was to the Turks; forasmuch as all those bodies were the bodies of men of good account and place; for the bodies of such common soldiers as were slain, they stil threw into the riuer running by. H I

The Turkes assault the new Fort.

The fort newly built vpon the banke of Danubius much troubled the besieged Turkes in Strigonium, because nothing could without danger of it be sent vp the riuer for their relieue. Wherfore they by fit messengers sent word out of the castle to the Admiral of the Turks gallies lying below in the riuer, That he should at an appointed time come vp with his Gallies as high as the fort, and on that side at leastwise to make shew as if they would assault it. At which time they of the town would be likewise ready to sally out, and assail it indeed on the other side by land. The Admiral accordingly came vp the riuer with his gallies, and by discharging of certain great pieces, made shew as if he would on that side haue battered the fort: but was so welcommed from it, that he was glad with his rent gallies quickly to fal down the riuer again farther off out of danger. But whilst the thundring shot was thus flying to & fro toward the riuer, they of the town sallying out, assaulted the fort on the other side toward the land, and that with such desperat resolution, that some of them were got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there for the space of two hours maintained a most cruel fight, wherin many of them were slain and wounded, and the rest inforced with shame to retyre. K

The Christians thus stil lying at the siege, and intentiue to all occasions, partly by their Espials, and partly by such as they had taken prisoners, vnderstood that a new supply both of men and victuals was shortly to be put into Strigonium: and therfore sent out certain Companies of souldiers, who lying in two conuenient places, the one vpon the riuer, the other by land, might intercept the said supply. Both which places were before by the prouident Enemy possessed: who suddenly assailing the Christians comming thither, and fearing no such matter, slew some of them, and put the rest to flight: who neuertheless in their retreit brake the bridge which the Turks had made of boats vnder the castle of Strigonium, ouer Danubius: of which boats, some were carried away with the violence of the streame, and of the rest, 30 fel into the hands of the Christians, with the losse but of fiue, who making too much hast out of a little boat, fel into the riuer and so perished. In this time, Fame the fore-runner of all great attempts, had brought news into the Christian camp, That *Sinan Bassa* the Turkes great General was comming to relieue Strigonium; of whose power diuers diuersly reported. But the greater part doubting the worst, and weary of the long siege and of the calamities incident thereto, added stil somthing to the last report, to make the danger of longer stay to seem the greater. Certaine it is, that the news of the comming of so great and puissant an Enemy raised many a troubled thought in the mindes of so great a multitude. Now were the besieged Turkes in great wants in Strigonium, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the San- L M

zack

A zack to the Bassa of Buda, declaring vnto him the hard estate of the besieged, and humbly craving his promised help, without which the city could not for want of victuals be possibly defended by the fainting soldiers aboue three daies. Which letters being read in the Camp, caused great preparation to be made for the continuing of the siege and the withstanding of the enemy, whose comming was euery hour expected. All this while the great ordnance neuer ceased on either side, wherby many were slaine, as well Christians as Turkes; and amongst others many of the Cannoniers.

But forasmuch as the rife fame of *Sinan Bassa's* comming increased daily, and the Christian camp possessed with a general fear, gaue vnto the wise iust suspition of some great mischiefe like to ensue; *Matthias* the General entred into counsell with County *Ferdinand Hardeck*, the
B Lord *Palsi*, the Lord *Vngenade* President of the Councel for the wars, and *Erasmus Eraun* gouernor of Comara, What was best to be done in so dangerous a time. Who with generall consent agreed, betimes before the comming of *Sinan* to raise the siege, and to remoue with the army into some place of more safety. Which their determinat resolution, the day following, being the 26 of Iune, they made known to the other Princes and great Commaunders in the Army. Who wonderfully discontented therwith, especially the Germanes, both openly by word, and solemnly by writing, protested against the same, as most dishonourable, and altogether made without their knowledge or good liking. To whom the President of the Councel for their further satisfaction declared, That the enemy was comming with a very great army, and euen now at hand; whose strength increased daily, and with what power he had purposed
C to assail them in their tents was vncertain. Besides that, it was manifestly knowne vnto the world, how that in the former assaults they had lost many of their best soldiers, beside others that died in the camp: and that the place wherein they lay incamped was subiect vnto many dangers. For which so vrgent causes the General had resolued to raise his siege, & before the the comming of so strong an enemy, to remoue his army into a place of more safety. Which reasons for all that did not so well satisfie the German Princes and Commaunders, but that they still vrged their former protestation; requesting his Excellencie to haue them excused before God and the World, if they yeelding to his commaund, as to their Generall, did that which they thought not altogether best, and which they would not otherwise haue done. For the more euidence wherof, the said German princes and great commanders caused their sayd
D Protestation to be solemnly conceiued in writing, which they firmed with their seales, and subscribed with their own hands in order following: *Francis* Duke of Saxony, *Augustus* duke of Brunswick, *Sebastian Schlick*, County *Wigand Maltzan*, *Ernestus* of Alstan, *Henry Phlugk*, *Iohn Nicolas Ruswormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *Iohn* Oberhausen, *Henry Rottcirch*, *Melthior* of Nokhwith.

The Archduke raiseth his siege and with his army passeth the riuer.

But the Archduke with the rest, constant in their former resolution, first sent away the great ordnance, and raising the siege the 28 of Iune, followed after with the whole army, passing ouer Danubius not far from Gokara, doubtfully expecting what course *Sinan* the great Bassa (being then euen at hand) would take. Yet before their departure they set the old town on fire, & rased *S. Nicolas* fort, before taken from the enemy, which they once purposed to haue
E kept. This vnexpected departure of the Chtistians much gladded the besieged Turks, who for want of victuals had not bin long able to hold out. Yet lay the Lord *Teuffenbach* still before Hatwan, labouring by all means to take from the besieged Turks their water, and with earth and fagots to fill up their ditches: which work he had now haply brought to some good perfection. Wherof they of the town by letters aduertised the Bassa of Buda, and that vnles they were within three daies relieued, they should be inforced to yeeld the towne. Which their distresse the Bassa coesidering, with speed assembled al his forces, and so set forward to relieue them, hoping to haue come vpon the Christians before they were aware of his comming. But *Teuffenbach* vnderstanding thereof, with fiue thousand chosen horsemen went out of the camp to meet him; and suddenly comming vpon him, fearing no such thing, slew fiue thousand
F of the Turks, put the Bassa to flight, and together with the victorie obtained an exceeding rich prey.

Fiue thousand Turks slaine.

Hatwan in vain assaulted by the Christians.

Now was there no lesse expectation and hope of the winning and yeelding vp of Hatwan, than was before of Strigonium. But according to the chance of war it fell out otherwise: for *Teuffenbach* hauing with continuall batterie layd the breaches faire open, and made choice of

ſuch ſoldiers as he thought meet for the aſſault, was in the performing thereof ſo notably repulſed by the Turks, that he was glad to retyre with the loſſe of his beſt and moſt reſolute ſoldiers: which put him out of al hope of taking the town by force. For beſide the loſſe of theſe good men, hee had ſcarſe ſo many ſound men left as might ſuffice to furniſh his garriſons for defence of thoſe territories; by reaſon that the Hungarians were almoſt all ſhrunk home, and of the Germans were ſcarſe left 2000: beſides that, he had often craued new ſupplies of the Archduke, but all in vain: for which cauſes he was glad to abandon two ſtrong forts hee had built before Hatwan, and to leaue the town, now brought to great extremitie. Thus two notable cities, which were now as it were in the Chriſtians hands, and by the recouery wherof the broken ſtate of the afflicted Chriſtians in Hungary had beene much ſtrengthned, were as it were againe reſtored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemy.

The ſiege of Hatwan giuen ouer.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Strigonium and Hatwan, the Raſcians (of whom we haue before ſpoken) ſtriuing ſtil more and more to rid themſelues of the Turkiſh thraldom, gathered themſelues together to the number of 15000, between Buda & Belgrade vnder a General of their own chuſing. For fear of whom the Baſſa of Temeſware with an Army of fourteen thouſand went to fortifie and victual Lippa, doubting leſt it ſhould by them be ſurpriſed. But hauing done that he went for, in his returne hee was met with by the ſame Raſcians, and twice fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worſe, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his Army. After which victory the Raſcians tooke Beczkerk, a ſtrong town ſtanding in a mariſh four miles from Belgrade, and ſlew all the Turks they found therein. After that, they took a caſtle called Ottadt; and dealt with the Turks in like maner. From thence they went and beſieged Beche, a Caſtle ſtanding vpon the riuer Tibiſcus or Teiſe, where the towne adjoining vnto it yeelded preſently; but they in the Caſtle ſtanding vpon their gard a while, offered at laſt to yeeld alſo vpon certaine conditions. But the Raſcians knowing that the Turks therabouts had conueied into the caſtle the beſt part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakely manned, would accept of no conditions, but would needs haue it abſolutely deliuered vp to thei pleaſure. In the mean time the old Baſſa of Temeſwar and his ſonne, knowing it to tend to their diſhonour, to ſuffer this baſe people ſo to rage at their pleaſuro about them, gathered together 11000 Turkes, and ſo in great haſte came to relieue the beſieged Caſtle. Vpon whom the Raſcians turned themſelues, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Baſſa, and ſo purſued the victory, that of thoſe 11000 Turks ſcarcely eſcaped 1000; the Baſſa himſelfe being there ſlain, and with him three Sanzackes, his ſon eſcaped by flight. In this battel the Raſcians took 18 great pieces of artillery: and not long after tooke alſo Werſetza and Lutz, two ſtrong places. After which ſo happy ſucces they ſent vnto the Archduke *Matthias* for aid, but eſpecially Cannoniers, profeſſing themſelues now vtter Enemies to the Turks. The Raſcians alſo about Temeſware ſent word vnto the other in the camp, That they would come and join with them. And they which inhabit the countrey betweene Danubius and Tibiſcus, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe vnto the Lord *Teuffenbach* (the Arch-Dukes Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungary) offered in ſhort time to ſend him tenne or twelue thouſand men, ſo that he would receiue them and their Countrey into the Emperours protection; which he eaſily granted them, & therof aſſured them in writing. And to the arch-Duke himſelfe alſo they ſent truſty meſſengers, requeſting him to ſend them a Generall to lead them, promiſing vnto him all obedience. Which meſſengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, ſhortly after returned with ſuch anſwer as was thought moſt conuenient for their preſent eſtate. Thus againſt the comming of *Sinan*, Hungarie was almoſt all on a broile.

An Imperiall diet holden at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turk.

The Emperor long before diſtruſting the Turks purpoſe for war, and wel conſidering what a difficultie it would be for him, with his own forces only to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy as was *Amurath*, had by his Embaſſadors prayed aid of diuers Chriſtian princes, but eſpecially of them of the empire, as thoſe whom this war concerned moſt. Wherfore he after the antient and wonted maner of his State in ſo common and imminent a danger, appointed a generall aſſembly of the Princes and States of the Empire to be holden at Ratisbone in the later end of February: which for ſundry vrgent cauſes was put off vntil March, and again vntil Aprill, and ſo afterward vntil May. At which time the Emperour in perſon himſelfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the Empire, beeing met together with great

pompe,

A pomp at Ratisbone, and solemnly assembled in the Bishops palace, began there to sit in councel the second of Iune. Vnto which Princes and States so assembled, after that the Emperor had first by the mouth of *Philip* County Palatine of the Rhine, giuen great thanks for their so ready appearance, & briefly declared the cause of their assembly; he himself after some complant made of the Turkish infidelitie, in expresse words declared vnto them, how that he by his Embassador then lying at Constantinople had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight yeares with the present Turkish Sultan *Amurath*; which league *Amurath* himselfe had approued and confirmed, and therof sent him publique and solemn instruments; wherin it was prouided, That no hostility should on either side during that time bee attempted. And yet notwithstanding that, he, contrary to his faith giuen, as an hereditary enemy of the Christi-
B ans, had violated this league, and by sundry incursions barbarously spoiled and wasted, not Hungary only, but other of his Imperial prouinces also: but especially *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna, who first with a strong army besieged, battered, and took Repitz an antient frontier castle, and after that, Wihitz, Drenik, Crassowitz, with other places of name, and had in his dominion and territory built Petrinia a most strong fort, hurtfull to all that countrey; out of which he had done incredible mischief in Croatia, Windismarch, and the most fruitfull Island of Turopolis; and out of those places carried away aboue 35000 Christians into most miserable captiuity. Of which shamefull injuries and breach of faith hee had many times by his Embassadors complained vnto the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople, and requested, That all hostility set apart, due restitution might haue bin made; but to haue therin preuailed nothing:
C and that the same Bassa in stead of condign punishment, had bin for the doing therof honoured by the great Sultan his Lord with honorable gifts, the sure tokens of his fauor. Wherby he was so confirmed in his barbarous proceedings, that he began to make open war, & hauing raised a full army, and strengthned also with certaine Companies of Ianizaries sent from the court, had passed ouer the riuer of Kulp, and besieged the castle of Siseg: but by the iust iudgment of God, the Reuenger of wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithles & cruell dealing, being there slain, and almost all his army vtterly destroyed by his small forces, raised in haste for his own lawfull defence. Neuertheless the faithlesse Turk (as if he had bin highly wronged himselfe) to make this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to all the world, by commanding open war to be solemnly proclaimed against the kingdome of
D Hungary, both in Constantinople and Buda; and by the Beglerbeg of Greece to haue besieged and taken the strong fortres of Siseg. Wheras on the other side, because nothing should on his part be wanting, which might make his desire of peace more knowne, he had again and oftentimes by his Embassador put the Turke in remembrance of his League made and confirmed by his faith. Who for all that had changed nothing of his purpose, but had sent his great Visier *Sinan Bassa*, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and many inferior Bassa's & Sanzacks into Hungary, who with fire and sword inforced the inhabitants and country people (such as they left aliue) to sweare to the Turke obedience, and to become his subiects; and at the same time took Vesprinium and Palotta, two famous fortresses of that kingdome. And that the same Bassa by commandement from his Lord and Master, had contrary to the Law of Nati-
E ons, imprisoned *Frederick Creckowitz* his Embassador, first at Constantinople, and caused the greater part of his Followers to be thrust into the Gallies; and afterwards to haue sent him with a few of his attendants vnto Belgrade, and there to haue kept him so long in prison vntill he there miserably ended his dayes. In reuenge of which so great and open wrong, and for the defence and comfort of his poor afflicted subiects so neer the Enemy, hee had raised a good strength both of horse and foot, by whose strength, and the assistance of almighty God, the Bassa of Bosna had reaped the fruit of his perfidious dealing; as had also the Bassa of Buda, with many thousands of their great Bassa's, ouerthrowne neer vnto Alba Regalis, besides many of their Castles and Townes taken or raised. Yet for all that was it easie to bee seene, these so great victories by the goodnesse of God had and obtained against so mighty and
F cruell an enemy, not to suffice; but that there was still need of a perseuerant and continuall supply for the maintenance of a perpetuall War; and that it was daily to be expected, or rather euen now presently to be descried, That the Turk in his quarrell (which he deemeth alwaies iust against the Christians) and in reuenge of these ouerthrowes, would draw vp all his forces, and aduenture his whole strength. For which causes he had by the knowledge and consent

The Emperors speech.

sent of the Princes Electors of the sacred Empire, appointed that present Diet of the empire; G
and not for the aforesaid causes only, but for diuers others both necessary and weighty also:
as the general peace of the Empire, the pacification of the Low-countries, the reformation of
justice, and amendment of the coin: but especially & aboue all other things to make it known
vnto the world, how much it concerned to haue the Turks pride betime abated, and some ef-
fectual defence for Hungary (now in danger) at length prouided, being the most sure defence
and strongest bulwark of that side of Christendom. And that wheras his own hereditary pro-
uinces were not of themselues alone sufficient to maintaine so chargeable a war, he therefore
requested the Electors, Princes, and States both present and absent, not to grudge to bee pre-
sent with their helpe, their counsell, and whatsoeuer els should be needfull, against so puissant
and dangerous an enemy. So ending his speech, he caused all his demaunds before conceiued H
into writing, to be read, and so deliuered vnto them. For answer whereunto, the Princes Ele-
ctors and others there present required time. Which granted, after many sittings and long
consultations they at last with one consent answered, That it was a hard matter, by reason of
the late dearth and other like occasions, for them to grant such helpe and aid as the Emperor
had in writing required: yet hauing before their eies the great and imminent danger wherin
the Christian commonweal then stood, they not regarding their own proper and neer difficul-
ties, had in regard of his sacred and Imperial Maiestie, for the comfort and defence of the in-
dangered Christians, and for the repressing of the Turkish fury, of their own freewil and meer
compassion, granted beside their accustomed contribution, such further relief for the space of
six years, as they thought sufficient for the maintenance of a defensiue War, both for the pre-
sent and for the time to come. What was by them further decreed concerning the Emperors I
further demands, as not pertinent to our purpose, we willingly passe ouer.

Of all these things, as also whatsoeuer els had happened at Strigonium, Hatwan, or other
places of Hungary, was not *Sinan Bassa* ignorant: Who now euen vpon the departure of the
Christians from Strigonium, was come with an huge army betweene Buda and Alba-Regalis:
vnto whom 40000 Tartars, that by force had made themselues way thorow Podolia and the
vpper part of Hungary, had joined themselues; so that in his Army were reckoned aboue
150000 fighting men; to the great terror not only of Hungary, Austria, Stiria, Croatia, Bo-
hemia, and the prouinces therabout, but also of the whole state of Germany. With this great
army the old Bassa had purposed to haue ouerwhelmed the Christians in their camp at Stri- K
gonium: but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuer toward Coma-
ra, he resolued to keepe on his way, and to besiege the strong City Iaurinum, now called Rab.
And to make all sure before him, he thought it best to take in his way Dotis, a strong towne
of the Christians in the mid way betweene Strigonium and Rab, about fiue Hungarian miles
short of Rab. The Christian army but newly passed ouer Danubius, in marching toward Co-
mara, might see the mountaines and fields on the other side of the riuer all couered with the
multitude of the Turks army: who though they were indeed many, yet marching dispersedly
made shew of more than in truth they were. So both Armies marching in sight one of ano-
ther, and separated onely with the riuer, held on their way, the Christians to Comara, where
they incamped vnder the very walls of the city, yet in such sort, as that they might afar off wel L
descry one another; and the Turks toward Dotis, where the Bassa with all his army incamped
the 21 of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his battery, he began in furious manner
to batter the castle, the chief strength of the town; the Christian Army looking on, but not
daring at so great ods to relieue their distressed friends. So whilst the Bassa granteth no brea-
thing while vnto the besieged, but tyreth them out with continuall battery and alarms, they
of the town dispairing of their own strength, and to bee able for any long time to hold out a-
gainst so mighty an enemy, within three daies after yeelded vp the town, beeing in that short
time sore battered, and in diuers places vndermined: yet with this condition, That it should
be lawfull for the garrison soldiers and townesmen with their wiues and children in safety to
depart. Which was vnto them by the Bassa frankly granted, but not so faithfully performed: M
for at their departure many of their wiues and children were stayd by the Turks, and the lord
Baxi Gouernor of the Towne fouly entreated. Immediately after, the Bassa without much
ado tooke the Castle of S. *Martins* also, not far from Dotis, being by the Captaine yeelded
vnto him.

Sinan Bassa with an army of 150000 betweene Buda & Alba. Regalis.

Dotis and S. Martins yeelded vnto the Turks.

A In the mean time the country villages round about forsaken of the poore Christians, were by the Turks most miserably burnt, and all the Countrey laid wast: yea some of the fore-runners of the Turks army passing ouer the riuer Rabnitz, ran into the Countrey as far as Altenburg, within fiue miles of Vienna, burning the Country villages as they went, and killing the poor people, or that worse was, carrying them away into perpetual captiuity: yet not without some losse, 400 of these roming foreiners being cut off by the Lord *Nadasti*. *Palfi* also, & *Brun* gouernor of Comara, following in the tail of the Turkes army, set vpon them that had charge of the victuals, of whom they slew a great numbrr, tooke 120 of them prisoners, and 150 Camels, and thirty mules laded with meale and rice, which they carried away with them vnto Comara.

B Dotis and S. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Bassa* constant in his former determination, set forward again towards Rab, and being come within a mile of the city, there incamped; the Christian army then lying not far off on the other side of the riuer. The city of Rab is a strong and populous city, honored with a bishops see, and was worthily accounted the strongest bulwark of Vienna, from whence it is distant about 12 German miles, standing vpon the South side of Danubius, whence the riuer diuiding it self, maketh a most fettile Island called Schut; in the East point wherof stands the strong City of Comara. The defence of this City of Rab was committed to County *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelity, with a garison of 1200 choice soldiers: vnto whom a little before the comming of the Bassa, were certaine Companies of Italians joined, who together with the citisens made vp the number of 5000 able men: *Rab.*

C a strength in all mens judgment sufficient for the long defence of that place. The last of Iuly *Matthias* the Archduke about Sun-set departing out of the city of Rab, ouer the riuer into the Island ouer against it, came *Sinan Bassa* with his hugy army and beset it round, casting vp trenches and mounts, wheron he skilfully placed his gabions and great artillery, and whatsoeuer els was necessary for so great a siege; and that with such celerity, as was vnto the beholders thought most strange. The second of August he with great fury battered the city, & brought his trenches within musket shot of the wall. At which time 4000 Tartarian horsemen swam ouer the Danubius between Rab and Comara; after whom followed 6000 Turks, who being with much ado got ouer to the farther side, suddenly surprised a fort of the Christians next vnto the riuer, and forthwith turning fiue great pieces of ordnance which they found therein,

D discharged them vpon the camp of the Christians; who terrified with the sudden accident, rise vp all in arms, and hardly charging those desperate aduenturers, slew many of them, especially such as seeking after booty, had dispersed themselues from their fellowes, and forced the rest again to take the water, wherin most of them perished. About fiue daies after, the Tartarians (liuing for most part vpon prey) swam again ouer the riuer, and vpon the sudden burnt a village in the Island, and slew certain Christians in their tents; but being quickly incountered by the Christian horsmen, they were easily ouerthrown and many of them slain. The rest casting away their weapons, and forsaking their horses, ranne headlong into the riuer, trusting more to their swimming than to their fighting: whom the Christians hardly pursuing, in the very Riuer slew about two thousand of them; and by this victorie obtained many of the Tar-

The Tartars twice ouerthrown.

E tarians swift horses, with their scimiters, their bows and arrows, and such ensignes as they had. All this while *Sinan Bassa* without intermission lay thundering with sixty great pieces of battery; but to little or small purpose, for as yet he had made no breach wherby to enter, but the harm that was done was vpon the Towers or high built houses, or in the Campe, by such ran-

Rab battered.

dome Shot as flying ouer the Towne, fell by chance amongst the Tents of the Christians. And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiously and with a most horrible cry (as their manner is) assaulted an vtter bulwarke of the Christians which they for fear forsooke, and retyred themselues into the City. Vpon which bulwarke so taken, the Ianizaries had set vp three of their Ensignes; when the Christians ashamed of that which they had don, and better aduised, taking courage vnto them, forthwith sallied out again, and cou-

F ragiously charging the Ianizaries, but now entred, slew many of them, and recouered again the bulwark.

Sinan Bassa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his desire for the winning of the city, was now casting vp a great mount against the city, which whilst he daily surueied he chanced to fal sick, and therfore appointed one of the Bassa's in his owne stead to ouersee the

worke:

work; who whilst he was walking to and fro, hastning the worke, and commanding this & that thing to be don, he was taken with a shot out of the town and slain. G

The 15 of August certaine Turkes before the rising of the Sun getting ouer Danubius in boats, assailed a fort of the Christians, which the soldiers that had the keeping of it presently forsook, and left it to the enemy. Which *Iohn de Medices*, lately come into the camp with two thousand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the rescue of the fort, draue out the Turkes, and hauing slaine diuers of them, forced the rest into the riuer, where they were all drowned. At which time 5000 Tartars in another place passing ouer the riuer into the Island, were encountred by the Lord *Palfi* & the Hussars his followers, & without any great resistance put to flight, wherin many of them were slain. The rest taking the riuer, were in good hope to haue got ouer, and so to haue saued themselues: but other Turks meeting them in the riuer, would H with their weapons haue beaten them back and staid their flight; against whom the Tartars opposing themselues, made with them in the very riuer a most cruel fight, but with such losse vnto the Tartars, that of the 5000 which aduentured ouer, few returned vnto their fellowes to carry news how they had sped. Now began great scarsity of victuals in the Turks Campe, so that the soldiers were fain to feed vpon vnripe fruit, and such other vnwholsom things, wherof insued the bloudy flix and many other dangerous diseases; which raging amongst them, did wonderfully consume the Bassa's army. Beside that, they of the city with continual shot had slain many, and amongst them a son in law of the great Bassa's, whose death hee is reported to haue taken so impatiently, that he fel sicke for griefe, but in short time after passed it ouer and recouered again. I

The Tartars not yet warned by their often losses, but passing again ouer the riuer into the Island the 10 of this month, were there 3000 of them slain. In the mean time certain companies also of the Turkes hauing secretly passed the riuer, in another quarter assailed the Christians in their campe. In which hurly-burly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuer not farre from Comara, hoping now at length to perform some great matter, which they had before to their cost vainly attempted. But finding the Turks ouerthrowne before their comming, and the Christians (contrary to their expectation) in arms ready to receiue them, they were easily discomfited, and 2000 of them slain. In this conflict the Sanzacke of Strigonium, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turks, perished. Shortly after, the Christians sallying out of the city, slew a great number of the Turks, and so retyred with small losse. K Thus was the Turkes army daily diminished, besides that the want of victuals with the bloudy flix so increased, that many persuaded the Bassa to raise the siege, and to remoue with his army to some other more wholsome place, and of greater plenty: but he resolutely set downe, not to depart, before he had either won the town, or inforced it to yeeld, would not hearken to any persuasions to the contrary.

Whilst *Sinan* thus lay at the siege of Rab, *Maximilian* the Emperors brother took Crastowitz a fortres of the Turks vpon the borders of Croatia, and put to sword all the Turks there in garison. After that, he laid siege to Petrinia, a strong fortresse of the Turks, which they but a few years before contrary to the league had built in the Emperors territory, for the anoying of Croatia, and for the exceeding strength therof was thought almost impregnable. Yet such L was the industry of *Maximilian* and his soldiers, that what with continuall battery and Mines, they so terrified the Turks there in garrison, that they for fear set fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made shift euery man for himself as he might. Which they in the Castle of Siseg hearing, set fire also vpon it and so left it to the Christians. Whose example they also of Gara followed. By which so prosperous and happy succes of *Maximilian*, not the Frontiers only, but euen the whole country of Croatia, was for that time deliuered of a wonderful trouble, and no lesse danger.

A great skirmish betwixt the Turks and Christians.

The eight and twentieth day of August twenty thousand of the Christians passing ouer the riuer by a bridge into the Island, and ioyning with them of the towne, sallied out vpon the Turks camp. The Hungarian Heidons in the foreward, at the first onset took two of the Turks M bulwarkes, and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of the great pieces. But the Turks returning with greater power, inforced the Christians to retire, & recouered again the lost bulwarkes. In this conflict many were slaine, as well Christians as Turks. In the meane while *Thonhause* a great Captaine of the Christians, and *Geitzhofler*, County *Hardecks* Lieutenant,

A nant, with 1500 Hungarians and German foot came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes, but landing somwhat too late, they were by the enemy beaten backe, and enforced with such speed to retire; that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuer, amongst whom *Geitzhofler* himselfe perished, and *Thonhause* was deadly wounded in his breast. Yet the Christians not discouraged with this losse, but gathering themselues together vnder the very wals of the city, gaue a second assault vnto the enemy. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horsemen easily repulsed; but by the comming in of the Lord *Rhinsberg* (who was at the first onset slaine) the Turks were enforced into their trenches, except some few, which diuided from the rest, hid themselues in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Christians, were there all slaine. In this skirmish the Lord *Palfi* was
B grieuously wounded in his thigh: of the Christians were slain 400, and of the Turkes about 2000. These conflicts indured from 7 a clock in the morning, vntill 12; at which time the Christians returning into the city, and so into the camp, among other spoils caried away with them 17 of the enemies ensignes. *2000 Turkes slain, and 17 ensignes taken.*

No day now passing without some skirmish, at length the 9 of September, 10000 Turkes, some in boats, some by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuer Danubius into the Island of Schut, suddenly set vpon the Christians, all sleeping in security, and little fearing any such danger; of whom they slew about 2000, and after some smal fight, put the rest to most shamefull flight; in such sort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himself, with other Noblemen and Captains had much ado by flight to escape. Thus whilest euery man surprised with feare, made
C what shift he could for himself, the enemy in the mean time entered the trenches, tooke their tents, their great ordnance, the shot and pouder, and all the money which but a little before was brought for the soldiers pay; besides about 1000 wagons and 200 boats well loded with prouision for the camp, and ten gallies, wherin were 120 pieces of great ordnance. The losse receiued this day was valued at 500000 ducats. And albeit that this victorie cost the Turks 1500 of their liues, yet therby they gained the mastery both vpon the riuer and the land. So that now roaming far and neer without resistance, they spoiled the country all about, & burnt certaine countrey Villages not far from Vienna: so that for many miles space the Countrey Townes were for feare of the enemy forsaken by the inhabitants; of whom some were taken and slaine, some carried into captiuity, and some others, reserued for a better fortune, with
D such things as they had got themselues farther off into places of more security. And the more to increase these calamities, the Tartars shortly after passing ouer Danubius neere to Altenbourg, first sacked Weisenbourg, and after burnt it, with certaine other townes therabouts. But aduenturing to haue gone farther into the Countrey, they were with losse inforced to returne. *A great spoyl taken by the Turks.*

Whilst the Turks thus preuaile in Hungary, *Cicala Bassa* the Turkes Admirall then at sea with a fleet of Gallies, landing his men in diuers places of Italy did exceeding much harme, but especially in Calabria, where he vpon the sudden surprised Rhegium, rifled the town, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his course toward Sicilia, he in the sight of Messana landed certain of his men; who aduenturing too far ashore, were by the countrey people ouer-
E thrown and put to flight. So the Turks returning again to Rhegium, vtterly rased what they had before left of that town. In the mean time not far from Messana, euen in the sight of the garrison of the town, they took a certain ship comming out of the East countries, and three others comming from Apulia. Afterwards chancing vpon certaine gallies of the East, they changed some few shot with them, but to no great purpose; and so turning their course, & sailing alongst the coast of Calabria, they oftentimes landed certain companies, which skirmishing with the Calabrians, had somtime the better, and somtime the worse; and so with such fortune as befel them, were again receiued into their gallies. They of Messana, vnto whose eies those dangers were daily presented, both by letters and speedy messengers gaue the Viceroy knowledge therof (who then for his pleasure lay at Palermo) requesting his present aid: but he
F dallying off the time, they for the more safegard of the city and of the sea coast, of themselues raised fiue hundred horsemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicala*, the Renegat Turkish Admirals brother. And besides stored the City with all such things as they thought necessarie for the enduring of a siege, if it should chance the Turke to haue any such purpose. Of all which they certified the King of Spain, as also of the negligence of the *Rhegium rased by the Turks.*

Viceroy,

Viceroy, requesting his speedy aid against these terrors of the Turks. In the mean while the Neapolitans for safegard of their coast put to sea 30 gallies: vnto whom the Pope, the Duke of Florence, the Genoa's, and the Knights of Malta joined also theirs, in all to the number of about 80 gallies, vnder the conduct of *Auria*. The prouident Venetians also, although they were as then in league with the Turk, yet for the safety of their state put to sea a fleet of about 100 sail, some ships, some gallies, vnder the leading of *Foscarin* their Admiral. Which two fleets sailing vp and down those seas, deliuered Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, with many prouinces and Islands of the Christians, of a great fear. G

Rab assaulted.

Sinan Bassa hauing before incouraged his soldiers with great hope and large promises, commanded an assault to be giuen to the city of Rab; which was accordingly by them begun the 23 of September, the Sun being yet scarse vp, and furiously maintained al that day from morning vntil night. But they of the town so valiantly defended themselues, that at last the Turks were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retyre. Neuertheless the next day the assault was againe renued, and most desperately maintained by the space of two daies, wherein 12000 of the Turks lost their liues, the other with shame retiring themselues into their trenches. In few daies after, the Turks by a mine blew vp one of the bulwarks of the town, with the fall wherof the town ditch was in that place somwhat filled; wherby the Turks with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were by the valor of the defendants stil notably with losse repulsed. Yet notwithstanding all this cheerfulnes and couragiousnes of them in the towne, the puissant enemy ceased not with furious battery and continuall assaults to attempt the city, till that at length he had gained two of the bulwarks, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbish and earth fallen out of the battered bulwarks and rampiers, haue accesse vnto the towne, to the great terror of the defendants. Whereupon County *Hardeck* the Gouernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had of purpose many times before said that the town could not possibly long be defended) now took occasion to enter into counsel with the other captains of the town, (diuers of whom hee had already framed to his purpose) what course were best to take for the yeelding of it vp. And after a little consultation, holden more for fashion sake, than for that he doubted what to do; resolued to send a messenger to the Bassa, for a truce to be granted for a while, to see if haply in the mean time some reasonable composition might be agreed vpon. Yet the gouernor considering into what scorn and danger he might expose himselfe, by yeelding vp so strong a town; to colour the matter, and to excuse his doings to the rest of the nobility, and garisons of Hungary, caused a publike instrument to be made in his and all the rest of the Captaines names conceiued in writing; wherin they solemnly protested to the world, That forasmuch as it was impossible, by reason of the weaknes of the garrison, for them longer to defend the town against so mighty an Enemy, without new supplies in stead of them that were slain (which they had oftentimes in vain requested) they were therfore of necessity inforced to come to composition with the enemy. Which protestation so made, the gouernor and chiefe Captains confirmed with their hands and seals. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both sides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garrison souldiers, together with the County and other captains, should in arms with ensignes displaied, with bag and baggage depart in safety, and with a safe conuoy be brought to Altenburg. Which agreement though by oth confirmed, was not on the Turks part altogether performed: for when the County had the 29 day of September about ten of the clock in the forenoon deliuered vp the City to the Bassa, and the Christian garrison was all come out, the County himself with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of Turks safely brought to the appointed place: but the Italians and other garison soldiers that came behind, and ought to haue bin by the gouernor protected, were contrary to the Turks promise spoild of al that they had, and hardly escaping with life, came that night to Hochstrate, and the next day to Altenburg. Thus was Rab, one of the strongest bulwarks of Christendom, traiterously deliuered vnto the most mortall enemy of the Christian religion; beeing euen then when it was giuen vp, victualled for a year, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for defence: all which prouision, together with the city, fel into the hands of the faithles enemy. A losse neuer to haue bin sufficiently lamented, had it not bin about four yeares after euen as it were miraculously again recouered, to the great rejoicing of all that side of Christendom, as in the proces of this history shal appear.

12000 Turks slain.

Rab trecherously yeelded to Sinan Bassa.

H I K L M

Sinan

A *Sinan* glad of this victory, as the greateſt trophy of his maſters glory ouer the Chriſtians, gaue him ſpeedy knowledge thereof, both by letters and meſſengers. Of whom he was for that good ſeruice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* already in hope deuoured all Auſtria, with the Prouinces thereabout. The great Baſſa becauſe he would not with too long ſtay hinder the courſe of his victory, without delay repaired the rent city, new fortified the battered bulwarks, enlarged the ditches, and filled the Cathedrall church with earth, in manner of a ſtrong bulwarke, whereupon he planted great ſtore of great ordnance: and with exceeding ſpeed diſpatched all things neceſſary for the holding of the place. In the meane time he ſent certaine Tartars to ſummon the towne and caſtle of Pappa; which caſtle and little towne ſubject thereunto, the Chriſtians the night following, B ſet on fire, becauſe it ſhould not ſtand the enemy in any ſtead for the farther troubling of the country; and ſo fled. *Rab repaired by the Turks.*

The Baſſa hauing at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things in Rab, and leauing there foure thouſand Ianizaries, and two thouſand horſemen in garriſon, departed thence with his army & laid ſiege to Comara, a ſtrong towne of that moſt fertile Iſland which the Hungarians call Schut; which ſcituated in the very point therof about foure miles from Rab, is on the Eaſt, South, and North, incloſed with the two armes of Danubius. All theſe waies *Sinan* with his fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laied hard ſiege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers aſſaults: and by land the Beglerbeg of Græce ceaſed not both by continuall battery and mines, to ſhake the wals and bulwarks therof. Thus was the city on all ſides both by water and C by land hardly laied vnto. But the Chriſtians within, with no leſſe courage defended themſelues & the city, than did the Turks aſſaile them; ſhewing indeed, that the liberty of their religion and country, was vnto them dearer than their liues. *Matthias* the Archduke in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperor his brother to haue this city defended; hauing after his late ouerthrow gathered together a good army of Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians, reſolued to go and raiſe the ſiege: and ſo marching forward with his army, came and encamped the 28 day of October at Nitria, about fiue miles from Komara. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the camp, with purpoſe to returne home: yea, the Turks themſelues weary of the ſiege, and wanting victuall both for themſelues and their horſes, began alſo as men diſcouraged to ſhrinke away. Which the Baſſa wel conſidering, thought it not D beſt with his heartleſſe ſouldiers and army now ſore weakened, to abide the comming of the Chriſtians: and therfore vpon their approch he forthwith forſooke the city, which he had by the ſpace of three weeks hardly beſieged, and by a bridge made of boats tranſported his army and artillery ouer Danubius to Dotis, where he the next day after brake vp his army. Immediatly after the Turks were thus departed, the Archduke arriued at Komara, where he with great diligence cauſed the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, and new bulwarks and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more ſtrength of the city, leauing the charge thereof ſtill vnto the lord *Braun* the old Gouernor, who in the defence thereof had receiued a grieuous wound in his right knee: of whom alſo this notable fact is reported. The Baſſa in time of the late ſiege at Comara, vnder the color of a parley, had ſent fiue Turks into the city, to the E Gouernor, but indeed to proue if he were by any meanes to be won to yeeld vp the city, and not to hold it out to the laſt. The faithful Gouernor, hauing giuen them the hearing vntil they had diſcharged their whole trechery, preſently cauſed foure of their heads to be ſtrucken off, and to be ſet vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarks for the Baſſa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedy) he ſent backe vnto the Baſſa, to tell him, That although he had found one in Rab to ſerue his turne, he was much deceiued, if in him he thought to finde County *Hardeck*; and that he wiſhed rather to die the Emperors faithfull ſeruant in the bloud of the Turks, than to betray the city committed to his charge. *Komara beſieged by Sinan Baſſa.*

County *Hardeck* late Gouernour of Rab, generally before ſuſpected to haue treacherouſly betraid that ſtrong towne vnto the Baſſa, was therfore ſent for to Vienna, and there by the Em- F perors commandement committed to priſon. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that he ſhould in the beginning of the ſiege negligently haue ſuffered many things to be done by the enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the ſiege, he had cauſed ſome of the canoniers to diſcharge certain great pieces againſt the enemy, with pouder only without ſhot: and that ſeeing one piece among the reſt to do the *He raiſeth his ſiege.*

enemy much harme, he had cauſed the ſame to be remoued, and ſo placed, as that it ſeemed to little or no vſe: beſide that, he (as it ſhould ſeem) making ſmall reckoning of the towne, ſhould oftentimes ſay, That if the Turks ſhould win it, he ſhould be but one towne the richer: with diuers other ſuch things, giuing juſt cauſe of ſuſpition. The thing that lay moſt heauy vpon him, was the teſtimony of one of *Sinan Baſſa* his chamber, who being taken yong by the Turks, and ſeruing in the Baſſaes chamber, was now fled from the Turks, and comming to the Archduke in the time of his ſiege, declared vnto him, that there was treaſon in his campe: and that he but three daies before by the commandement of his maſter, had deliuered two bags full of duckats vnto two Chriſtians, of whom the one had a notable ſcarre in his face, and was afterwards knowne td haue bin one of the Counties ſeruants. Vpon this and ſuch like proofes, the County was after many daies hearing, in open court, by the judgement of ſeuen and forty noblemen and captains of name, condemned of treaſon, and adjudged to be hanged, his dead body to remaine vpon the gallowes by the ſpace of three daies, and all his lands and goods to be confiſcat: the rigor of which ſentence was afterward by the Emperor mitigated, and the traitor by him adjudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen vnto the Emperor, in pawne of his faith) and his head ſtrucke off vpon a ſcaffold at Vienna, and ſo buried. Which ſeuere ſentence was afterwards accordingly put in execution for the tenth of Iune following, the traitor being brought to the ſcaffold built of purpoſe in the high ſtreet of Vienna, after the ſentence of his condemnation there ſolemnly read, commending himſelfe vpon his knees to the mercy of God, with his eies couered, and his right hand laied vpon a blocke couered with blacke, had both his hand & head ſo ſuddenly ſtrucke off by the executioners, as that the beholders could hardly judge which of them was firſt off. His dead body with his head and hand, was preſently by his ſeruant wrapped in a blacke cloth, and layed in his coach, which ſtood there by of purpoſe couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongſt his anceſtors.

County Hardeck condemned & executed for betraying of Rab.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinans* campe, paſſing ouer Danubius at Strigonium, had purpoſed through the vpper part of Hungary, and by the borders of Tranſyluania and Moldauia, to haue againe returned into their country: of whom two companies falling into the hands of the lord *Palfi*, were by him cut off and vtterly defeated: the reſt comming vnto the borders of Tranſyluania, and finding the paſſages ſo beſet by the Prince and the Vayuod of Valachia, as that they could not without moſt manifeſt danger paſſe that way, returned againe the ſame way they came: and hauing rifled and burnt certaine townes and villages in the vpper Hungary about Tockaie, paſſed the riuer againe at Strigonium, and wintering at Veſprinium, Palotta, and other places in the Countrey which is about Rab, liued vpon the ſpoile of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, vpon the frontiers of Auſtria, euen as farre as Meinerſdorf.

These Tartars (of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) at their firſt comming to the aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the Turkiſh Sultan, ſtaied vpon the frontiers of Tranſyluauia, of purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed that country, and either to haue thruſt *Stgiſmund Bator* the young Prince out of the gouernment thereof, or elſe to haue ſent him in bonds to Conſtantinople: for it was commonly reported, That he weary of the heauy tribute which he yerely paied vnto the Turk, and had now after their greedy manner beene diuers times inhaunſed; had purpoſed to reuolt from the Turkiſh Sultan, & to enter into confederation with the Chriſtian Emperor. Which innouation and change, certaine of the Nobility and chiefe States of Tranſyluania, ſought by all meanes to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into conſpiracy with the Tartars, vndertooke to deliuer the whole country into their hands, and to ſend the Prince priſoner to Huſt, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders encamped. Wherefore diſſembling their purpoſe, they cunningly perſuaded the prince, that *Samoſche* the great Chancellor of Polonia, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his comming, to conſult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour this their trechery, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and had wrought ſo effectually, that the prince not ſuſpecting any ſuch treaſon, gaue credit to their perſuaſions, and ſo put himſelfe vpon his way towards the Chancellor (as he ſuppoſed:) but by the way, he was aduiſed by ſome of his friends which had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter, not to go any farther, for that his comming was not intended by the Polonians his friends, (as he was perſuaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, who lay in wait for him at Huſt, to bereaue

A reaue him of his life & gouernment. The Prince astonied with the nouelty of the matter, listned vnto their persuasion, and retired with his traine to the strong fort of Kehwere; where he staied foureteene daies, as if it had beene only for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time he gaue notice to the Nobility and Gouernours of the Country, his friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitours proceeding in their purpose, ceased not to persuade *Bornemissa*, who had the leading of the Princes army, that to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no small danger: and that therefore if he wished well to his country, he should not haue to do with them, but only shew himselfe neere vnto them, and that he was not vnprouided for them: which was accordingly done, and the Transyluanian army brought so nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noise of their drums
B and trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themselues discouered, and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, as had bin vnto them promised for the betraying of the Prince; they remooued thence, and by another way breaking through the midst of Transyluania, and so into Hungary, rifled and burnt fiue hundred villages, slew all the males that were aboue twelue yeares of age, and carryed away the rest vnto the Turkish army then lying at the siege of Rab. In the mean time the traitors (when as this first plot serued them not) conspired to set vp one *Balthazor Bator*, the yong Princes nigh kinsman, and with the good fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the souereigne gouernment of their Country. Which their purpose the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogether to trust vnto the fidelity of his owne subjects; writ to his neighbours the Rascians, and other his confederats, praying their aid
C in this his so dangerous and doubtfull estate. Which after he had receiued, he apointed a generall assembly of all his states to be holden at Clausenburg, and that vpon a great paine to be inflicted vpon all such as should not there personally appeare: so at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinall *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guilty of so foule a treason against their owne bloud, were now before fled into Polonia. Being all thus met together, the Prince commanded the gates of the city to be shut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbidding by open proclamation, That any man vpon pain of death should so much as speak of any imagined treason. And at the same time politickly caused to be published in writing, how that the Germans had in the farther side of Hungary got a notable victory ouer the Turks; for joy whereof he commanded bonefires to be made, and the great ordnance to be in triumph shot
D off, with many other signes of joy and gladnesse: and withall caused a notable banquet to be prepared, whereunto together with others, were inuited also all the chiefe of the conspirators: of whom, euen as they were at dinner & least feared any such matter, he commanded fourteen to be apprehended and committed to prison; and the next morning caused fiue of them to be executed in the open market place. The principal of whom, who had vndertaken to haue himselfe slain the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he caused to be drawne in pieces with foure horses: the other foure, namely, *Alexander*, and *Gabriel Gengi*, *Gregory Diaco*, and *Ladislaus Sallentz* were beheaded, and their dead bodies all that day left in the market place for the people to behold: the rest were also afterwards worthily executed: and *Balthazer Bator*, whom the conspirators had intended to haue exalted, strangled. Hauing thus reuenged himE selfe vpon his enemies, he by a publike edict diuulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to all his subjects in generall, of their owne charge to take vp armes against the Turks, and whatsoeuer they could take from them, to haue it to themselues, as good prise gotten from their lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted liberty, the Transyluanians encouraged as with a great bounty, armed themselues on all hands, to the number of forty thousand; who being mustered and sworne to hold together against the Turks, made their first expedition towards Danubius: where at their first arriuall, by good hap they light vpon certain of the Turks ships laded with prouision for the campe, and merchandise of all sorts, and much treasure: of which rich ships, they at the first onset tooke seuen, but the eighth (being indeed the Admirall) escaped their hands. In these ships they tooke an exceeding rich booty, slew many of the Turks, and in toF ken of the victory, carried backe vnto the Prince seuen of the Turkish Ensignes. This victory caused great joy in Transyluania, euery man of so prosperous a beginning, conceiuing good hope of most happy successe. It is reported, that *Sinan Bassa* hearing of this losse, should say, That if this prouision had come to him in safety, he could with that treasure more easily haue bought Vienna in Austira, than he had Rab in Hungary. After this victory the prince laid siege

Great harme done in Transyluania by the Tartars.

The conspirators against the Prince, apprehended and executed.

to Temeſwar, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward Tranſyluania (as is before ſaid) he left Temeſwar, to looke to the defence of his owne country. G

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople.

Not long after, about the two and twentieth of December a tumult riſe among the Ianizaries of the court at Conſtantinople, which grew to ſuch an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Baſſaes was by them ſlain, with ſome others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* ſons ſore wounded, and with much ado ſaued. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger & griefe fell into a fit of the falling ſickeneſſe (whereunto he was much ſubject) and was therewith for the ſpace of three daies and three nights ſo grieuouſly vexed, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen vp the ghoſt: ſo that the city was filled with heauineſſe and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen ready to thinke vpon a new Lord. This tumult of the inſolent Ianizaries many ſuppoſed to haue beene the cauſe of *Amurath* his death, which ſhortly after enſued: his griefe and malady encreaſing daily by the euill news ſtill brought vnto him both by meſſengers and letters, eſpecially out of Tranſyluania, where the Prince waiting vpon euery occaſion, was ſtill at hand with the Turks, cutting them ſhort in euery place; and in ſundry rodes which he made vpon them in this month, tooke many of their caſtles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Geſty Ferens*, in the country of Lugaz, neere vnto Temeſwar: another vnder the leading of *Michael Horwat*, on the ſide of Danubius, to intercept the Turks comming to Buda: and the third commanded by *Caſpar Cornoyſe* in the country neere to Giula; vnto whom came ſhortly after fifteene hundred horſemen out of the vpper Hungary. H I

1595 The Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund Bator* thus lately reuolted from the Turke, for the ſtrengthning of his ſtate thought it beſt betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of Valachia and Moldauia (who moued by his example, ſhortly after in like maner alſo caſt off the ſeruile yoke of the Turke) but eſpecially with the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph*. For which purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors honourably accompanied: who comming to Caſſouia in Hungary the foureteenth of December, arriued at Prague the twelfth of Ianuary, with twenty waggons, and an hundred and fifty horſe; where they were by the Emperours appointment moſt honourably receiued and royally entertained: and after a few daies hauing deliuered vnto the Emperor the ſumme of their embaſſage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the Emperor and the Prince: after much graue conſultation and ſerious diſcourſe it was fully concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amiſſe here in briefe to ſet downe, for the ſatisfying of ſuch as deſire to know in what termes that worthy Prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then ſtood with the Chriſtian Emperour. K

The capitulations of the league betwixt the Emperor & the Tranſyluanian Prince.

Firſt it was agreed vpon, That the Emperour for himſelfe and for the States of Hungary ſhould promiſe to proceed in his wars begun againſt the common enemy, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the Prince. And that in all concluſions of peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, ſhould be alwaies compriſed: in regard whereof, the Prince likewiſe promiſed for himſelfe and the States of Tranſyluania, to procecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and conſent of the Emperor and the Nobility of Hungary: and this to be confirmed by ſolemne oath on both ſides. L

Secondly, That the Prouince of Tranſyluania with all the parts and confines therof hitherto poſſeſſed by the Prince of Hungary, ſhould remaine vnto the ſaid Prince *Sigiſmund* and to his heires male, with all the profits ariſing thereof, in ſuch ſort as they had done in the time of *Iohn*, *Stephen*, and *Chriſtopher*, his predeceſſours, to haue therein a moſt free and abſolute authority: yet ſo, as that they ſhould acknowledge his Imperiall Majeſty and his lawfull ſucceſſors for their lawfull ſouereignes; vnto whom they ſhould alwaies ſweare their fealty, but without any homage doing: and that to be performed by his ſucceſſours at the time of the change; but by the Prince himſelfe, preſently after the confirming of this league. But that for lacke of heires male, the country of Tranſyluania with all the territories thereunto annexed, ſhould diſcend vnto his ſacred Majeſty and his ſucceſſours the Kings of Hungary, as a true and inſeparable member thereof: whereunto the Prince and all the States of Tranſyluania ſhould bind themſelues by ſolemne oath. But yet that at ſuch time as the heirs male ſhould faile in the M

line

A line of the preſent Prince, and that the country of Tranſyluania ſhould according to theſe preſent conditions be deuolued to the crowne of Hungary; as well his preſent Imperiall and Royall Majeſty, as his ſucceſſors, ſhould keep inuiolate the antient lawes, priuiledges, aad cuſtoms of that country, and alwaies appoint one of the nobility of Tranſyluania to be Geuernour or Vayuod of the ſame, and no other ſtranger.

Thirdly, That his Majeſty ſhould acknowledge the Prince of Tranſyluania for an abſolute Prince, and by ſpeciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Moſt excellent*.

Fourthly, That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncle, for a wife for the Prince, that as they were now to be joyned in league, ſo they might be joyned in affinity alſo.

B Fifthly, That the Emperor ſhould procure him to be made one of the order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixthly, That the Prince might with more cheerfulneſſe and ſecurity make war againſt the common enemy, his imperiall and royall Majeſty ſhould not at any time, howſoeuer things fel out, forſake the ſaid Prince or any of the countries ſubject vnto him: and euen now preſently to aid him according as the preſent occaſion required, and afterward (if greater need ſhould be) with greater help, whether it was by his Generall of Caſſouia, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both ſides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the neceſſity of the one or other part ſhould require: and that where moſt need was, thither ſhould moſt helpe be conuerted.

Seuenthly, That the ſacred Roman Empire ſhould take vpon it the protection and defence
C of the Prince and his territories. And that his Imperiall Majeſty ſhould create the ſaid Prince and the Princes his ſucceſſors, Princes of the Empire: yet ſo, as that they ſhould haue neither voice nor place among the ſaid Princes.

Eightly, That whatſoeuer caſtles, townes, cities, or other places of ſtrength, ſhould by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemy, at ſuch time as his Imperiall Majeſty ſhould ſend into the field a ful army, ſhould be all his Majeſties: but ſuch places as the Prince ſhould by his own forces or policy gaine from the enemy, ſhould remaine vnto the Prince himſelfe. Yet that what places ſoeuer the Prince ſhould recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of Hungary before it was taken by the Turke, thoſe he ſhould forthwith deliuer to his Majeſty, as ſoone as reaſonable recompence were by him therefore
D made vnto the Prince.

Ninthly, His ſacred Majeſty ſhould promiſe of his own bounty to giue vnto his Excellency ſufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of ſuch places as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the behoof of the Chriſtians: as again the ſaid Prince ſhould likewiſe promiſe not to ſpare his own cofers or forces, that the ſame places ſhould be throughly fortified and defended for the behoofe of his Majeſty and the common good of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Laſtly, That foraſmuch as the euents of war are vncertain, and many things ſuddenly happen contrary to mens expectation, if ſuch neceſſity ſhould chance vnto his excellency or his ſucceſſors (which miſhap God forbid) that hauing ſpent themſelues, they ſhould not be able longer to defend their ſtate & country, but that the mighty enemy preuailing, they ſhould at laſt
E be enforced to forſake the ſame: in this their extremity, his imperiall & royall Majeſty ſhould promiſe both for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors, within the ſpace of one moneth to aſſigne ſome certain place in ſome other of his dominions, where the ſaid prince & his ſucceſſors might honorably liue: and the like regard to be had alſo of other ſuch principall men, as ſhould together with the Prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, & ſolemnly confirmed, the ſame Embaſſadors were with all kindnes, bounty, and magnificence diſmiſſed & ſent back again vnto the Prince: who was not himſelfe in the mean time idle, but labouring by all the means he could to draw vnto him *Michaell* the Vayuod of Valachia (a man of no leſſe worth than himſelfe) and *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia, both of them then the Turks tributaries, & by them to alienat from
F the Turke both thoſe countries, that ſo with their combined forces they might the better defend their liberty, and withſtand their common enemy: wherein he did ſo much, and preuailed ſo far with them both, that caſting off the Turks obeiſance, they ſhortly after to the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, and no leſſe hinderance of the Turks proceedings in Hungary, joyned hands both together with him for the recouery of their loſt liberty. Which

reuolt of theſe bordering Princes, for that it ſo much concerned the common good, as that G
the ſafegard of Auſtria, and of the remnants of Hungary, with ſome good part of Germany al-
ſo, is euen by them that in thoſe matters ſaw much, not without cauſe ſuppoſed to haue reſted
therin; & that this noble Vayuod (of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter) was the ſecond actor
herein, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſee the manner of his reuolt alſo from the Turke, as
we haue already the Tranſyluanians. For the more euidence whereof, as for the honor of the
man (whileſt he liued, a moſt worthy member of the Chriſtian commonweale) we will a little
ſtep backe to ſee how he obtained of the great Turke this ſo honourable a preferment, as was
the Vayuodſhip of Valachia, not without his reuolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppreſſed by the Turks.

Alexander the late Vayuod of Valachia, a Moldauian borne, and by *Amurath* himſelfe pro-
moted to that dignity; proud aboue meaſure of this his ſo great a preferment, as alſo of his H
owne nobility, and the deceitfull fauor of Fortune ſtill fawning vpon him; not only oppreſſed
his people himſelfe with intollerable impoſitions, but to be in farther fauor with the Turks,
brought into that country (too much before exhauſted) ſuch a company of them, as that they
ſeemed now almoſt wholly to haue poſſeſſed the ſame, oppreſſing the poore Chriſtians (the
naturall inhabitants) with new exactions, and more than tirannicall injuries, euen ſuch as were
not elſwhere by the Turks themſelues vſed; not only breaking at their pleaſure into their hou-
ſes, and diſpoiling them of their goods, but taking tythes alſo of their children, as if it had bin
of their cattell, a thing neuer before there ſeen: and for the ſatisfying of their beaſtly luſt, raui-
ſhing their wiues and daughters, euen in the ſight of their husbands and parents, with diuers
other ſuch outragious villanies, not with modeſty to be rehearſed. So that by this meanes he I
had violently taken from his Chriſtian ſubjects all hope of recouery of their antient liberty,
had it not as ſomtime it falleth out in theſe worldly things both vnto men and commonweals,
which brought vnto the laſt caſt, & euen as it were to the bottome of deſpaire, by the goodnes
of God, contrary to all hope, find ſometime ſuch vnexpected helpe and reliefe, as that thereby
they, beyond their hope, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the World, mount vp again vnto a greater
luſtre of their ſtate, than was that from which they before fell: it had euen ſo by the ſingular
mercy of God now hapned vnto the Valachians, not knowing which way to turn themſelues.
There was at Crailowa (a city in the confines of Valachia towards the confines of the Hunga-
rians and Turks, where the Gouernor of thoſe borders is for the defence thereof with a ſtrong
gariſon alwaies reſiant) a noble gentleman called * *Ion Michael*, ſon to *Peter* the Palatine of that K
country, the aforeſaid *Alexander* his predeceſſor: who as he was vnto the people for the honor
of his father, the prerogatiue of his birth, the comlineſſe of his perſon, and talneſſe of his ſta-
ture, well knowne; ſo was he for his zeale towards the Chriſtian religion, his loue towards his
country, his kindneſſe towards his equals, his courteſie towards his inferiors, his vpright dea-
ling, his conſtancy and bounty vnto them, no leſſe gratious; and for other the noble vertues of
his heroicall minde and naturall diſpoſition for the performance of great matters, his deepe
wiſedome and quicke foreſight, his ſweet and pleaſing ſpeech, void of all affectation, vnto all
good men moſt deare: whoſe fame, both for the honor of his houſe, and of his own vertues, ſtill
more and more encreaſing, and riſe in the eares of *Alexander* the Vayuod, was the cauſe that he
commanded him as the ready or rather naturall competitor of his ſtate and honor, to be ſecret- L
ly apprehended, and ſo taken out of the way; wherof he by good fortune hauing intelligence,
and carefull of his owne health, for ſafegard of himſelfe fled firſt into Hungary, and there not
ſtaying long (God ſo directing him) went to Conſtantinople in the yeare 1591, to ſue for the
Vayuod his place, all the nobility of his country and the prouinces thereunto adjoyning, ſe-
cretly rejoycing thereat. About which time the chiefe and moſt graue of the Valachian nobi-
lity and counſellors proſtrating themſelues at the feet of *Amurath*, moſt grieuouſly complai-
ned vnto him of the manifold and intollerable injuries they had already ſuſtained, and were
ſtill like to endure, without hope of redreſſe, from *Alexander* their Vayuod, and the followers
of his court; the Turks garriſons and merchants with plentifull teares orderly declaring ma-
ny his moſt foule and deteſtable facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his M
rare vertues, as the true heire of their prouince; moſt humbly requeſted *Amurath* either to haue
him appointed the lawfull Gouernor of their country, or els ſome other place by him aſſigned
for them to dwell in, wiſhing any where to liue, rather than vnder the heauy command of ſo
mercileſſe a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their ſuite, *Michael* his vncle by

the

**Ion ſignifieth with the Valachians as much as Chriſtians which ſome miſtaking, cal this Michael alſo by the name of Iohn.*

A the mothers ſide, a Greeke borne, and a man for his exceeding wealth in great fauour in the Turks Court, ſpared for no coſt. So *Michael* by the goodneſſe of God was by *Amurath* with great ſolemnity created Vayuod of Valachia, and the oppreſſed and almoſt forlorne ſtate of that ſometime moſt flouriſhing countrey by little and little well relieued (although not altogether without moſt ſharpe and violent remedies, ſuch as extremity oft require) began now againe to lift vp the head, and to aſpire vnto the antient liberty and honour thereof. At the beginning of whoſe happy ſouereignty, *Alexander* his predeceſſor in his owne conſcience guilty of his euill and ſhamefull gouernment of that ſo notable and great a prouince, and now in feare to be called to account, ſecretly fled. But certaine yeares after remouing to Conſtantinople with his wife, and there attempting diuers euill meanes for the obtaining of the Palatinat of Moldauia, and for thoſe his vnlawfull practiſes accuſed by the Palatine his Agent; he
B was by the commandement of *Amurath* taken in his owne houſe, and there in his princely apparell moſt miſerably ſtrangled vpon Palme Sunday, in the yeare 1597, about ſix yeares after his departure out of Valachia.

Michael by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia.

Alexander ſtrangled at Conſtantinople.

Michael thus made Vayuod of Valachia, long it was not but that it fortuned the reuerend Father *Cornelius de Nona*, ſent from Pope *Clement* the eighth vnto the great Duke of Muſcouy, in his returne conferring with *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince, and *Aaron* Palatine of Moldauia, enformed them of the great conſent of diuers zealous Chriſtian Princes, for the maintenance of the war againſt the dangerous and common Enemy; with many graue and effectuall reaſons perſuading them (but eſpecially for that they were themſelues Chriſtians) in
C that Chriſtian quarrell to joyn vnto them their forces alſo, raiſed in thoſe their countries neer vnto the great riuers of Danubius and Neſter: but vnto *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, he could not for diuers his other important buſineſſes then come: whom for all that, the aforeſaid Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund* his neighbour deſirouſly ſought to draw into the fellowſhip of this warre, euen for the ſame reaſons almoſt wherewith he had beene himſelfe moued. Firſt, by diuers great reaſons remouing ſuch doubts as might juſtly ſeeme to hinder him from giuing thereunto his conſent; and then by declaring the Turkiſh inſolency daily increaſing, with the infinite grieuances by them deuiſed againſt the miſerable Valachians; when as the
D incurſions of the Turks or Tartars, or their paſſages that way (no leſſe troubleſome than their inrodes) was almoſt euery moneth to be feared, their armies as friends to be in Winter and Summer receiued, their ſouldiers to their great charges relieued, and their commanders and captaines rewarded. Valachia thus impoueriſhed, was not able (as he ſaid) to pay the great ſums it did already owe, neither was to expect any releaſement of the euils it was wrapped in, much leſſe was it able to ſuffice vnto the grieuous exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards impoſed. None of his predeceſſors (as he ſaid, and as truth was) had for many yeares now paſt, for any long time, or with any ſecurity held their ſtate or gouernment: but that either by the calumniation of the Enuious, or bribes of their ambitious competitors, brought into ſuſpition with the Sultan, they were violently thruſt out, or moſt cruelly put to death. In briefe, he ſaid it was a wiſe mans part, not without moſt manifeſt and weighty reaſons, to promiſe vnto himſelfe better fortune, or more aſſurance of his ſtate, than had his vnfortunate
E predeceſſors before him; but warned by their harmes, betimes to prouide for his owne ſafety. By which perſuaſion he ſo preuailed, that the Vayuod (whoſe name, whoſe fame, whoſe wealth and life, together with his ſubjects was all thereby indangered) although he would not (for the weightineſſe of the matter) at the firſt yeeld thereunto; yet aſſuredly promiſed, with his friends and the reſt of the Nobility of his country to conſider thereupon. Hauing it by the Prince plainly laid downe before him, how a ſufficient number of ſoldiers might at all times be raiſed, their pay prouided, and aid ſtill ſent him as need ſhould be, from the German Emperor, or himſelfe out of Tranſyluania: as alſo that *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia would at all times be ready to combine himſelfe vnto them; that ſo with their vnited forces they might vpon the banks of Danubius and Neſter eaſily repulſe the incurſions both of the Turks and
F Tartars their enemies: the Chriſtian Emperor in the meane time with leſſe trouble proceeding in his wars againſt the Turke on the other ſide of Hungary.

Now whileſt this plot was thus in laying, and matters to and fro debating, not altogether without the Turks ſuſpition; *Sinan Baſſa* comming with a great army into Hungary, had taken the ſtrong Towne of Rab, as is before declared: with which miſchance ſo much concerning

ning the poore remainders of Hungary, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to consider of his owne estate. And as he was a man of a great spirit, and no lesse zeale toward his countrey, grieuing to see his subjects committed to his charge, to be so daily by the insolent Turks still more and more oppressed: he (as he had before promised to the Transyluanian) called an assembly of all the States of Valachia, to consult with them what were best to be done for the remedy of so great euils, as also for the preuenting of greater, not without cause then to be feared. Where by the generall consent of them all it was agreed, rather to joyn with the Emperor and other Christian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them requested, than longer to endure that heauy yoke of the Turkish thraldome and slauery. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thousand of the Hungarian garrison souldiers, now before for that purpose secretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon the name of *Christ Iesu*, in one day to begin withall, slew about two thousand of the Ianizaries (who without his leaue had in that country proudly seated themselues) with all the rest of the Turks (in the midst of their insolency) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of them that he could come by aliue in all the open country. And purposing to driue them out of their strong holds also, and so to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes after set vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he burnt all sauing the castle, and hauing there made a great slaughter, and loded with the spoyle of the Turks, returned to Bucharesta the chiefe seat of his Palatinat.

Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turks.

But long it was not after this his so great presumption, but that he perceiued the Turks in reuenge thereof to seeke after his life: although he yet seemed to yeeld his obedience vnto *Amurath*, and to haue done that he did as enforced thereunto by the insolency of the Turkes, and for the necessary reliefe both of himselfe and his subjects. For the same moneth (Rab being, as is aforesaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the Turks * Emirs, discended of the great famly and stock of *Mahomet* their false prophet, and then Cadilescher (a man of great account and place amongst the Turks) accompanied with 2000 chosen soldiers, fifty of the great Sultans chamber, and many of the Zausij and Spahi, vpon the sudden came to Bucharesta vnder the colour of refreshing themselues, after their long trauell, but indeed with purpose to haue taken the Vayuod: where they without controlement committed all kind of outragious villany; and taking vp all the chiefe houses in the city, imperiously demanded of the Vayuod (who then lay at his palace neere vnto the new monastery without the city, built without any castle or defence, vpon the riuer Dembowiza) 10000 florens for a Present, with victuals and other necessary prouision for his followers. And presently after being certainly informed that he lay there but slenderly accompanied, and almost himselfe alone, the Emir himselfe on foot with 1000 of his soldiers, went out of the city, as if it had bin but for his pleasure, and in courtesie to haue seene him. Of which so suspitious a guests comming, the Vayuod vnderstanding, got him betimes away into the campe of his Hungarian Mercinaries, which then lay but fast by: when the Turke thus deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, craftily sent certaine of his followers, to know of him to what end he in time of peace did entertaine such a number of Hungarian soldiers? Wherunto the Vayuod cunningly answered, That they were at the first entertained for the taking of *Peter* the son of *Alexander*, sometime Palatine of Moldauia: who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon an hooke at Constantinople, yet that those souldiers were for their ready seruice, of necessity still to be bilited in the country vntill such time as their pay might be prouided. Which the Turke hearing, commanded the Vayuod forthwith to discharge them as men vnnecessary, and to his subjects troublesome, promising him the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay them their wages. Which feigned promise the Vayuod seemed thankefully to take; yet neuertheless commanded the Hungarians forthwith in arms to stand in readinesse in the camp, for the intercepting of the Turks, if haply by him distressed, they should betake themselues to flight: whilest he in the mean time with his courtiers and other souldiers secretly assembling into a vally there by, came suddenly vpon the Turks (not as then dreaming of any such thing) compassed about the Innes wherein they lay, and setting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably forced them both with fire and the sword, the two greatest extremities of war; seeking now for nothing more than the just reuenge of his spoiled City, his forced Virgins, and wronged subjects. Howbeit the Turks for a space right valiantly defended themselues, & by plain force (although

* *The Turks call all them that are discended of the stocke of their Prophet Mahomet, by the name of Emirs, or Lords.*

A (although in vaine) ſought to haue broken thorow the midſt of their enemies, and ſo to haue fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their burning cloathes, fought ſtarke naked: but moſt of them which could, fled vnto the palace where the great Emir lay, there with him ready to die or liue. All which their laſt endeuours of deſperation the Vayuod eaſily fruſtated, with two great pieces of Artillery opening a way for his ſoldiers vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in deſpaire (like the hunted Caſtor) threw downe out of a window a great cheſt full of gold and pretious ſtones, and other jewels of great value, if happily he might haue ſo appeaſed the Vayuods wrath; humbly now requeſting no more, but to haue his life ſpared; fearefully promiſing a large ranſome for himſelfe and thoſe few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindefull of the ma- *The Cadileſher with all the Turks his followers ſlaine.*
B nifold injuries by them done vnto him and his ſubjects, and nothing mitigated or moued with the rich ſpoiles thruſt vpon him, or the large promiſes the Turks had made him; commanded all thoſe his enemies now in his power, to be ſlaine euery mothers ſon: of whom his ſouldiers had a wonderfull rich ſpoile, although much more was loſt in the fire: and ſo giuing thankes vnto God for the victory, reſted with his people a while at quiet. Yet within leſſe than a moneth after, he ſent *Albertus Kiral* his Lieutenant with an army to Phloch (a great open vnwalled towne on the farther ſide of Danubius, equally diſtant from Vroſczok and Nicopolis) from whence the Turks oftentimes paſſing ouer that frozen riuer into Valachia, had there done great harme: which towne not inferior vnto a good city, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed, and ſac- *Phloch ſpoiled by the Vayuod.*
king it, put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as were before his comming
C fled. And ſhortly after (the more to annoy the Turks) marching againe ouer the frozen riuer to haue ſurpriſed Herſowa a walled city but one daies journey from Brailoua, he was by the way vpon the yce encountred by the Turks, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew, and hauing ſlaine many of them, and put the reſt to flight, holding on his entended journey, tooke *Herſowa taken.*
that rich city, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground all except the caſtle, which was yet by the Turks valiantly defended: and ſo with the ſpoile of the city returned againe ouer the riuer, there to refreſh his ſouldiers, wearied with labor and the extremity of the Winter weather. And yet not ſo contented, within ſix daies after paſſing againe ouer the riuer, and hauing vpon the ſide thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turks garriſons, tooke Siliſtra a great city of Macedonia built by *Conſtantine* the Great (being the ſeat of one of the
D Turks Sanzackes, and well inhabited with rich Merchants) which faire city he ranſacked, and hauing ſlaine moſt part of the Inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the other, *Siliſtra burnt.*
no leſſe terror than griefe vnto the Turks.

But whilſt the aforeſaid confederation betwixt the Emperor and the Tranſyluanian prince *Amurath dieth*
was yet in hand, and the troubles in Valachia thus ariſing, *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuouſly troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling ſickeneſſe his wonted diſeaſe, and inwardly alſo tormented with the late inſolency of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the Countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, (no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his wars in Hungary) as a man both in ſoule and body tormented, with great impatience and agony of minde departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when
E he had liued one and fifty, or as ſome ſay two and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned nineteene. At the time of his death ariſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at Conſtantinople, that many thought the World ſhould euen preſently haue beene diſſolued. His dead body was not long after with great pompe and ſolemnity buried by *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, in a Moſchie which he himſelfe had before built at Conſtantinople.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amurath the third.	Kings	Emperours of Germany	Maximilian the second,	1567. 12
			Rodolphus the second,	1577
		Of England	Queen Elizabeth,	1558. 44
		Of France	Charles the ninth,	1560. 14
			Henry the third,	1574. 14
			Henry the fourth,	1589.
		Of Scotland	Iames the sixth, afterward King of England,	1565
	Bishops of Rome		Gregorie the XIII,	1572. 12
			Pius the V,	1585. 5
			Vrbin the VII,	1590. 12 dayes
			Gregory the XIV,	1590. 10 months 10 dayes
			Innocent the IX,	1591. 2 months & one day
			Clement the VIII,	1592

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere poſsit :
Quid prohibet magnis nomen ineſſe tuum ?
Qui ſubjecta vides, tot diſſona regna, tot vrbes :
Et nulli cedens, ſceptra ſuperba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid ſit ſapientia Chriſti;
Omnia quæ jactas ſunt, Mahomete, *nihil.*

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

In Engliſh thus :

If ought there be might make thee great that on the earth is found,
What then ſhould let thy name among the greateſt for to ſound ?
That ſees thy kingdomes and thy townes, ſo many and ſo great :
And giuing place thy ſelfe to none, do'ſt ſit on royall ſeat.
Yet ſith thou knoweſt not aright for grace by Chriſt to call,
All that thou boaſt's, ô *Mahomet*, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME SEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

1595 THe death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made knowne in the Court, but with wonderfull ſecrecy concealed, not only for feare of the Ianizaries, (who in the time of the vacancy of the Empire alwaies doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth themſelues) but alſo for that the people hauing in diſtruſt the fierce nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, were generally better affected to *Amurath* the younger brother, a Prince of a more milde ſpirit and courteous diſpoſition, vnto whom they in heart wiſhed thoſe ſtately honours, which could by no meanes without the great wrong and prejudice of his elder brother, and danger of the whole ſtate, be giuen vnto him. Ten daies after, came *Mahomet* in poſt from Amaſia to Conſtantinople, and was there by the great Baſſaes and other his mighty fauourits ſaluted Emperour: which done, he preſently after cauſed all his brethren to be inuited to a ſolemne feaſt in the court: whereunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their father) came cheerefully, as men fearing no harme; but being come, were there all by his commandement moſt miſerably ſtrangled: and at once to rid himſelfe of the feare of all competitors (the greateſt torment of the Mighty) he the ſame day (as is reported) cauſed ten of his fathers wiues and concubines, ſuch as by whom any iſſue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the ſea.

Mahomet ſaluted Emperor of the Turks.

He murthereth his brethren.

The Ianizaries in a tumult.

The Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court not before acquainted with the death of *Amurath*, neither with the choice that the great Baſſa's had without their priuity made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to ſee themſelues ſo diſappointed of ſuch ſpoiles as they reckon due vnto them in the time of their vacancy; as men diſcontented riſe vp in a rage, and made ſuch hauock & ſpoile in the Imperiall city, as greater they could not wel haue made, had there bin as yet no Emperor choſen at all; and not ſo contented, were now euen vpon the point to haue rifled the new Emperours court, and to haue laid violent hands vpon the perſon of himſelfe, in reuenge of the tyranny by him executed vpon his brethren and fathers wiues (which inhumane cruelty the Turkiſh Emperors eaſily excuſe by the name of the policy of their ſtate.) For the appeaſing of which ſo dangerous a tumult, *Mahomet* called vnto him certaine of the chiefe men amongſt theſe ſeditious, ſuch as were thought to be able to do moſt with them, whom he ſought by faire perſuaſions and large promiſes to win vnto him, and by them to pacifie the reſt. Which ſerued him to little or no purpoſe, vntill ſuch time as the great Baſſaes themſelues came out with their followers; who with many faire perſuaſions, mixt with moſt grieuous threats, and firme promiſe of a generall pardon, with much ado appeaſed the tumult: yet for the more ſafety, kept all the chiefe ſtreets of the city with ſtrong watch and ward. This broile thus ouerblowne, a new tent was by the commandement of the new Emperor ſet vp before the Temple of *Sophia*: wherein on the right hand was placed the dead body of the late Sultan *Amurath* his father, and on the left hand the bodies of his nineteene ſtrangled brethren, layed forth

The tumult appeaſed.

A forth of purpoſe,as an heauy ſpectacle for the people to behold : who all not long after were
togethe with their father in great ſolemnity after the Turkiſh manner buried, and *Mahomet*
himſelfe (being about nine and twenty yeares old) now openly proclaimed great Emperor of
the Turks,and lord of all,from the riſing of the Sun,vnto the going downe of the ſame. After
that, returning to his palace, he made vnto his Baſſaes and other great men a ſumptuous and
royall feaſt,as the manner was:but whileſt they were in the midſt of their mirth,vpon the ſud-
den all the city was againe in an vprore, and the people in armes, in ſuch ſort, as that it was
thought ſcarce one man would haue eſcaped aliue from that banket,had not the chiefe Baſſa
with his grauity and wiſedome and wonderfull labour in good time appeaſed their fury, and
withall to their great terror, cauſed all the great ordnance in the city to be brought forth into
B the ſtreets ready charged,to be ſhot off amongſt them.

The Ianizaries againe in an vprore.

Whileſt theſe troubles thus paſſed at Conſtantinople, vpon the late confederation made
betweene the Emperor,the Tranſyluanian Prince,the Valachians and Moldauians,diuers for-
tunate inrodes and skirmiſhes were by them made in the frontiers of the Turks dominions,
many ſtrong places were ſurpriſed,many rich booties taken,and notable examples done,which
we will but briefely paſſe ouer, as the precedents of a greater war. The city of Weitze,before
taken by the Turks,was now againe in the beginning of this yeare recouered and the Chriſti-
ans about Scuthia,in number about foure thouſand,breaking into the Turks frontiers, carried
away an exceeding rich prey,with diuers noble captiues. The like did alſo the Chriſtians of
Viuaria : at which time alſo the garriſon ſoldiers of Altenburg making a rode into the coun-
C try about Rab,encountered with foure thouſand Turks,of whom they ſlew two hundred,tooke
certaine priſoners,whom they ſent ſome to Presburg,ſome to Altenburg : and *Sinan Baſſa* the
late Generall returning towards Conſtantinople with much treaſure, which he had greedily
ſcraped together in the late wars in Hungary, was by the Valachians ſet vpon by the way not
far from Belgrade,and ſtript of all that he had,hauing much ado to eſcape himſelfe with ſome
few of his followers. The ſame Valachians,together with the Tranſyluanians, vnder the con-
duct of their valiant captaine *Geſtius Ferens*,entring further vpon the Turks, tooke from them
diuers of their townes and caſtles, as Pondeſie, Nicopliſe, Killa, and Rebnichi, and meeting
with twelue thouſand Tartars, ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. With
this inſolency of the Valachians his late tributaries,but now his enemies, the Turkiſh Empe-
D rour was highly offended : and therefore ſent one *Bogdanus* a Valachian borne, deſcended of
the Palatines houſe,with a great power to expulſe the old Vayuod,and to poſſeſſe himſelfe of
that honour,as his tributary; promiſing vnto him all fauour and kindneſſe. *Bogdanus* thus ſup-
ported and furniſhed, came with his power into Valachia ; yet thought it beſt before he at-
tempted any great matter,to expect the comming of the Tartars left the laſt yeare in Hunga-
ry by *Sinan* : of whoſe comming the Valachians and Tranſyluanians hauing vnderſtanding,
met them by the way,and joyning battell with them,ſlew eight thouſand of them,put the reſt
to flight, and ſo returned : vnto whom preſently after this victory the Tranſyluanian Prince
ſent fourteene thouſand ſoldiers moe to aid them againſt the Turks. But *Bogdanus* vnderſtan-
ding both of the ouerthrow of the Tartars and the comming of this new ſupply,durſt not pro-
E ceed any further in his enterpriſe,but kept himſelfe ſtill in his trenches. Not long after,by the
commandement of the Turkiſh Emperour, *Han* the Crim Tartar with a great power of his
Tartarian horſemen entred into Moldauia, with purpoſe to haue by fire and ſword reduced
that country againe vnto the Turks obeiſance : of whoſe comming *Aaron* Vayuod of Molda-
uia hauing knowledge, and aided by his neighbour *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, ſo belaied
the Tartars,that he in three diuers battels ouerthrew them,and hauing ſlaine twelue thouſand
of them, enforced the reſt to retire againe out of his countrey: and following the courſe of
this victory, preſently after tooke Bendar, Schinitz, Tigna, Mechnis, with ſome other caſtles
and fortreſſes of the Turks neere vnto the riuer of Danubius, all which he furniſhed with his
owne garriſons ; and withall tooke in the rich countrey of Bobraga, the inhabitants thereof
F willingly ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, as men weary of the Turkiſh thraldome. With
like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Coſſackes, he ouerthrew *Ianicula* the ſonne of *Bog-
danus*, ſometime Vayuod of Moldauia, now ſent by *Mahomet* with a great power, as a moſt
fit inſtrument to trouble the Vayuod,and to recouer againe that countrey : with whom *Aaron*
couragiouſly encountering at Scarpetra, a mile from Danubius, ouerthrew him in plaine

Diuers fortunat rodes made by the Chriſtians vpon the Turks.

battell, and hauing ſlaine eight thouſand of his Turks, put him to flight, and tooke the ſpoile of his whole campe. Neither yet ſo contented, marched preſently to Neſter Alba, where he put the Turks in great feare, and afterwards burnt the ſuburbs of the City, and ſo retired. G

How *Amurath* the late Sultan in the beginning of theſe troubles, had at Conſtantinople ſhut vp in priſon *Fredericke Krecowitz* the Emperours Embaſſador, is before declared. This Embaſſadour *Sinan Baſſa* brought with him the laſt yeare when hee came into Hungary, who after many indignities by him ſuffered both on the way and at Belgrade, there died: fiue of whoſe ſeruants the falſe Baſſa cauſed to bee kept in ſtreit priſon, as guilty of their Maſters death, ſo to auert the infamy thereof from himſelfe. But now lying himſelfe at Belgrade for the better mannaging of this yeares warres, vpon the comming of a new Treaſurer from the Court, hee cauſed the fiue poore priſoners to be brought before him, and moſt impudently charged them with the death of their Maſter: ſaying, That they ſhould anſwere for the ſame vnto God and their Emperor; and that his purpoſe in bringing of him from Conſtantinople, was to no other end, but to haue vſed his helpe in concluding a peace betweene the Great Sultan and the Emperor, and ſo to haue ſet him with all his at liberty: But now that he was dead, he would ſend them his treacherous ſeruants vnto the Emperour to be by him examined: and withall to tell him, That hee was ſent from the Great Sultan, (whoſe power was not by any but God onely to be withſtood) to beſiege Vienna, which he could (as he ſaid) the laſt yeare haue taken with leſſe labour than he had done Rab: and that therefore it were beſt for him betime to ſeeke for peace, before ſo great a power had taken the field: and that for further inſtructions, he would referre them to his ſonne the Baſſa of Buda, to whom he ſent them from Belgrade, together with the new come Treaſurer. Being come to Buda, they were forthwith brought before the Baſſa, and amongſt them the late Embaſſadours Secretary, vnto whom after he had ſaid ſomewhat of the hard dealing with the Embaſſador and his followers, he declared that hee had alwaies diſliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes entreated his father for their liberty; and now at laſt to haue obtained, That the Embaſſadour beeing dead, his ſeruants might be ſet free: and ſo put them in good hope, that they ſhould in ſhort time be reſtored to their wonted liberty. In the meane time, That one of them ſhould go to the Emperours Court, and there ſpeake with one of his ſecretaries, whom he had before aduiſed to bethinke himſelfe of peace: vnto whom alſo he afterwards writ, vpon what conditions he thought peace might be at the Sultans hand obtained. Which were, If all the caſtles and ſtrong holds taken by the Emperors forces in theſe wars, as Filek, Setchine, and Nouigrade, with their territories, ſhould be reſtored, Siſeg in Croatia ſurrendered; if the Emperor ſhould from thenceforth refuſe to aid or protect the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, & Valachians, and leaue them to the Great Sultan to be chaſtiſed as rebels; if finally the Emperour would at once ſend vnto the Turkes Court his wonted tribute for the yeares paſt, and ſo yearely afterwards: ſo he could be content by the mediation of his father, to attempt to appeaſe the fierce and inueterate diſpleaſure of the Sultan, and to further the treaty of peace. This he commanded the Secretary to write, and to ſend it by the young Lord *Perling*, and to require thereof anſwere: yet that he ſhould go with this condition, That if the ſaid *Perling* within the ſpace of fiue and twenty daies returned not with anſwere, all the reſt ſhould for his default loſe their heads. A ſubtill deuice and full of deceit, wherein the crafty Baſſaes, both the father and the ſon, ſought for nothing elſe but to ſee what confidence the Chriſtians had in themſelues, and to breake the confederation made betweene the Emperour, the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians: and that other Princes whom God had ſtirred vp in defence of ſo juſt a cauſe, hearing of a rumour of peace, might grow cold, and deferre to ſend their promiſed aid. For now the Turks had found by experience, how hurtfull and dangerous the reuolt of the three countries of Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia was vnto them, as they which brought ten hundred thouſand duckats yearely into the great Sultans Treaſury: beſides that, thoſe people now become their enemies, were of all others fitteſt to intercept all manner of prouiſion to be brought by land either to or from Conſtantinople, were it victuall or other warrelike prouiſion. Notwithſtanding this motion of peace made by the two Baſſaes, *Sinan* the old Baſſa in the meane time, with great diligence at Belgrade prepared all things neceſſary for warre, and cauſed three bridges to be made, whereby he might in diuers places as he thought beſt, tranſport his army ouer Danubius; and at the ſame time ſent for the garriſons round about,

The Emperours Embaſſador dieth in priſon at Belgrade.

H I K L M

A and other ſoldiers before billited in the country, and put in readineſſe all things neceſſary for a moſt mortall war.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperors court with anſwer to the letters written by the Embaſſadours ſecretary, at the commandement of the Baſſa; the effect whereof was, that he had receiued his letters by *Perling*, and did thereby vnderſtand what had paſſed betweene the captiue ſeruants of the late Embaſſador, and *Sinan Baſſa* at Belgrade, and alſo betweene them and *Sinan Baſſa* his ſon at Buda; and that the Emperors minde was neuer other, but that a firme peace might haue been made between him and the Sultan; and that the Emperour had done nothing elſe by his Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, or by others in other places, but that ſuch reaſonable conditions might haue beene found out, as might haue ended B thoſe wars, and haue on both ſides deliuered their innocent ſubjects from their great and daily calamities; which might eaſily haue been done, if *Sinan* the author and fautor of this warre, had with like deſire furthered the peace. But that it was manifeſt vnto the whole World, that all complaints of infinit grieuances, being by the Embaſſador, yea, and by the Emperor himſelfe, by his letters laid open vnto the Sultan and his chiefe Baſſaes, had not only nothing preuailed, but alſo to haue beene with great contempt rejected, and the treaty of peace once begun, to haue by the inſolency of the Baſſa of Boſna been interrupted: That the Emperour becauſe the matter ſhould not breake out into open war, had ſent his double tribute into the confines of Hungary, which was a great while laid vp at Comara vntill the Sultans minde were known. But when all his deſignes tended to war, and the Chriſtian Prouinces were by his robC bers on euery ſide ſpoiled, the inhabitants led away into moſt miſerable captiuity, the townes and villages burnt, yea, whole countries lay deſolate, and all manner of outrages were vpon a meere pride and contempt as it were of the whole World exerciſed: then the Emperour to haue taken his refuge vnto the defence of his juſt cauſe, and to haue vſed ſuch remedies as are both before God and the World to be allowed, and ſo by lawfull war to haue repulſed warre. And that although all had not the laſt yeare proſpered in his hand, but that he had receiued ſome loſſe: yet that *Sinan Baſſa* himſelfe, and the Baſſa of Buda his ſon, with other of the wiſer ſort of the Turks muſt needs confeſſe that to haue chanced, not by their wiſedome, policy or power, but by the ſufferance of God, by a rare misfortune, through the inexcuſable negligence and treaſon of ſuch as he had put in truſt with the confines of his empire, worthy moſt ſeuere D chaſtiſement. And that no man could deny, but that great powers of the Turks, had not once, but oftentimes bin ouerthrowne and diſcomfited, by ſmall handfuls of the Chriſtians: therefore their power not to be ſo inuincible, as they vainly vanted of. But wheras it is written, that the great Viſier *Sinan* and the Baſſa his ſonne are of opinion, that the Emperor is brought to ſo low an ebbe, that he muſt be glad to accept of moſt hard and diſhonorable conditions of peace propounded by them: therein they erre much, and deceiue themſelues far; for by the power of God they ſhould ſhortly by experience know, that his Imperiall Majeſty wanteth neither power nor wealth, to repaire the loſſe receiued through the treaſon of them he truſted, yea, and to recouer whatſoeuer he had loſt elſe: and that it ſhould in ſhort time be witneſſed vnto the whole World, by the help of God and the defence of a moſt juſt cauſe, that the Emperour E was not ſo poore and weake as they ſuppoſed him to be. Yet as he of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemency, with his owne incomparable loſſe and harme, had alwaies ſought for the quiet and profit of his ſubjects, and to the vttermoſt of his power ſtaid the effuſion of innocent bloud; ſo now alſo forgetting all injuries, he could happily be content to thinke of an honorable peace: whereunto he was more enclined than to protract the warre with the vnſpeakable harmes of the ſubjects on both ſides. Yet aboue all things it behooued *Sinan* to know, that he was to reſtore all ſuch caſtles and townes as had in this warre beene taken by the Turks, beginning at Wihitz in Croatia, euen to the laſt innocent ſubject by them caried away into captiuity. And that the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians (people many ages joyned and vnited as inſeparable members to the kingdome of Hungary, as vnto the true body, and F now of late by the practiſe and treachery of certaine rebellious perſons ſeparated from the ſame) were from henceforth to be left vnder the protection and gouernment of his Imperiall Majeſty, and neuer more to be impugned by the Turks. If theſe things were done, and order taken that the injury and diſgrace done vnto the Emperours late Embaſſadour (a fact that all the Princes of the World cried ſhame of) might not remaine vnpuniſhed: and that his ſeruants

The Baſſa's ſubtill demands anſwered with like.

in durance at Buda and Conſtantinople, might be reſtored vnto their wonted liberty, then G
ſome good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon:
without which conditions, all talke of peace was but vaine; for that God the juſt and mighty
protector of ſuch as put their truſt in him, would not faile to help his Imperiall Majeſty, with
the reſt of the confederat Princes, in their ſo juſt a quarrell, and abate the pride of ſuch as truſt
in their owne ſtrength and power.

This anſwer the captiues at Buda were commanded to giue vnto the Baſſa, either by writing or by word of mouth: and withall earneſtly to requeſt him both for their owne liberty and their fellows, wrongfully detained at Conſtantinople. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themſelues with that, that they ſhould in bounteous manner receiue from the Emperour ſuch allowance, as ſhould ſuffice to prouide them things neceſſary: as he had gran- H
ted to *Perling*, whom he might haue juſtly detained and not ſent him backe againe, but for his oaths ſake, being no lawfull priſoner. Thus were the vnreaſonable conditions of peace craftily by the Baſſa propounded, by others anſwered: but by whom he knew not, no mans name being ſet thereunto.

The Emperor not ignorant with what an enemy he had to do, and of nothing more carefull than of the kingdome (or more truly to ſay, of the reliques of the kingdome) of Hungary, lying now as it were in the Lyons mouth, ceaſed not to pray aid, not of the Princes electors only, but of others alſo farther off; yea euen as far as Italy and Spaine, but eſpecially of the King of Polonia, as his neere alliance and neighbor. Vnto whom both he and the States of Hungary ſent their Embaſſadours, at ſuch time as he, moued with the daily incurſions of the Turks I
and Tartars into the countries adjoyning vpon his, had for the ſafety of his owne Kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in February laſt, at Cracouia. Wherof *Mahomet* the Great Turke hearing, ſent alſo two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vſual Embaſſadors, vnto the king and his States ſo aſſembled, to craue his aid in his wars in Hungary: which if the King ſhould not refuſe, then to promiſe him to want no coine to pay his ſouldiers; and that *Mahomet* mindfull of ſo great a courteſie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his occaſions
The Turks Embaſſadours ſent vnto the Polonian King ſlain in Valachia. ſhould require. Theſe Embaſſadors, hauing obtained ſafe conduct from *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia for their paſſage through his country; comming thither, were by the Vayuod himſelfe honourably entertained and welcommed, and ſo brought into a faire lodging, where they diſcourſed with him of many matters. But the Vayuods followers, grieued to ſee ſo great ho- K
nor done to theſe his ſworne and mortall enemies, with weapons in their hands brake into the roome where the Embaſſadors were, and without more adoe ſlew them both: and in the ſame fury ſetting vpon the reſt of the Turks their followers, cut them all in pieces, ſo that of them none came into Polooia to do their great Maſters meſſage, either yet returned to Conſtantinople to carry newes of the reſt, but there altogether periſhed. Of which outrage *Mahomet* yet vnderſtanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatening all euils both to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith ſent out other Embaſſadors to the ſame purpoſe; who with better fortune afterwards arriued in Polonia.

The Tartars in many places (as is before declared) ouerthrown, and many ſtrong caſtles and forts taken from the Turks by the Tranſyluanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkiſh L
affaires going to wracke in thoſe quarters, and ſore ſhaken on that ſide of Hungary; *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour called home to the Court *Sinan Baſſa* his Generall in Hungary, to conferre with him (as it was thought) of ſome great matters. In whoſe place he ſent *Ferat Baſſa*, he who ſometime had the leading of *Amuraths* great armies againſt the Perſians: who now departing from Conſtantinople, came to Belgrade in Aprill, and there tooke the charge vpon him. Where at his firſt comming, in the night time all the ropes and cords of the tents were ſuddenly cut in ſunder, and ſo the tent let fall about his eares: which ſome ſuppoſed to haue beene done to his diſgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Baſſa*, before by him wronged; or as others thought, by the inſolent Ianizaries, who diſliking of him, did it in deſpight, wiſhing ra-
The Plague & Famine among the Turks. ther to haue beene led by *Mahomet* himſelfe. Now at his comming, the Famine which the M
laſt yere began amongſt the Turks, was growne exceeding great, not at Buda and Belgrade only, but euen generally in moſt places of Hungary poſſeſſed by the Turks: inſomuch that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roaſt their owne children and eat them. This Famine was alſo accompanied with a moſt terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of

A the Turks and Tartars died dayly: so that of foureſcore fiue thouſand Tartars which came the laſt yeare into Hungary, now remained ſcarce eight thouſand, the reſt being all deuoured with the Sword, famine, and the Peſtilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes ſtill dayly receiued from the late reuolted countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the Chriſtians of thoſe places ſeeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, not contented with that they had already done, but entring into the Turks frontiers, ſurpriſed Scihmele, together with the caſtle; wherin he found foureteene field pieces, amongſt which were two which had vpon them the armes of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Huniades*; which pieces he afterward ſent as a preſent to the Tranſyluanian Prince. After that, he tooke Oroſige, a famous B port towne, the dwelling place of the Turks great purueyor for butter, cheeſe, and hony, and ſuch other prouiſion for the court; wherein he found ſuch ſtore of the aforeſaid prouiſion, as might well haue ſufficed eight thouſand men for a whole yeare: and ſtill proſecuting his good fortune, took from the Turks Gilec and Kalempe, with the ſtrong caſtle of S. *George*, commonly called Grigio, and at length beſieged Laganoc.

Michael Vayuod of Valachia doth the Turks great harme.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Chriſtian army, from the aſſembly of the Nobility of Hungary at Presburg, to Vienna, and ſo from thence to the Emperor his brother at Prague; who appointed him Generall of the lower Hungary; and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper Hungary: giuing them for their Lieutenants, vnto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the County *Charles Manſ-* C *felt*, by him ſent for out of Flanders, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. *Iohn de Medices*, who was yet in Hungary, he made Maſter of the great ordnance, with charge to fortifie Komara; which he ſo well performed, as that it was thought nothing in ſtrength inferiour to Rab. All this while the Emperor ceaſed not by his Embaſſadors and letters to ſolicite the Chriſtian Princes, for the repreſſing of the common enemy, to put too their helping hands: and ſo much preuailed with them, that out of his owne hereditary prouinces, and from other Princes his friends, he had this Spring raiſed a right puiſſant and ſtrong army for the defence of Hungary: which how it was raiſed, and from whom, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to remember, as the chiefe ſtrength vnder God, whereby the Chriſtian commonweale was this yeare moſt notably defended. Out of the higher Saxony came a thouſand two hun- D dred horſemen, and out of the lower Saxony ſix hundred: from Franconia a thouſand horſemen: from Sueuia foure thouſand footmen: out of the County of Tirol as many: from Bauaria three thouſand: out of Bohemia two thouſand men at armes, ſix hundred light horſemen, and ſix thouſand footmen: from Sileſia a thouſand fiue hundred horſemen: from Luſatia fiue hundred horſe and a thouſand foot: from Morauia a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot: out of Auſtria two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot: from Hungary fiue hundred horſemen and a thouſand foot: from the nobility of Sueuia and Francouia foure thouſand foot: from the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries vnder the conduct of *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, two thouſand horſemen and ſix thouſand foot: vnto theſe the Biſhop of Rome added two thouſand horſemen, and eight thouſand foot: the great Duke of Florence ſent fiue hundred E horſe & three thouſand foot: the Duke of Ferrara a thouſand fiue hundred footmen: the Duke of Mantua a thouſand foot: and the Duke *Venturee* fiue hundred horſe. All which being put together, fill vp the number of fifteene thouſand nine hundred horſemen, and fiftie thouſand fiue hundred foot. Which notable army, raiſed from the power of diuers Chriſtian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chiefetains, had by the goodneſſe of God much better ſucceſſe this Summer againſt the antient enemies of Chriſtendome, than had the like army the yeare before: as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall appeare.

The notable army of the Chriſtians, and from whence it was raiſed.

Among the worthy Commanders that were in this puiſſant army, *Charles* County *Manſfelt* the ſonne of *Peter Erneſtus* the old County, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the King of Spaine at the requeſt of the Emperor ſent with the aforeſaid forces of two thou- F ſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot out of the Low-countries, as a man for his approued valor and direction, fit to mannage theſe dangerous warres againſt the Turks vnder *Matthias* the Archduke, as his Lieutenant Generall: who hauing raiſed the appointed forces, for moſt part Wallons, departed from Bruxelles about the midſt of February, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at Luxenburg, and trauelling through Germany, came in March to Prague,

where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother most honourably entertained, G
and shortly after with great solemnity created one of the Princes of the Empire. His forces following after him, were by the way staied, partly by the inundation of waters (the riuers they were to passe ouer at that time rising to an vnwonted height) partly by the jealousie of some of the German Princes, who denied them passage through their territories, vntil such time as that the Emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which Princes for all that stood vpon their guard, and so gaue him passage.

Now ran great rumors of wonderfull preparations of the Turks, as also of the Christians; Fame after her wonted manner, encreasing the report of all things aboue measure: which caused the Turks with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, especially of Rab and Strigonium, as did the Christians to the fortification of Comara and Al- H
tenburg. In the meane time many hot skirmishes passed betweene the Christians and the Turks, especially in the late reuolted countries of Transyluania and Valachia, wherein the Turks were still put to the worse, to the great discontentment of their Emperour. Neere vnto Temeswarc the Bassa of Buda was ouerthrowne, by the valiant Captaine *Gestius Ferentz*, and
Ferat Bassa ouerthrown in Valachia. the Transyluanians. And in Valachia the Turks Generall entering with a great army, was there also by the Lord *Nadasti* and the Valachians, aided with the Transyluanians, in a great battell discomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thousand of the Turks heads in token of this victory the Lord *Nadasti* sent to Alba-Iulia to the Transyluanian Prince, and certaine ensignes, amongst which was one most richly garnished with pretious stones and pearles, thought to be worth thirty thousand dollars; which the Prince afterward restored againe to *Nadasti*, offe- I
ring him great possessions in Transyluania, if he could haue been content there to haue seated himselfe.

All this Spring the Turks countenanced their warrs with greater boasts and threats, than true force; giuing it out, That they would in short time worke wonders both by sea and land. For the more credit wherof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat, was sent out with twelue gallies; who landing here and there vpon the coasts of Italy, did much harme, causing it to be reported in euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a wonderfull fleet was to follow him: which raised a great feare, as well in other places, as in Italy. Howbeit, no such fleet afterwards appeared: for why, the Turkish Emperour, much troubled with the reuolt of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and the great mortality then raging K
both among his souldiers and their horses, was not at leisure to looke into the sea, hauing his hands full enough with the troubles of Hungary, where his men of war enjoyed little rest in the frontiers of his territories.

Sigismund the Transyluanian Prince, had vpon some just causes, of late suspected *Aaron* the Vayuod of Moldauia, to haue intelligence not only with the Polonians, but also with the Cardinall, *Bator*, and other his mortall enemies, and secretly to haue been about to make his peace with *Mahomet*, and so againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: which vehement suspition growing dayly more and more, was about this time manifestly confirmed by certain letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the Prince caused *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his wife and sonne to be sent as prisoners to Prague: in whose roome L
he by the consent of the nobility of the country, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wise and discreet man amongst them, and such an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in him was, prouiding, that that country should not be rent from him and the vnion of the other. But against the secret practises of the Polonians, he protested openly by letters vnto the Emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull subjects, to redresse those so great injuries himselfe by the sword.

Mahomet sendeth Embassadours to the prince of Transyluania. In the middest of these troubles came three Chiaus, Embassadors from the Turkish Sultan vnto the Prince, to persuade him againe to put himselfe into his protection, and to giue him passage through his country, as in former time, into Hungary; promising him, that all the injuries by him or his people don, should be for euer forgotten and forgiuen: and that he should M
haue those three countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, as his owne free inheritance, without paying any tribute, and so to be accounted as the Turks most louing friend and vassall. What the Prince answered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterwards it was easily to be gathered, that he hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the faithlesse

tyrant,

A tyrant, trusting more vnto the league he had with the Christian Emperour. These Embassadours were scarce gone, but that a secret messenger came with letters from the chiefe of the Christians in Bulgaria to the Prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good successe prosecute his wars, they would be ready to follow his fortune, and to joyne hands with him against the cruell tyrant, and to shut vp all the passages that way into Valachia, Moldauia and Hungary.

Whilest these troublesome times thus passed in Transyluania and Hungary, one of the old Ianizaries called *Wasuode Giezi*, an old souldier, but a confident bold spoken fellow, moued as should seeme with the discontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at Constantinople, and there openly set vpon him with this rough and abrupt speech:

B

How long at last, most mighty Emperour, wilt thou endure thy selfe to be seduced and blinded by the great Bassaes of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou suffer thy selfe to be deceiued, to the great danger of thy selfe, and hurt of thy subjects? Seest thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they, moued only with their owne couetous and ambitious humour, haue hitherto dealt with thee and thy father? especially in that, that perswaded by them, thou hast dishonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes against the Christian Emperour. At length open thine eies and see their deceit, and how much they abuse thy power. Sinan Bassa, *who must haue himselfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by strong hand honourably woon Rab, as hath been the manner of thine Ancestors, but hath craftily bought it with thy mony, and thereby cast thee into a most dangerous war and infinite troubles. O Rab, Rab, now the cause of great triumph and rejoycing, as if thereby all Christendome* C *should in short time be subdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceiued; thy barnes, thy storehouses, as are Transyluania, Valachia, Moldauia, Bulgaria, and other prouinces adjoyning, from whence this thy Imperiall City of Constantinople, with the country about it, thy Court, yea, thy selfe art to be relieued, are by this war shut vp; so that downe the riuer of Danubius out of the West, or by the Euxine out of the East, thou art not able to looke for any prouision. From whence then ô most mighty Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy selfe, thy Court, this populous City, and the Country hereabout? Not to speake in the meane time of thy mighty Army now in Hungary, flesh, fish, corne, all manner of victuall are now at such a price, that the common souldiers cannot buy them. In this extreame dearth all things, not men only, but euen the very beasts and cattell starue for hunger. Thy horses go fat perhaps into Hungary, but neither* D *thou nor thy select souldiers can liue by grasse and weeds, all that is left in that country. This misery and calamity of thy people thou seest dayly, and yet thou wilt not with sound judgement lift vp thine eies, to see from whence these harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greatest trust, study not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but only how by all meanes to enrich themselues.*

The presumptuous speech of one Wasuode an old Ianizary, to Mahomet the great Sultan.

Mahomet much mooued with the confident speech of the old Ianizary, commanded him to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire meanes to be examined, by whose setting on, and for what cause he had so boldly vttered this rude speech vnto his Souereigne, and what further things he had intended: but the rest of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, rise presently in E a tumult, and by strong hand tooke him out of prison, and by solemne oath combined themselues to defend him, euen to the spending of their owne bloud, whereat *Mahomet* was glad to winke.

The greatest part of the aid promised by the Christian Princes for the maintenance of this yeres wars against the Turks being now come to Vienna in Austria, County *Mansfelt* Lieutenant General vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a Councell of the Colonels, captains, and other great commanders of the army, to consult with them what course to take for the beginning of this great war: as whether they should presently lay siege to some towne of the Enemies, or else to expect him in the plaine field, and to giue him battell. All things well considered, and that resolued vpon which was thought most expedient, he remoued from Vienna to F Altenburg, where he mustered his whole army; and departing thence, with some few of his followers came to Walkenburg, a village vpon the side of Danubius, where he made choice of a place to encampe his army in: which after he had marked out, he returned againe with speed to Altenburg, and by open proclamation thorow the Campe gaue streit commandement, That against a certaine houre euery man should be in readinesse to remoue and set forward

The Army of the Christians mustered at Altenburg.

ward toward the enemy: but diuers of the ſouldiers, and eſpecially the Germans, began forth- G
with after their wonted manner to cry out for their pay before they would ſtir any further: ſo that the County was glad by a ſecond proclamation to command them to ariſe, promiſing them their pay within eight days. But they ſtil ſtanding vpon their former reſolution for their pay, refuſed any further to follow their captains, and ſent ſix of the beſt ſort among thoſe mutinous ſoldiers to the County, in the name of all the reſt to demand their pay; whom he forthwith commanded to be all hanged: but three of them hauing reaſonably excuſed themſelues, he let them go, and cauſing the other three to caſt lots for their liues, hanged vp two of them. Which ſeuere execution ſo terrified the reſt, that vpon the ſigne giuen they all riſe, and with the reſt of the army followed the County. The whole army being come to Walkenburg vnto the place where they were to encamp; the County himſelfe with others of the nobility began H
with ſpades & ſhouels to dig and caſt vp the trenches, and ſo wrought vntill they ſweat again; with whoſe example all the reſt of the army, of what degree ſoeuer, being moued to labor, had in ſhort time caſt vp a very great trench from Danubius vnto the Mariſhes, large enough for 80000 men to incamp in, the great worke with wreſtleſſe labor going forward both night and day vntill it was fully finiſhed. The County lying thus intrenched with his army, was ſtill carefull by his eſpials to vnderſtand where the enemy lay, and what he did. He was ready ſtill to heare all, but to beleeue that which ſeemed moſt like to be true: what he purpoſed, he kept moſt ſecret, ſo that the enemy could neuer diſcouer any of his deſignes (wherein the Generals of late yeares before him had much erred:) and commonly his moſt certaine reſolutions were ſhadowed vnder the open ſhew of ſome other matter nothing meant: ſecurity he much abhor- I
red, as neuer free from danger: and although it was by diuers meſſengers brought vnto him, That the enemy was but of ſmall ſtrength, vnable to meet him, diſorderly incamped, and in great diſtreſſe for want of victuals; yet would he giue little credit thereunto, as knowing ſuch reports to haue oftentimes bin giuen out by the Turks, of purpoſe to lull the Chriſtians in ſecurity, the more eaſily to oppreſſe them. The Chriſtian army thus ſtrongly entrenched, and the trenches planted with great ordnance, the County himſelfe with certain troups of horſemen would oftentimes ſhew himſelfe before Rab, and ſometime before Dotis, viewing ſometime the one place, and ſometime the other, as if he had verily purpoſed to haue beſieged one of them: and to giue the greater ſhew that he had ſo determined, he cauſed the ground to be marked out for his army moſt conueniently to incamp in, and for the caſting vp of his mounts. K
Which cauſed the Turks of Strigonium, Veſprinium, Palotta, and other places farther off, to ſend part as well of their warlike prouiſion, as of their garriſon ſouldiers, ſome to Rab, ſome to Dotis, for the defence of thoſe places, neereſt as they thought vnto danger. The County in the meane time hauing now put all things in readineſſe, came with his army and ſate downe before Dotis, demanding to haue it yeelded vnto him. And the more to confirme the Turks that he would aſſuredly beſiege that place, he began to caſt vp his trenches, and to raiſe his mounts as ſeemed moſt conuenient; ſtreitly commanding euery man of what condition ſoeuer, to put his hand in ſome meaſure to the furtherance of thoſe works: and the more by his own example to encourage others, would oftentimes himſelf carry a faggot or ſome other thing before him vpon his horſe for the raiſing of the mount. For all that, certain Hungarian gentlemen diſdai- L
ning ſuch baſe labor (as they deemed it) refuſed to do any thing therein: which the County perceiuing ſtreitly charged one of them by his example, to carry a fagot to the mount: which the Hungarian gentleman refuſing, the County therewith much moued, laid the fagot he was carrying himſelf, before the Hungarian vpon his horſe, charging him to ſee that he caried it to the appointed place. the Hungarian diſdainfully taking it, carried it vntill he thought he was out of the Counties ſight, and then in ſcorn threw it down: which the County (hauing ſtill an eie after him) perceiuing, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid to be preſently hanged vpon the next tree for his obſtinacy. Which wholſome ſeuerity, both then and afterwards cauſed others more diligently to doe what they were commanded by their ſuperiours.

The vigilant carefulneſſe of County Manſfelt.

Dotis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

An obſtinate Turke.

It happened about this time, that three Turks being taken priſoners, were brought into the M
camp: whom the County ſtreitly examined of many matters. But the firſt of the three could neither by faire or foule means be induced to anſwer to any thing that he was asked; and was therefore by the commandement of the County in the ſight of the other two cut into ſmall pieces. Who terrified with his diſmembring, confeſſed many things whereof they were asked:

and

A and among others, That the Turkiſh Sultan had determined to turne his greateſt forces into Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and the vpper part of Hungary; and therefore would this Summer ſend ſmall forces or els none at all into thoſe quarters.

Now was Dotis ſo belaied by the County, as that no man doubted but that he had thereon purpoſed to haue gaged his whole forces, when ſuddenly the laſt of Iune, commandment was giuen through the campe, That euery man vpon ſigne giuen, ſhould be in readineſſe to follow his leaders, for that the County had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whether the army was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commanders. As for to go to Strigonium, few there were that ſo much as dreamed thereof, all was kept ſo ſecret: yet was it the Counties purpoſe euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that city,

B which the Archduke had in vaine the laſt yere beſieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the County riſe with all his army, and the next day being the firſt of Iuly, came to Strigonium, they of the city not hearing of his comming before they ſaw him vnder their walls. Wherefore the Turks in the ſuburbs called the Raſcian city, and they in the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill, deſpairing of the keeping of thoſe places, ſetting fire on the houſes, and defacing the fort ſo much as in that ſudden feare they poſſibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the County without reſiſtance tooke the aforeſaid places forſaken by the Turks, which he manned with certaine companies of Wallons, and made a bridge of boats ouer Danubius, caſt vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the ſiege. In three daies he had againe repaired the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turks, and therein placed foure great pieces of artillery, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, and in other

C places to ſtreit the beſieged more than they had bin the yere before. The Baſſa of Buda not ignorant of the want both of men & munition in the beſieged city, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before ſent part of their gariſon with ſhot & pouder to Rab and Dotis) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the ſiege) to haue by the riuer put new ſupplies both of men and munition into the city: but was ſtil by the diligence of the Chriſtians excluded, and enforced with loſſe to returne. In ſhort time the lower towne, which they call Waſſerſtat, or the Water-towne, was with continuall battery ſore beaten, ſo that ſcarcely any houſe or building was left whole; and a counterſcarfe made the laſt yeare beaten downe. Whereunto certaine Wallons were ſent, onely to haue viewed the bredth and manner of the

D ditches: after whom certaine companies of the Hungaritn Heidons preſently followed, without any command of their captaines; who with great courage got to the top of another high counterſcarfe, & there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes. Which the Turks beholding, & comming on cloſe together, by plain force enforced them with loſſe to retire. Among theſe Hungarians were diuers alſo of the Wallons ſlaine, with ſome others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the County, being not a little offended with that diſordered ſeruice: yet day & night the battery ceaſed not, & the Chriſtians out of their trenches with their muſket ſhot ſlew many of the Turks vpon the wals, receiuing little harme again, the Turks ſtil ſhooting ſparingly, for feare of wanting ſhot and pouder at their greater need; yet that they ſpent they beſtowed ſo well, that amongſt others they had ſlain foure of the Chriſtian canoniers, and one Wallon

E captaine. About the midſt of Iuly the County with continuall battery had made the Watertowne (as he thought) faultable: and therefore ſent certain companies to begin the aſſault: who hauing paſſed the counterſcarfe, found the ditch full of deep mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the Turks, ſo that it was thought ſcarce poſſible to be paſſed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wal, with ſtrong bulwarks, and within al this was another new caſt ditch, and vpon the very brinke therof a thicke and high parapet: all which for all that, certain companies of Wallons with great labor and danger aduentured to paſſe: but ſuch was the valour of the defendants, and the ſmall number of them that came on to the aſſault, with the diſaduantage of the place wherein they ſtood, that at length they were glad to retire with the loſſe of many of their fellows. The Chriſtians in the beginning of this ſiege had taken a little

F Iſland in the riuer before the city, which was kept with ſome few companies of the Lord *Palfi* his Heidons; whereof the Turks hauing intelligence at Buda, with three gallies and certaine other veſſels, landed in the Iſland 3000 ſoldiers, which ſlew the Heidons, vnto whom no ſuccor could be ſuddenly ſent, and ſo recouered againe the Iſland: wherein they left a ſufficient garriſon for the keeping thereof, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and ſo departed.

County Manſfield remoueth with the army from Dotis to Strigonium.

The Chriſtians repulſed.

About

About three daies after the former assault, the Christians in hope of better successe, the second time assaulted the Water-towne; in which assault the chiefe leaders were the Lord *Greis* and *Anthony Zinne* a famous captaine, had he not stained his honour with County *Hardeck* at Rab; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the rest appointed to that seruice, most couragiously assault the breach, but were againe by the Turks notably repulsed, and enforced at last to giue ouer the assault, and so to retire with the losse of 150 men: among whom *Zinne* himselfe was slaine, with one Captaine *Ruger*, and some of the Counties owne Guard: the Lord *Greis* was wounded in the head, and the younger Lord *Schuendi* with diuers other Captaines grieuously hurt. The next day after, 600 of the mountaine people came into the campe vnto the County, with supplications to request him, Not to giue ouer the siege vntill he had woon the City; promising him in the name of those Townes and Villages from whence they were sent, Of their own charges to repaire for him what harme so euer he should do in the City for the taking thereof, yea, though he should lay it euen with the ground: for why? the harmes they dayly receiued from the garrison of that City were wonderfull. G H

Mahomet carefull of Strigonium.

At the same time also he was aduertised by his espials (of whom he maintained many for the discouery of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had writ vnto the Bassa of Buda, carefully to prouide that his beloued city of Strigonium tooke no harme, and not to spare either for men or mony in time to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the aduice and good liking of his old and faithfull seruant *Alis-Beg*, who of long time had gouerned and also defended that city: and to the intent that nothing should be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had sent *Alexander*, Aga of the Ianizaries from the Court (whose seruice he might ill haue spared) whose approued counsell and helpe he might also vse in all things: for that he had rather lose some other whole kingdome, than that one city: And that therefore he should beware that it were not by the enemy woon, or by any composition yeelded: wherein if he failed, he threatened vnto him his heauy displeasure, not to be appeased without the price of his head. Which so seuere a commandement of the great Sultans the Bassa sent to them of Strigonium; with most grieuous threats from himselfe, if they, terrified with any battery, vndermining, or assault, should yeeld the city, & not hold it out as became valiant soldiers vnto the last man; swearing to impale them al vpon stakes that should consent to the yeelding vp thereof. The old gouernor *Alis-Beg* hauing receiued this so streit a command from him that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened; vtterly to deter the souldiers from once thinking of yeelding, caused diligent enquiry to be made throughout the garison, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yeelding vp the city, or otherwise murmured against their captains or commanders appointing them to any seruice: and such as he found to haue so done, he to the terror of others caused to be presently executed: and after that went downe himselfe into the lower towne, to see that nothing were there wanting or amisse, where most danger was. But when he would haue again returned into the vpper town, he was staied by the Ianizaries, who told him, That seeing he was of so valiant and couragious a mind, and their Gouernor, he should there stay with them, and take such part as they did, were it better or worse: and so would he, or would he not, there needs stay he must. I K

Now the Bassaes of Buda and Temeswar, with diuers Sanzackes as well of those parts of Hungary which the Turks possessed, as other places, were assembling their forces for the reliefe of the besieged in Strigonium: whereof the Transyluanian Prince hearing, made shew as if he would fortwith haue besieged Temeswar, so that the Bassa thereof leauing the intended expedition for Strigonium, was glad to returne for the defence of his owne charge. They also of Stiria, Carinthia, and Croatia, with the troups of County *Serinus* had so stopped al the passages, that twelue thousand Turks which were comming from Zigeth and the places thereabout, could by no meanes come to ioyne themselues with their fellowes for the relicfe of the distressed city. L

The higher city of Strigonium battered by the Christians.

The County leauing nothing vnattempted or vndon that might help for the gaining of Strigonium, had made a notable fort vpon S. *Thomas* hill, and therein placed fiue great culuerins: wherewith he furiously battered the higher city, and did therein great harme: and thereby also brought to passe that no man could goe vp or downe the hill betwixt the vpper towne and the lower, but he was in danger to be set off with those pieces, or the musketiers; who defended by those great pieces, lay vpon the side of the hil in caues and bushes, awaiting for such as M

should

A ſhould go vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Chriſtians at one time battered the vpper towne, the lower towne, and the ſtrong towne and fort of Gokara, ſtanding on the further ſide of Danubius ouer againſt Strigonium, beſieged by the lord *Palfi*. But of all theſe places, Gokara was with the fury of the great ordnance moſt ſhaken: which the County perceiuing, cauſed the battery to be encreaſed, and ſo continued, vntill he had beaten downe the counterſcarſe, and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Morauians (vnto whoſe lot it fell) the one and twentieth of Iuly gaue an aſſault in fiue diuers places, whom the Lord *Palfi* ſeconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpoſe appointed, beſide their armes, to bring things with them for the firing of the towne; which they in the time of the aſſault found meanes ſo well to beſtow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. The *Gekara taken by the Chriſtians.*

B Turks at firſt made notable reſiſtance, but finding themſelues ouerpreſſed, and ſeeing the town now on a fire about their eares, which with the wind ſo encreaſed, that it caught hold of the lower towne on the other ſide of the riuer; they retired to the riuer ſide, where ſome of them by boats got ouer to Strigonium, other ſome periſhed in the riuer, the reſt falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were by them all put to the ſword. Gokara thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Chriſtians repairing the breaches, and ſtoring it with all warlike prouiſion, left in it a ſtrong garriſon. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the Turks horſmen deſcried in a field faſt by, which cauſed an alarme to be raiſed in the campe, as if the whole

f army of the Turks had bin at hand: howbeit thoſe horſemen retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards knowne, that they were only ſcouts ſent out by the Turkes to take view of

C the army of the Chriſtians, in what ſort they lay encamped.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned, that a young country fellow ſecretly ſent out of the city by the Gouernor, and falling into the hands of *Palfi*, was by him ſent to the County; by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whether he was going, and whereabouts? Whereunto the youth frankly anſwered, That he was ſent from the Gouernor with letters to the Baſſa of Buda; which he preſently drew out of his boſome, and deliuered them vnto the County: who after he had read them, cauſed them to be cloſed vp againe, and ſo deliuered to the yong man, with ſome few crownes, commanding him to carry them to the Baſſa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Baſſaes anſwer, promiſing for his ſo doing to reward him bountifully: which the yong man vndertooke to do, and ſo departed.

D Now the purport of the Gouernours letters was, That if the Baſſa did not within ſix or ſeuen daies ſend him aid and relieue him, he ſhould for want of victuals & other things neceſſary for the holding out of the ſiege, be inforced either to abandon the city, or to yeeld it vp into the enemies hands. Wherunto the Baſſa returned anſwer by the aforeſaid meſſenger, that he would within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the meane time to be mindfull of his wonted valor, and not to be with any thing diſcouraged: appointing him the day, the houre, the way, the meane, with all the other circumſtances how he would relieue him. Which letters the yong man according to his promiſe deliuered vnto the County: who thereupon prouided accordingly for the welcomming of the Baſſa. Within a day after alſo, one of the Turks canoniers conſidering the danger the city lay in, and fearing that it would be loſt, fled out of it into

E the camp: who beſides that he aptly declared the ſtate of the city, and the wants the beſieged were in, did alſo afterwards good ſeruice during the time of the ſiege. The Turks had in this while many times ſallied out to their great loſſe: yet now vpon hope of better ſucceſſe, they aduentured the 29 of this moneth to ſally out againe, but with like fortune as before, leauing fourſcore of their men behind them, hauing ſlaine but fiue of the Chriſtians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the ſpace of a moneth right worthily defended Strigonium, expecting ſtill for reliefe. At length news was brought into the camp, That the Baſſa of Buda with 20000 men was comming to raiſe the ſiege: who the ſecond of Auguſt came accordingly, and with his army encamped within foure miles of the Chriſtians: lying ſo nigh, that certaine of the Turks horſemen ſeeking after booty, came very neere vnto the camp of the

F Chriſtians, and out of the paſtures, euen vnder their noſes, carried away ſome few horſes: againſt theſe deſperat aduenturers, certaine troups of the Hungarian and German horſemen iſſuing out, had with them an hot skirmiſh; but the Turks of purpoſe retiring as men ouercharged, and the Chriſtians ſtill following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place where diuers other troups of the Turkes lay in ambuſh for them, who now ſtarting forth, on *A skirmiſh betwixt the Turks & the Chriſtians.*

euery

euery side hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horsemen well acquainted with such G
skirmishes, seeing the danger, presently fled and left the Germans to themselues: who for a while valiantly encountered their enemies, but oppressed with multitude, were glad at last to fly also. In this skirmish of the Christians were lost and grieuously wounded about 100. The Turks encouraged with this so prosperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their army, being before resolued, by plaine force to open themselues a way into the city, and so to relieue the besieged. Of all these things was not the County ignorant, as thereof forewarned by the Bassaes letters before deliuered vnto him; and had therefore with his army strongly belaied all the waies vnto the city. Neuertheless the enemy came still on betweene the hills S. *Thomas* and S. *George*, and neere vnto the suburbs called the Rascian city, put themselues in order of battell, as did also the Christians, giuing the enemy leaue to come euen to their trenches. H
In the mean time the Lord *Palfi* with his Hungarian horsmen fetching a compasse about the hill on the one side, and the Lord *Swartzenburg* with his horsemen on the other, had so inclosed the Turks behind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies orderly ranged, and the signall of battell giuen, the Turks hauing before without any great harm done discharged 17 field pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a most hideous cry, and at the first onset, with their Turkish arrowes, as with a thick shoure darkned the sky: when on the other side the German and Wallon horsmen with their petronels sent their deadly shot as thicke as haile amongst them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to their cost, how vnfit their light and halfe naked horsemen were in a set battell to meet with them so well appointed: in a trice, but not without great slaughter, the battell was brought to I
the sword, and to be tried by true valor: There was to be heard a cry heauens high, the thundering of artillery both great and smal, the clattering of armor, the glistering weapons, the neighing of the horses, the crying of the wounded, the heauy groanings of the dying, with the noise of the trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, made deafe the ears of the hearers, presenting vnto them nothing but horor and euen present death. It was a most miserable sight to see so many men in so short time slain: for the battell had scarce endured halfe an houre, when many thousands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground, and the rest seeing the victory incline to the Christians, betooke themselues to flight, leauing behind them their great ordnance and whatsoeuer els they brought for the reliefe of the besieged: whom so flying, the lords, *Palfi* and *Swartzenburg* (who had before taken the streits wherby they were to passe between the mountains) so receiued with their fresh horsmen, that of them that came that way few escaped. K
The Bassa himselfe, who stood vpon the hill, seeing the discomfiture of his men, fled also himselfe: the Bassa of Natolia with about 100 of the Turks moe by good fortune got into Strigonium. The number of the Turks slain in this battel was great, & is of diuers diuersly reported, some saying that there were slain 14000, and some fewer. Besides them that were slaine, many were also taken, and some of them men of great name and place. There were also taken 27 ensignes, with a multitude of camels, asses, and mules, laded with mony, shot, pouder, and other necessary prouision: all which, brought thither for the relief of the besieged, became a prey vnto the Christians. In the heat of this battel they of the city sallying out, had entred a fort of the Christians vpon the riuer side, but were againe presently driuen out, and with losse enforced to retire. L
After this victory the County sent certaine companies of the Hungarian and German horsemen with 500 waggons to the enemies campe not far off in the mountaines: who comming thither found it vtterly forsaken by the enemy, but well stored with all maner of necessary prouision, which they carried all away, together with 600 tents, many whereof were lined with damaske, satin, and other silke, richly embroidered or layed with gold lace or gold twist. The Bassaes rich Tent taken by the Colonell of the horsemen, was afterwards by him giuen vnto the County, as was also the plate and money there found, all which hee diuided among the souldiers according to their deserts. In the Turks campe were also found certaine heads of the Christians, with the dead body of the Lord *Brandenstein*, slaine in the conflict but the day before, which the Christians carried away with them into the camp, and there honourably buried them. M
Those that remained of the Turks army hid themselues in the mountains and woods, and so holpen by the darkenesse of the night, made best shift for themselues that they could. The Bassa himselfe accompanied but with twenty horse came to Buda about midnight, and by his comming filled the City with great heauinesse, euery man lamenting his

A cruell battell betwixt the Christians and the Turks before Strigonium.

The Turkes ouerthrowne.

A his loſt friends. The Hungarian Heidons beſt acquainted with the countrey, pricking vp and down the mountains and by-waies, for certain days after the battel, brought in daily into the camp ſuch priſoners as they tooke, or elſe the heads of ſuch Turks as they ſlew. Of this ſo notable a victory, the County by a ſpeedy meſſenger certified the Archduke at Vienna, who rewarded him for his good newes with a chaine worth fiue hundred duckats: and preſently cauſed the ſong of thankſgiuing to be ſung in the church of the Auguſtine Friers, and afterward in all the Churches of the City. The County alſo to gratifie the Emperour, ſent him by the Lord *Chalon* his nephew, vnto Prague, two of the chiefe priſoners taken in the late battell, with foure horſemens Guidons cunningly made of horſe haires, ſuch as are commonly carried before the greateſt Commanders of the Turks armies, and fourteen other enſigns of the Turks,
B with fourteen moſt goodly horſes of the Turks for a Preſent.

The next day after this battell, the County ſent the Lord *Palfi* with an interpretor vnto the City, to demand it to be yeelded: who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turks in what nanger they were, that they help they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new reliefe could not but in long time be ſent vnto them; and that therfore it ſhould be good for them, whilſt yet they might, to be well aduiſed, and betimes to bethink themſelues of yeelding vp the city, leſt haply when they would, it then would not be accepted: promiſing to intreat with the Generall, that they might in ſafety depart, and with ſure conuoy be brought vnto ſuch place of
C ſafety as were conuenient. Whereunto the beſieged Turks anſwered, That the Chriſtians had now fiue weeks lien at the ſiege, and muſt yet lie three weeks longer: and that whereas of late ſome few of their friends came to haue relieued them, and had failed therein, there was yet an hundred thouſand moe to come after them, who if they ſhould not be able to performe that they came for; yet that they would not for that deliuer or forſake the City, before they were ready to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to reſolue thereupon.

Now had the Chriſtians with long and continuall batterie ſore beaten both the vpper and the lower towne, which battery they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the ſiege, & within the city their wants increaſed daily, hauing nothing left to liue vpon but a little wheat and barley, with ſome horſe fleſh: to whom thus diſtreſſed, the Lord *Palfi* by the commandement of the County (to try what confidence they yet had in
D themſelues) the ninth of Auguſt ſent two Gentlemen to the city, to do a meſſage from him to the Gouernor. Who aduertiſed therof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to ſay; where one of the ſaid Gentlemen in few words deliuered him this ſhort meſſage.

The meſſage ſent by the lord Palfi to the Gouernor of Strigonium.

My moſt gratious Lord the Lord Palfi, *moſt worthy Gouernor greeteth thee well and knowing thee to be a Captaine both valiant and wiſe, and one that hath alwaies courteouſly vſed ſuch as haue fallen into thine hands, hath compaſſion of thy deſperat obſtinacie: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing elſe but preſent death and deſtruction, he as thy neighbor and a louer of thy vertues, aduiſeth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt ſaue thy ſelfe and thine from moſt vndoubted and imminent death and vtter confuſion, without delay to deliuer vp this city, which thou canſt not longer hold.*

E Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without ſtay courteouſly anſwered:

The reſolute anſwer of the old Gouernor, to the meſſage ſent him by Palfi.

Thy ſpeech my friend and thy Maſters aduice are vnto me both vain. Tell the Lord Palfi *in my name, that I cannot pleaſure him with the leaſt ſtone in this city. One foot I haue alreadie in the graue, and will with honour carry theſe my gray haires into the ſame: and am yet comforted with a moſt certain and vndoubted hope, that my moſt dread and mighty Soueraigne, and my Lord* Sinan Baſſa *will not forſake me: yea and that if they ſhould write vnto me, that they could find no meanes or way to relieue me (which I am ſure they can) yet would I well, and at leiſure conſider whether it were fit for me to deliuer vp this city or not; ſeeing that of the defence thereof, dependeth all mine honour and credit. Beſides that, what reward they haue on both ſides, that ſo eaſily deliuer ouer the cities they haue in charge, all the world doth ſee.*

F With this anſwer he ſent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries ſtanding by, ſpoke not one word, but ſighing in ſilence and grinding his teeth, declared by his countenance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium, in the middeſt of the riuer of Danubius lieth

lieth a little Iſland called Vizze,wherin many rich Clothiers dwelt:this Iſland the Hungarian Heidons ſpoiled,and in returning thence met with 24 wagons laden with Corne,going to Buda,which they took,with 28 priſoners which they brought into the camp. The lower town being with long and continual battery made faultable, was by the Chriſtians the thirteenth of Auguſt,in three diuers places at once aſſaulted. The Bavarians were by lot to giue the firſt charge; who in the performing therof beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulſed by the Turks) but ſeconded by them of Reitnaw and Suevia, pluckt down a great palliſado, filled the ditches, remoued whatſoeuer ſtood in their way, and ſo long fought with the Turks,that by the comming in of the Marqueſſe of Burgawe with ſixe enſignes of freſh men, they preuailed vpon the Enemy,and ſo altogether brake into the Towne. In the middeſt of this dangerous fight was the Marqueſſe himſelfe, who both with his preſence and cheerefull ſpeech ſo incouraged his ſouldiers, that they as men fearing no perill, ran headlong into all danger, vntill they had entered the Towne. There might a man haue heard a miſerable cry, eſpecially of women and children thorowout the City; when as the Chriſtians breaking in on euery ſide ſlew whomſoeuer came in their way,without reſpect of age or ſexe, ſparing neither women great with child, neither the little children hanging at their mothers breſts. Yet did not all that were entred ſo much attend the preſent execution, as ſome of them did the ſpoile and prey; and eſpecially the Hungarians, vnto whom all was good booty,euen the very hinges of the doors and windows: wherby many eſcaped into the caſtle and vpper towne, with the Baſſa and *Alis Beg* the old Gouernor. The Chriſtians had not many houres poſſeſſed the town,but that diuers fires began to break out at diuers places, but by what means was not at the firſt known. At laſt it was found out,that the Turks doubting the loſſe of the town, had before where they thought beſt left gunpouder, which taking fire by matches left burning for that purpoſe, ſhould at a certaine time ſet all on fire. By which meanes many moſt horrible fires were raiſed in the Towne, which conſumed many goodly buildings, and other things which might haue ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead,and could hardly be in a day or two quenched.

The low town taken by the Chriſtians,

This ſo joyfull a victory ſaw not hee, by whoſe good direction next vnder God it was gained, the worthy County: for he a few daies before being fallen ſick of a feuer,taken by drinking too much cold drink in his heat,with immoderat paines taken in the late battell,and ſo afterwards falling into a great flix with a feuer,was by the counſell of his phyſitians (for the better recouering of his health) remoued to Comara,as a place of more quietnes: hauing before his departure ſent for the Archduke to come into the towne,and for *Blankemier* into Bavaria to ſupply his own room. But his diſeaſe ſtill increaſing,became at laſt deſperat,ſo that the Phyſitians themſelues now diſpaired of his health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end,he almoſt euery hour inquired how the Army did, and whether the City were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his death, That the lower town was won, hee thereat very greatly rejoiced,and the next day being the fourteenth of Auguſt,towards night quietly departed this world,to the great loſſe of the Chriſtian commonweal,and the exceeding griefe of the whole army. A man euen from his childehood brought vp in arms,of ſtature great,but of courage greater,& painful aboue meaſure,not the leaſt cauſe of his vntimely death. All the time of this ſiege hee tooke little reſt either by day or night, ſcarce ſo much as to lie down vpon his bed in two or three nights together. The little meat he did eat,for moſt part he ate it ſtanding or walking,yea ſometimes on horſe-back:he was a moſt ſeuere obſeruer of martial diſcipline, which cauſed him to be of his ſoldiers both beloued and feared. His bowels were with due ſolemnity buried at Comara where he died:but his body was brought back again to Luxemburg, there to be honorably interred with his Anceſtors.

Count Manſfels death.

About this time *Theodore* the great Duke of Muſcovia hearing of the wars betweene the Emperor and the Turk,ſent two Embaſſadors with letters & preſents to the Emperor:which Embaſſadours comming to Prague the 16 of Auguſt, accompanied with 250 horſe,were by the Emperors appointment honorably receiued and entertained. And afterwards hauing audience,firſt deliuered the Letters of credence from the great Duke, reported to haue beene of this purport.

Your

A *YOur Maiesty hath sent vnto vs your Embassador* Nicolas Warkotsie, *requesting our brotherly aid against the hereditary enemy of all Christianitie, the Turkish Sultan. Wherfore we also desiring to liue with you our dear and welbeloued brother, in all perpetuall amity and friendship, send vnto you by our faithfull Counsellor and seruant,* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* Iohn Sohnie, *aid out of our treasurie against the said enemy. Vnto whom wee haue also giuen other things in charge to be propounded to your Majesty, requesting you to giue vnto them in all things full credit.* *The great duke his Letters to the Emperor.*

Giuen in the great Court of our power at Musco, *An. Mundi* 7103. and from Christs natiuity 1595. in the moneth of April.

B What things in particular these Embassadors were sent for was not commonly known, but among others it is said, That the Muscovit requested the Emperor to send an Embassador to the Persian king, to draw him also into the league with them against the Turk: which Embassador should first go into Muscovie, and that way passe into Persia. The presents which the great Duke sent the Emperor, were 150000 florins of gold, great store of most rich furres and pretious perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Falcons, and three Leopards aliue. *Iwanowitze* the Embassador himself presented vnto the Emperor of himselfe, certaine rich Turky, Persian, and Babylonian hangings & carpets, certain timbers of sables, with other rich furres as pretious as sables, so many as eight porters could hardly carry. These Embassadors tarried at Prague vntil the 27 of December, and then taking their leaue, returned with
C the Emperors answer to the Duke.

But to return again to Strigonium: The Christians now possessed of the lower town, bent all their battery vpon the higher town, where it fortuned the 14 of August, That the old Gouernor *Alis Beg*, whilst he was carefully walking from place to place, to see where most danger was, had his arm struck off with a great shot, of which hurt he presently died. He was a man of great grauity, about 80 years old, and had of long time notably both gouerned and defended that famous city, the losse wherof was like enough to haue bin vnto him greater grief than was the losse of his life there. Much about the same time also died the Aga of the Ianizaries, beeing before mortally wounded. Both the chief commanders thus slain, the Ianizaries with the other soldiers and citisens made choice of the Bassa of Natolia (who as is afore said, escaped
D out of the late battel into the city) for their gouernor; who with heauy cheer tooke vpon him that forlorn charge. The Christians not ignorant of the death of these two worthy men, in whose great and approued valor they supposed the chiefe defence of the City to haue rested, were in good hope that now the rest would more readily hearken to some good composition: and therfore sent a messenger to demand, if they would yet whilst there were some mercy left yeeld the city. Who though they had lost their chief Commanders, with the greatest part of their garrison, and were in great wants both of victuals and all things els necessary for their defence; yet their answer was in few words, That they would hold it out euen to the last man. The greatest cause of which their obstinate resolution was the streight charge the Bassa of Buda had giuen them for the defence thereof: besides that, they accounted the City holy, as
E won by their magnificent Emperor *Solyman*, whom the Turkes generally had in a deuout remembrance, and therfore thought it great impiety to deliuer it vp vnto the Christians. The next day after came *Matthias* the Archduke into the campe; who after he had wel viewed the whole army, and the maner of the siege, he called together into his tent the chiefe Commanders, namely the Marquis of Burgaw his cousin, *Iohn de Medices* the Florentine, and the Lord *Palfi* the Hungarian, to consult with them, what were further to be don for the winning of the city. Shortly after, he commanded the city to bee at once in two places assaulted: which was by the Germans and Wallons couragiously performed; but such was the valor of the defendants, that when the Christians had don what they could, they were glad at last to giue ouer the assault, & with losse to retyre. About this time came the Duke of Mantua, with the three
F Counties his brethren to the siege; and now the Turks began again to draw together neer to Buda, there to make head for the relief of Strigonium, & to be reuenged of the losse they had there before receiued. Whereof the Archduke hauing intelligence, sent out against them 8000 chosen soldiers out of the campe, who suddenly setting vpon the Turks in their campe, before Sun rising, made a great slaughter among them, and tooke certain prisoners, of whom *The gouernour of Strigonium slain.*

the Sanzack of Copan was one; and so with victory returned again vnto the siege. G

The besieged Turks in Strigonium vnderstanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from whom they expected most speedy reliefe, and besides the terror of the continuall battery and the still feared assaults, pinched also with extream wants of all things, began now to faint. Wherfore the Bassa and the other captains, ouercome with the aforesaid difficulties, and the general outcry of the fearfull people, resolued with one consent to come now to parle, & vpon reasonable conditions to yeeld vp the city. Wherupon a flag of truce was set vp, and parle craued: which granted, the Archduke after Sun-set came into the lower towne, where nine of the Turkes attended his comming; who entring into parley, required that they might vnder safe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, and so leaue him the city: which the Arch-Duke would not by any means agree vnto. At length with much intreaty they obtained, That they might vpon the same conditions depart, that the Christians did at Rab, with their scimiters by their sides, and so much of their goods as they could carry vpon their backs, to such ships as were to be appointed for their cariage to Buda. For performance wherof hostages were on both sides giuen; and so the next day, being the second of September, they began to come out of the city, moe in number than either the prisoners taken in the time of the siege had confessed, or the Christians had thought. Thirty ships were appointed for conueying of them down the riuer to Buda; which not sufficing, many of them tarried in the City vntil the next day, at which time the Bassa with the sick and wounded sailed to Buda, the prisoners and pledges on both sides beeing before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodnes of God, and the good conduct of a few valiant Christians, was Strigonium the metropolitical city of Hungary, after it had 52 years groaned vnder the miserable yoke of the Turkish seruitude, again restored to the Christian commonweal; which the Christians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought best for the defence therof against the enemy. All which being done, about the midst of this month the Archduke sent 18000 to besiege Vicegrade, otherwise called Plindenburg, a strong castle of the Turks vpon the riuer betwixt Strigonium and Buda: which castle they tooke. Which when they of Buda vnderstood, they were stricken with such a fear, that many of the better sort were ready to forsake the city; insomuch that the Bassa to stay their flight, was glad to command the gates of the city to be shut vpon them, and no man suffered to passe out. This good succes of the Christians in these wars caused great reioycing in most parts of Christendom.

Strigonium yeelded to the Christians.

Vicegrade taken by the Christians.

H

I

K

All the while the Christians were thus busied at the siege of Strigonium, the Transylvanian prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harme; so that now his name began to be dreadful vnto them. It fortuned the same day that Count *Mansfelt* departed at Comara, that the Prince at Alba-Iulia with great solemnity maried *Maria Christina* the daughter of the late Archduke *Charles*, son to the Emperor *Ferdinand*; her other sister *Anna* being before maried to *Sigismund* King of Polonia. For so it was agreed for the more assurance of the league betwixt the Emperour and him, That hee should take his wife out of the house of Austria, which he now did. Of this solemnity the Turks his euil neighbours hauing intelligence, assembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnwelcome guests to haue come vnbidden or vnlooked for thereunto: but the vigilant prince vnderstanding of their comming, prouided for their entertainment accordingly, and setting his pleasures for a while apart, and comming vpon them when they least looked for him, in a great battell ouerthrew them and slew most part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant Victor the whole spoil of his enemies.

L

About the same time the Transylvanians also besieged Fagiat, a town holden by the Turks not far from Temeswar; where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the town dispairing to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanting to depart with bag and baggage began to go out of the town. But in their departure, vnderstanding that the Bassa of Temeswar, with the Sanzacks of Lippa and Ienne were comming to their reliefe, they that were yet in the town began to find delaies, and they that were already gon out began to return. Wherwith the Transylvanians much mooued, by plaine force entred the town, and put them all to the sword; and afterward turning vpon the Bassa, who with ten thousand Turkes and certaine field pieces was comming to haue relieued the Town, had with them a cruell battell; wherein most part of the Turks fell, with small losse vnto the Transylvanians: who so eagerly pursued

M

A sued the victory, that the Bassa himselfe had much adoe with 500 others to escape. The two Sanzacks with diuers others of good place were taken and sent prisoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the later end of August the Transylvanians besieged Lippa, a famous city of Hungary standing vpon the riuer Maracz, not far from Temeswar: which the Turks being not able longer to hold, fled into the castle, where finding themselues in no great safety, after three daies siege they came to parley, and so yeelded, vpon condition that they might in safety depart with so much of their goods as they could themselues carry. About which time also the *Lippa taken by the Christians.*
Bassa of Bosna with 10000 Turks and Tartars went forth to haue again recouered Babotsca,
B a frontier town before taken by the Christians: which the Stirians and the rest of the Christians dwelling therabouts, between the two riuers of Sauus and Drauus vnderstanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenstein*, *Leucowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of those frontiers, ouertook the said Turks and Tartars neer vnto Babotsca, fought with them, and in plain field ouerthrew them.

Mahomet not a little grieued with the good succes of the Christians in euery part of Hungary, and aboue measure offended with *Ferat Bassa* his General, through whose negligence all or at leastwise most part of this had hapned (as hee was by the enuy of *Sinan Bassa* persuaded) sent for him home, and in his place sent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultans displeasure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned therof by her that best knew, euen the Sultans mother, and aduised not to come in sight vntil his peace were made. Who neuertheles trusting to his own innocencie (the comfortable, but most dangerous and weake stay of the Great) and doubting
C not to answer whatsoeuer *Sinan* should be able to charge him with, came to the Court, where he was by *Mahomets* commandement shortly after strangled, and his goods to the value of *Ferat Bassa strangled.*
500000 ducats confiscated.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Christian commonweale was none at this time more cruel than was *Sinan*, an Epirot born, a fishers sonne, of a rough and vnciuill disposition, now about 83 years old, euen from his youth brought vp in the Warres, and yet (as his motto was) breathing nothing but *Bloud and war*. He had many times fortunatly led the huge armies of the Turkish Emperors, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now sent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fittest man to reduce the late reuolted countries of Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia, to their former thraldom; which he before promised vnto *Mahomet*, vpon perill of
D his head to doe. Hee hauing raised a right puissant army, by a bridge made of boats (after a months labor spent therin) passed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into Valachia. Of whose comming the Transylvanians with the Valachians and Moldavians hauing knowledge, had before so shut vp the passages of the country, as that he could not without much danger haue far entred; and were also ready with their vnited forces euen at his first enterance to giue him battel. Which he not refusing, there began a most mortal and cruel fight, with much bloudshed on both sides. Thrice were the Transylvanians inforced to retyre; but still relieued with new supplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole country, came on afresh again, and as hardly charged the Turks, as they had bin by them charged. Thus with doubtfull fortune and great slaughter was the battel maintained from mor-
E ning vntil night, victory with doubtfull wings houering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other. Vntill that at length the Turks ouercome by true valor, their battels being quite dis- *Sinans great army defeated by the Transilvanians.*
ordered and broken, were now glad to seeke to saue themselues by flight. In this battel (being fought the eleuenth of September) besides many thousands of the common souldiers, were slain also diuers of great account amongst the Turks: amongst the rest, *Haider Bassa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the same place where the battell was fought. *Sinan* himselfe in making too much haste to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deepe mud, and in that general confusion of his army was like enough there to haue perished: but as the common prouerb goeth, *Seldom lieth the Diuel dead in a dike*, the old Viliard was with much ado drawn out by them of his gard, and so saued to further mischief. Neuertheless the dan-
F ger was so great, that for certain daies it was commonly reported that he was there drowned, most of his owne people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the spoil of the Turks became a prey vnto the Christians, as did also the great ordnance, and many of their ensignes: amongst which was one green one which they accounted Religious, as sacred

to the prophet *Mahomet*; wherunto they in time of their greateſt diſtres fly as to their laſt refuge. There was taken alſo all their tents, with great aboundance of victuals and other Warlike prouiſion. G

The old Baſſa thus ouerthrown, ful of grief, and euen made for deſpight, poſted himſelf in all haſt to the court; thinking it better himſelfe to make the beſt of that which was indeed naught, than to haue it made worſe than naught by the enuious report of others: and withal to fil the great Sultans mind with deſire of reuenge, which no man ſo much longed after as himſelf. Wherin he ſo diſcreetly vſed the matter, as that the late loſſe was eaſily paſt ouer, as receiued by the common chance of War, or any other occaſion elſe whatſoeuer, rather than by any default of his; and new Commiſſion giuen him for the raiſing of another Army for the ſubduing of the late reuolted countries. In the mean time, to ſhew his hatred vnto the Chriſtians, and to pleaſe the eies of them of the court with the nouelty of the ſight, he cauſed an hundred & twelue Chriſtian captiues whom he had in priſon at Belgrade, to be brought like beaſt in chains to Conſtantinople, and ſo being led thorow the principal ſtreets of the City, to the vain contentment of the citiſens, to brought to the court gate for the Sultan to look vpon, and the Courtiers to deride. From whence they were after many vnſpeakeable indignities conueyed to moſt miſerable and loathſome priſons, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation. H

The Turkes ouerthrown in Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the command of the Baſſa of Boſna, to the number of almoſt 20000 made a road into Croatia; where they were by the Chriſtians vnder the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Leucowitz* ouerthrown and almoſt all ſlain: the Chriſtians following the chace euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt 15 of their villages, and took the Caſtle of Varuiuar. Immediatly after, their forces increaſing by the comming in of the Lord *Herbenſtein* gouernor of Valeria and Windiſmarch, and certain other troups of horſemen out of Carinthia and the countries therabouts, they returned the 13 of September to beſiege Petrinia, otherwiſe called Petrowina; which becauſe they were in hope to take by aſſault, they euen at their firſt comming couragiouſly aſſailed. But after two hours hard fight, finding both greater reſiſtance and more difficultie than they had before ſuppoſed, and that without great ordnance (which could not in ſhort time be got ouer the mountaines) there was no good to bee don, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with ſuch loſſe as they had receiued, to return to Siſeg, there to conſult further of the matter. But the ſame night a fugitiue horſman fled from the enemy, came to the camp, and told the Chriſtians, That *Ruſtan Beg* gouernor of Petrinia was in the late aſſault wounded in the breſt with a ſmal ſhot and dead: & that the Turks in the town diſcouraged with his death, and the late ouerthrow of their friends in Croatia, would vpon the firſt ſight of them abandon the town, if they would but again return to beſiege it. Vpon which good hope the Chriſtians preſently riſe, and ſet forward again toward Petrinia; which the Turks, hearing of their comming, had before, as the ſoldier reported, for fear abandoned. So the Chriſtians without reſiſtance entring the town, found therin ſome pillage, but better ſtore of ſhot and pouder: and preſently ſending for certain troups of horſemen to purſue the flying Turks, took diuers of them, and amongſt the reſt the late gouernors Lieutenant, whom they brought back into the town. Thus was Petrinia again recouered from the Turks, to the great quiet and ſafety of all that ſide of the country. I K L

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian prince not ignorant wtth what an enemy he had to do, either of the malice of old *Sinan*, (who he knew would not be long before he returned) or yet of the Polonians ſecret practiſe for the drawing of the country of Moldavia from him; ſought now by all means (as it ſtood him vpon) to make himſelfe as ſtrong as he could againſt ſo many ſtormes ariſing. It fortuned that euen at the ſame time the Zaculians (better knowne by the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributary vnto the Turks, bordering vpon the Northeaſt part of Tranſylvania; now weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and ſeeing the good ſucces of the Prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbours, offered vnto the Prince their ſeruice; promiſing of their own charge to maintain forty thouſand men in the field during his Wars with the Turke, and yearly to pay him of euery houſe a Dollar, with a certaine Meaſure of Wheat, Oats, and Barley, after the manner of their own Country: and further, That if God ſhould bleſſe him with a ſon to ſucceed him in his gouernment, euery houſholder M

A ſholder ſhould giue vnto him a good fat oxe. For all which ſeruice they craued no more, but that as his ſubiects they might liue vnder his protection; yet ſo, as to bee gouerned by their own antient lawes and cuſtomes. Of which their offer the prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their camp, and all the people ſworn to the performance of the aforeſaid agreement. And hauing at that preſent but 25000 in the field, they without delay ſent out their officers to preſſe vp 15000 moe, for the filling vp of the promiſed number of 40000, wherwith they came to the Prince; who taking a view of his army, found himſelfe to be now 80000 ſtrong, to welcome the Baſſa withall when he ſhould come again into his country.

Now had *Sinan* with great ſpeed raiſed an army of 70000 choice ſoldiers, amongſt whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. With which
B power, joined vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for the ſubduing of the Prince. Vnto whom alſo afterward came *Haſſan Baſſa*, ſon to the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks moſt renowned men of War, and *Bogdanus* the late expulſed Vayuod of Valachia, with many others of great name. With this Army the old Baſſa by a bridge which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, paſſed ouer the great riuer Danubius at a town called Zorza or Giorgo (with vs S. *George*) in Valachia, a great way beneath that place where ſomtime the Emperor *Trajan* built his famous bridge of ſtone, worthily accounted amongſt the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. From Zorza hee marched to Tergoviſta, (ſomtime the Vayuods chiefe City, but then in the Turks power) where is a notable Monaſterie, which hee conuerted into a Caſtle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and
C ſtrong bulwarkes, and good ſtore of great ordnance; purpoſing to make that the ſeat of his war, vntill he had again reſtored thoſe late reuolted countries vnto the Turkiſh empire, which he vpon pain of his head had vndertaken to perform. The Prince both by meſſengers and Letters vnderſtanding of the Baſſa's arriual there, and hauing his army in good readines, ſet forward to meet him and giue him battel. But being come into Valachia, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle deſcending from an high rocke there by, called the Kings Rock, and houering ouer the Chriſtian army, flew about the princes tent, and there lighting, was taken and preſented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the preſage of his good fortune, holding on ſtil his way; and the fifteenth of October being come within halfe a daies march of Tergoviſta, he vnderſtood by two Chriſtians lately eſcaped from the Turks,
D That two daies before, the Turks hearing of his comming, were ſtrucken with ſuch a general and ſudden feare, that *Sinan* had much ado either by faire meanes or by foule to ſtay the Ianizaries from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certaine companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the truth was, That *Sinan* ſeeing the general feare of his Army, and he himſelfe no leſſe fearfull than the reſt; vpon the Princes approach fled with all his Army, leauing behinde him for haſte his Tents, his great Ordnance, with much victualls and other warlike prouiſion; carrying with him onely ſuch things as were of moſt value. As for the city of Tergoviſta, with the caſtle which he had made of the Monaſtery, hee committed to the keeping of *Haſſan Baſſa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayuod (now become a renegat Turk) with a garriſon of 4000 choſen ſoldiers, promiſing within a few daies, if need ſhould be, to re-
E lieue them, but fled himſelf in all haſte with his Army to Bucharesta, a daies journey from Tergoviſta. From whence he preſently writ backe againe to *Haſſan Baſſa*, willing him if hee could to defend the caſtle; but if he ſhould think it not poſſible to be kept againſt the power of the Prince, then betimes to forſake it, and to ſhift for himſelfe. But theſe letters being intercepted by the Chriſtians, neuer came to the Baſſa's hands. Not long after the departure of *Sinan*, the Prince comming to Tergoviſta, entred the forſaken Campe, where hee found many tents, with ſome Ordnance, and great ſtore of victuals; and without further delay ſummoned both the city and caſtle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Haſſan* conſidering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the Prince, and withall doubting, if need ſhould be, to be relieued by *Sinan*, whom he not without cauſe ſuſpected not to loue him, was about vpon ſome reaſonable compoſition to haue yeelded vp both the city and the caſtle. To which the gariſon ſoldiers (being moſt of them Ianizaries) would not in any caſe giue their conſent, but ſtood vpon the defence of the place. Wherfore the prince began furiouſly to batter both the city and the caſtle, and after ſome few hours battery, by aſſault took both, and put

Sinan paſſeth ouer Danubius into Valachia by a bridge made of boats.

to

to sword the whole garrison;only *Hassan Bassa*,as taken with his own hand,he spared,and two other Sanzackes. *Bogdanus* the Renegate was there slain among the rest. The Christians had there a rich prey,besides 42 great pieces of ordnance,and good store of all manner of warlike prouision. *Hassan* thus taken,grieuously complained, That *Sinan* had of a milicious purpose exposed him to so manifest peril,for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Visier *Muhamet*,vpon whom because he could neuer be reuenged, he now by sinister means had cunningly performed it vpon his son:yet he craued of the prince to be wel vsed, offering for his ransome 100000 Hungarian ducats. Whilst the Prince yet thus lay at Tergoviste, came thither 4000 Turks,whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence sent forth to spoil the country, & to seek after prey,thinking to haue there found him stil: who now falling into the hands of the Christians,were there all slain,and 60000 head of cattell recouered,which these Turkes had taken out of Valachia and Moldavia, and should by *Sinans* appointment haue bin sent to Constantinople. For Valachia and Moldavia do so abound with corn and cattel,that they plentifully serue the Imperial city of Constantinople not only with corn and flesh,but also yearely send at least 150 ships thither by the blacke sea, laded with other kind of victuals. Of which so great commodities the Turks were now depriued,by the reuolt of the said Countries.

The fruitfulnes of Valachia & Moldavia.

The Prince hauing a strong garrison in Tergoviste,set forward with his army towards Bucaresta,hoping there to haue found *Sinan*: but he hearing of the losse of Tergoviste,and thinking himself in no good safety at Bucaresta,fled thence also to Zorza. The prince comming to Bucaresta,found it abandoned by the Turks,& so took it without resistance;yet had therin certain field pieces,with good store of shot and pouder left there by *Sinan*. Hauing there staid a while for the maning of the place,hee set forward againe towards Zorza,and that with such speed,that he ouertook great numbers of the Turks,whom hee put all to the sword. So that the fields betwixt Bucaresta & Zorza were in many places couered with the Turks dead bodies. Neuertheles he could not make so great haste, marching stil in good order, but that the fearfull Bassa disorderly hasting,was about some six hours or more before come vnto the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer Danubius; the forme whereof you may here see.

Bucaresta take by the Prince.

The Bridge made ouer Danubius by Sinan Bassa, Anno 1595.

A Ouer the hithermoſt part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greateſt part of his Army, before the comming of the Prince, got ouer into an Iſland in the midſt of the riuer, wherin he had at his comming ouer incamped: but doubting now there to ſtay, with all the ſpeed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge, to the farther ſide of the riuer, with ſo many of his men as in ſo ſhort time poſſibly could: where to ſtay the further purſuit of the Prince, he brake the bridge on that ſide, and ſet fire vpon it; and therby cut off alſo many of his own men that were not as yet come ouer. Whom the Prince incloſing, forced many of them into the riuer, where they periſhed; the reſt flying into the Iſland, were by the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing them, either there ſlaine, or ſeeking by the other part of the bridge to haue got ouer (wherof the farther end was before broken down by *Sinan*, and the B hither end toward the Iſland now cut off by the Chriſtians) were together with the bridge caried away by the violence of the riuer, and ſo all together periſhed. Others of the Chriſtians in the mean time took the bridge that leadeth to the caſtle of Zorza, which ſtands compaſſed about with an arm of Danubius, and being not very great, was kept by a gariſon of 700 ſelect ſoldiers. Vnto which caſtle the prince preſently laid ſiege (the reſolute ſoldiers being not by any means to be perſuaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen to the laſt man) and after he had ſore battered it, by plain force took it, and put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers hee could lay hands vpon. About 100 of theſe Turks ſeeing they muſt needs fall into the power of their enemies, deſperatly leapt from the top of the Caſtle into the riuer, where not one of them eſcaped, being all either drowned, or ſlain with ſmall ſhot. In the winning of this caſtle C 250 of the Chriſtians were loſt, and many wounded: but of the Turks and Tartars betweene the eighteenth and the laſt of October, periſhed aboue ſix and twenty thouſand. In this Caſtle were taken thirty nine great pieces, with ſuch ſtore of armor and other warlike prouiſion as might haue ſerued for a whole kingdom; and 4000 Chriſtians, beſides women & children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of Valachia, reſtored to their former liberty. With whome the Prince, after he had ſet all things in order, returned in great triumph to Tergoviſta, and ſo afterwards to his palace at Alba-Iulia, where, as alſo at Claudiopolis and other Cities thorow his dominions, he cauſed publique prayers, with thankeſgiuing to Almighty God to bee deuoutly made for ſo great a victory: as did alſo *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, who in all theſe great wars againſt the Turks was nothing inferior to the Tranſylvanian himſelf.

Sinan flieth.

The Prince returns with victory to Alba-Iulia.

D A greater loſſe than this the Turkiſh Emperor receiued not at land in many years before; being by this ſo happy and victorious a prince, and the reuolt of theſe three countries, depriued of ſo much territory as they had not from the Chriſtians in long time gained. It was by ſome of the better ſort of the Turks that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Baſſa* ſhould oftentimes ſay, That this yong Tranſylvanian prince had bereft him of all the honor and renowne he had with great trauel got in the courſe of his long life: and that although he had eſcaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cauſe fot him in theſe his great years, euen in the winding vp of all, to loſe his life together with his goods and honor. Now was the Tranſylvanian princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Baſſa) become dreadfull to the Turkes, and alſo famous thorow all Chriſtendom: which as it hath filled the ears of many with admiE ration, ſo haply may the liuely repreſentation of his feature, by cunning hand ſet forth, feed the longing eies of ſome with delight, and ſerue in better ſtead than the rude deſcription of his perſon.

SIGISMVND, Prince of Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia.

Miles eras Christi, nulli pietate secundus,
Et solus patriæ gloria magna tuæ
Inclita. Si Virtus, quæ te super æthera vexit,
Tam stabili cursu continuata foret. RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Of Christ thou wert a soldier true, inferior vnto none;
Thy countries ioy and glory great vnto the world well knowne.
If worthy Vertue, that thee rais'd aboue the starry sky,
With stedfast pace had run the race so wel begun by thee.

Jenna yeelded to the Transylvanians.

Whilst this worthy prince was thus busied in this expedition against *Sinan*, hee caused the castle of Ienna, standing vpon the highway betweene Temeswar and Giula, to be besieged by certain of his Captains appointed to that seruice; in which castle lay one of the Turks Sanzacks with a garrison of 700 Turks, who much troubled such as passed that way. They now brought to some extremitie, and terrified with the successe of the prince, offered to giue vp the Castle, so that as souldiers with their scimiters by their sides they might in safety bee brought to Panoda. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horsmen that should haue conducted them, informed that these Turks now vnder their charge, had secret intelligence with the Turkes in garrison at Giula and Temeswar, That they should lie in ambush for them neer Panoda, and so cut them off by the way; set

A ſet vpon theſe Turks whom they ſhould haue conducted, and cut the throats of four hundred of them: and yet ſtill holding on their way, met with theſe Turks that lay in ambuſh for them, whom they after a ſharp skirmiſh ouerthrew, and hauing ſlain a great number of them, put the reſt to flight. By the taking of Ienna the waies therabout were quieted, eſpecially for them of Waraden. The Sanzack of Ienna reported, That *Mahomet* had but a little before ſent word vnto his Baſſa's and Sanzacks in Hungary, That ſuch caſtles and towns as they thought were not to be defended againſt the Chriſtians, they ſhould betimes as occaſion ſerued yeeld them vp, or forſake them; ſo to ſpare the needleſſe loſſe of his good ſoldiers, of whom he had with ſo many towns and ſtrong holds loſt no ſmall number this year in Hungary. Ienna thus taken, diuers of the richer ſort in Temeſware fearing to be euen preſently beſieged, ſent their wiues
B and children with their treaſure and ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, out of the city in wagons, to be conueyed vnto places of more ſafety: of which Wagons ſeuenty were by the Chriſtians lying thereabout in garriſon, intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich booty.

Mahomet hauing this year fully purpoſed the vtter ruine of the Tranſylvanian prince, and the reducing of the countries of Tranſylvania, Moldavia, and Valachia vnto his obeiſance by the great Baſſa *Sinan*; had for the better effecting thereof before prouided, That the Crim-Tartar (ready ſtil at his call) ſhould with his own people (wherof he hath great ſtore) & certain bands of the Turks, at the ſame time inuade Moldauia; & poſſeſſing himſelf of this countrey, to place one *Sidriake* Vayuod, in ſtead of *Stephen* placed by the Prince, and to people the
C country with his Tartars, in reward of his good ſeruice, as he ſaid; but indeed to haue them always neer at hand to do his commandements in Hungary, Polonia, Tranſiluania, or the other countries of the Chriſtians thereunto adioining. The Tartar according to his appointment, came with 70000 Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themſelues in the countrey, at the very ſame time that *Sinan* came to Tergouiſta. But being come vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour of Polonia ready with a ſtrong army to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, and to ſtay his farther paſſage. Whereupon ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the Tartars and the Polonians: where the Tartars were ſtill put to the worſe with the loſſe of 3000 of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake* the Vayuod appoin-
D ted by the Turke, finding themſelues, though in number moe, yet in ſtrength inferior vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue he could not paſſe; ſent vnto the Chancellor to excuſe that was already paſt, as done without their conſent, by the inſolencie of the ſouldiers; and to tell him, That their comming was not to fight with him, as hauing expreſſe commandement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no caſe to diſturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians, but quietly to paſſe by their frontiers into Moldauia, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributarie, in ſtead of *Stephen* that now vſurped the place by the appointment of the Tranſiluanian; which that they might do, they craued his leaue as friends to paſſe. Wherunto the Chancellor anſwered, That he was come thither by the commandement of the king, to defend thoſe countries from the inuaſion of ſuch as had in them no right: & that there had
E of long time bin an antient league betwixt the Polonian Kings and Turkiſh Emperours, vpon certaine conditions, which he would for his part keep inuiolate, with the fauor of the Turkiſh Emperor; yet ſo, as that the kingdome of Polonia tooke no harm therby, and that they might quietly liue by him as their good neighbour; which league he proteſted not to haue been by him, but by them infringed: as for to giue them paſſage, he ſaid he could not. Meſſengers paſſing thus to and fro, and ſome parley had, at laſt certaine articles were agreed vpon, to the reaſonable contentment both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor (though not of *Sidriake*, diſappointed thereby of his Vayuodſhip) as alſo of the Turkiſh Sultan, whoſe pleaſure they both ſeem'd to haue in ſpecial regard. Hereupon the Tartar with his multitude preſently returned, leauing the Chancellor to his owne deſigns. Now was it commonly thought, that the Chan-
F cellor had don the Tranſiluanian Prince great ſeruice by keeping out of the Tartars, & much honour was by many that ſaw leaſt ſpoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the Tranſiluanian therin any ſuch good, at whoſe glory he enuied, and had with the cardinal and his brother, the princes vncles (but moſt deadly enemies) ſecretly conſpired, ſomuch as in them was, his vtter ruine and ouerthrow: wiſhing thoſe Countries rather in the ſubie-

Mahomet calleth in the Tartars to inuade Moldauia.

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ction of the Turke, than to see them so honorably at liberty, gouerned by the Prince: such is G
the force of malitious enuy, the inseparable companion of worthy vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwise a man of great fame and honour) began now openly to poure forth: for presently after the departure of the Tartars, hee with all his power passing ouer the riuer Nijester or Tyros, into Moldauia, euen at such time as the prince was going against *Sinan* at Tergouista, first seised on the castle of Chotijm, which he furnished with his owne soldiers: and from thence marching to Zorona, the metropoliticall City of that Prouince, and seat of the Vayuod, had it yeelded vnto him: and so proceeding on, had in short time almost the whole countrey deliuered to him; *Stephen* the Vayuod placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he lest feared any such thing, hauing made account of no other enemies but of the Turks and Tartars. *Stephen* the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancellor posses- H
sed of the country, he presently placed one *Hieremias* Vayuod in stead of *Stephen*, to hold that honour of the Polonian King as his Soueraigne. Yet neuertheless to satisfie the Turk, he sent a messenger to *Sinan Bassa*, then but newly come to Tergouista, requesting him not to take it in euill part, that he had entred into Moldauia, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirm this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed; promising the country of Moldauia to remaine tributarie still vnto the Sultan, and that this new Vayuod should forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a far greater tribute yerely than had the country of Moldauia before. Whereunto the hauty Bassa (then fearing nothing lesse than that which immediatly after happened, to be driuen out of those countries by the Prince) proudly answered, That it was not the great Sultans mind, that I
the Polonians should at all inuade Moldauia, for that beside he could without their helpe reduce those countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey to the Tartar, in reward of his good seruice alteadie don in Hungary and other places, whose subiects the Tartars would ere long be ready with their wiues and children to take possession of. Neuertheles the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan* the Turks champion (as is before declared) being presently after ouerthrown, and driuen quite out of those countries by the Prince. Who if he had not then gained the victory, the Chancellor had not now holden Moldauia, but the Turk, whose quarrell he seemed rather to fauor than the princes. The Chancelor to colour this his inuasion, pretended that the
countrey of Moldauia did of antient right belong vnto the kingdome of Polonia: which the K
Transyluanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This supposed title, such as it was, the Chancellor had so fashioned out vnto the King and States of that Kingdome, that they referred it to his discretion to inuade the countrey, and remouing the Vayuod placed by the Prince, to place another in his stead: & the rather to persuade them, labored by many forced reasons to shew the power of the Transiluanian Prince to be so far inferior vnto the Turks, that it was to be feared he should at length be thrust out of all his dominions, and so they together with Moldauia become subiect to the Turks: which if it should so come to passe, then should the Polonians haue an vntrusty and troublesome neighbour. And that therfore it were better that Moldauia were possessed by them that were better able to defend it than was hee, that so the Turke might be kept farther off from Polonia. Which occasion he said was not L
longer to be delaied, but now betime to be laid hold vpon: persuading himselfe to find such grace and fauor with the Turkish Emperor, as that he should be therwith right well contented: which was like enough for a time to be, for that the Transiluanian should therby be much weakned. By these and such like reasons, framed to serue his owne turne, the Chancellor so preuailed with the King and the States of the kingdom, that he receiued (as I said) ful authoritie to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the
Prince, and benefit of the Turk: the late chosen Vayuod not long after opening a way in three places for the Tartars into Transiluania, one by the country of Siculi, another by the way that leadeth to Alba-Iulia, and the third by Valachia.

The reasons pretended by the Chancellor for the inuasion of Moldauia.

The late chosen Vayuod opens three ways vnto the Turks & Tartars into Transyluania.

The Transyluanian prince seeing the country of Moldauia by the practise of the Chancel- M
lor thus taken from him & disseuered from the other vnited prouinces, to the great weakning of his estate; after the flight of *Sinan*, sent certain companies both of horse & foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians, to proue if haply he could by that meanes driue out the Polonian againe, and recouer his former dignitie. With this aid sent

from

A from the Prince and others that fauoured his quarrel, he joined a bloudy battel with the Polonians: but being therin by them ouercome and taken, and for a ſpace kept (as the prince feared, to haue bin deliuered to the Turks) he was by them, as is reported, cruelly afterward put to death.

This foul dealing of the Polonian in Moldavia much grieued many good Chriſtians, as tending to the general hurt of the Chriſtian commonweal. For which cauſe the Emperor by his Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe to the Polonian king, ſought to perſuade him to deſiſt from ſuch inuaſion of the Tranſylvanian Prince by his Chancellour, as not ſtanding with his honor; and that ſome good reconciliation might be made betwixt the prince and the cardinal *Bator* & his brother the Princes vncles, authors of all theſe troubls. To which purpoſe alſo the
B Pope ſent a meſſenger with like inſtructions and letters to the king, perſuading him not ſo to proſecute his wars againſt the prince, but to turn his thoughts vnto a more peaceable & Chriſtian-like courſe, eſpecially with him whom he was ſo neer linked to in mariage. To the like effect he writ alſo to Cardinal *Bator*; and after many graue admonitions, peremptorily cited him to Rome. But foraſmuch as the proceedings of the Polonian againſt the prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the King, it ſhall not I hope be miſtaken, if I here ſet them down, as I find them by others reported.

Pope *Clement* the eighth; To our beſt beloued Sonne in Chriſt, *Sigiſmund* by the grace of God, King of Polonia, with the Benediction Apoſtolicall ſendeth greeting.

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The Popes letters vnto the Polonian King.

BY how much greater affection of fatherly loue we embrace your Maieſtie in the Lord, ſo much the more fernently wee wiſh all your actions to bee adorned with the greateſt commendation of wiſdome both before God and men. Wherof it proceedeth, that we are ſo much the more vehemently and grieuouſly mooued, if we hear any ſuch thing of you as may ſeem not agreeable to your vertue and approued Zeale toward the Catholike Religion, or tending to the obſcuring of the glory of your name, as is now brought vnto vs concerning the affairs of Moldavia; wherof not without great grief we write vnto you. And to rehearſe things a little before paſt: With what earneſtneſſe dealt I with you, that for Gods cauſe, and
D *the defence of the health and liberty of the Chriſtian Commonwealth againſt the tyrannie of the Turkes, you would combine your ſelfe with our moſt dearly beloued ſonne* Rodolph *the Emperour, and many other Chriſtian princes? And that you ſhould not let ſlip ſo notable an occaſion, ſo worthily to deſerue of God, of the Catholique Faith, and of the Chriſtian Commonweale in generall? And albeit we then thought, as well for many your owne priuat reſpects, as alſo of your Kingdomes, That you were to be born withall and excuſed, if you did not now openly deſcend into this confederation of the Chriſtian Princes, againſt the moſt mortall and Common Enemy, neither apertly ioyn your forces, or giue aid for the repreſſing of his inſolencie; yet we alwaies aſſured our ſelues, That no let ſhould in any caſe proceed from you, whereby*
E *either the Emperour or the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould be the rather hindred, iuſtly to proſecute their injuries, or to caſt off from their necks the heauy yoke of the moſt cruell Tyrant; whoſe deſire of ſoueraigntie is not compriſed within the compaſſe of any bounds. But that you ſhould in fauour of the Turkes impugne the Catholique Princes and defenders of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſo ioine hands with the Enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, as that by your help their force and fury ſhould be increaſed, and ours not only weakened, but in the very courſe of victorie hindered, and caſt into moſt grieuous perils; this wee haue not only not thought of you, but not ſo much as once ſuſpected: yea and can ſcarſe now be perſuaded to beleeue thoſe things to be done by you, which are reported vnto vs as moſt true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you hauing intelligence with the Turks and Tartars, haue with them conſpired: And namely againſt our well-beloued Sonne* Sigiſmund *Prince of Tranſylvania, who with inuiucible courage fighteth the battells of the Lord; and leſt he ſhould be able to abate the force and the attempts of the moſt proud Enemy (which by the ſingular mercy of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power per-*
F *formed) but rather be inforced much to fear his owne eſtate, a new Vayuod or Prince as it were, by a triumvirate authority and compact to bee placed in Moldavia, and him by the Turkes, Tou, and the Tartars together, to be made Gouernour of that Countrey. Which vnto vs ſeemed ſo new and ſo ſtrange,*

and contrary to the good opinion we had alwaies conceiued of you, yea and so vnbeseeming your zeale and G
wisedom, that for griefe and admiration I had almost cried out with the Prophet, You heauens be a-
mased at this, and you gates thereof be you exceeding heauy. *For what could be suspected or ima-*
gined further from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that Sigismund *the*
most religious King of Polonia and Sweden, who had alwaies professed himselfe a most earnest defender of
the Catholicke Religion, who was ready euen with his owne bloud to redeem the victory of the Christians,
and glory of the Crosse, against the most wicked enemies of the same, to be vpon the sudden become so vn-
like vnto himselfe, and (so much as in him was) to cut off the hope and happy successe of that Religious
Warre; and to do harme to a Christian and Catholique Prince, not to refuse to joyne in league and friend-
ship euen with the most barbarous Nations and the Tartars, the perpetuall enemies of himselfe and of the
kingdome of Polonia. For which causes our minde is tormented with such bitternesse of griefe, that wee H
could not but by speedy messengers write vnto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the soo-
ner see the greatnesse of our griefe: and we also without delay might signifie vnto you, what our fatherly
loue towards you requesteth in so important a matter. For haply we will send one euen of purpose to you
concerning this cause, the care whereof grieueth vs more than can be well expressed. Wherfore most dear-
ly beloued son we exhort you, and in the most effectuall maner wee can, aduise you and beseech you in the
Lord, more attentiuely to consider, what great displeasure both of God and man, this your action and reso-
lution may incur, what a staine it may bring vnto your Crowne and dignitie. For beleeue vs, that are to
you in stead of a father in Christ, who loue you not feignedly, but faithfully, and indeed; who wish for your
glory in this world, and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleeue vs (I say) this doth much
blemish your fame with all Christian Kings and Princes; all men take it in euill part, and detest it as a I
thing monstrous, that it should by your means be wrought, that the Christian affairs should not prosper;
that an heroicall Prince, who had vowed himselfe for Christ and his Country, should not haue prosperous
successe in this so necessary and religious a war against the Infidels, Turks and Tartars, no lesse yours, or
peraduenture also more yours and other Christian Princes enemies, than his. But what do we say? you to
hinder the proceedings of the Transylvanian Prince? this were haply but a small matter; nay verily, by
this means not onely a Christian and Catholique Prince, and valiant Champion of the Christian faith
(a vertue both admirable and amiable in the very Enemy) but your owne brother in law, bound vnto you
with so many bonds of affinitie, whose children shall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by this means
brought into great danger, and exposed vnto the fury of the merciless Turks. What do you then, my most
dearly beloued son? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come, condemne you not of the K
greatest inhumanity. But beware yet more, that you seem not ingratefull not onely to your own nigh kins-
man, but to God himself, who hath bountifully blessed you with two great kingdomes, and so many good
things; and that you prouoke not him to wrath against your selfe, that reiecteth and confoundeth all euill
and wicked deuices: and that this mischiefe that you haue brought vpon your brother, by the iust iudgment
of God redound not to the greatest destruction of you and your kingdom, which he in mercy forbid. Doe
you think, that the Transylvanian being ouercome, you shall in safety liue from the trechery of the Turk?
Do you not know him to be a faithlesse man, which measureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth
faith with none, but as stands with his own commoditie: who with an insatiable desire gapeth after euery
kingdom, nay thirsteth after the destruction of all Christendom. Think also my son, what wrong you shall
do vnto the Emperor your cousin, out of whose Imperiall bloud you haue begotten sonnes and heires, and by
Gods grace shall more; but also our dignitie, and the dignity of this Apostolicall seat (which you haue al- L
waies so deuoutly honored) is therby hurt, and your most dear mother (which we know you of all other least
would) the Roman Church is offended, which for maintenance of this sacred war is at very great charges?
and our forces, which by you ought to haue bin relieued and increased, being in so vnfit a time by these stirs
in Moldavia disseuered and diminished, and the enemies on the contrary increased and strengthned, into
what danger and distresse may both our armies of the Church and the Emperors fall? And withall, how
greatly all the maner and managing of this whole war is therby confounded, euery man seeth. Moreouer,
which no lesse concerns the dignitie of vs and this learned See, we haue vndertaken and certainly promi-
sed to our dearly beloued sons Rodolph *and* Sigismund, *that you should no way hinder or hurt their af-*
fairs. Nor did we herof assure them vpon light occasion; but moued with great reason, not only because we M
ought so to do in so iust a cause, but also for that it was so vnto vs plainly and expresly written by the reue-
rend father the Bishop of S. Seuerus, *our apostolick Nuntio with you; whom we know to be faithfull to vs,*

and

A *and to you dutifull: neither can we by any means doubt thereof, becauſe hee writ vnto vs concerning ſo weighty a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things ſo ſtanding, ſeeing you your ſelf ſee the manifeſt abſurdities of this fact on euery ſide, not to ſpeak of the heinouſnes thereof, we requeſt you again, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the neceſſary remedies to theſe hurts. The Tranſylvanian Prince your brother in law, deuoted to your ſelf, and deſirous of your fauour, either protect with your defence, or at leaſtwiſe hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and relieue not by any means the quarrell of the enemies of Chriſt. If you haue any controuerſie with the Prince* Sigiſmund, *or deſire of him any thing, refer it vnto vs, that is to ſay, to your moſt louing father. You know your affairs to be of vs fauored, and we hope by the power of God it may eaſily come to paſſe, that ſome conuenient means may be found, wherby peace and quietnes may be confirmed betwixt you, and good*
B *vnitie grow betwixt you two brethren our ſons, and ſo all the root of bitternes and diſpleaſure to be vtterly plackt out of your minds. This haue I writ vnto you my ſon, frankly and from a ſincere heart, though truly much grieued, becauſe we loue you, and are much carefull of your honor and good. Shew you againe indeed that you take it ſo as written from your father; and that you altogether prefer our fatherly & wholſom exhortations before the ſiniſter perſuaſions of others. Further concerning theſe matters you ſhal vnderſtand by the ſame Biſhop our Nuntio now with you, to whom you may, as you haue done, giue credit in all things, as to our ſelfe.*

These letters dated from Rome the eight day of Nouember, were deliuered to the King in December; with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope ſharply reprooued,
C as the authors and contriuers of all theſe miſchiefs.

The Tartar Cham, before ſtirred vp by the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*, for the inuaſion of Moldavia (as is already before declared) about this time ſent his Embaſſadour alſo vnto the Polonian King, for the confirmation of ſuch articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancellor: which becauſe they manifeſtly declare the ground and purpoſe of his intended expedition into Moldavia, with the foul colluſion of the Chancellor with the Turks & Tartars, againſt the Tranſylvanian Prince, I thought it not amiſſe, or from our purpoſe (for the more manifeſtation of that which is already ſaid) here to ſet them down as they are tranſlated out of the Tartar Language.

D

Cham *Kazikieri*, vnto the King of Polonia and Sweden, our Brother, one of the great Lords amongſt the Chriſtians, humbly boweth his head.

The Tartars Letters to the king of Poland

FIrſt we ſignifie vnto you, That Aaron *Palatine of Moldavia was a forſworn traitor; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Coſſacks, ſpoiled the teritories of the great Sultan. But afterwards diſſention ariſing amongſt them, the Hungarian Coſſacks liuing in Valachia, ſent* Aaron *in bonds vnto the King of Vienna. After him followed another traitour called* Rozwan, *who alſo hauing raiſed certain companies of ſoldiers, began in like manner to forrage the coun-*
E *tries of the Turkiſh Emperor therabout. Which as ſoon as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto me his brother, That I ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed go into Valachia to chaſtiſe theſe rebels, to burn their houſes and towns; and hauing with the edge of the ſword ſlain their men, to carry away with me their wiues & children into captiuity. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territory of the great Lord* Karykterey, *with my brother* Letikerry Galga, *and other my brethren & Counſellors, warlike and valiant Captains and Murzis; mounting myne horſe, came with myne army into Valachia vnto the Riuer Prut, where it meeteth in another Riuer called Cocoza: here we chanced vpon a faithfull ſeruitor of yours our brother the Chancellour, who was alſo come a little before vs into Valachia; with whom after ſome*
F *light contention, when we began to be more tractable, hee declared vnto vs, That he was of purpoſe come into Valachia to place there a new Vayuod; which (as he ſaid) of antient right belonged vnto the Polonians, without any wrong or preiudice therin to be don to the couenants and league they had with the Emperor of the Turks: and deſired, That one* Ieremias *whom he had appointed Vayuod, might haue the command of that prouince; and that the antient amity, ſuch as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which when I had on my part faithfully ſworn to do, and he alſo had cauſed the ſame to be done by ſuch of his as he had therfore ſent vnto me; we decreed together, That*

the Coſſacks on the farther ſide of Nÿeſter (diſordered and rebellious men) ſhould be vtterly rooted out, that they ſhould not hereafter do any harme in the territories of the great Sultan, and that the Preſents vſually ſent vnto vs of long, euen ſince the time of Sultan Solyman, *ſhould no more be detained, nor any harms be hereafter done in any part of our dominion. And therfore when the Chancellor had promiſed vnto vs, That he would take order that theſe Coſſacks ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed; I alſo conſented, That according to the pleaſure of the royall Maieſty of you my brother,* Ieremias *ſhould hold the Vayuodſhip of Valachia: which I forthwith by letters ſignified vnto the Turkiſh Emperor. Now if it be ſo, that your Majeſty ſhall giue your conſent vnto thoſe things which we haue here agreed vpon with your Chancellor, you ſhall then for euer finde brotherly friendſhip with me, my brother, and all other our captains and Murzies: but if you ſhall not deſtroy theſe Coſſackes, you ſhall not then perform the oath and couenants made. Theſe things we haue commanded to be declared vnto you by our Embaſſador our brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we requeſt your Maieſty curteouſly to entertain, and by him to ſend the preſents vnto vs: for we will not now thus year ſend any other.* G H

Giuen at the riuer Prut, in the year of Mahomet 1004.

After the Tartar Embaſſador had deliuered thoſe letters vnto the King, with a ſpeech in effect to the ſame purpoſe, hee in the name of the *Cham* gaue vnto him an horſe and an arrow for a preſent: and afterward being brought to a lodging appointed for him, was commanded there to expect his anſwer. At length his diſpatch was giuen him in Letters ſealed vp, which he took much againſt his will; requeſting the king to ſend an Embaſſador vnto the *Cham*, and further by word of mouth to tell him what to anſwer vnto his Lord. But other anſwer could he get none, than was already deliuered him in writing: and ſo rewarded with a gowne furred with Sables, was diſmiſſed without the preſent requeſted by the *Cham*, or any Embaſſador to accompany him. I

Thus the Tranſylvanian Prince, on the one ſide mightily impugned by the Turk, & on the other by the ſetting on of the Turke, ready to haue bin no leſſe indangered by the inuaſion of the Tartar; receiued greater harm from the Polonians being Chriſtians, than from both thoſe great *Mahometan* Princes: the Polonians in ſome ſort performing for the Turk, what hee had plotted to haue bin don by the Tartar, & ſo by the taking away of Moldavia from the prince, not only weakned his ſtrength, but alſo opened a way for the barbarous enemy into his Country. Howbeit much it is that the Polonians alledge for the excuſe of themſelues, & defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in Moldavia; which for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancellor himſelf, let vs heare how he by his letters anſwereth the matter euen vnto Pope *Clement* himſelf. K

John Zamoſchie, vnto *Clement* the eighth the great Biſhop.

Zamoſchy his letters to Pope Clement.

Moſt holy and bleſſed Father in Chriſt, and moſt gracious Lord, after the kiſſing of your moſt bleſſed feet, and my moſt humble commendations; I haue by your Holineſſe Letters directed both vnto the Kings Maieſty and my ſelfe, vnderſtood, as well his royall Maieſty and my moſt gracious Lord and Maſter, as alſo my ſelf as his ſeruant, to be both accuſed vnto your Highneſſe; as if by thoſe things by vs don in Moldauia, the endeauours of the Chriſtians had bin hindred, and the power of the enemy confirmed. Wherof I am not with many words to purge my ſelf vnto your Holineſſe, foraſmuch as I aſſure my ſelfe your Holineſſe to haue already fully vnderſtood both what the things were that were done in Moldauia, and how they were don; partly by the Kings Maieſties Letters, and partly by his principall Secretary, for that cauſe eſpecially ſent vnto your Holineſſe. Yet doubt I not to requeſt this one thing of your Holineſſe, That if it hath known me for a man, I will not ſay of any capacity or wit, but euen of the leaſt experience in the world, or of any religion at all, ſo to perſuade it ſelfe of mee, nothing to haue bin done, eſpecially in this matter, either raſhly, or to the hinderance of the Chriſtian commonweal. I will not now repeat what myne opinion was concerning the league and confederation to be made with the reſt of the Chriſtian princes, for combining their forces againſt the Common enemy, eſpecially his ſacred Maieſties: as alſo what myne own labor & indeauor was in the laſt aſſembly of the States in the high court of parlement: which thing after it L M

was

A was euen by whom it most concerned, either delayed or neglected, or vtterly cast aside; and yet his Maiesty had still a great desire to do the Christian commonweal some great good, I also to the vttermost of my power labored to that end; that by the common decree of the kingdom an expedition might be made into Tartary, not so much in reuenge of the iniuries don by that enemy in these late years past, as so in the meantime to turn him from the necks of the Christians, as that he should not join his forces with the Turk. Or if it so pleased God to blesse those our indeauors, vtterly at length to root out that so great a mischiefe. But how it came to passe that this expedition, so much by the King desired (yet scarcely begun or taken in hand) took not effect, it is not for me to declare, for that I suppose your Holinesse hath by others, especially your Nuntio, vnderstood the same. In the mean time, by Letters and often messengers news was brought, that Sinan Bassa with a great army was already come ouer Danubius; and I by letters from the Vayuod of the
B farther Valachia was aduertised, how that he, not able to incounter him, had forsaken that prouince, which at the first impression taken and almost vtterly wasted by Sinan, hee was now come fast vpon Transylvania: and in Moldavia the Tartar was still expected; insomuch that Roswan (who hauing taken prisoner Aaron the Palatine whom he serued, in his house, and so himself injoyed the Palatine) began now also to quake for fear, and to craue help of me, or rather to seek how he might fly away (as not long after hee did) neither hauing any great strength about him, or expecting any greater from the people of that countrey: for why, that prouince was brought so low by the miseries of the former yeares, but especially by such as had euill gouerned the same, that at such time as I entred into Moldavia, I assure your Holinesse there were not in it of housholders aboue 15000, and those also for the most part poor country people of the basest sort, in whom there could neither be any great help, neither if they had bin able to haue don any thing,
C durst Roswan haue trusted himselfe with them, vpon whom he had with all kinde of cruelty tyrannised. Chotijm a castle in the very confines of this kingdom, was kept with no greater Garrison than 200 Hungarians, who perceiuing themselues neither of sufficient strength to hold the place, nor to withstand the enemy, they also by and by followed after Roswan. All the rest of the prouince was not only vnarmed, but without any defence at all; two castles only excepted, which standing vpon the confines of Polonia, might haue serued better for the enemy, out of them to haue infested vs, than for the defence of Moldauia against them. So that had the enemy once set foot into that prouince, neither could it without a great power haue bin recouered; neither being recouered, could easily haue bin defended against so puissant an enemy: and that which worse was, was not it self alone to haue bin consumed with that fire, but like enough to haue caried away with it Podolia also bordering vpon it, with a great part of Rascia. Wherefore in this state of
D things, when as that prouince was in greatest danger to haue bin lost, and so many enemies houered not more ouer the heads of all Christendom, than ouer this Kingdom, what was of vs to be done? I know to whom I speak these things, euen vnto him, not only whose Diuine wisedome, but singular loue also toward my natiue countrey is to me most known. Verily I entred into Moldavia with no great Army, yet such a one as haply (as in like case it often chanceth) Fame had made amongst the enemies a very great one. So that Sinan fearing, if he should thrust himselfe with his Army into the streits whereby he was to breake into Transylvania, to be shut in by our Army, stayd his journy; and the Tartar the more earnestly he was called vpon by Sinan, by reason of the fame of this our Army, resolued to make himself so much the stronger. So that whilst he assembled the Nogaian Tartars and others farther off, and so from all parts raiseth the greatest power that he could, the matter was delayed almost vnto the end of Nouember: at which time
E he with a most huge Army, accompanied with Sendziack Iehiuense, and a great power of the Turks raised out of their prouinces there by, came directly vpon me in the fields of Coroce. Sendziak the Tartar Cham his sisters son now called himself the Bassa of Moldavia; as did the Tartars eldest son name himself Prince of another part of that prouince also. For so that Countrey was to haue bin diuided betweene them, that that part which was next vnto the Tartars dominions should be alotted to the Tartar, and the other part confining vpon this kingdom, to be gouerned by Sendziak, as Bassa therof, and so to make it the seat of a perpetuall war, from whence Podolia, Rascia, and the lower Polonia might be with continuall incursions wasted euen before our faces. Concerning which matter they now dispersed their letters, wherein they published the power and authority giuen them from the grand Seignior, exhorting the people of that country to receiue the same. A whole day we fought with this multitude, our men alwaies by the goodnes
F of God hauing not only the vpper hand, but without any notable losse also, yet not without great slaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had such strength, as that not onely the conditions of peace, but euen the enemies themselues might haue bin in my power. But when we were oftentimes come to parle (they still requiring the same) and so at length to conditions of peace; if such were giuen them, as wherby this only

kingdom had without the wrong of any other bin deliuered from so great and sudden a danger, what rea- G
sonable man could finde fault therwith, if we should haue preferred the health of our countrey (whereunto all good men owe all they haue) before others profits? But now these things were so don, as that it was no lesse prouided for the good of the neighbor Christians, yea and haply not the least for theirs, who for the same slander this kingdom vnto your Holinesse. The fury of Sinan Bassa was by this meanes repressed, who whilst he feared to be shut vp in the streits by our army now come into Moldavia, and expected the Tartars comming, spent almost all the rest of the summer idlely, and without doing any thing. The Tartar himself was not only turned from the bowels of Christendom, wherinto he had purposed (as the yeare before) to haue entred, we hauing with our own brests receiued his force and fury; but being brought vnto conditions, was expresly enioyned in a most short prefined time, and without any more harm doing, to return again into his country by the self same way he came, and by no other: wherby it is come to passe, that H
vntill this day Christendom hath not this year yet felt the fury of the Tartars weapons. But vnto Transylvania and Hungary, what a space and power was giuen for them to gather their strength and forces together, and out of the same places to oppose against the enemy, when as our Army kept them safe at their backs, and eased not only Moldavia, but Valachia and Transylvania also of that care? Whereas if this cause of delay had not bin obiected, to the Turks first, and after vnto the Tartars; not to say any thing of the Turks, the Tartars at the very self same time that the Transylvanian army was gon into Valachia against Sinan, might haue broken into Transylvania before it could haue returned home; or els marching directly towards that army, might haue met with it out of Transylvania. As for Moldavia, which together with the memory of the Christian name yet left in it, had vtterly perished, it was most manifestly preserued by the comming of our army. Which what end it would haue had, if the enemy at his pleasure I
might haue raged as he did in the farther Valachia, those most bitter remembrances in it, yet at this day smoking, do well declare: out of which it is well knowne, more thousands of Christians haue bin carried away into most miserable captiuity, than almost out of any other prouince in all the time of this miserable wars. Which though it be thus, yet boast we not therof, neither send we any triumphant letters vnto your Holinesse, nor brag we of any good seruice done for the Christian commonweal, but content our selues with the conscience of the thing it self. In the meantime we are accused vnto your Holinesse. But for what cause? If any man complain for the taking of Moldavia, I will not say it was by them before willingly forsaken, whilst I was yet in the frontiers therof, but that this kingdom hath a most antient right vnto it, and such a right, as that our Kings busied in their wars against the Muscouit, the Cruciat Teuronie brethren, or others, some others also troubling the state therof; it for a time became a prey vnto the Turkish Tyrants; yet in all the Leagues made or renued betwixt this kingdom and them, it was still excepted, That K
all such things as the Palatine of Moldavia was of duty to perform vnto the King, should by him still be performed. Which Kings of Polonia, and namely Augustus himself, the last of the Iagellonian Family, appointed diuers of those Palatines themselues. Which although they be things most manifest, yet hauing more regard to the welfare of that prouince, as a Christian country, than of our right, we restored it into the same state wherein it hath bin for many yeares before these * Warres. Wherefore if any man doe thinke any thing done, wherby the enemies of the Crosse of Christ might be eased or strengthned, or the Defenders of the faith hindered; it is so far from any such thing to be don, that rather (as is before declared) the enemies forces are repressed and auerted, and greater means giuen vnto the Christians afront to impugn them; the enemies being at their backs by vs shut from them. But I fear they haue not fully informed your Holinesse, how these things were done, who haue reported vnto your said Holinesse, not onely the L
name of the Turks to haue bin proclaimed together with the Polonians in Moldauia, but also the name of the Tartars, the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and decrees of them three, as it were confederat together, things to haue bin ordered in Moldavia. Which their complaint if it tend to that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankly confesse certain conditions to haue beene giuen them, but such as wherby is prouided not only for the quiet and securitie of this kingdom, but no lesse also for the whole Christian commonweal, as is before declared. All which things for all that, although they were done for the good of this kingdom, and all Christendom in generall; yet were they so done, that they were all referred by me vnto the Kings Maiesty, and the States of this kingdom: so that at this present the King is at free liberty either to ioyn in confederation with the rest of the Christian Princes; or if that cannot vpon certain and indifferent conditions be agreed vpon, yet with no mans injury or hurt to ratifie M
this, ioyned with the health and good of a great part of the Christian commonweal: only God grant that the Christian Princes may seriously think both of this so Christian a confederation against the Common Enemy,

* Viz. tributary vnto the Turks.

A *Enemy, and striue also all together against the enemy with their weapons, and not with misreports and slanders one against another. They are not to assail the enemies feet, but his throat; neither is the seat of the war to be placed in the borders of Polonia, where it concerneth themselues much to haue all things rather peaceable behind them. But let the war be vndertaken with no lesse charge and preparation, than if the Enemies royal seat were to be assailed; which standing in an open and plain country, shal alwaies without much ado be his that being strongest can take it. This haue I written at large, as my purpose was; all which I most humbly beseech your Holinesse with your diuine wisdom to consider of, and with your woonted clemency to accept the same: and so prostrat at your Holinesse feet, I most humbly commend me to your Clemencie.* *From* Zamoschie *the tenth of Ianuary,* 1596.

B Thus much the great Chancellor in defence of himselfe, and of that he had don in Moldavia: which howsoeuer it contented the Pope, wel I wot it nothing pleased the Emperour, and much lesse the Transylvanian Prince, now not a little weakned by the taking away of Moldavia from him.

To end this troublesome yeare withall, many sharp and bloudy skirmishes yet daily passed in diuers places of those frontier countries, the Turks almost in euery place stil going to the worse. In the beginning of Nouember, *Leucowitz* gouernor of Carolstat the second time surprised Wihitz in the frontiers of Croatia where these wars first began; but being not able to take the castle, contented himself as before with the spoil of the city, and afterward setting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* also attempted Zolnoc: and the Christians in garison at Strigonium and Plindenburg, now become neer neighbors vnto the Turks at Buda, did with con-
C tinual inrodes not a little molest them both all the larer end of this year and the beginning of the next. And the Turks in Braila in Valachia vpon the side of Danubius, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be besieged by the Vayuod, forsook the city, & in such hast passed the riuer, that in that tumultuous passage three hundred of them perished. *Sinan Bassa* by the Transylvanian prince of late driuen out of Valachia, was not long after sent for to Constantinople: but the crafty old Fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miserie of *Ferat*, found occasions to delay the time so long vntill that hee was sent for again, and after that the third time also. In the mean while he had so wrought by his mightie friends in court, and by rich rewards mightier than they, that at his comming to the court he
D was there honorably receiued, as chief Bassa; and being afterwards offered to be discharged of the wars, as a man aboue 80 years old, hee refused so to bee, saying, That hee was borne and brought vp among soldiers and martial men, and so wished among them to die: as not long after he did, as it was thought of conceit of the euil successe he had in his Wars against the Transylvanian. *The death of Sinan Bassa.*

Mahomet the Turkish Emperor exceedingly grieued with the losse of so many his Cities and strong places lost this yeare, *viz.* Strigonium, Vicegrade, Siseg, Petrinia, Lippa, Ienna, Tergoviста, Bucharesta, Zorza, and many others of lesse name; and both by letters & messengers vnderstanding daily of the slaughter of his people, and wasting of his frontiers, commanded great preparation to be made against the next Spring: giuing it out, That he would then
3 in person himself come down into Hungary with such a power as neuer had any his warlike predecessors, and there take most sharp reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheles these his so hasty designes were by the plague & famin (both which then raged extreamly in most parts of his empire) and by other great occurrents of the same time, so crossed, that by that time the Spring came, he scarcely wel knew which way to turn himself first. For besides these troubles of the West, of themselues enough to haue filled his hands; the Georgians in the East (a warlike people) moued with the good succes of the Christians in Valachia and Hungarie, had taken vp arms against him: and the old Persian King but a little before dead, had left that great kingdom to his son, a man of greater spirit than was like to endure the manifold injuries before don vnto his father by the Turks, to the great dishonor of that kingdome, and pre-
F judice of himself. Of which things the Bassa of Tauris gaue him ample intelligence, wishing him betimes to prouide for that storm: which joined vnto the rest, filled his head with many troubled thoughts; wherunto we leaue him vntill the next Spring. *Mahomet perplexed.*

The Trasilvanian prince careful of his estate, aud not a little troubled with the disseuering of

of Moldavia, thought it not vnfit for his affairs, now after the flight of *Sinan*, and diſcomfiture G
of the Turks, to go in perſon himſelf to the Emperor, to declare vnto him the wrong don him
by the Polonian; and further to conferre with him concerning the mannaging of the Warres
against the common enemy. So hauing put al things in readines for his journy, he ſet forward
1596: in Ianizary, 1596, and by the way of Caſſovia the fourth of February arriued at Prague in Bo-
hemia; where he was by the Emperors appointment moſt honorably entertained. But imme-
diatly after his comming thither he fel ſick of an ague, which grieuouſly vexed him for three
weeks ſpace. In the later end of February hauing ſomwhat recouered his health, he went vnto
the church, where after his deuotions done, he was by the Dean of the Cathedral church wel-
commed with a moſt eloquent oration, ſetting forth his worthy praiſes, and further anima-
ting him vnto the like exploits againſt the common enemy of all Chriſtianitie. Whereunto H
he forthwith anſwered in Latine ſo eloquently and ſo readily, that all men maruelled that
heard him. Proteſting in his ſpeech, That as he and his ſubiects had not hitherto ſpared their
liues or goods in defence of the common Cauſe; ſo would they not afterwards ſpare the ſame,
but aduenture all for the benefit of the Chriſtian commonweal: wel hoping that the Empe-
ror and other Chriſtian princes would not as occaſion required bee wanting vnto him with
their forces, or the Clergy with their prayers. Which done, he doubted not (as he ſaid) by the
power of God, but to obtain more notable victories than he had yet, againſt the Turks the E-
nemies of God.

The Siculi re-bell againſt the Prince.

Whilſt he yet thus lay at the Emperors Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi, I
offended to haue their liberties in ſome part infringed in the late aſſembly of the States hol-
den in Tranſylvania in December laſt paſt, riſe vp now in armes in diuers places, refuſing to
yeeld their former obedience vnto the Prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him
much trouble, and ſuppoſed not to haue bin don without the priuity of the Cardinal his Vn-
cle: but by the wiſdom and courage of ſuch as he had in his abſence put in truſt with the go-
uernment of his country, diuers of the ring-leaders of this rebellion were apprehended, and in
diuers ſorts executed; and 300 of their complices, to the terror of others, had their noſes and
ears cut off. By which wholſom ſeuerity all thoſe troubles were appeaſed, and the Country
again quieted.

At the ſame time alſo the Tranſylvanians obtained of the Turks a notable victory, with an
exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Sultan had about this time ſent a new Baſſa for K
for the gouernment of Temeſware: againſt whoſe comming the Baſſa the old gouernor had
in 75 wagons truſſed vp a wonderfull deal of wealth, which hee had there gotten in the time
of his former gouernment; to haue bin together with himſelfe with a ſtrong conuoy conduc-
ted to Belgrade. Of this his purpoſe the Hungarian Heidons lying at Lippa and Ienna ha-
uing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his paſſing by ſet vpon him; where
in a ſharp conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and ſlew the Baſſa, whoſe head they ſent as a
The Baſſa of Temeſware ſlaine, and a great booty taken. preſent to the Princeſſe at Alba-Iulia, and took the ſpoil of the Baſſa's carriages, wherein was
taken a wonderfull wealth; for in one of thoſe wagons is reported to haue been found 20000
Hungarian ducats.

In this abſence alſo of the Prince, 10000 of the Raſcians reuolting from the Turke, came L
and offered their ſeruice vnto the Princeſſe: wherof ſhe by letters with great ſpeed certified
the Prince her husband: who therupon haſted to diſpatch with the Emperor, and hauing pro-
cured both from him and the Pope the promiſe of ſome aid to be afterwards ſent him, took of
him his leaue, and being honorably accompanied, departed from Prague to Vienna, where he
arriued the 11 of March, ſitting in a princely Chariot drawn with ſix moſt beautifull horſes,
the gift of the Emperor. At his comming thither he was met by the Nobility of the Coun-
try, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who preſented him with three goodly horſes for
ſeruice, richly furniſhed. Him the prince took into his charet, and ſo accompanied entred the
city, where he was with all due honor receiued and ioyfully entertained, and ſo brought vnto
the Emperors palace, where by the learned ſtudents of that Vniuerſitie was for his pleaſure M
acted before him the notable hiſtory of *Ioſua*. Hauing ſtaid there three daies, and purpoſing
to haue in his returne viſited his mother in law at Greics in Croatia; newes was brought
him, That the Turkes and Tartars by the ſetting on of *Stephen Bathor* his Vncle, were about

to

A to break into Tranſylvania. Wherfore changing his purpoſe, he departed thence to Presburg, and ſo with all ſpeed kept on his way toward Tranſylvania, where to the great ioy & comfort of his ſubjects in general he ariued in ſafety in the beginning of April.

In this while many hot skirmiſhes paſt betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in the frontiers of their territories; and now the plague and famin which had long raged in Conſtantinople and other places of the Turks dominions began to aſſwage. Of which ſo great calamities as had deuoured many thouſands of his people, the Turkiſh Emperor finding himſelf ſomwhat eaſed, forthwith cauſed the continuation of his wars againſt the Emperour and the Tranſylvanian prince to be three daies together proclaimed in Conſtantinople, and a great army to be raiſed to be ſent into Tranſylvania and Hungary: giuing it out, That he would
B with that ſo puiſſant an army in perſon himſelf paſſe into Hungary. At which time it was alſo reported, That he had already ſent his tents and other his neceſſary prouiſion before to Hadrianople. For now was nothing more odious in the Turks court, than the name of the Tranſylvanian prince.

Of all theſe things was not the Emperor ignorant, as fully therof certified both by letters and eſpials, as alſo by the vniform confeſſion of ſuch Turks as were daily taken priſoners. For which cauſe he alſo with as much ſpeed and care as hee could, prouided for the raiſing of his army, as he had the year before; as alſo for the leuying of mony, and prouiſion of all things neceſſary, that the enemy at his comming might not find him vnprouided. Neither ſpared he to pray aid of his neighbour Chriſtian princes, eſpecially the Polonian, whom he had diuers
C times ſought to draw into the confederation with the other Chriſtian princes againſt the Turk. To which purpoſe he now alſo ſent to him the Biſhop of Preſlaw and the Lord *Poppelius* his Embaſſadors: as did the Pope alſo ſend vnto him the cardinal *Cajetan* his Legat; and the Princes Electors alſo their Embaſſadors: vnto whom the Polonian gaue good hearing and good words, but would not by any means be perſuaded to break his league with the Turke, or to afford any aid to the Chriſtians; although the Cardinal with many pregnant reaſons ſhewed him what ſmall aſſurance there was in the Turks leagues, and how dangerous it might bee to his ſtate, if the Turk making peace with the Emperor, ſhould turn his forces vpon him; as it was like enough he would, knowing no man longer for friend, than ſtood with his profit: beſide the immortal blemiſh of his honor, by diſſeuering himſelf from the vnion of the Chri-
D ſtian princes, to hold friendſhip with the Turks and infidels. But all this & much more was to no purpoſe, ſo reſolutely was the Polonian ſet down for keeping of the Turks fauor. So that of al the Chriſtian princes ſo neer vnto the deuouring enemy, none ſtood the Chriſtian commonweal in leſſe ſtead than he. Which for all that, moſt men imputed not ſo much vnto the King, as to others about him, eſpecially to *Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour, by whom that ſtate was moſt ſwayed; who was not only ſuppoſed, but openly reported to haue ſecret inteſligence both with the Turk and the Tartar.

All this while the Lord *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium ceaſed not with continuall inrodes to vex the Turks euen to the gates of Buda; as did alſo the other Chriſtian captaines in other places of the Turks frontiers in Hungary. Neere vnto Buda were two great country villages
E for moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who hauing giuen their oath of obedience vnto the Turk, liued a miſerable life for the paiment of an exceſſiue tribute yearly. Theſe poor Chriſtians weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and the continuall ſpoile of their labours by them of Strigonium; by ſecret meſſengers requeſted the Lord *Palfi*, of mercy to carry them and their goods and cattell away into ſome other place of the Chriſtian territory, that ſo they might yet liue amongſt Chriſtians; as he had but a little before done for them of old Buda. Vnto which their ſo reaſonable a requeſt the Chriſtian gouernor charitably hearkned, willing them againſt a certain appointed time to put themſelues and all their things in readineſſe. There was of theſe Chriſtians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, & ſuch traſh as they had packt vp in fourſcore Wagons drawn with fourteen or ſixteen oxen apiece, at the
F appointed time about midnight committed themſelues with all that they had, vnto the conduct of them of Strigonium, ſent out of purpoſe for them; by whom they were in ſafetie brought to Strigonium. Among them were many rich men, who brought with them good ſtore of coyne, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto theſe new come gueſts *Palfi* aſſigned certain fields betwixt Strigonium & Vivaria, on the North ſide of Danubius, where

they

they ſo commodiouſly liued, as was poſſible in ſo troubled an eſtate of a countrey. G

Shortly after, 600 garriſon ſoldiers of Lippa ſeeking after booty, and aduenturing too far into the enemies territorie, were diſcouered by the Turks ſcouts, & ſo beſet by the Turks and Tartars bilited in the country about Temeſwar, that there was no way left for them to eſcape. Which they well perceiuing, reſolued among themſelues (as became valiant men) to fight it out euen to the laſt man: and with no leſſe reſolution performed what they had before determined, for being on euery ſide beſet and hardly charged by their enemies, they as men before reſolued to die, although ſcarce one to twenty, fought moſt deſperatly, ſeeking for nothing elſe but to ſell their liues as deere as they could vnto their enemies: and ſo fighting were all ſlain, except ſome few which by great fortune eſcaped, leauing vnto the enemy a right bloudy victory: yet by this loſſe of ſo great a party was the garriſon of Lippa greatly weakned, which H the enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to beſiege the Towne. Which *Barbelus* the Gouernour (a moſt valiant man) wiſely foreſeeing, ſent in poſt vnto the Tranſyluanian Prince, to requeſt him with all ſpeed to ſend him foure or fiue thouſand good ſoldiers, with which power he doubted not by the help of God, to be able to defend the town againſt al the forces the enemy was at that time able to bring againſt it. To whom the prince

Lippa beſieged by the Turks.

without delay ſent 8000, who all in ſafety in good time arriued at Lippa: for ſhortly after their arriual, 40000 of the Turks and Tartars came and ſat downe before the towne, incloſing it on euery ſide, and ſo lay for certaine dayes without any thing doing worth the ſpeaking of; they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they could with their great ſhot, which they ſent among them not ſparingly. But they had not ſo long lien, but that news I was brought into the camp, That the Tranſyluanian Prince was with a great power comming thither to relieue the towne; whereupon they preſently riſe, and retyred to the place where they had before incamped about two miles from Lippa; where certainly vnderſtanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in ſhort time be in ſuch readineſſe as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more ſtreitly beſieged the towne than before. They had now brought with them ſeuenteen pieces of batterie, eight waggons laded with ſhot and pouder, and forty ſix others laded with ſcaling ladders and other warlike prouiſion: thus appointed they began to batter the towne, and afterwards gaue thereunto diuers deſperat aſſaults, which the Chriſtians valiantly receiued, and ſtill with great ſlaughter repulſed their enemies. For that ſtrong town was with towers and bulwarks flanking one another, ſo fortified, that out of K them the Chriſtians with their murthering pieces made great ſpoile of their enemies, and ſtil inforced them with loſſe to retyre, no bullet almoſt flying in vain. In the heat of one of theſe aſſaults the Gouernor cauſed one of the gates of the town to be ſet open, hauing before within the town placed ſixteene great pieces at the very enterance of the ſame gate, charged with all kind of murthring ſhot. To which gate as of meer deſperation ſet open by the defendants, the Turks and Tartars deſirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be, thinking to haue thereby entred: when ſuddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforeſaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a ſithe, and ſo againe, and the third and fourth time, before they could cleere themſelues of the danger thereof, their heads, armes, and legs, and other rent limbs, flying in the aire moſt miſerably to behold. Neuertheleſſe the ſiege L was by them continued, & the often aſſaults ſo reſolutely maintained, as if they had therupon purpoſed to haue gaged all their liues. But this ſo obſtinat a reſolution was by an vnexpected accident when they leaſt thought, conuerted into ſuch a deſperat feare and aſtoniſhment, that they vpon the ſudden, no man forcing them, forſooke their trenches wherein they lay incamped, and leauing behind them their tents, their great Ordnance, and what ſoeuer els they had, they betook themſelues to a moſt diſordred flight. The Tranſyluanians, who by chance were euen then comming thither, purſuing them, ſlew diuers of them, & took ſome others of them priſoners. At this ſiege, the Baſſa of Temeſwar himſelfe was mortally wounded, and *Hamat* Sanzacke of Giula with diuers others of good place ſlain, and 4000 of the common ſoldiers. The cauſe of the Turks ſo great and ſudden feare was this; Whilſt the Baſſa of Temeſwar lay M at the ſiege of Lippa, as is aforeſaid, they that were left in the City fearing no harm, liued in great ſecuritie; in the meane time the Gouernor of Lugaz ſent out ſix thouſand ſouldiers towards Tameſwar, now in the abſence of the Baſſa to ſeek after booty: who comming to Temeſwar with great ſpeed, rifled the ſuburbs of the City, ſlew all the Turkes they could light

vpon

A vpon,and ſet at liberty a thouſand captiues:and ſo hauing truſſed vp their booty,ſet on fire all their ſuburbs and departed. Which fire grew ſo great and ſo terrrble,that it was plainly ſeen into the camp at Lippa,making a ſhew as if the whole city had bin on a light fire. Which ſo daunted the hearts of the Turks at the ſiege, that they preſently fled (as is before ſaid) leauing all that they had behind them.

Plenia ſacke by the Chriſtians.

The Tranſylvanian all this while buſied in raiſing of his army,and prouiding of all things neceſſary for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of Hungary towards Temeſwar,euen as the Turks fled from Lippa. At which time certaine Hungarian Heidons that ſerued him,getting ouer Danubius not far from Nicopolis,took Plenia a little towne of the Turks,which they ranſacked and burnt; and hauing ſlain in the country therabout aboue
B three thouſand Turks,returned with a rich prey vnto the Prince.

Cliſſa regained by the Turks.

Not long before,the Chriſtians had ſurpriſed Cliſſa, a ſtrong frontier town of the Turkes in Dalmatia not far from Spalato: which town the Baſſa of Boſna ſought now again to recouer, and thereto laid hard ſiege. For the reliefe wherof, *Leucowitz* gouernor of Stiria and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria, and the gouernor of Zenge, with a fleet of forty two ſhips,wherin they had imbarqued 4000 ſoldiers wel appointed with all things neceſſarie,ſet forward toward Cliſſa: and by the way lighting vpon a galley of the Venetians bound with certain warlike prouiſion toward the Turkes campe,tooke her as good prize and rifled her. This fleet with a fair wind arriued at Siret,neer vnto Trau,where the gouernor landing his men,marched that night part of his way toward Cliſſa, & all the next day
C lay cloſe. The night following they ſet forward againe, and hauing marched fifteen miles, came to the enemies camp before day:where ſetting vpon the Turks in their trenches,fearing no ſuch peril,they brought ſuch a general fear vpon the whole camp,that the Turkes as men amaſed fled,ſome one way,ſome another,euery man (as in ſuch ſudden fear it commonly happeneth) making ſhift for himſelf, leauing whatſoeuer they had in their trenches behind them. The Chriſtians contented ſo to haue put their enemies to flight,fel preſently to the ſpoile,as more deſirous thereof,than by the haſty purſuit of their enemies to put themſelues in poſſeſſion of an aſſured victory. Which the Turks quickly perceiuing,and from the hills with the dawning of the day diſcouering the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and how they were diſordred,they gathered themſelues again together,and comming down,incloſed on euery ſide
D the diſordered Chriſtians(greedily hunting after the ſpoil) and ſlew them downright. *Leucowitz* himſelf,with the gouernor of Zeng & ſome others got into Cliſſa;where hauing ſtaid two daies, and doubting to be able to keepe the ſame, they ſecretly by night iſſued out with 600 men,in hope to haue recouered their fleet; but the Turkes ſuſpecting ſuch a matter, had ſo beſet the paſſages,that of all that company, *Leucowitz* had much adoe himſelfe with three others to eſcape. The enemy now again poſſeſſed of his trenches, laid ſtreiter ſiege vnto the town than before:which they of the gariſon perceiuing,and now out of hope of relief,agreed with the Baſſa, that they might with bag and baggage depart, and ſo yeelded vp the towne. Thus Cliſſa one of the ſtrongeſt townes of Dalmatia,through the greedy couetouſnes of the diſordred ſoldiers,fel again into the hands of the Turks.

Sombock taken by the L. Palfi.

E About the ſame time *Palfi* gouernour of Strigonium, vnderſtanding of the meeting together of certain notable aduenturers of the Turks at Sombock, a caſtle almoſt in the mid way betwixt Alba Regalis and Buda,raiſed the greateſt ſtrength he could,and ſo with certain pieces of artillery, and other things neceſſarie for an aſſault, ſet forward from Strigonium the two and twentieth of May,before the riſing of the Sun,and about three a clocke in the afternoon came to the aforeſaid caſtle; wherunto he preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault, which he neuer gaue ouer vntil he had taken it: for after he had by the ſpace of three hours together, with great danger maintained a moſt deſperat aſſault, at length he with much difficulty preuailed,and put to the ſword all the Turks he found therein,man,woman,and childe, and with the reſt,fifty Ianizaries but that day come thither. This caſtle was of great beauty, and moſt
F pleaſantly ſcituated, whereunto the Baſſa of Buda oftentimes for his pleaſure repaired: For which cauſe *Palfi* was very deſirous to haue taken it without ſpoiling; but the fire he had already raiſed therein ſo preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great ſtore of victuals and other prouiſion, nothing remaining but what the Chriſtians had ſaued for themſelues.

The

Temeſware in vaine beſieged by the Tranſylvanian Prince.

The Tranſylvanian Prince hauing raiſed a great army for the reliefe of Lippa, it beeing by great chance a little before his comming relieued, came and laid ſiege to the City of Temeſwar; where he had not long lien, but that the Turks and Tartars, fearing to loſe that ſo famous a city, aſſembled together from all places thereabouts to the number of 40000, and ſo came to raiſe the ſiege. Of whoſe comming the Prince hearing, riſe with his army and went to meet them, and had with them a great and terrible battel, the victory for a great while ſtanding very doubtful, yet ſeeming to incline rather to the Turkes and Tartars than to the Chriſtians; but at length the Turks diſordered with the great artillery, and the Tranſylvanians charging them afreſh, began to giue ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelues to plain flight. In this battel were ſlain of the Turks and Tartars 5000, and of the Chriſtians 1500. The Prince was reported to be ſlain in this battel: which was not ſo, being reſerued to the further plague of the Turks, & comfort of his afflicted country. After this victory he returned again to the ſiege, which he more ſtreightly continued than before, leauing nothing vnattempted that he could poſſibly deuiſe for the winning of the city. Where whilſt he yet thus lay battering the city both night and day, news was brought him, That *Giaffer Baſſa* and the Tartars were comming with a great army to the reliefe of the beſieged. Whereupon he conſidering his owne ſtrength, and the power of his enemies, and that the aid promiſed him both from the Emperor and out of Hungary was not yet ready, with great griefe of minde raiſed his ſiege, and retyred with his army to Lippa, there expecting new ſupplies as well of his owne, as from his friends. Whilſt he yet there lay, hee was certainly informed, That the Baſſa of Natolia (the fore-runner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to Belgrade with fourteen thouſand horſe and four thouſand Ianizaries, to joine with the Baſſa of Buda for the relieuing of Temeſwar; whoſe forces joined together were in number threeſcore thouſand; and that *Mahomet* himſelf (of whoſe comming had been rife report all this yeare) was now comming after with a farre greater power. Wherupon he departed from Lippa, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo returning to Alba Iulia, called there an aſſembly of all his States, for the repreſſing of ſo puiſſant an Enemy.

Mahomet for the better ſucceſſe of his wars in Hungary, had drawn forth the Tartar with a mighty power: who although he was at the firſt ſo vnwilling to that ſeruice (conſidering the great loſſes he had therin before receiued) that he would not, as hee ſaid, ſend ſo much as one Aſſe therunto: yet ouercome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had to the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong army vpon the frontiers of Moldavia, to meet him in Hungary: vnto whom the late choſen Vayuod ſent certaine preſents, with ſuch ſtore of victuals as hee could poſſibly prouide for him. Yet foraſmuch as hee was not that way to paſſe without the leaue of the Polonian, *Mahomet* had both by letters and diuers Embaſſadours intreated with the Polonian King for his paſſage, as alſo for the confirmation of the antient league hee and the Polonian kings his predeceſſors had to their good of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperors: from which he wel knew the Chriſtian Emperor, with diuers other the Chriſtian princes, to ſeek by all means to draw him. *Mahomet* alſo not ignorant, how hurtfull and dangerous the confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, and the Tranſylvanian, was vnto him and his deſignes; ſent vnto him Embaſſadours, by the ſhew of great danger to deter him from the Tranſylvanian, and by many glorious promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelf again vnto his protection, and in token of his fidelitie to deliuer vnto the Sultan two of his frontier towns ſuch as he ſhould require; in regard whereof he ſhould together with the Sultans fauor receiue golden mountains. Wherunto the Vayuod anſwered, That as yet he was not weary of the friendſhip he held with the Prince: and for the towns he required, that they were not in his power to giue, as belonging to the Prince; vnto whom hee ſaid hee would write, and ſtay the Embaſſador in the mean time vntil he had from him anſwer.

The Emperor on the other ſide had with al carefulneſſe ſo far as in him was, prouided that his army might be ready to take the field with the beginning of the Spring: but as commonly it chanceth, the ſpeedy proceedings of great actions (wherin the hands of many mighty are required) to be much hindred by delaies, ſomtimes of one, and ſometimes of another; ſo fell it out with him now: for albeit that his own forces were in ſome good time ready, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Summer alſo far paſt, before the aid promiſed from other princes, met together. At length after long expectance, when ſome conuenient number for an

Army

A army was from diuers places come together at Vienna: they were by the lord *Swartzenburg* and their other cammanders brought forth into the field, and not far from Altenburg encamped, within the selfe same trenches that were the last yeare cast vp by County *Mansfelt* for the safety of his army; there to expect the comming downe of the great ordnance and other prouision by the riuer from Vienna, as also the rest of the Christian forces dayly looked for. From Altenburg the Christian army remooued to Comara, and not staying there long, the foure and twentieth of Iuly marched towards Vacia, otherwise called Woczen: but before it came thither, the Turks hearing of the approch of the Christians, forsooke the town, and with their cattell and best part of their substance fled to Pesth, carrying also away with them the great ordnance; the greatest whereof they buried by the way, which was neuertheless afterwards found out by the Christians. And although the Turks at their departure had set fire both vpon the towne and castle, yet the Christians left there did what they might to quench the same: by whose diligence and the helpe of two thousand footmen, and certaine troups of horsemen sent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the towne and the castle was preserued: the whole army of the Christians following after, encamped in the open field, and with their horsemen braued the Turks euen to the gates of Pesth. This so sudden a comming of the Christians brought a great feare both vpon them of Pesth and Buda, insomuch, that they sent their wiues and children, with the chiefest of their substance downe the riuer vnto places of more safety, and farther off from danger: which was done so disorderedly (as it hapneth in such common feares) that many of them for hast thrust one another into the riuer, and so perished.

Vacia abandoned of the Turks, is taken by the Christians.

Hitherto in the former wars against the Turke, had *Matthias* bin Generall of the Christian armies: but now of late, *Ferdinand* the Emperors vncle County of Tirol being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperor his brother preferred to the gouernment of that rich countrey and the prouinces thereabouts, not inferior to some kingdomes; and *Maximilian* his younger brother appointed Generall in his stead: who departing from Vienna in the later end of Iuly, came into the campe the fourth of August, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg* his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great triumph receiued.

Now were the Christians threescore thousand strong, and hauing fortified Vacia, and therein placed a conuenient garrison, resolued by common consent to besiege Hatwan, a strong towne of the Turks in the vpper Hungary. And thereupon rising with their army from Vachia the 13 of August, came the 15 of the same moneth about noone and sat downe before the towne, and that with such speed, that they were seene of the Turkes in the towne, before that they heard any thing of their comming: insomuch, that at the first shew of them, they of the towne tooke them to haue been some come out to seeke after booty; and therefore sallying out vpon them, skirmished with them a while, vntill they perceiued the whole battel comming. The Christians approching the town, encamped themselues as they thought most conuenient, and began in three places to batter the counterscarfe. This frontier towne of the Turks, besides that it was kept with a strong garrison, was also strengthned with a broad ditch, and fortified with a broad counterscarfe and strong palisadoes. Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege, the Turks sallying out of the towne, brake into their trenches, and there did great harme; and like enough they were to haue done more, had not the horsemen in good time come in vpon them and inforced them to retire. In this sally, amongst others was one *Greis* a notable captaine slaine, being shamefully forsaken of his owne men; who for that their cowardise, were all in the sight of the whole army disarmed, and so turned out of the campe as men vnworthy any longer to beare armes. One morning also as the Christians were at their deuotions in their trenches, a Turkish priest from out of an high tower not far off, railed most bitterly vpon them, cursing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Christian canoniers much moued, made a shot at the tower, which he so well bestowed, that therewith he strucke downe the tower, together with the idolatrous priest, as he was yet rayling and blaspheming. At length the Christians had with exceeding labor & continual battery made the town saultable: wherwith the Turks discouraged, offered (but all too late) to yeeld vp the town vpon the same conditions that they of Strigonium had: whereunto they receiued no answer; yea, commandement was giuen throughout the campe, That no man vpon paine of death, should haue any parley with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readinesse for the assault, the Christi-

Hatwan besieged by the Christians.

Cowardise punished.

ans one a day about fiue a clocke in the afternoone, assaulted the town in foure places; and after three houres hard fight, by strong hand tooke it, with the scriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearefull people, who now gaue themselues all lost and forlorne. Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without respect of age, sex, or condition: women were slaine great with childe, and young children hanging at their mothers breasts; it booted not to cry for mercy, the bloudy sword deuouring all. The fury of the Wallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had slain quicke. Which their cruelty they afterwards excused when they were therefore reproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turks hereafter not so wickedly to blaspheme against Christ, or with such their wonted and barbarous cruelty to torment the Christians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themselues. In this assault and fury perished of the Turks about 4000, and of the Christians not past 300. In this towne beside that which the fire deuoured, was found a very rich prey. The first that entred the towne was one *Terskie* a notable captaine, with his company: after whom followed *Ruswurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue slaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turks.

Hatwan won by the Christians.

Extreme cruelty.

Now in the mean time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to Belgrade, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of Hungary, sending *Cicala Bassa* before him: and at length after long looking for, the second of September arriued at Buda, hauing in his army about two hudred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he presently sent forty thousand to Temeswar; but staied there himselfe with the rest of his army.

Mahomet the great Sultan commeth to Buda with an army of two hundred thousand men.

The Christians yet lying at Hatwan, & doubting lest the Sultan suddenly passing the riuer should come vpon them not yet ready for battell; departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not far from Vachia. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from Hatwan, had left a conuenient garrison for the keeping of the towne; yet such was the terrour of the Turks approch, that the next day after, they that were there left in garrison forsooke the towne, and setting it on fire, followed themselues after the campe. This comming of the Turkish Sultan to Buda, brought also a great feare vpon them at Vienna, as much doubting lest he should that way haue turned his forces, which caused them both day and night to labor for the better fortification of the city, and for the prouision of all things, as if it had bin for a present siege.

But *Mahomet* not prouided for the vndertaking of so strong a place, and not ignorant of the disgrace his great grandfather the victorious *Solyman* had sometime receiued vnder the wals thereof; had no purpose thereto, as hauing bent his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of Hungary is an antient famous city, well fortified and honored with a Bishops See, called Agria, not far from Hatwan: vpon this city, as the chiefe fortresse of the Christians in those quarters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into Hungary cast his eies, and began now that way to make head, with purpose by taking of that city, and placing therein a strong garrison, to hinder the vniting of the Emperors forces with the Transyluanians, for the mutuall strengthning of the one the other by the way of the vpper Hungary. Which the Archduke perceiuing, sent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terskie* with a notable company of Italians and Germans, and a thousand other harquebusiers, who all arriued there in safety. At which time also the Lord *Teuffenbach* sent into the city three thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of County *Turne*, with good store of warlike prouision needfull for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Bassaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Hassan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, came and encamped betweene the two riuers of Danubius and Tibiscus, couering a great part of the country with his tents. Approching the city, he with wonderfull celerity cast vp fiue great mounts, and from them with such fury battered the wals, that the Christians were glad night and day to stand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals were so great, and in many places so weakly fortified as that they were not but by a greater garrison to be defended against so puissant an enemy; and that therefore the defendants with their honor lawfully might euen the first day haue set the city on fire, & retired themselues into the castle, which was both faire and strong, and the only place to be trusted vnto; yet for the space of six daies they worthily defended the whole city against the fury of the enemies; and out of it did them

Agria besieged by Mahomet.

A them great harme. But ſeeing the danger greatly encreaſing, and that the city was not longer to be holden, they ſet it on fire; hauing before conueied all the beſt of their ſubſtance with themſelues into the caſtle: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, brake ſo ſuddenly into the city, as if they would together with the Chriſtians haue entred the caſtle alſo; but in the attempt therof they were notably repulſed & many of them ſlaine. Adioyning to the caſtle was a great and ſtrong bulwarke, againſt which the Turks for certain daies furiouſly thundred with their great ordnance, and that without intermiſſion: and hauing in diuers places ſore ſhaken it, in the ſpace of two daies aſſaulted it 12 times, but not without the wonderfull loſſe of their men: & yet gaue it not ſo ouer; but as men with their loſſe more enraged, came on againe with greater fury than before, and ſo at laſt by plain force took it: and there put to the ſword all them they B found therin, except ſuch as by good hap got betimes into the caſtle. This bulwarke thus loſt, the Chriſtians the next day ſallying out, again recouered; wherin they ſlew a great number of the Turks, with the loſſe of ſome thirty men, and as many moe wounded. The beſieged now diuers times both by letters and meſſengers craued aid of *Maximilian* the General, giuing him to vnderſtand, that they could not long hold out for want of ſhot and pouder, if they were not betimes relieued (whereof the enemy alſo was not ignorant) yet were they reſolued to hold it out euen to the laſt man; although the great Sultan had oftentimes by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promiſe that they ſhould in ſafety with life and goods depart; otherwiſe threatning vnto them greater extremities than was of late ſhewed vnto the Turks at Hatwan, if they ſhould as obſtinare men hold it out vnto the laſt. Wherunto they neC uer anſwered him any thing: for *Terskie* had forbid them all parly with the enemy; and in the midſt of the market place had cauſed a paire of gallowes to be ſet vp, threatning to hang him thereon, whoſoeuer he were, that ſhould once make motion of yeelding vp the city.

A bulwarke twelue times aſſaulted in two daies.

Whileſt the beſieged thus lay in hope of reliefe, the Archduke vpon the comming ouer of the Sultan towards Agria, hauing retired with his army to Strigonium, and there ſtaid ſomewhat too long expecting the comming of more aid; began now at length to ſet forward, and to make ſome ſhew as if he had indeed purpoſed to haue relieued his diſtreſſed friends ſo hardly beſet at Agria. But ſuch was the foulenеſſe of the weather, hindring the paſſage of his great ordnance (not to ſpeake of any thing elſe) that in fourteene daies he marched ſcarcely twelue miles forward. Whereby the enemy tooke occaſion to preuaile as he did in his ſiege: who D now hearing of the comming of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing to how little purpoſe he had ſo long battered the caſtle, conuerted all his indeauors to the filling vp of the ditch of the old caſtle, with fagots, earth, and ſuch like matter: for the haſtening of which worke, *Mahomet* himſelfe ſpared not to ride vp and downe in all places of his army, with his preſence and cheereful ſpeech encouraging his men in that deſperat worke. But whileſt the Turks were thus buſie in fulfilling his command, the Chriſtians ſallying out vpon them made great ſlaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa with ſuch as were about him: after whom they ſo eagerly followed, that he in the flight loſt his tulipant for haſt, & was there very like to haue bin taken. Neuertheleſſe the worke went ſtill forward, and was now at length with the reſtleſſe labour of ſo great a multitude brought to ſuch perfection, that the Turkes thought it now no E great matter by aſſault to enter the caſtle: and thereupon the tenth of October gaue vnto it foure deſperat aſſaults one vpon another, being ſtill with greater ſlaught of his men repulſed. But comming on againe the fifth time with freſh ſupplies, and greater fury than at the firſt, they preuailed; and ſo entring, put to the ſword all they found in the caſtle, in number about eight hundred: foure hundred of whoſe heads one of the Turks captains cauſed to be carried vnto *Mahomet* in the camp, in the beholding wherof, he is ſaid to haue taken great pleaſure, as in the vndoubted ſignes of his victory.

The old caſtle taken.

The old caſtle thus taken, nothing remained but the new caſtle, againſt which the Turks conuerted their whole forces, wherin they repoſed not ſo much hope (although their battery were very terrible, and their power great) as in the ſecret mines wherewith they had in 14 places F vndermined the caſtle, and were now almoſt ready to be blowne vp. Which the beſieged perceiuing, and withall conſidering the ſtate wherein they ſtood, and not hearing any thing of reliefe; reſolued amongſt themſelues (without the conſent of their chiefe Commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yeeld. And thereupon altogether as if it had been but one man, riſe vp in a mutiny againſt their two Gouernours, *Paul Niari*, and *Terskie*; who at the firſt by all the

the reasons they could deuise, dissuaded them from such cowardise, putting them in mind of G
the oath they had taken: which not preuailing, they afterwards vpon their knees requested
them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of speedy reliefe: yea, *Terskie* with his hands
cast vp entreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yeeld, then they
should first kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to see so great a dishonor.
But what auaileth persuasion with men possessed with so great feare? And in the meane time
two hundred and fifty of the common soldiers, among whom were many Italians, secretly es-
caping out of the castle fled into the camp, of whom diuers became runegats & turned Turk;
which added to the former feare, so much discouraged the minds of the rest, that they forth-
with required to come to parly with the enemy, and so agreed, That they might with bag and
baggage and their swords by their sides in safety depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for H
Agria yeelded vnto the Turks. the performance thereof, with hostages deliuered on either side. So the 13 of October about
noone, the garrison soldiers came out of the castle in number about two thousand: but they
were not gone far, but that they were in a great plaine set vpon by the Turks and Tartars, and
there cut in pieces; some of them were slain quicke, and some other of them otherwise shame-
fully dismembred; the Turks in the meane time vpbraiding them, and saying, That faith was
not to be kept with them that had so cruelly before dealt with them of Hatwan. This perfidi-
ous dealing much offended diuers of the better sort of the Turks, insomuch that some of them
complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) caused some of the chiefe authors
therof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commanded, that if any of the
Turks or Tartars had taken any of them prisoners, they should forthwith set them at liberty. I
Thus is the famous city of Agria, of long time a Christian Bishops seat, now become a sure
receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Petrinia besie-ged by the Turks. Whilest *Mahomet* thus lay at the siege of Agria, the Bassa of Bosna with certain other of the
Sanzackes thereabouts, hauing raised a great army, came and besieged Petrinia in the borders
of Croatia: which he at his first comming so furiously battered by the space of seuen daies,
that it was of many thought not possible for it to hold out two daies longer. In the mean time
the Lord *Herbenstein* and *Leukowitze*, with all the power they could make out of Croatia and
Windismarch, came towards Petrinia: but hauing no meanes in so great haste to make a
bridge ouer the riuer of Kulp, they retired towards Siseg, there to passe ouer. The Turks hea-
ring of their retire, and supposing them to haue fled for feare, put six thousand horsemen ouer K
the Riuer to pursue them: Vpon whom the Christians turning, and charging them home,
ouerthrew them; and hauing slaine many of them, draue the rest headlong into the Riuer,
where most of them perished. The Christians neuertheless keeping on their way to Siseg,
there the next day by a bridge passed ouer the Riuer, and so marching towards Petrinia, and
being come neere vnto the Towne, were encountered by eight thousand Turkes, whom they
also put to flight; and by certaine prisoners there taken, vnderstood that the Bassa the day
Petrinia re-lieued. before was risen from before the Towne and gone: which they at the first beleeued not, but
comming thither found it so, to their owne good contentment, and the great joy of the late be-
sieged.

Maximilian the General marching on faire and softly from Strigonium, at length the seuen- L
teenth of October came to Cassouia, foure daies after that Agria was lost; and there met with
the Transyluanian Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thousand men, and forty field
pieces to aid him: of whom eight thousand were mercinary horsemen, fifteene hundred were
of the nobility of his country, and the rest footmen. The next day after, they setting forward
from Cassouia, joyned themselues with the rest of the army led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and
Palfi, and so of all their vnited forces made one army, consisting now of two and thirty thou-
sand horsemen and eight and twenty thousand foot: who drew with them an hundred and
twenty field pieces, and twenty thousand waggons, wherewith they euery night enclosed their
army as with a most sure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards Agria,
with a full resolution to giue the Turks battell, whereof the whole army seemed to be very M
desirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad,
where they were to passe ouer a certaine riuer, the passage whereof *Giaffer Bassa* had before ta-
ken with twenty thousand Turks and Tartars, the rest of the Turks army lying still not farre
from Agria. Now the purpose of the Bassa was, to haue enlarged the passage of the riuer, and

so

A so to haue made way for the whole army, to haue afterwards passed to the other side, as most commodious for many purposes, especially for water; wherof they so might themselues haue had plenty, & yet kept the Christians from it. But of this his purpose, by the comming of the Christians he was quite disappointed: for the next day being the 23 of October, they skirmished with him in diuers places, especially at the passage of the riuer; where at the first incounter he lost 300 of his men, and in the end seeing himselfe too weake to withstand the whole power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing lost two of his ensignes & 20 field pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approch of the night hindered the pursuit of the Christians, who were now become masters both of the passage of the riuer, and of the place where the Bassa lay: which they finding not so commodious for them as they had at
B the first supposed (especially for lacke of wood, the weather being then extreme cold, as also hearing of the approch of the Sultan with his whole army) they forthwith forsooke the same, and retired again ouer the riuer to the place where they lay before, inclosing themselues with their waggons, as if it had beene a city strongly inclosed with woodden wals. The next day which was the 24 of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his army shewed himselfe vnto the view of the Christians, and sent 3000 Tartars to passe the riuer: of whom the Christians slew a great number with their great shot, and put the rest to flight. Both the armies were populous and strong, and couered a great deale of ground, a most goodly sight to behold: both drunke of the same riuer, as well the men as their horses, and therfore kept continuall watch all that night on both sides of the riuer, especially at the passage. In the morning betwixt six and
C seuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his army ranged in order of battell, came within sight of the Christians, his squadrons as it were couering all the country on that side of the riuer as far as the Christians could well see; and now again sent part of his army ouer the riuer: with whom the Christians skirmished from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all this while standing fast, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both sides well wearied, and many slaine, the Turks retired again ouer the riuer to the camp: in the mean time (as if it had bin by consent) they resolued on both sides the next day to try the fortune of a battell; and so commandement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man against a certaine appointed time to make himselfe ready. So the next day, being the 26 of October, *Mahomet* brought forth his army again out of his campe, which was not far from the
D Christians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the ruines of an old church, where *Mahomet* placed certain companies of Ianizaries, and 24 field pieces, and commanded ten thousand of his select souldiers to passe the riuer, which they readily did. The Christians also ready for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming ouer of the enemy to begin; with part of their army thereunto appointed, so fiercely charged the Turks that were already come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them only, but certain companies of Tartars also that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not so contented, but following them they had in chase, put to flight them also that stood on the farther side of the riuer, of whom they slew a great number, and by the comming on of the rest of the army, tooke from them 190 great pieces of artillery: whereof so great a feare rise in
E the enemies campe, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Bassa seeing the discomfiture of the army fled in all haste towards Agria, shedding some teares by the way as he went, and wiping his eies with a piece of *Mahomets* garment, which hee for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue caused a retreat to be sounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Transyluanian Prince, the Lord *Palfi*, and the rest, persuaded him in that so great feare of the enemy to prosecute the victory; and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their disordered battels. Wherefore the Christians still keeping their array, charged afresh the front of the enemies restored battell, consisting of forty thousand men, and that with such violence, as that they in short time had slaine the most part of them, and put the rest to flight: and with the
F like good fortune charging the body of the maine battell, forced the discouraged Turks with great slaughter into their owne campe. Now commandement was before giuen throughout the Christian army, that no man vpon paine of death should in seeking after spoile breake his array, or forsake his place, before the victory were assuredly gotten. But they in this hot pursute breaking together with the Turks into their tents, and there killing a great number of them,

A great and long skirmish betwixt the Turks & the Christians.

Ten thousand Turks passe the riuer, and are together with the Tartars put to flight.

them,and ſeeing in euery place great ſtore of rich ſpoile, contrary to the aforeſaid commande- G
ment,left the purſuit of their enemy, and diſorderly fell to the ſpoile of the tents, vntill they
came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the miſchiefe, with a moſt ſud-
The Chriſtians in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoile, ouerthrowne and diſcomfited. den change of fortune. For here theſe greedy diſordered men,not now worthy the name of ſol-
diers, light vpon a ſtrong ſquadron of reſolute men, with good ſtore of great ordnance ready
charged, which they diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies, and rent in ſunder a
number of them,and after that came on reſolutely themſelues : when in the meane time *Cica-
la Baſſa* with his horſemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them alſo, and with the terrour of his
comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them,that they began amaine to fly,eſpecially the Hun-
garians & Germans,moſt buſied in the ſpoile. Neither could they in that feare, by any threats
or intreaty of their commanders be perſuaded to make a ſtand, or ſo much as once to looke H
backe,or to ſhew any token of true valour : which their haſty flight was the ouerthrow not of
themſelues only,but of others alſo that would haue fought ; for whilſt they fled headlong vp-
on the ſpur,and could not be ſtaid, they ouerran their own footmen, and ſo furthered the ene-
mies victory. Thus for want of good order, through the greedy couetouſneſſe of a ſort of diſ-
ordered men,the moſt notable victory that euer the Chriſtians were like to haue had ouer the
Turks,was let ſlip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen & commanders,in ſeeking to ſtay
the flight of their own men,were here ſlaine:& although the enemy followed the chaſe ſcarce
halfe a mile,yet were the Chriſtians poſſeſſed with ſuch a feare,that they fled amaine all ouer
the country with greater ſhame than loſſe,no man purſuing them. The Archduke himſelfe ſee-
ing all deſperat fled to Caſſouia. The Tranſyluanian of all others moſt orderly retired him- I
ſelfe towards Tocaij,hauing not loſt in this battell aboue 200 men, and of them neuer a man
of name. All this loſſe he imputed to the couetouſneſſe of the Hungarians, and cowardiſe of
the German horſemen. The Lord *Brenſtein* hauing charge of the great artillery, fled alſo, and
made ſhift for himſelfe,as did *Palfi*,and in fine all the reſt. Neither was the feare leſſe amongſt
the Turks(a wonderful thing to be ſpoken)than it was among the Chriſtians:for the night fol-
lowing they for fear of the return of the Chriſtians, truſſing vp the beſt of their things,fled al-
ſo towards Agria. And it was afterwards known, that the Turks great ordnance,tents,and bag-
gage ſtood three daies in their trenches,either altogether vngarded, or ſo ſlenderly garded, as
that they might haue bin eaſily taken by the Chriſtians, if they would but haue made head a-
gaine. Yea, *Mahomet* himſelfe is reported oftentimes to haue confeſſed the danger and feare he K
was then in to haue bin taken,and al his army deſtroied,if the Chriſtians had(as they ſhould)
purſued the victory, and not ſo baſely run after the ſpoile : by which danger he then warned,
afterwards euer ſhunned to aduenture his perſon to the like perill in the field. In this battel of
Twentie thouſand Chriſtians ſlain, & threeſcore thouſand Turks. Kareſta(for ſo it is of a place thereby called)and at the ſiege of Agria,were loſt of the Chriſti-
ans about 20000,and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this victory fortified Agria,and for
the keeping thereof left in it 10000 ſoldiers,and ſo returned to Belgrade.

Vacia beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda. The Baſſa of Buda perſuading himſelfe that the Chriſtians after ſo great an ouerthrow
could not this yere to any purpoſe recouer their ſtrength, came with all the power he was able
to make,and the fourth of Nouember beſieged Vacia,in hope to haue eaſily carried it:but find-
ing there greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined,& hearing that the diſperſed Chri- L
ſtians in the vpper part of Hungary were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne,
he more afraid than hurt,brake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned to Buda:for indeed the diſperſed
reliques of the late army of the Chriſtians were drawing together,but vnarmed and vnſeruice-
able,as hauing in the laſt flight ſhamefully caſt away their armes, and therefore could haue
done the Baſſa ſmall harme if he had continued the ſiege.

Mahomet thinking it honor enough for him to haue thus won Agria, and driuen the Chri-
ſtians out of the field,diuided his army into two parts at Belgrade : whereof the one he billet-
ted in the countrey thereabout, to be ready for all euents, and with the other he returned to
Conſtantinople:but by the way he was ſet vpon by *Barbelius Iannſchie* the Tranſyluanian prin-
ces Lieutenant, and the Vayuod of Valachia, who with a great power both of horſe and foot M
being got ouer the riuer Danubius,and ſecretly fauored by the country people, lay in ambuſh
for him in places of aduantage,and ſtill following in the taile of his army,cut off 7000 of his
men before he could be rid of them:and ſo with much trouble arriued at length at Conſtanti-
nople,where we will for this yeare leaue him,vntill we heare of him more.

Maximi-

A *Maximilian* with a ſmall retinue arriued at Vienna in the later end of Nouember, where he found the Viſcont of Burgaw, *Swartzenburg*, and ſome other of the commanders of his late army; moſt of the reſt, eſpecially the Italians, being ſlaine. The ſmall remainder of this vnfortunat yere was ſpent with often skirmiſhes and inrodes one into anothers frontiers, as the maner of war is, without any great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperor, notwithſtanding the late diſcomfiture of his army not farre from Agria, made choice again of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke for the managing of his forces for his next yeares wars againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Pope by his legat *Fran. Aldobrandino* promiſed of his owne charge to ſend him 10000 Italians, vnder the conduct of the Duke of Mantua; as did alſo the German Princes their wonted aid, with ſome others. All
B which ſlowly at length meeting together neere vnto Poſſonium and Altenburg, in the months of Iuly and Auguſt; departing thence, marched to Pappa, which after eight daies hard ſiege they tooke, and ſo again retyred to Altenburg, where they took a generall muſter of the army, and afterwards in the beginning of September ſhewed themſelues before the ſtrong town of Rab: where the lord *Bernſtein* approching too neere the walls, was with a ſhot ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe the reſt there ſtaied, vntill that hearing of the comming of *Mahomet Baſſa* the Turks Generall with a great army, they left the ſiege, and the 24 day of September paſſing ouer the riuer Danubius, into the Iſland Schut towards Comara, there on the North ſide of the riuer encamped. Where they had not lien paſt 8 daies, but that the caſtle of Dotis ſtanding vpon the South ſide of Danubius, was by the Baſſa before their faces, and as it were euen vnder their
C noſes beſieged and taken; the whole army of the Chriſtians in the meane time as idle beholders looking on, but not daring to relieue their diſtreſſed friends: but afterwards ariſing, marched to Vacia; where hearing of the Turks comming againſt them from Peſth, they ſet fire on the caſtle, and ſo retired alongſt the North ſide of the riuer, vntil they came ouer againſt Vicegrade a caſtle of their owne on the farther ſide of Danubius; where by the good direction of the lord *George Baſta* a moſt expert captaine, and lieutenant Generall of the army, they encamped ſo ſtrongly, as that the Turks after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in their trenches, were glad with ſome loſſe to depart.

Pappa taken by the Chriſtians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

Neither went things this yere better forward with the Chriſtians in other places than in this ſide of Hungary: for *Sigiſmund* the Tranſiluanian prince by his Chancelor beſieging the ſtrong
D city of Temeſwar in October, was by the valor of the defendants, and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather enforced to raiſe his ſiege, and with diſhonor to depart. *Michael* alſo the Vayuod of Valachia, who moued with the example and perſuaſions of the Tranſyluanian Prince, had reuolted from the Turks, and don them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often inuaſions and the ſpoile of his country, almoſt brought to vtter deſolation, many thouſands of his ſubiects being by the Turks and Tartars carried away captiues, and his townes and caſtles for moſt part raſed; to giue his people a time of breathing, ſubmitted himſelfe againe vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance, ſolemnly receiuing at the hands of one of the Turks Chiaus (for that purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople) an enſigne in token of his ſubmiſſion vnto the Turkiſh Emperor, as alſo of his fauor towards him. Which the more to aſſure him of, he
E by another honorable meſſenger ſhortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodſhip of Valachia by the grand Seignior his ſolemne oath, vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his ſon *Peter*, then about thirteene yeares old, for the terme of both their liues, without diſturbance, paying but the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were vpon any condition to haue reduced that martial man with his country vnto their obeiſance: and in token of further grace, together with theſe letters he receiued alſo a goodly horſe, moſt richly furniſhed, with a faire ſcimiter and an horſemans mace, in ſigne of the martiall power and gouerment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and honors the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to accept: neuertheleſſe not daring too far to truſt vnto
F the Turkiſh faith, of the ſmall aſſurance wherof he had before had ſufficient experience, he ſtill kept ſtrong garriſons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with ſuch other forces alſo as he was wont, excuſing the ſame to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he alſo excuſed himſelfe, for not going with the Turks Generall this yeare into Hungary, as he was by ſpeciall meſſengers from the grand Seignior himſelfe requeſted; telling him that he might not in any

Michael the Vayuod yeldeth his obeyſance vnto the Turke, and yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians.

caſe

caſe ſo to do, for feare of the Tartars moſt horrible incurſions, and the ſpoiles of his country: yet knew he right well, how that they were by the great Sultan his expreſſe commandement charged not to do any harme either in Moldauia or Valachia, as they went into Hungary. But this wary Vayuod not greatly truſting either the Sultan or them, as alſo loth himſelfe a Chriſtian, to go againſt the Chriſtians his friends and late confederats, excuſed himſelf by the neceſſary care he had of his ſubjects and country, and ſo requeſted that his reaſonable excuſe to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be ſaid hereafter. Thus paſſed this yeare without any great thing done more than is before declared; both theſe great Princes, the Emperor and the Turkiſh Sultan, being warned by the laſt yeres work, what it was to put al to the fortune of a battel: & therfore now contenting themſelues to haue ſhewed their
1598 forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeres wars more in ſhews than deeds.

What great things might by the Chriſtian Princes at vnity amongſt themſelues be done againſt the Turk, is by the conſiderat right eaſily to be gathered: but eſpecially by the notable victory of the famous Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund*, who confederated but with his poore oppreſſed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians, and ſtrengthened with ſome ſmall aid from the Emperor and the Hungarians, not only deliuered thoſe three countries from the heauy burthen of the Turkiſh thraldom, but vanquiſhed alſo their moſt renowned captains, ouerthrew their mighty armies, burnt and ſpoiled their Countries, raſed their townes and cities; which as it hath been before in part declared, ſo if it ſhould be all particularly ſet downe, beſides that it would be tedious, ſo alſo might it haply ſeem almoſt incredible. Beſide which calamities of war (commonly more felt of the ſubject than of the Prince) the great Sultan himſelfe found no ſmall wants, as well in his coffers, as other his neceſſary ſupplies for the maintenance of his wars, eſpecially in Hungary; the only countrey of Moldauia before theſe troubles yeelding vnto him yerely a tun of gold, 2000 horſes for ſeruice, 10000 great meaſures of wheat, with as much barly, and a wonderfull proportion of butter, hony, and other victuals; the other two prouinces paying the like or more, as a yerely tribute: whereof he had of late, to his great diſcontentment, by the generall reuolt of theſe three countries bin quite diſappointed. But this ſo wholeſome a confederation (to the great hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale, and benefit of the Turks) now broken, and Moldauia by the Polonians diſſeuered from the reſt, and againe made tributary to the Turke, as is before declared, and now Valachia alſo in a ſort acknowledging the Turks obeiſance; the noble Tranſyluanian prince, who hitherto with great cheerfulneſſe and courage had fought the moſt Chriſtian battels againſt the Turke, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own ſmall forces to be able long to defend his country againſt the Turke and the Polonian, whom he feared not much leſſe than him: leſt the ſame ſhould together with himſelf, fal into the hands of the Turks or ſome other his enemies, by a wonderful change voluntarily reſigned this his country of Tranſyluania vnto *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor and his heires for euer: and ſo leauing his wife in Tranſyluania, went himſelf into Sileſia, there to take poſſeſſion of the Dukedomes of Oppel and Ratibor, which together with the yerely penſion of 50000 Ioachims, or the reuenues of the Biſhoprick of Vratiſlauia, he had in lieu thereof receiued of the Emperor: whereupon the poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania, by the generall conſent of all the States of that country, was in the beginning of this yere 1598, deliuered vnto the Archbiſhop of Vacia, the County *Nadaſti*, and Dr *Petzi* the Emperors commiſſioners; and a ſolemne oath of obedience and loyalty taken of them all in generall: albeit the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, as alſo the Emperour himſelfe would haue perſuaded the Prince, either not at all, or at leaſtwiſe not ſo ſuddenly to haue forſaken his country, but to haue ſtill kept the gouernment thereof himſelfe yet for a yeare or two; well foreſeeing, that the ſame could not ſo conueniently be gouerned by any other, as by himſelfe, a naturall Prince therein borne, and exceedingly beloued of his ſubjects. The ſame Commiſſioners alſo in Iune following, going into Valachia, there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vayuod and his people: who loathing the Turkiſh ſouereignty, all willingly yeelded themſelues vnto the Emperors protection. Theſe commiſſioners alſo at the ſame time came to agreement with the Tartars Embaſſadors, offering vnto the Emperor peace and aid for the yearely penſion of 40000 duckats, and as many ſheep-skin-gownes, their vſuall manner of apparell.

A great tribute.

The Prince of Tranſyluania reſigneth his country vnto the Emperor.

Michael the Vayuod ſubmitteth himſelfe with his people vnto the Emperors protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the Empire, begun in December laſt paſt at Ratisbon, *Matthias* the Emperors brother being there his deputy, & in his Majeſties name demanding a greater

greater aid for the maintenance of his wars againſt the Turks the common enemy, than was by the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where after great and long deliberation, a large proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars, and defence of the Chriſtian commonweale, to be paied in three yeares next, and ſo thereupon was the aſſembly diſſolued. But as they were returning home, behold, contrary to all hope, Rab one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Chriſtendome, three yeares before betraied vnto the Turks by County *Hardeck*, was now by the wiſedome and valor of *Adolphus* Baron of Swartzenburg, the Emperours Lieutenant in the lower Hungary, againe recouered, to the great griefe of the Turks, and wonderfull rejoycing of the Chriſtians, in ſuch ſort as followeth:

This noble gentleman the lord *Swartzenburg*, of no leſſe courage then experience, then lying at Comara, and ſtill in doubt leſt the Turks ſo neer vnto him at Rab, ſhould attempt ſomthing againſt him and his charge, prouided for his owne defence all that Winter time with a ſtrong garriſon, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemy with any army to keepe the field. So Winter paſſing, and the Spring approching, it fortuned that the 22 day of March, about 7 a clocke in the night, the gates being ſhut, were heard neere vnder the walls of the towne, two men, who by their ſpeech ſeemed to be Italians: with great inſtance requeſting, for the ſafegard of their liues, to be let in, for feare of the enemies purſuit. Which by one of the ſentinels was forthwith reported vnto the Gouernor: who doubting it to be ſome ſubtill practiſe of the enemy, commanded them there to take their fortune vntill the morning: at which time they were receiued into the city, and being brought before the Gouernor, proſtrating themſelues forthwith at his feet, pittifully requeſted him to haue compaſſion of their miſery, & to comfort them with his charitable relief, that ſo they might at length returne againe into their country. Who at the firſt asked them, what countrymen they were, and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they anſwered, That they were Italians, and that they had but euen then eſcaped out of the cruell hands of the Turks at Rab. But deſiring to know of them ſome news, they after their manner humbled themſelues, ſhewing by their geſture not to know any. Yet would he needs vnderſtand of them the particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had vſed to eſcape out of that cruell ſeruitude, in all order as had befalne them. Where the yonger of them beginning, told him, that now almoſt two yeres ago, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians were ouerthrown by the Turks vnder Agria, and euery man in that confuſion then ſeeking the beſt and neereſt way to ſaue themſelues; they hauing by flight now eſcaped the greateſt danger of the enemy, and ſo trauelling ouer the country towards Vienna, were to their great misfortune (by an hundred Turks come out of Rab to ſcoure the country, and to ſeeke after prey) taken priſoners, and as ſlaues committed to the chaine, where they had almoſt two yeres, vntill now, with great patience ſerued. Theſe two fugitiues by their outward appearance ſeemed to be men of good ſpirit and valor, which cauſed the Gouernor the more deſirous to know of them the meanes they had vſed for their eſcape. So the yonger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderſtand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had bin three months before ſtill carefully deuiſing how to recouer their loſt liberty, which now ſeemed to make ſome offer of it ſelfe vnto them: for that ſince the time that the Emperors army riſe the laſt yere from before the towne, they were not kept ſo ſtreit or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded: which cauſed them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to reſolue either the ſooner to die, or to ſet themſelues at liberty. And that ſo one day as they were carrying certain munition from the palace of *Giaffer Baſſa* for the ſoldiers, they ſecretly conueied three pieces of cord of ſome reaſonable bigneſſe, therwith by night to let themſelues down from the wall, and as as they might to eſcape: which ſtolne cord that it ſhould not be ſeene, and ſo their purpoſe ſuſpected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in, what they had ſo long deſired, and they roaming vp and downe in the darke, and ſtill finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to ſtay, and to defer it vntill the night following: which being come, and choice made of a moſt conuenient place, they made faſt the cord aboue, and ſo thereby ſlid downe, firſt the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing how to ſwimme, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow conducted ouer vnto the farther ſide of the broad and deepe ditch: and that ſo, in the night (ſo darke as that one of them could hardly ſee the other) they were come by chance to Comara, thinking to haue

Two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab, diſcouer the ſtate of the towne to the Lord Swartzenburg.

taken

taken the way to Vienna. The Gouernour thus fully instructed of their escape, demanded of G
them further, how the strong towne of Rab was by the Turks gouerned and garded: who told him, very euill, and with small care, especially since the departure of the Emperors campe: and also that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open, would all fal into the town ditch, and so further them that would attempt to enter: with diuers other particularities. Wherof the Gouernor hauing well considered, thought with himselfe, that if by some ingenious deuice he might by night with some good strength vpon the sudden enter the towne, it haply might be so againe recouered. Vpon which so great a designement he thought good to consult further with the Lord *Palfi*, whom he requested, in all hast & with as much secrecy as was possible, with 1600 foot, and as many horse as he could make, to come vnto him to Comara. Who vpon this aduertisement staid not, but presently giuing order vnto H
his men, set forward by night, and the 26 of March before day, with 1400 foot, and 120 horse arriued at Comara; where they were all joyfully receiued, and the gates after they were entered, again fast shut, & so kept for feare of the enemies secret spies, of whom no man can be too wary, be he neuer so wise. Now whilest these souldiers were refreshing themselues, in the meane time the Gouernor with the Lord *Palfi* discoursed to the full concerning the intended enterprise: which resolued vpon, they found themselues vpon the view of their men to haue 2600 foot of the garrison soldiers, and 300 horse all good and couragious men, and well appointed for the intended seruice: who there staying two daies after their comming, and many of them in the meane time (after the manner of their religion) confessing themselues, and receiuing the Sacrament, were become so couragious, as that they doubted not in the quarrel of the Christian religion to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themselues. And the more to I
stir them vp, the Lord *Palfi* at the same time deliuered vnto them a notable speech; not for all that telling them whither they were to go: but, That they were his Christian soldiers and brethren, vnder his leading both of long and late time: who neuer by him deceiued of their wonted pay at such time as it was due, would not now as he hoped forsake him. And albeit that he well knew them to haue deserued at his hands a greater contentment; neuertheles being himselfe depriued of his reuenue by these late warres, and his possessions subject euery houre vnto the incursions of the Turks, could not therfore according to his desire, and their deserts, shew vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet now and euen presently was come the time wherein they might not only abundantly enrich themselues, but also adorne their heads with K
an immortall crowne of glory, and make themselues for euer famous, by performing the most happy and glorious exploit that euer was by valiant souldiers attempted or atchieued in that part of the World. And to the intent that they might know how dearely he accounted of the life and honor of euery one of them, he would therefore himselfe with the Lord *Swartzenburg* (of whom proceeded all that faire deuice and new stratagem) be present with them in the action: and that therefore they were not to thinke that they were led forth to any priuat danger, farther than their commanders themselues; whose folly were to be accounted great, if rashly and vpon no good ground they should aduenture their liues and honours together: whereof they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thousand proofes known, how much they had beene of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoued them so much the more to shew their L
valor in this piece of seruice, vndertaken for the great benefit of the Christian commonweale, and the honour of Christ Iesu, vnto whom they were with one accord to make their praiers, with his mighty hand to strengthen their hearts, and with glorious victorie to bring to happy end the intended exploit against his enemies, to the honour of his name, and the aduancement of the Christian religion and faith. At the end of which speech all the souldiers cried aloud, That they were most ready to do any their commands, and to follow them whithersoeuer. So order was taken, that within three houres they should euery man be preast and ready with their armes according to their places: and so hauing well refreshed themselues, about eleuen of clocke the seuen and twentieth day of March they in good order began to set forwards toward Rab. But for that the multitude of souldiers oftentimes giueth the enemy warning of M
that is intended against him; *Palfi* gaue order to one *Iohn Stroine* his Sergeant Major, to follow faire and softly after him, with 1700 horse and foot, which he well performed. And so vpon the breake of the day they began to draw towards Rab, and there lay close in ambush all that day vntill night, about seuen miles short of the towne: refreshing themselues in the meane time

The notable speech of the Lord Palfi vnto his soldiers.

time with plenty of victuals, which they had brought with them from Comara. Night (the fauourer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to Rab, and there ſtaied about fiue houres: from whence they ſent before them a French enginer, a man of great judgement, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 duckats) hauing with them 4 petards, ehgines of force to blow vp into the aire any thing whereunto they be faſtened, be it neuer ſo great and weighty; where by good chance they found the draw-bridge downe, and the portculleis vp: for that the Turks then caſting no perill, expected euery houre for certain waggons with prouiſion from Alba Regalis. By which good hap the Chriſtians vnperceiued comming to the gate, and therunto faſtning their petards, in good order gaue fire to the ſame, which preſently tooke not hold: yet were they not far gon, but that they were by a ſentinell diſcried, who demanding what they were, was preſently anſwered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in ſunder the gate, with ſome part of the wall & of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarme, and the Chriſtians in the foreward thruſting preſently in, tooke the gate, none of the Turks yet comming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The firſt that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their wonted cry *Alla, Alla*, in ſuch hidious maner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue ſtaied the Chriſtians for farther entring, but were themſelues ouercharged by 300 which were already entred. At which time alſo the Baſſa came on with more than a thouſand following him, and that with ſuch courage and fury as was neuer greater to be ſeene in any Turke: where after a moſt terrible fight maintained by the ſpace of two houres, the Baſſa himſelfe heing ſlaine, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thouſand Chriſtians moe had leiſure to enter: when ſtreitway after came *Giaffer* the great Baſſa with aboue 1000 tall ſoldiers following him, all the inhabitants alſo of Rab running after him, and that with ſuch force, that they conſtrained the Chriſtians to retire vnto the gate whereby they entred. Who reſolued rather honorably to die within the towne, than with diſhonor to be forced out, there with incredible courage ſuſtained the greateſt impreſſion of the furious enemy: where was to be ſeene the true Chriſtian valour for the performance of ſo great an exploit well worthy of eternall memory. But this Baſſa alſo (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountered by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that ſharpe conflict ſhewed great tokens of his valour, was there at length ſlaine alſo: both whoſe heads ſtrucke off, were for a preſent afterwards ſent to the Emperor at Prague, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turks pereeiuing that all their chief commanders were ſlain, retired moſt part of them into the city: ſome 300 of them crept vnderneath one of the bulwarks, where ſtood certain barrels of gunpouder, which they deſperatly ſet on fire, and ſo together with themſelues blew vp 300 Chriſtians that were aboue vpon the bulwarke; the greateſt loſſe the Chriſtians had in all that victory, who were otherwiſe ſuppoſed not to loſe therein aboue 200 of their men. Thus the Turks diſcomfited, and altogether full of feare, loſing both their force and courage, fled in euery place before the Chriſtians, they in euery corner making of them a moſt horrible ſlaughter. The Turkiſh women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceaſed not to caſt downe ſtones, timber, and ſuch like things vpon the heads of the Chriſtians, whom they thought by all means to annoy, and to helpe the Turks. The bloudy execution continued all that day vntill night, the Chriſtians ſtill finding one or other hidden in the moſt ſecret places of the city, vpon whom to exerciſe their wrath: who ranſacking alſo euery corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But commlng to the palace of *Giaffer* the great Baſſa, they found ſuch great ſtore of rich furniture, as better beſeemed ſome great Prince than a Turkiſh ſlaue. There they found alſo letters written in characters of gold from the Baſſa of Buda to this Baſſa, greeting him, and promiſing him in his behalfe to deale with the Grand Seignior againſt the next Spring, with the firſt that his army ſhould take the field, that he might therin haue ſome honorable place of command, to the end he might in the field ſhew his great valour, and no longer lie idle in that ſtrong towne. So found they there alſo many things written from the great Sultan himſelfe vnto this Baſſa, with great ſtore of coine, which all fell to the ſouldiers ſhare; inſomuch that by this ſo notable an exploit ſo well performed, the publique State, together with ths ſouldiers priuat was not a little bettered. There amongſt other things were recouered threeſcore and ſix pieces of Artillery, which were knowne to haue been ſometime the Emperors, and foure and twenty others, which the Baſſa had

Rab ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

Two of the Turks Baſſa's ſlaine.

A great booty.

had cauſed to be brought from Buda,with great ſtore of ſhot and poudet and other ſmall pie- G
ces,and meale ſufficient to haue ſerued foure thouſand men for a yeare and a halfe,but of wine,
(little vſed of the Turks) onely foure veſſels. In the Baſſaes palace was alſo found of armour
and weapons of all ſorts great ſtore,with aboundance of cloath and apparell, which was all gi-
uen in ſpoile to the ſouldiers. Thus Rab one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Chriſtendome, not
full foure yeares before beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa* with an hundred and fifty thouſand men, by
the ſpace almoſt of three moneths, and then at length by the treaſon of the gouernor to him
betraied ; was now in one night by the valour and policy of a few reſolute men, to their im-
mortall glory againe reſtored to the Chriſtian commonwealth the nineteenth day of March
in the yeare 1598. Of which ſo notable a victory the Chriſtians rejoyced not a little both in
Hungary and elſewhere: the great Sultan with the Turks no leſſe grieuing and ſtorming, as H
well for the loſſe of the towne,before got with no ſmall charge, as for the death of his people
there ſlaine, to the number of about ſix thouſand and moe;with the loſſe of ſcarce ſix hundred
Chriſtians.

Yet for all this,*Mahomet* the great Sultan ceaſed not to make great prouiſion for his war in
Hungary,and that greater than before,and ſo with greater fury alſo to proſecute his wrathfull
indignation to be reuenged vpon the Chriſtians. Whereupon order was giuen vnto *Ibraim*
Baſſa his brother in law,and Generall of his army, with all conuenient ſpeed to take the field:
A great tumult betweene the Ianizaries and the Spahi. which for all that fell out far otherwiſe;for that now thinking to haue had all things in good
forwardneſſe,a great diſſention riſe betwixt the Ianizaries and the Spahi;the Ianizaries being
the beſt footmen,and the Spahi the beſt horſemen of the Turkiſh Empire ; both the faithfull I
keepers of the perſon of their Prince, and the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate: whereby it com-
meth to paſſe,that in ſetting forward towards the wars, theſe two ſorts of valiant ſoldiers, the
one ſtanding vpon their ſtrength,and the other vpon their honor, and both jealous of their re-
putation and credit,haue no good liking of one the other,but oftentimes,and eſpecially of late
in this corruption of their martiall diſcipline vnder their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds
among themſelues,as now they did,to the great hinderance of their affairs,and trouble of their
General. Inſomuch that to appeaſe this tumult he was glad to put to death certaine of the in-
ſolent Ianizaries refuſing to ſet forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But procee-
ding further,and thinking,to haue executed ſome others of them alſo,to the further terrour of
the reſt,he was by them and their adherents put in ſuch feare of his life, that to auoid the pre- K
ſent danger,he was glad to excuſe himſelfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as
the cauſe thereof: who was therefore as a ſacrifice deliuered vnto the fury of the Ianizaries,by
whom he was there preſently ſlain,with ſome others of the Baſſa's followers. So theſe broiles
with much ado ouerpaſt,*Ibrahim* hauing taken a generall review of his army at Sophia, there
ſtaied,expecting order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in Hungary or in Tran-
ſyluania;for as yet that was in queſtion;which could not well be before the beginning of Iuly,
by reaſon of the ſcarcity of victuals euen then ariſing in the camp ; for the ſupplying whereof
Mahomet himſelfe had no ſmall care. But this long delay was the cauſe that a great number of
the Ianizaries comming from Hadrianople, and hearing by the way, that the Generall would
not as yet ſet forward;not knowing the cauſe of his ſtay,and doubting to be deceiued of their L
promiſed entertainment,were about to haue returned backe againe;which known at the court,
commandment was preſently ſent thence vnto the General,without longer ſtay to ſet forward
toward Hungary,which the more haſtened his departure with his army.

In this the Turks ſo long delay,the Chriſtians had good leiſure to prepare their new forces,
being now the latter end of Summer: for well they might thinke that the enemy ſlept not,
knowing what prouiſion he had made as well in Conſtantinople as in other places. Where-
fore reaſonably doubting,that Summer well ſpent, and Auguſt now at hand, he would not ſo
late turne his forces into the lower Hungary, they thought it beſt to prouide for the ſafety of
the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enemy approching thoſe frontiers, might there M
finde forces ready to encounter him, the lord *George Baſta* a man of great experience and valor
was appointed Lieutenant Generall for that countrey ; to the great contentment of the ſoldi-
ers in generall, all ſhewing themſelues moſt ready at his command. The Lord *Swartzen-*
burg in the meane time remaining in the lower Hungary at Rab, with eight thouſand good
ſoldiers: and the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna for the diſpatch of *George Baſta*,and the haſting

of

A of him forward: for that the vpper Hungary, to the great hurt thereof, began now to feele the incurſions of the Turks and Tartars. Beſides that, he was afterward to return himſelf to ſpeak with the Emperor his brother, ſtill expecting a Chiaus of the Turkes by the appointment of the grand Seignior, ſent by the way of Polonia for Prague, to intreat with the Emperor concerning a peace.

They of Buda in the mean while ſeeing the delay of the Turkes, of whom not one band yet appeared in thoſe quarters; and on the other ſide perceiuing the great preparation of the Imperials, and the great garriſon at Rab ſo neer at hand; began now to doubt ſome new reſolution of the Chriſtians: wherin they were no whit deceiued; for no army of the Turks being in field in the lower Hungary, and the country plain and open; the Lord *Palfi* with a conuenient *Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.*
B power, & certain pieces of battery, ſet forward to attempt the enterpriſe; and the 16 of October with 16 pieces of artillery began to batter the city of Buda, to the great fear and diſcomfiture of them within: hauing firſt taken the fort S. *Gerard*, with hope to haue gained the reſt alſo. For which cauſe, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the City, moſt inſtantly beſought the Baſſa, not to endure the deſtruction of the ſame, with the inhabitants and wealth therof altogether; but being not able to hold out againſt ſo furious a battery, in time to hearken to ſome reaſonable compoſition, that ſo they might yet euery man at leaſt with life depart. Whereunto the Baſſa for all that would not hearken, but put them ſtill in hope, that they ſhould be preſently relieued. Howbeit the batterie ſtill continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials, nor any relief yet comming, they were glad at
C length to abandon the city with the loſſe of two thouſand of the Ianizaries, and but 300 of the Chriſtians ſlain, and 800 hurt: the reſt of the Turks at the ſame time retyring themſelues into the caſtle, where they might for a ſpace deem themſelues ſafe. So the Lord *Palfi* poſſeſſed of the city, with all his forces laid ſiege vnto caſtle, which although it were in ſome places ſhaken with the continuall fury of the cannon, yet were the defendants ſtil ready to make good the ſame: inſomuch that *Palfi* in good hope of ſucces, giuing therunto a general aſſault, was by their valor inforced to retyre; they within in the mean time with great labor and induſtry repairing the breaches made by the artillery. So that *Palfi* conſidering the difficultie of the aſſault, thought it better by vndermining to ſhake the rocke wheron the caſtle ſtood, than by a new aſſault to expoſe ſo many worthy men to ſo manifeſt a danger. Which his purpoſe
D by the enemy diſcouered, was by them alſo by countermining diſappointed. Yet for all that were the Chriſtians ſtil in good hope, by another mine not yet by the enemy perceiued, to attain to the full of their deſire; and the more, for that they ſaw not ſo much brauery or ſhew of courage in the defendants as before. Who now kept themſelues ſilent and quiet, as if they had bin conſulting about yeelding vp of the caſtle, as men bereft of all hope of reliefe or ſuccor. The Chriſtians beeing now poſſeſſed of a ſtrong abby and fortreſſe faſt by, and hauing broken down all the bridges ouer the riuer Danubius; in ſuch ſort as that the beſieged could receiue no relief either by land or water. But foraſmuch as the time of the year began now to grow tedious, and the winter weather ſharpe, the Chriſtians thought it not beſt there long to protract the time, and therfore reſolued to preſent vnto the caſtle another general aſſault, and
E at the ſame time to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this aſſault they were againe repulſed, with the loſſe of 200 men. At which time alſo a number of Turks ſallying out of the Caſtle couragiouſly incountred the Chriſtians, but not with ſucces anſwerable to their valor, being there almoſt all cut in pieces. Neither did the mine take the deſired effect, but being blown vp did little or no harm at all. So the Chriſtians weary of their long ſuffering of the extreamitie of the weather, and withall conſidering the great courage of the defendants, were euen vpon the point to haue riſen: yet willing to giue a freſh attempt vpon the mine, they began again to work in the ſame; and hoping to preuail, began to parley with the defendants about yeelding vp of the caſtle. But all to little or no purpoſe; for that the mine hauing taken no effect, the ſoldiers could hardly be drawn on through the deep and muddy ditches to giue a
F new aſſault. In fine, ſeeing no hope to preuail, and hearing alſo of the comming of a great Army of the Turks for the relief of the beſieged, they raiſed the ſiege, and at their departure *The Chriſtians depart from Buda.*
burnt their ſuburbs, carrying away with them a great booty; and ſo retyring towards Strigonium, expected further direction in what places to winter. Where ſhortly after order was taken, that the forces disbanded ſhould be diſperſed, ſome into garriſons, and ſome into

the country therabout; to the intent they might so be in the more readineſſe with the first of the next Spring to take the field, or as occaſion ſhould ſerue, to be otherwiſe imploied. G

But *Sigiſmund* the Tranſylvanian prince in the mean time repenting himſelf of the vnequal change he had made with the Emperour, in diſguiſed apparel haſting in poſt out of Sileſia, came to Clauſenburg in Tranſylvania, and there was ioyfully receiued of his ſubiects; and taking of them a new oath of obedience, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe certified *Maximilian* the Archduke (appointed by the Emperour for the gouernment of Tranſylvania, and now vpon his way as far as Caſſovia) of the cauſes of his return; perſuading him rather to conuert his forces againſt the Turks, for the recouery of Agria, than to trouble himſelf to come any farther for Tranſylvania, now againe by him to the great contentment of his ſubiects repoſſeſſed. As did alſo the Princeſſe his wife (*Maximilian* his Couſin germane;) wiſhing him H to conſider, what hurt and diſhonour hee ſhould do vnto the Emperour his Maieſty, himſelfe, the Roman Empire, and the whole Chriſtian Commonweale in generall, if in ſo dangerous a time hee ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Prince her husband; and vnto him by her ſo neerly allyed.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks.

Now the Turks great army being come into the vpper Hungary, lay incamped vnder the walls of the ſtrong city of Veradinum, where that worthy Captaine *George Baſta* was Lieutenant General for the Emperor; but not hauing ſufficient ſtrength to go againſt ſo mighty an enemy, or to relieue the beſieged city, hauing as then but a weak gariſon; he gaue knowledge therof to *Maximilian* the Archduke, who (as is aforeſaid) with a conuenient power was but a I little before come to Caſſovia, to goe into Tranſylvania, had hee not there by the way been ſtayed by Embaſſadors from Prince *Sigiſmund*, but lately before returned out of Sileſia; and hauing again taken vpon him the gouernment, by theſe his Embaſſadours requeſted him, no further to trouble himſelf in that journy; offring to giue him aid againſt the Turks whenſoeuer he ſhould require it. The beſieged neuertheles in the mean time notably defended themſelues, and with certain braue ſallies did the enemy great harm: ſtil expecting that *Baſta* the Lieutenant, or the Tranſylvanian prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their vnited forces, ſhould ſend them relief. Vnto whom they gaue knowledge the 19 of October, how that the Turks with all the force and fury they had vſed, had as yet little preuailed, beeing by their valor ſtil repulſed, and with many ſharpe ſallies to their great loſſe incountered, and ſome of their great ordnance cloied; in ſuch ſort, as that they were in good hope to pro- K tract the time vntil they might by them their friends be relieued: yet not doubting but that the Turks according to their wonted maner would do what they might to ſubdue them. According to whoſe expectation, the Tranſylvanian prince with a great power taking the field to haue relieued them, was letted ſo to do by the Tartars, to that purpoſe ſtirred vp by the Turks: ſo that he could by no means join his forces with *Maximilian*, for looking to the ſafety of his own people and country. Yet in token of forwardnes he ſent certain Companies of braue ſoldiers vnto the Lieutenant *Baſta*; who vnderſtanding that of two thouſand good ſoldiers in garriſon in the city in the beginning of the ſiege, there were ſcarce 700 left aliue, all the reſt being with continuall aſſaults either ſlain or mortally wounded; vſed a notable ſtratagem to delude the enemy withall: for hauing put his men in good order, and comming L brauely on, as if he would euen haue preſently joined battel (which the Turkes moſt deſired) whilſt they likewiſe with great ſtirre were putting themſelues in order of battell, and wholly buſied therin, he by another way of the Turks leaſt ſuſpected, cunningly thruſt into the City 800 good ſoldiers; and that don, preſently retyred again into his trenches, wherin he ſtrongly incamped, feared not all the Turks forces: who thinking euen then to haue come to a day of battel, and ſtil in vain expecting the ſame, returned deceiued by this fineneſſe. And ſo ſhortly after, inforced by continual foul weather, raiſed their ſiege, not without great difficultie and danger (reliefe lying ſo neer at hand, and the defendants ſtrengthned with new ſupplies) to haue bin longer maintained. So paſſed the troubles of this year with no gain but great loſſe of the Turks: who at their departure inforced by the vnſeaſonablenes of the weather, & feare M together, left behinde them in their trenches many Tents, with ſome great pieces of Artillerie, being not able to conuey the ſame by water to Buda; and withal fearing greatly to be incountred by the forces of *Baſta*, ſtrengthned with new ſupplies euen then ſent vnto him from the Emperor.

Veradinum relieued.

The

A The Archduke *Matthias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other commanders of the army in the lower Hungary, being twelue thousand strong, with the garrison soldiers of Rab, Strigonium, & Komara, in the mean time because they would not stand idle, together with the Hungarian horsmen, ouer-ran all the country therabouts euen vnto the gates of Buda; in good hope also to haue met with eight thousand Turks (as they were by their espials aduertised) comming toward Pesth with victuals for relief of the castle of Buda.

Whilst things thus passed in Hungary, *Mahomet* to shew his greatnes, as also the more to keep the Christian princes in suspence, sent *Cicala Bassa* (or as the Turks call him *Cigala*) his Admiral with a great fleet to sea: wherwith being come vpon the coast of Sicilia, he requested the Viceroy of that kingdom, to send him aboord his fleet the Lady *Lucretia* his mother,
B who dwelt in Messana, for that he greatly desired to see her, and to do her honor; promising so quietly to depart without any harm doing. And the Viceroy again considering, how that the angry renegat for the like curtesie to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harm all alongst the sea coast; couenanting with him to send her in safety back againe, sent her honorably accompanied aboord the Admiral gally: whom *Cicala* her sonne receiued with great ioy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be, according to his promise sent her backe againe to Messana, and so without any harme done for her sake to any part of Christendom, peaceably returned back again with his Fleet.

Now in the mean time *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia with good forces of his owne, bee-
C cause he would be doing somthing also, resolued to giue an attempt vpon Nicopolis, a City of the Turks in Bulgaria: and so giuing order to his people, caused a bridge to be made ouer Danubius, to passe that great riuer by. Wherof the Bassa's of Silistria and Badoua vnderstanding, thought it good with al their power to disturb him in that work: & so comming as the said bridge was by the Vayuods soldiers layd ouer the riuer vpon boats, without further stay attempted to haue broken the same, to the intent that the Vayuod should not that way passe. Who hasting thither with his army, rescued his work, and inforced the Bassa's to forsake the exploit by them begun: where betwixt them for a space was fought a most hard conflict, till at length the Turks were with a great slaughter ouerthrown, & so glad, some here, some there, by flight as they might to saue their liues. After which victorie, he without let passing ouer
D the riuer with his whole forces, came and incamped vnder the wals of Nicopolis; where they of the city vnderstanding of the late slaughter of the Turkes, and finding themselues vnable to hold it out against the force and valor of the Valachies, and now out of hope of any help or relief to come in time from the Turkes, without further resistance yeelded themselues into the power of the Vayuod, who hauing sacked the city and set it on fire, carried thence a great spoil and booty, with a number of the Bulgarians, chusing out the best and most able bodies among them to serue him in his wars, and appointing the rest to inhabit and manure the wasted places of Valachia. The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turks by the Valachian, with the sacking of Nicopolis, running abroad, brought a general feare vpon the Turkes euen in the Imperial city of Constantinople. For the staying wherof, *Mahomet* commaunded
E the chief of his Bassa's, with a great power of tumultuary soldiers taken vp in hast, to go forth with against the Vayuod, to stay the course of his further proceedings, to the dismaying of his people; himself thundering out most horrible threats against him. Who incouraged with his late victorie, and wel acquainted with the Turks maners, little regarded the same, as knowing that he was not with words but with arms to be vanquished.

Nicopolis sacked and burnt by the Vayuod.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor oppressed with melancholy, to see himself at once assailed with the plague then raging at Constantinople, the bloudy Wars in Hungary, and the horrible mortalitie and losse of his people in both places; and withal not ignorant of the euill successe of his Army at Veradinum, and of the great harm don at Nicopolis by the Valachian; yet for all that ceased not in what he might to prouide for so many euills, but gaue order
F to *Taut Bassa* with all speed to set forwards (as wee haue said) from Constantinople towards Valachia, as from whence he feared the greatest danger. Who without delay to make the Vayuod to vnderstand how highly the great Sultan was displeased with him, put himself vpon the way with six hundred Ianizaries towards Hadrianople, with purpose there to Winter vntil the next Spring, and so to expect the comming of the rest of the Army, that so with the same,

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ſame,vnited to the forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the laſt year beſieged Veradinum) he might appear the more terrible vnto his enemies. The Chriſtian Emperor alſo at the ſame time reſted much diſcontented, that his people in ſo fair a way for the winning of the caſtle of Buda, had yet failed therof. The Wallons laying the fault vpon the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Palfi*, & the reſt of the commanders, that it was not won; for that when they as valiant men offred to haue don therin the vtmoſt of their deuoir, their leaders had made choice by the ſpade & mattock, rather than by the ſword, to perform the ſame. G

The Turkes again ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

But *Michael* the Vayuod ſeeing the Turks not a little diſmaied with the ſacking of Nicopolis, began afreſh to their greater terror and hurt to make new inrodes vpon them, in ſuch ſort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their territory; againſt whom *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in Hungary) comming with his forces, he again retyred, carying away with him the ſpoil of the country by him waſted. H

They of Buda in the mean time fearing ſome ſudden aſſault to be giuen vpon them, & ſuffering within great want of victuals, expected long to be relieued both with victuals & other neceſſaries: vnderſtanding yet withall, That the grand Seignior had cauſed it to be giuen out at Conſtantinople, That he was raiſing a great power of his beſt and moſt expert ſoldiers, and had therfore ſent for vnto the court all his old men of war, ſuch as had ſerued in the Wars of Perſia, to be now again imploied in Hungary. Where the Turks in the mean time prouiding to relieue the diſtreſſed city of Buda both with men and many other neceſſaries; certain reſolute Hungarians vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that one of the Turks Baſſa's with 3000 ſoldiers was comming thither to increaſe the garriſon, laid themſelues cloſe in ambuſh in a I place wherby the Turks were to paſſe. Where they had not long ſtaied, but that the Turkes without fear diſorderedly paſſing by, were by them with ſuch force and fury aſſailed, that in a moment, when they leaſt thought, they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of many of their horſes, much mony & jewels, and many captiues there taken priſoners: the Baſſa himſelf with much ado hardly eſcaping into the City. But ſhortly after, 400 Chriſtians ſcouring the country about Buda, and hauing taken a good booty of cattel and other pillage; returning loded with the prey, were by the way aſſaulted by the Turkes, and inforced to forſake the ſame, and to fight for their liues: whom for all that they notably repulſed, with the ſlaughter of diuers of them, and ſo again recouering their booty, returned with victory. And about this time or not long after in the vpper Hungary, a great power of the Turks and Tar- K tars hauing forraged a great part of that country, and don the Chriſtians much harme, came before Caſſovia, making ſhew as if they would euen preſently haue beſieged that city: Which put the inhabitants in ſuch a fear, that many of them without further deliberation fled forthwith as faſt as they could into the mountaines, thinking themſelues more ſafe there, than in the city. Neuertheleſſe by the perſuaſion of *George Baſta* the Emperours lieutenant in thoſe parts, 2000 valiant and expert ſoldiers ſtaid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do: who approching the walls, demanded of them in the city a great ſum of money by way of contribution; threatning otherwiſe the vtter ruin and deſtruction therof. Which their proud demand was by *Baſta* ſtoutly rejected, and they with the loſſe of a great many of their liues L inforced to get them farther off. Wherfore ſeeing themſelues not able to preuaile againſt a city ſo wel furniſhed, they for feare by night riſe, and departed quite another way than that wherby they came, doing great harm ſtil as they went. The free Haiducks of Valachia alſo, a warlike kind of people liuing for moſt part vpon prey, & willing to ſhew ſome token of their hatred toward the Turks, by certain bridges paſſing ouer the Danubius, encountered with the Baſſa of Natolia with a great power, whome they ouerthrew with much ſlaughter of his people, and the loſſe of his brother there ſlain alſo: and ſo afterwards ouer-running the country, did there exceeding great harm, and took the ſon of the ſame Baſſa priſoner. Thus paſſed the Winter, with many light skirmiſhes and incurſions in diuers parts of Hungary and other the frontier countries; which had don great harm, had it not beene before hand well prouided for by the Imperials; who in moſt places ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, ſtayd the fury of their M barbarous enemies. *Maximilian* the Archduke in the mean time comming from Prague vnto Vienna, found himſelfe there to haue in his Campe but foure and twenty thouſand Foot and ten thouſand horſe ready againſt the next Spring (diuers of the Germane Princes this year not ſending thither any aid at all, by reaſon of their troubles neerer home with the Spaniards

A the Spaniards in the lower side of Germany)which made him the more to dread the enemies comming,who he knew after his accustomed maner would that summer appeare in the field with a far greater number. But to haue holpen this want,the great Duke of Muscouie about this time,by his Embassador amongst other things requested leaue of the Polonian,for forty thousand horsemen to passe thorow his country:which horsmen he determined(as he said)to send in aid of the Emperor against the Turk. Which his request the Polonian would by no means grant,as dangerous to his estate. Wherfore the Muscouit offended with the Polonian,sent other his Embassadors to the Emperor by sea; who embarqued in an English ship in the port S.*Nicolas*,and sailing about the kingdoms of Sweden,Norway,and Denmark,after long trouble at sea,at length arriued at Stoad,and so from thence by land trauelled to Ham-
B borow,Lubeck,and Maidenborow,& in euery place honorably entertained,came at last to the Emperour into Bohemia, then lying at Plisena, for that the plague was very hot at Prague: where they hauing with great state deliuered their Presents and letters of credence vnto the Emperor, had audience,and were by him most honorably vsed. Yet the Polonian hauing thus denied the Muscovit passage,suffered the Turks Embassador (who called himselfe *Gabriel*) a Iew,to passe through his countrey vnto the Emperour, to intreat with him of a peace to bee made betwixt him and the Turk. Which *Gabriel* comming to Prague as Embassadour from the Great Turke,and hauing no Letters of Credence to shew for his Negotiation (for that they were,as he said,vpon the way taken from him by the Polonian Cossacks,and certaine of his retinue slaine) was there taken for a Spie,and so sent to Vienna: where at his first arriuall
C he was wel vsed in a common Inne; but the night following,beeing taken in his chamber by the Marshal,was so clapt fast in prison,with as many irons vpon him as he could beare,and all his followers with gyves vpon their legs compelled as Slaues daily to worke in the Towne-Ditch.

About this time also *Sigismund* the Transylvanian Prince (whom hitherto all men admired,as a man euen sent from heauen,for the benefit of his country and of the Christian Commonweal) by a wonderfull change gaue a most manifest token of a diuers and vnconstant nature,to the great wonder of the world; for hauing broken the agreement made with the Emperor the last yeare,and being secretly in post returned out of Silesia into Transylvania, and again taken vpon him the gouernment (as is before declared) and hauing withall requested
D himself & the Transylvanians his countrymen to be discharged of the oath of obedience and loyaltie by them before giuen vnto the Emperor; and the city of Veradinum with the Country therabout, to be again restored vnto him; and the Emperor pausing therupon; did now, (doubting of his own abilitie for the keeping of that country) in the beginning of this yeare 1599, by his Embassadors,the Bishop of Alba-Iulia and *Stephen Paschai* his Chancellor, sent of purpose vnto the Emperour,request him to haue the first agreements again renewed, and the Principalitie of Trebnits in Morauia to be added to the two dukedoms of Oppel and Ratibor in Silesia, with fifteen thousand ducats to be yearly paid vnto him out of the Chamber of the Empire; and a generall pardon giuen vnto all the Transylvanians, that following him, had of late reuolted from the Emperour, and their antient Liberties to be vnto euery one of
i them again confirmed. With all which Conditions obtained at the Emperours hands (as of him who saw how needfull it was for him by any meanes to keepe that strong Countrey in his power) the same Embassadours with their dispatch returned from Prague the nineteenth of April.

But *Sigismund* in the mean time at home,was entred into new conceits with certaine of the Polonlan Nobility,far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour: and hauing sent for one of the Turkes Chiaus from Constantinople,and for his Cousin *Andrew Bathor* the proud Cardinall out of Borusia, and so meeting with them in an obscure Village in the Confines of Transylvania towards Polonia,accompanied with certaine of the chiefest of the States of his Countrey: there in the presence of the Polonians and of the Turkish Embassa-
F dour, resigned all the right and title he had in the Countrey of Transylvania,vnto the Cardinal his cousin;commanding all the States there present, to sweare vnto him their obedience and fidelity: who shortly after together with the Polonian Embassadour,sent one of his especiall Fauourits to Constantinople,to desire safe conduct for his Embassadours to be sent thither to cunclude of all matters with the Turke. Which messenger so sent,together with the

Sigismund resigneth Transilvania to his cousin the Cardinall.

Polonian Embaſſador, were both curteouſly receiued in the Turks court, and in token of ſpe- G
cial fauor rewarded with ſumptuous garments; and charge giuen them, That the Cardinall within three months next ſhould ſend thither a ſolemn Embaſſador, with the old accuſtomed tribute by the Turk demanded. Thus through the inconſtancie of the Prince, the ambition of the proud Cardinal, and the foule colluſion of the Polonian, the Countrey of Tranſylvania (one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of that ſide of Chriſtendom) falling from the Emperors obedience, and ſo in a ſort cut off from the Chriſtian commonweal, became again tributary vnto the Turk: moſt good men deteſting the lightnes of the one, the ambition of the other, and the ſlines of the third.

Now the Turks of Buda not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had moſt earneſtly intreated relief from the other Turks their friends in Hungary; who on all hands ran H
to haue relieued them: but comming neere thereunto, could not put in ſuch prouiſion as they had brought for relief of the ſame, being letted ſo to do by the Imperials, who about a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night ſecretly approching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a petard to haue broken it open, and ſo to haue entred. Which his deuice taking not effect, as did that at Rab (the gate being within ſtrongly fortified by the enemy) he was inforced to depart, being alſo diſcouered by the Turkes from the wall. Now ſhortly after, the Baſſa of Buda with ſixe hundred horſe iſſuing out of the city, to haue met with victuals that were comming thither,
The Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner.
fel into the hands of the Haiducks, who after their maner fiercely incountering him, put him to flight, and took him priſoner, his horſe in the chaſe falling vnder him; whom his ſouldiers I
ſeeking to reſcue, there began a new skirmiſh, which increaſed their former ouerthrow, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of them that were left; amongſt whom the Baſſa's ſon, with the Aga of the Ianizaries, there loſt their liues alſo. Which conflict thus ended, the Baſſa was in ſafety brought to the camp, and there with great threats inforced to reueal the ſtate of his city, with other the ſecret deſignes of the Turks. Wherupon the Haiduckes returned back toward Buda, ſeeking by all means to ſtop the comming of victuals thither; ſo in hope at length to haue gained the diſtreſſed city. But whilſt they thus lay vpon the paſſages, behold, news was brought them, That the Baſſa of Boſna, with the Sanzacks of Sigeth, Quinque Eccleſiæ, and Coppan, with 10000 Turks were comming to oppreſſe them, and to open the paſſages by them holden. But they knowing their own ſtrength, and nothing fearing ſo ſmal forces, ſtaid K
not for their comming, but went to meet them, and in a place of good aduantage waiting for them, vpon their firſt appearance, with great aſſurance and courage charged them, brake their array, and ſlew the moſt part of them, together with the Baſſa himſelf; yet with ſo much ado,
The Baſſa of Boſna ſlain.
as had not the Lord *Palſi* in good time ſent in vnto their aid certain companies of freſh men, it was not without cauſe doubted, but that the Haiducks had bin put to the worſe, about 300 of them hauing there already loſt their liues. The Tartars yet neuertheles in good number held on their way towards Buda, with purpoſe to haue ouerrun the country, and ſo haue withdrawn the Imperials from the city: but foraſmuch as that baſe nation was known to be good for nothing but to rob and ſpoil, the Lord *Swartzenburgs* Regiment onely going againſt them, and incountering them ouerthrew them, in ſuch ſort that part of them beeing there ſlaine in L
fight, and part for fear driuen into Danubie, the greater number of them there moſt miſerably periſhed.

Baſta the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungary, at the ſame time lay at Caſſovia with eighteen thouſand men, doubting leſt the enemies army, which he heard to be at hand, ſhould come to beſiege that City. In the meane time *Ibrahim Baſſa* Generall of the Turkes forces came to Solnoc, with an army of fifty thouſand ſtrong, amongſt whom were ten thouſand Ianizaries. But for all that, vnderſtanding that *Baſta* nothing diſmaied, awaited his comming at Caſſovia; not thinking it good to go any farther (his ſouldiers being already wearyed with long trauell) neither yet ſafe there to ſtay ſo neer vnto his ſtrong enemy, retyred backe againe vnto Belgrade, a place of more ſtrength and ſecurity, expecting a great fleet of ſhips, which M
charged vpon the Danubius were to bring victuals for the army, as alſo for the relief of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and other ſuch diſtreſſed places, with diuers great pieces for battery, and other leſſe artillery vpon cariages, with a number of wagons and other inſtruments of Warre, declaring their purpoſe for the performance of ſome notable exployt; all guarded with fiue thou-

ſand

A sand Turkes which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderstanding, the Lord *Palfi* dispatched his Lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the Captain of the Hussars with his followers, all good and valiant soldiers, to cut off this Conuoy: who suddenly assailing them, and so comming to a hand fight, cut them in pieces, & rifled the ships, of whom the greater part were there sunk in the deep riuer, and so took an exceeding great booty, deemed to be worth a million of gold; where among other things of great value, there was found aboord 100000 Dollars, which were all diuided among the soldiers as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once known at Buda, Alba-Regalis, and the Cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a general fear; yea, the army of *Ibrahim* grew therby much discontented, as being at once disappointed both of their victuals and their pay. Besides that, the Imperi-
B als ouerran all the country therabout, ransacking, sacking, and destroying all the country villages and castles without mercy; although the poor inhabitants offered them a large Contribution to haue stayd their fury, which would not be accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow also, the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his forces to come again to the siege of Buda, in hope in so great a discomfiture and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered to him; and for that purpose sent for certain great pieces of Artillery to Vienna. But whilest things went thus wel in the lower Hungary, Colonel *Rodoler* of S. *Andrews* in the vpper country, took occasion also vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes, with 500 horse and 600 foot to shew himself with this small company before Agria, hauing yet left the greatest part of his forces a little off in secret ambush. Which small company the Bassa of Agria beholding, presently put
C himself in arms, and so sallying out, began a hot and braue skirmish; when suddenly the other soldiers left in ambush, starting out, and couragiously assailing their enemies, brake their order & put them to flight; pursuing them at the heels euen to the gates of the city: & had there bin a greater force of footmen, it was verily thought that the Turks, dismaid with the flight, and altogether confounded, had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Christians had become masters of the city, which had bin the cause of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheless they with great brauery and smal losse retyred, hauing slain a great number of the Turks, and carying away with them 100 prisoners, with a booty of 500 horse, and much other cattel.

The Turks receiue a great ouerthrow by the Christians.

The free Haiducks also strengthned with new supplies, had don great harm in the country
D about Buda, scouring freely all ouer it without any resistance: for which cause the poor Christians which yet dwelt in that Country, rise vp against the Turkes, promising their obedience vnto the Emperor: and moreouer, to the intent they might be no more molested by the Imperials, offered to take vp arms themselues against the enemy, & to the vtmost of their power to hinder his passage both by land and water. These same Haiducks also had broken down all the bridges which the Turks had made betwixt Buda & Alba regalis, to the end they should not that way commodiously bring either victuals or munition from the one place vnto the other. And the Lord *Palfi* and *Nadasti* vnderstanding by their espials, that the Tartars diuided into three companies, had ouerran a great part of the country, and with a great booty were retyring toward Buda; presently went out against them, and inforced them to fight: which
E barbarous people better inured to filching, there lost all their liues, together with that they had before stoln. After which victory, these valiant men turning their forces against certaine other places of the Turks there by, took two of their castles, with much rich spoil; which Castles they sacked and burnt, together with the great towne of Zolna, breaking downe also the bridge vpon the riuer Trava.

Now at this time the Turkes of Buda held themselues male-content within the City, hauing no Gouernor, their Bassa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themselues pinched also with great want of victuals. Wherfore doubting some sudden attempt of the Christians, as men dismaied, for their better safety retired themselues into the Castle, a place of great strength, leauing the city to the Imperials; who ready to besiege it, but doubting of the
F Turks great Army, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auauntgard thereof being come to Mohatcsh, where *Sartes Bassa* was also looked for, (the report being giuen out, That the Turks hauing relieued Buda, would go to besiege Canisia or else Strigonium) they stayed to goe any farther, as men in doubt what to resolue vpon. So certaine Colonels and other Captaines were sent with their souldiers, to fortifie certaine passages whereby the

Turkes

Turks army was to passe. The rest in the mean time retyring, for that the puissant enemy began now to approch; as also for that they knew the great desire that *Ibrahim Bassa* had to recouer again Strigonium, and had therfore sent a great number of Tartars to forage and wast the country, and so suddenly hauing relieued Buda and Agria, there to resolue whither to turn his forces. The Imperials in the mean time incamping neer to Hatwan and Zolnoc, to hinder the Turks from victualling of Buda, as they desired, cut off fiue hundred of them at their first arriual, who to that purpose were going toward Buda: and took also one of the Turks Chiaus prisoner; who sent from *Ibrahim* the General, was going to Agria, to put them in hope of their speedy relief. They also at the same time attempted to haue surprised Zolnoc: where a good number of them with certain petards approching the gates, in hope so to haue broken them open; being discouered by the watch were inforced to retyre, leauing forty behind them slain, and carrying away with them many moe of their fellows wounded. In reuenge wherof the rest shewed their fury vpon the country therabout, destroying the villages, & intercepting a great deal of munition, which together with other victuals, they met by the way as it was going toward Buda and Agria.

Summer now almost spent, *Ibrahim* the great Bassa in the beginning of September came to Buda, with an Army of an hundred and thirty thousand strong; and from thence in the name of his great lord and Master gaue the Emperour to vnderstand, That for the sauing of further effusion of innocent bloud, and not for any fear or distrust of his own strength and power, hee could be content to hearken to some reasonable conditions or treaty of peace. Whereunto both these great princes (hauing wel wearied themselues with these long wars, and exhausted their Treasures) seemed not now vnwilling; expecting, as was thought, nothing more, than for the honour to be first entreated. And the rather, for that the old Sultanesse *Mahomet* his mother (who by the weakenes of her sonnes gouernment, such as neuer was in any the *Othoman* Kings or Emperours before, did beare the greatest sway in his affaires) did what shee might to further the same. Wherefore in the later end of September a place was agreed vpon for a parley for peace, which was in an Island in the riuer of Danubius, beneath Strigonium. Whither the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Nadasti*, *Palfi*, and the Bishop of Vacia being come for the Emperour; and *Amurath* Bassa of Buda, with the Lieutenant Generall of the Tartars, and some others, for the grand Seigniour; The Turkes at the first, after their vnreasonable manner, demaunded to haue Rab, Strigonium, Fileck, Setchin, and all the rest of the Townes and Castles in fiue years before taken from them by the Christians, to be now againe surrendred vnto them, with a certaine yearly tribute by the Emperor to be payd vnto the great Sultan at Constantinople; as also there to haue his Embassadour Lieger continually attending vpon the Turks Court: for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour the city of Agria onely. All which their proud and vnreasonable demands being by the aforesaid Commissioners on the Emperors behalfe rejected, they were contented to come to some more reasonable talke, offering to leaue vnto the Emperour Rab and Agria (wherof Rab was his own already) onely for Strigonium, exchanging as it were Strigonium for Agria. Which when it could neither be obtained, the parly was so broken off and nothing concluded; and so the wars again continued, without any memorable thing more this year betwixt them don, either on the one side or on the other; the Christians contenting themselues to haue distressed the chief Cities the Turkes held in Hungary; and the Turkes no lesse apayed to haue relieued the same.

A parley for Peace.

Michael the Vayuod inuadeth Transilvania.

But whilst things thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks in Hungary, *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, yet the Emperors friend and Confederat, and vnder his protection; certainly informed his life to be sought after in the Turks Court, by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor* his enuious neighbour, but lately become the Prince of Transylvania, as is before declared; by commandement from the Emperor, and to be reuenged of so great a wrong, as also betimes to prouide for his owne safety, with an army of threescore thousand strong suddenly entred into Transylvania, in most horrible manner burning the countrey, and killing the people before him as he went. Where whilest the Cardinall (who was thought to haue purposed to haue serued him in like sort, had hee not beene by him preuented) was making head against him: he in the meane time had the city of Corona (commonly called Brassó) with the strong castle of Fogaras yeelded vnto him: from whence hee marching towards Alba-Iulia,

the

A the 26 of October, with all his Army, before diuided into three parts, but now againe vnited, came into the plains neer Temiſon, about 3 leagues from Hermenſtat; where vnderſtanding that his lieutenant, corrupted by *Ibrahim Baſſa*, had promiſed to kil him; and now well aſſured therof, to rid himſelfe of that danger, with his owne hands preſently cut his throat, and ſo diſpatched him. When by and by after came vnto him the Popes Nuntio, ſent by a fineneſſe from the Cardinal, accompanied with another embaſſador, the better to countenance out the matter; telling him, That the ſame Embaſſador had commiſſion from the Emperour, to will him forthwith to deſiſt from armes, and without further delay to depart out of Tranſylvania. Which thing ſeeming vnto the Vayuod very ſtrange and almoſt impoſſible, he deſired to ſee the Commiſſion. Wherunto the Nuntio, before inſtructed, anſwered, that he had left it with
B the Cardinal. But I (ſaid the Vayuod) haue another here preſent from the Emperor, of another purport, which I purpoſe fully to put in execution: Yet was he for that day intreated by the Nuntio to ſtay his army. And ſo in the mean time lying both ſtill and in great ſuſpence, the Vayuod deſired to know of the Nuntio, the cauſe why the Cardinal forgetting himſelf, ſo troubled that country by intruding himſelf therinto, to the great prejudice of them to whom it of better right belonged, not attending the gouernment of the Church, better beſeeming his calling than the mannaging of arms, to the diſturbance of the Chriſtian peace. Wherunto he receiued no anſwer. So the 28 of October, a day dedicated to the commemoration of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Iude*, theſe meſſengers were ſent back again vnto the Cardinall: Who preſently returned them back vnto the Vayuod with new inſtructions (being then buſie with
C his yong ſon, in ſetting his men in order of battell, preſently to go againſt the Cardinall) of whom they could get no other anſwer, but that he was reſolued forthwith to come vnto the triall of a battell with him. So the two Armies lying incamped not paſt a quarter of a league the one from the other, and the ſame day meeting together, joined a moſt terrible and cruell battel, which for the ſpace of fiue hours was with much deſperat reſolution fought, as if they had euery man vowed to haue caried away the victory ouer his enemy; or there to haue left themſelues dead vpon the ground; vntil the Cardinals people at length ouercome in a long and bloudy fight, were there vtterly ouerthrown: amongſt whom were 30000 Turks & Tartars, ſent vnto him from *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General. The Cardinall himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his army, was by ſome reported to haue ſaued himſelf by flight; but by others
D was ſaid to haue bin drowned in paſſing a riuer, as hee fled from the Valachians that had him in chace. But the truth was, That the Vayuod now maſter of the field, ſent out certain troups of horſmen diuers waies ſtil to purſue him, and himſelf with the reſt of his Army proſecuting the victorie, came to the Cardinals camp, now by the Tranſylvanians & Turks forſaken, wherin he found 45 pieces of artillery, with great ſtore of coin & wealth, beſide a number of tents and horſes, all which became vnto him a prey. From thence he marched to Alba-Iulia, where he was with great ioy receiued of his friends and confederats there: for although the greater part of the Tranſylvanians, eſpecially the Nobilitie, had together with the Cardinal, ſubmitted themſelues to the Turks protection, & followed his enſignes; yet were there diuers others alſo who ſtil fauored the Emperour, and therfore rejoiced not a little at this victory. The Vai-
E uod after that ſent his Lieutenant to Claudiopolis, to ſee if they would yeeld alſo. Which they willingly did, with many other Cities and Caſtles in diuers parts of that Countrey, which hauing none to reſt vpon, now yeelded alſo; in ſuch ſort that ſhortly after, all Tranſylvania ſubmitted it ſelf againe vnto the Emperours obeyſance and ſwore vnto him obedience; moſt of the Nobility of the Countrey being either ſlaine in that battell, or afterwards put to death by the Vayuod: amongſt whom were fiue, which corrupted by the Cardinall, had before vndertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of Nouember, after diuers reports of the Cardinals eſcape, his vngracious head was for all that preſented vnto the Vayuod. Which to the terror of others beeing for a while ſet vp in Alba-Iulia, (where hee had but a little before commaunded as a Prince) it was afterwards taken downe, and ſent as a Preſent from
F the Vayuod vnto the Emperour and the Archdukes his brethren. His headleſſe body being afterwards by the commandement of the Vayuod honourably buried in a Monaſterie at Alba-Iulia, in the ſame Tombe which he had before made for his brother, beheaded by his couſin Prince *Sigiſmund Bathor*. The Cardinalls treaſure alſo fell into his hands, which was ſaid to haue bin valued at three millions of gold. Thus the Countrey of Tranſylvania, lately

The Cardinall ouerthrowne by the Vayuod, & his head ſent to the Emperor.

before

before by the Cardinal yeelded vnto the obeiſance of the Turke, was againe by this worthy Vayuod recouered and reſtored to the Chriſtian commonweal, the proud Cardinall caſt out and brought to confuſion, hauing not yet poſſeſſed theſe his new honours full eight months. His couſin *Sigiſmund* the late Tranſylvanian Prince, who almoſt all this while had ſtaied at Boruſia, and in diſguiſed apparel ſeen Dansk and diuers other the free cities therabouts, now hearing news of the Cardinals ouerthrow, ſecretly got him away into Polonia, to ſeek againe his new fortunes. The Lord *Swartzenburg* at the ſame time vniting his forces in the lower Hungary with them of Stiria, and now 20000 ſtrong, ſought by all means to reduce ſo many places vpon thoſe frontiers as he could, vnto the Emperours obeiſance; and ſo tooke in aboue 200 villages: but afterwards thinking to haue ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Capiſuar, and by night ſecretly approching one of the gates with a petard, which took not the expected effect, he was diſcouered by the watch, and ſo by the garriſon ſoldiers (now raiſed with the alarme) repulſed, and inforced to retyre with the loſſe of about a hundred men, & diuers others wounded, all men of good account. In reuenge whereof *Swartzenburg* afterwards ſent out diuers troups of horſmen, which ſcouring all ouer the country as far as Sigeth, did great harme, and ſo returning, caried away with them a great booty.

Ibrahim Baſſa hearing of this ouerthrow of the cardinal, with all the forces he had ſent him; much troubled therwith, ſent poſt news therof to Conſtantinople: the brute wherof brought a general fear vpon the whole city alſo; inſomuch that Commiſſion was forthwith ſent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might bee) to come to ſome honourable peace with the Emperor, and to bring it with him to Conſtantinople, whither he was ſhortly to return, being now no longer time to keep the field with his army, which beſide the cold ſeaſon of the year, ſuffered great want of bread, the plague alſo raging therein, with the death of many his beſt ſoldiers both horſe and foot, beſides the wonderfull mortalitie of their Cattell alſo: in ſuch ſort that the ſoldiers not able longer to endure the famin and wants increaſing, fel to robbing one of another, and ſo at length into mutiny; wherin diuers of them being ſlain and cut in pieces by their fellows, the reſt forthe moſt part brake in pieces of themſelues, and ſo by diuers waies returned home, not wel truſting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turks, their Army being diſcomfited with wants and the euil ſucces of their affairs as wel in Hungary as in Tranſylvania. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, for relief of thoſe euils, at his return bring any concluſion of peace vnto his great Lord and Maſter, as was commonly expected.

The Baſſa of Caramania rebelleth againſt the Sultan.

Now beſide theſe troubles of Tranſylvania and the other reuolted countries, *Cuſabin* (or as ſome call him *Caſſan*) the ſon of one of the Sultaneſſes, brought up in the Seraglio according to the maner therof, and hauing long ſerued in the wars of Perſia and Hungary, and ſo at length made Baſſa of Caramania, a man of great ſpirit, and not able to endure the imperfections he daily ſaw in the *Othoman* empire, and the cowardiſe of the grand Seigniour; vpon the report of the euill ſucces of the affairs of Hungary on the one ſide, and the deſire hee ſaw in the Perſians to recouer their loſt fortreſſes, on the other, and grieued alſo with more particular wrongs concerning himſelf; as a man altogether diſcontented, reſolued to take vp arms; and calling vnto him his ſoldiers, and (as he was a wel ſpoken man) laying before them the deformities of the preſent ſtate, gallantly perſuaded them, with the promiſe of honor, ſoueraigntie, and rich rewards, what an eaſie thing it were to chaſe the grand Seignior out of Aſia, and to ſet themſelues with all that part of the empire at liberty. And ſo euen at the firſt hauing won vnto him three thouſand harquebuſiers, and 5000 horſmen, took the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of their ſtate; a ſtrange matrer in that tyrannical gouernment. The news wherof comming poſt to the Court, commiſſion was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of Aſia neereſt vnto him, for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of that rebellion, but euen then ariſing. Whereof *Cuſabin* vnderſtanding, and that they with ten thouſand horſe and foot were comming to oppreſſe him; without further ſtay went couragiouſly to meet them, and ſo incountering of them, ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and tooke from them their baggage, with ſix pieces of ordnance: and after with his people ſeiſed vpon all the Caſtles therabouts, giuing whatſoeuer he found therin for a prey to his ſoldiers: who alſo much inriched themſelues with the ſpoil of the Iewes, as the people whom they moſt hated, and neuer reſted vntill he had made almoſt all the country of Caramania his owne. After that, hee had

laid ſiege to Cogna a city in the confines of Natolia, which was forthwith yeelded vnto him. And yet not ſo contented, gaue it out by open proclamation, That for the reformation of the diſordered ſtate, he would ere long go to beſiege the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople: And therfore all ſuch as would follow him ſhould be intreated as his friends and companions; threatning vnto the reſt moſt cruel death and deſtruction. Of which his proceeding *Mahomet* (as then diſporting himſelfe in his gardens of pleaſure in the countrey all along ſt the ſide of Propontis) vnderſtanding, and fearing to be there ſurpriſed, or that ſome ſudden innouation might be raiſed in the city, haſted with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople, and from thence in haſte diſpatched *Mehemet* one of the Viſier Baſſa's the ſon of *Sinan*, with al the forces he could raiſe to go againſt him. Who paſſing ouer into Aſia with a great power, and yet fearing to come to the trial of a battel with him, whom he knew to be a man of himſelf deſperatly ſet, & not a little fauored of his own ſoldiers; ſo ſecretly wrought by large promiſes, that *Cuſabins* footmen were euen vpon the point to haue forſaken him. Which hee quickely perceiuing, fled forthwith thorow Syria into the countrey of Arabia with his horſemen and the horſemen of *Siman* the Georgian; purpoſing the next Spring by the help of the Arabians and Perſians, to appear in field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Baſſa following, came with his army to Aleppo, there to winter, and to expect the return of the Rebell together with the Spring. This ſo dangerous a rebellion, with the troubles of Tranſylvania and Valachia, were the cauſe, that the grand Seignior, ſeeing himſelfe in ſo many places forſaken of his ſubiects, was the readier to encline vnto peace with the Emperour. Whereunto for all that, the Emperor was not haſty to hearken but vpon honorable conditions; as knowing that the Turke required the ſame, not for that hee had any deſire to liue in quiet, but for that his troubled affairs both at home and elſwhere abroad ſo required; his Ianizaries and other men of war in this his ſo weak gouernment being grown ſo inſolent, as that they were hardly to be by him commanded; openly threatning in their diſcontented humors, not only to depoſe the chief officers about him, but himſelf alſo, and the baniſhment of the Sultaneſſe his mother; ſaying, That ſhe had bewitched him, to the end ſhe might her ſelfe rule, as indeed ſhe did in all his chiefeſt affairs. But the rebel *Cuſabin* the next year grown again very ſtrong, was now come into the field, and euen ready to haue giuen the Baſſa battell: Who as he was a man of great wiſedome and experience, well conſidering with what a deſperate enemy he had to doe, thought it beſt again to proue, if his rebellious followers might by fair means be drawn from him: and ſo comming neer vnto him, by open proclamation promiſed a free and general pardon to all ſuch as had followed the rebel in thoſe Wars, if forſaking him they ſhould forthwith return home to their dwellings, and ſo to the obedience of their iuſt and lawfull Prince and Soueraign. Which general pardon ſo proclaimed was the ruine of *Cuſabin*; for that the greateſt part of his followers, now inriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now alſo hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their own Countries, there at eaſe to liue of their euil gotten goods; leauing their Captaine with ſome few others that ſtayed with him, with little hope to be ſaued. So that within a few daies after, *Cuſabin* thus forſaken of his followers, was himſelf taken and brought to Conſtantinople, where ſhortly after he was with moſt exquiſit torments tortured to death.

Cuſabin taken and tortured to death at Conſtantinople.

1600.

The troubles of this year thus paſt, *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor with the beginning of the next (whilſt the ground yet couered with ſnow, and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather would not ſuffer the ſoldiers to keep the field) cauſed a Diet of the princes of the Empire to be called, to conſider with him of ſuch helpes as were by them to bee giuen againſt the next Spring for the maintenance of the wars he yet had againſt the Turk. Who all promiſed to ſend their ſoldiers, with their pay and ſuch further contribution as might ſerue for the maintenance of that defenſiue war againſt the common enemy. Whereto alſo *Clement* now biſhop of Rome (this year of Iubilie) put to his helping hand, as he had often before, by ſending thither ſuch aid both of men & mony as he had before promiſed: ſo that by this means great preparation was made by the Chriſtians for the taking of the field with the firſt of the Spring. At which time the Turks alſo began to ſtir: who although *Ibrahim Baſſa* their Generall, by his great lords appointment, was then in ſome ſpeech with the Emperour about a peace; yet ceaſed not they in the meane time that this treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their troups diſperſed here and there, to do what harm they could vpon the frontiers of the Empe-

The Emperor prepares againſt the Turks.

rours

rors territories, the cauſe why he with more ſpeed called vpon his friends for their promiſed aid. And for the better mannaging of this years wars againſt the Turk, hee appointed Duke *Mercury* (who had drawn a great number of Frenchmen both horſe & foot out of France) Generall of all his forces, ſending *Ferant Gonzaga*, ſyrnamed the Lame (whom for his approoued valour and experience in martiall affairs, he had ſent for to Mantua) gouernor into the vpper Hungary. So the ſouldiers now day by day by Companies reſorting from diuers parts into Auſtria, were from thence ſent to ſuch places as were by the Turks moſt moleſted, ſo to repres their often incurſions, as in many places they did. For eight thouſand of the Turks going out vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed Pappa, were by the garriſon ſoldiers of the place incountered and ouerthrown. And on the other ſide, Whilſt *Ferdinand* the Archduke was aſſembling his people in Croatia, for the defence of that Country againſt the incurſions of the enemie, H
ſix thouſand Turks without reſiſtance entering the ſame as far as Buccari, and burning the country villages as they went, had taken many priſoners, with a great booty of cattell: and ſo merry and out of feare, being about to return, were ſuddenly ſet vpon by County *Serinus* in certain ſtreit and troubleſome paſſages, where they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, & ouercharged with their prey, were (I ſay) eaſily by him for the moſt part ouerthrown, and the reſt put to flight, and ſo the priſoners with all the reſt of the booty again recouered. At the ſame time alſo one of the Imperial colonels with fifteen hundred horſe making an inrode into the country about Alba-Regalis, and meeting with the Turks and Tartars therabouts, ſlew ſix hundred of them, and took diuers of their captains priſoners. Six thouſand other Tartars alſo, at this time returning out of Hungary home towards their own country, were by the Coſſacks neere I
vnto the Black ſea ſet vpon with ſuch force, that many of them being ſlaine, the reſt for feare ran into the ſea, leauing all the prey they had got in Hungary, vnto their enemies. In the heat of theſe broiles, the noble Lord *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium, a man that all his life long had don great ſeruice for his prince & country, and whom we haue ſo often in this hiſtory remembred, died the three and twentieth day of May, in his Caſtle of Biberſpurg, to the great grief of many, but eſpecially the Hungarians his Countreymen. And for that Strigonium (ſo neer vnto the enemy) required in his ſtead to haue a right valiant and couragious Gouernour, the Emperour appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* vnto that charge; the fame ſtill running, That *Ibrahim Baſſa* would come thither with the great army he was in prouiding, if the peace went not forward; which was now ſtill leſſe and leſſe hoped for, by reaſon of his proud and inſolent K
demands.

The death of the lord Palfi.

A dangerous mutiny of the garriſon ſoldiers in Pappa.

But whileſt theſe troubles, with others too long to rehearſe, thus paſſed in diuers parts of this miſerable country of Hungary, 1200 Frenchmen and Wallons in garriſon at Pappa (a ſtrong frontier town of the Emperors in the lower Hungary) for want of pay began to mutine. Wherfore it was thought good by the chief commanders, to haue them thence remoued, and others placed in their roome. Which they perceiuing, and knowing themſelues too ſtrong for the reſt of the garriſon, all Hungarians and Almaines, not partakers of their conſpiracy; they firſt reſolued to thruſt their own captains out of the town, as lets vnto their deſires; and then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the pay-maſter, with other the Hungarian and Dutch commanders with their ſoldiers, took from them their weapons, & caſt the ſaid *Marotti*, with L
the other captains, and ſome of the better ſort of the ſoldiers into irons, exacting of the reſt, as well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about a thouſand perſons, a thouſand ducats; threatning otherwiſe to deliuer them into the hands of the Turks. And albeit that *Marotti* offered for his liberty eighteen hundred ducats, yet would they not bee ſo contented, but ſpoiling both him and the reſt of all they had, with their apparell and weapons furniſhed ſuch Turkes as were there priſoners, and ſo ſent them away to Alba-Regalis: and afterwards rifling euerie mans houſe as if they had bin enemies, took from them whatſoeuer pleaſed themſelues: and that which was worſe, to encreaſe theſe outrages, compacted with the Turkes of Alba-Regalis and Buda, for the pay which they ſaid the Emperour owght them, to deliuer vp the towne vnto them. Certifying them withall, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two daies was M
comming with money to giue them full contentment: promiſing, if he came into the town, to deliuer him with the ſame into their hands. Or to be the more ſure of him, they might, if they ſo pleaſed, intercept him at the paſſage Zeſnegkh, whereby hee muſt needs come. For the more aſſurance of which their wicked purpoſe, they ſent an enſigne of the Emperors, as a

token

A token vnto the Turks at Alba-Regalis; who for all that altogether beleeued them not, yet willing further to try them, ſent them for hoſtages two Chiaus; for whom the rebels ſent alſo two other of the better ſort of them to Alba-Regalis; with concluſion, that the fiue and twentieth of Iune at the fartheſt the mony ſhould be paid, and the town deliuered. For the receiuing whereof, and for feare of ſome hidden treaſon, the Turks and Tartars began to make themſelues ſtrong: the Imperials alſo doing what they might for the appeaſing of ſo dangerous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the Sord *Swartzenburg* with two thouſand horſe and foot came within two miles of the towne, and from thence ſent 24 horſemen to diſſuade the rebels from yeelding the towne vnto the Turks, & to tell them that they ſhould ſhortly receiue their pay: who ſhamefully deriding them, ſent them backe againe as wiſe as they came: ſo that
B *Swartzenburg* perceiuing himſelfe with ſo ſmall forces to be able to do nothing againſt them, neither yet by faire means to perſuade them, retired again to Rab, vntill ſome greater ſtrength were come vnto him. Immediatly after, Dr *Petzen* Counſellor for the wars, a man of great authority, grauity, and wiſedome, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horſe conducted to Pappa, to ſee if he by his diſcretion could haue diſſuaded them from their ſo vngodly a purpoſe, for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemy: whom they not only refuſed to heare, although he ſpake vnto them moſt kindly, but alſo bent their muskets and harquebuſies vpon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When ſhortly after, twenty of the Hungarians impriſoned in a cellar in the town, brake out, and comming to Rab, brought newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in Pappa were at variance amongſt themſelues about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turks (ſome better minded than the reſt,
C not willing to conſent thereunto) inſomuch that they in the caſtle ſhot at them in the towne, and they again at them in the caſtle: and that they had already receiued from the Turks twenty thouſand duckats, with ſome prouiſion of victuals, and were ſhortly after to receiue from them the reſt of the mony promiſed them, and ſo deliuer the towne. For preuenting whereof, the Lold *Swartzenburg* the 22 of Iune ſent the Lord *Sharpfenſtein* a French Colonell, with 3000 ſouldiers, certaine Petards, and a number of ſcaling ladders towards Pappa: whom the falſe rebels ſuffered peaceably to enter the towne the foure and twentieth of Iune, ſtill encouraging them to come on, calling them their countrymen and brethren, and in token of friendſhip ſhaking them by the hands, telling them that hauing aſſurance of their pay, they deſired no more:
D But hauing now receiued in ſo many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deale with, ſhutting the reſt out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in deriſion called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of theſe rebels at the ſame time had laied themſelues in ambuſh by a mill faſt without the town, who by the Wallons & Haiducks without diſcouered, were alſo by them charged: vpon whom for all that, by reaſon of the ſhot out of the towne, they could do no good; but hauing loſt three hundred men, and amongſt them *Hannibal Kralzs* the Lord *Sharpfenſtein* his Lieutenant Generall, and one *Del la Margoſe* the chiefe enginier, they retired: which loſſe the deſperat rebels (if it had bin in their choice) had wiſhed rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of theſe rebels being by chance taken
E priſoners by the Imperials, and brought to Rab, were not only apparelled but alſo trimmed after the Turkiſh faſhion, as men not deſiring longer to be accounted Chriſtians, the reſt of their fellows in the town alſo imitating the Turks faſhions, as well in their apparell as in their manner of ſeruice: yet for all that, would not theſe metamorphoſed monſters yeeld the towne vnto the Turks, before they had the full ſumme by them agreed vpon, the Baſſa of Boſna being commanded from the grand Seignior in all haſte to prouide it for them, and ſo to receiue of them the towne. Neuertheleſſe, for their more ſtrength and their more credit with the Turks, they receiued into the town one enſigne of the Turks, with certain wagons of victuals, brought thither with ſo ſtrong a conuoy as that the Imperials durſt not meddle therwith: in which wa- *A moſt wicked fact.*
F gons (being diſcharged) they ſent in bonds 600 Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and children, priſoners to Alba-Regalis; being all of them glad to be ſo ſent away, in hope to find more fauor and curteſie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with theſe renegat Chriſtians. So ſhortly after, theſe rebels ſent out certaine meſſengers vnto the Gouernor of Alba-Regalis, to know his full reſolution: which meſſengers (conducted by certain Turks of great account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the meſſengers taken,

with 100 Turks mo. In the meane while *Michael Marotti*, before impriſoned by the rebels in G
Pappa, by letters ſecretly aduertiſed the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby he might (as he ſaid) eaſily enter the towne, and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance amongſt themſelues. Who thereupon the 12 of Iuly came to Pappa with nine thouſand horſe and foot; but diſappointed of his purpoſe for entering the towne, hardly neuertheleſſe belaied the ſame: vpon whom the mutiniers many times deſperatly ſallied out, and right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were ſtill, without any notable loſſe, by their enemies (too ſtrong for them) beaten backe againe into the towne. In one of which ſallies it fortuned one of their captains to be taken, who to the terror of the reſt was preſently ſlaine quicke, and his head and skin vpon a pike ſet vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold. But the Lord *Swartzenburg* ſtill more & more preuailing vpon them, they ſent ſecretly for aid to the Turks: H
whereof he for all that getting intelligence, ſent alſo for three regiments of ſouldiers moe to come vnto him to the ſiege: by whoſe comming he well ſtrengthened, and bringing his approches neerer the towne, tooke from the rebels the mill, a ſtrength which they very vnwillingly loſt, as in hope therby to haue the more eaſily receiued aid from the Turks; who hauing made preparation to haue relieued them, were letted ſo to do by the riſing of the water, which had ſpoiled all the prouiſion for their reliefe at the bridge of Eſſeg, as alſo hindred them from marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the towne ditches, out of which they had let all the water: where ſome of the townſmen eſcaping out of the towne, declared, how that the mutinous ſoldiers within labored both day and night to fortifie the towne, but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall aſſaults of the Imperi- I
als: as alſo that they now had neither bread nor wine, nor other victuals left, more than a little ſalt, and threeſcore horſe, of which they had already begun to eat: and that although they were not altogether ſo valiant, yet that they had reſolued to die by the hands of the ſouldiers, as men expecting no other mercy. Yet ſhortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, they deſperatly fell out vpon the trenches of *Marſpurgiſch*, a Dutch captaine; of whoſe ſouldiers they ſlew many, being drunke, and driuing the reſt out of their trenches, raiſed a great alarme. Which the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, haſted thither to the reſcue; where with an vnlucky musket ſhot he was ſtrucke in the head and ſlain. Wherof the rebels got knowledge the ſame enening, and *Del la Mota* their Generall in reward of that ſeruice gaue vnto them that had made that ſally a thouſand dollars to be diuided among them. The dead body of that ſo wor- K
thy a man, as had done great ſeruice for the Chriſtian common-weale, was afterwards with great ſolemnity brought to Rab, and there honourably enterred. The like deſperat ſally they made againe the next day, and ſlew of the Imperials an hundred and thirty, and tooke certain priſoners: and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cryed aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yeeld the towne, they would eat Chriſtians, whereof *Marotti* ſhould be the firſt.

The Lord Swartzenburg ſlaine.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus ſlaine, the gouernment of the army was by *Matthias* the Archduke committed to the Lord *Redern*, a noble man both valiant and learned; who although he were very ſickly, came vnto the camp before Pappa the 8 of Auguſt; where vnderſtanding that that the rebels now brought vnto extremity, had a purpoſe by night to fly away and ſo be gon, L
he cauſed a more vigilant and ſtrong watch to be kept; when lo, according to his expectation, the next night after, about two houres before day they began to iſſue out: whereof the watch giuing knowledge to the Generall, they were indeed ſuffered to goe out as vnperceiued, but preſently after at their heels were ſent out the Lord *Nadaſti* and the Earle of *Thurn*, with 200 Huſſars, and after them the chiefe Colonell and County *Solms*, with part of their horſmen alſo, who in three diuers places ouertaking them neer vnto a great wood called Packem, ſlew moſt part of them: *Del la Mota* their chiefe captain or ringleader being ſlain by the chief Colonell, becauſe he would not yeeld, and his head by him afterwards preſented vnto the Generall in the campe: 200 Wallons the Huſſars vnder the leading of the Lord *Nadaſti*, County *Solmes*, and County *Thurn*, found out in the wood; who albeit that they for a ſpace made great M
reſiſtance, yet in the end were enforced to yeeld, and ſo with their two enſignes were brought into the campe. The Huſſars alſo vpon another paſſage light vpon other 200 moe of theſe rebellious Wallons, who becauſe the ſtood ſtrongly vpon their guard, and were more deſperatly ſet than the reſt, the Generall ſent out other 200 of the Colonels horſemen vpon them, by whom

Pappa abandoned by the mutiniers.

A whom and the Huſſars they were almoſt all ſlaine: diuers others of them alſo were ſlaine in comming out of the towne, and in the mariſhes thereabouts. Their Generals Lieutenant with ſuch other of their principall commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Kederns* commandement deliuered vnto the Prouoſt Martiall; the reſt of the rebellious traitors he at the requeſt of the ſouldiers diuided into diuers parts of the army, there to the terror of others to be executed, from whom the ſouldiers could hardly be perſuaded euen for the preſent to hold their hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to Rab, & leaue giuen them to do with them their pleaſure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as they had before in their outragious dealings, eſpecially the Hungarians and Wallons, notwithſtanding moſt of them were of the Wallon countries. Some of them they impailed, ſome they brake vpon the
B wheele; ſome of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and ſo poured into the wounds vineger, ſalt, and pepper; from ſome others they cut off their priuities, ſome they roſted, and ſome they put into the Tenalia; vpon ſome they dropped molten pitch, and then caſting gunpouder vpon them, ſo burnt them to death; otherſome they hanged vpon yron hookes; and ſome they put in the ground vp to the chin, and for their deſport with yron bullets bouled at their heads. In all which torments no ſigne of compaſſion was to be ſeene, the tormentors to make their pain the greater, doing nothing but deride them: the miſerable wretches in the meane time confeſſing the hainouſneſſe of their offence, and crauing for death as a
C fauor. A moſt horrible thing it was to ſee, how whileſt ſome were thus tortured, others were brought to ſee the ſame miſery they themſelues were by and by to endure. Amongſt the reſt of theſe exquiſite torments, one *Peter Orſy* cauſed one of the mutiners to be ſowed vp in the belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and ſo to be roſted, in which miſerable torment he liued three houres, and then died: after which he cauſed the loathſome body ſo roſted, to be giuen to them that lay ſtaruing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutiny at Pappa with much ado ended, and that ſtrong towne like to haue bin loſt, preſerued: the rebels themſelues being become a dreadfull example to all poſterity, for all them to looke vpon that ſhall attempt the like villany.

Now at this ſame time alſo, though neither the Chriſtians nor the Turks had as then any great army in the field, yet many a hot and bloudy skirmiſh paſſed daily betwixt them in one place or other of Hungary: all which to recount, as it would be much tedious, ſo in ſilence to
D paſſe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong thoſe worthy perſonages by whom they were not without their great aduenture done. Amongſt the reſt, one *Nicholas Horbath* County *Serinus* his Lieutenant, with 150 ſouldiers, and *Andrew Thuſſi* another great Commander, going forth to ſeeke for booty; *Thuſſi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the ſurpriſing of certaine Haiducks then gone out, ſtaied faſt in a ſecret place vntill he might heare further newes, *Horbath* another way ſtill going on. Now it happened that the Baſſa of Sigeth hauing bin abroad, in returning home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him ouerthrew him, and ſlew moſt of his men, *Horbath* himſelfe by flight hardly eſcaping. But *Thuſſi* hearing this skirmiſh, as lying cloſe not far off, and now haſting thither to haue bin partaker thereof, found the Baſſa yet in the field on foot, viewing the bodies of the ſlaine: vpon whom he came ſo ſuddenly and with ſuch force, as that the Baſſa with his diſordered men had much ado to take horſe,
E and ſo without any great reſiſtance to betake himſelfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians fiercely following, ſlew many of the Turks, and amongſt the reſt the Baſſa himſelfe, whoſe head preſently cut off, *Horbath* ſent to the County *Serinus*, who ſhortly after by *Thuſſi* himſelfe ſent it to *Matthias* the Archduke. This Baſſa was a man of great ſtrength and courage, a moſt expert and aduenturous captaine, about 36 yeares old, and for his valour of a common ſouldier created a Baſſa by the great Sultan. His head being brought to Vienna, and there ſhewed to the Baſſa of Buda then there priſoner, and he demanded, whether he knew it or not; ſighing anſwered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Baſſa of Sigeth, a brauer man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire; earneſtly withal deſiring to know how
F he was ſlaine. And not long after, the aduenturers out of Comara Strigonium, and other places therabout hauing made a great party, and taken a great booty from the Turks at a faire at Gombar, and by Tra and Eſſeg, thinking to haue paſſed Danubius in hope of a greater booty, ſeuen hundred of them being paſſed the riuer, were by the new Baſſa of Sigeth and others, with fiue thouſand Turks in an hot skirmiſh ouerthrowne; yet not without their great loſſe alſo:

Two Baſſaes of Sigeth ſlain one after another.

also: the Bassa himselfe with two other Sanzackes and fiue hundred Turks being there slaine, and but fifty of the Christian aduenturers left dead in the place, the rest disorderedly retiring to their boats, being for most part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiducks also surprised Iula and set it on fire, in which confusion the Turks flying into the castle, for haste thrust one another from the bridge into the castle ditch; wherein so many of them were drowned, that a man might haue gone dry foot ouer vpon the bodies of the dead. They took there also six hundred prisoners, with much other booty, and deliuered two hundred Christians which were there captiues. And albeit that these Haiducks after this exploit done were hardly pursued by the Turks from other places, yet they in safety retired with such boty as they had already gotten.

Iula surprised and burnt by the free Haiduckes.

But now to leaue these the troubles of Hungary for a while, as the forerunners of greater ere long to ensue; let vs againe looke backe into Transyluania and Valachia, to see how *Michael* the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himselfe there. The Cardinall *Bathor* ouerthrowne and slaine, and the country of Transyluania againe brought vnder the Emperors obedience: the Vayuod by his Embassadors gaue him forthwith to vnderstand of all his proceedings, with the whole successe thereof, as also of a purpose hee had to inuade Moldauia: for that it was commonly reported and also beleeued, That *Sigismund* the late Prince (not a little moued with the death of the Cardinall his cousin, and the reuolt of his country) aided by the Turks, the Tartars, the Polonians, and Moldauians, would now attempt some great matter for the recouery of Transyluania: All which was shortly after the rather thought to be true, for that diuers of his spies being taken, some at Clausenburg, some at Nessen, beside the Letters that were found, about them from him vnto the Nobility and States of Transyluania (persuading them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was shortly to come with a great army out of Polonia for the repulsing of him) they also of themselues confessed, How that *Sigismund* in disguised apparell had himselfe been in Transyluania, to conferre with diuers his secret friends concerning that matter. Which his Embassadours the Emperour honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of Transyluania, sending also vnto him diuers honourable Presents; forbidding him neuertheless to inuade Moldauia, for feare of raising a new and dangerous war against the Polonians also, vnder whose protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then rested. According vnto which command the Vayuod staied his intended expedition; yet sending some good part of his forces vnto the frontiers of Moldauia, for feare of *Sigismund* whom he heard to be hatching some mischiefe in Polonia, and euen then to lie vpon the frontiers of that country. Some few moneths thus passing, *Husraim Aga* (a graue reuerend old man and much employed by the Turkish Sultan) with fiue other Turks of good account, Embassadours from the great Sultan, and a great retinue following him, came to Cronstat in Transyluania where the Vayuod then lay. Of whose comming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thousand horsemen most brauely mounted, went halfe a mile out of the city to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on both sides of the streets standing in good order, from the gate of the city whereby they were to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging, where stood also his guard all in red and white silke. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horses, with great reuerence saluting the one the other: when presently the Embassadour embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his scimitar, and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, so richly garnished with gold and pretious stones, as that no part of the scaberd was therefore to be seene: besides this, he presented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearnes feathers mixed with some white (a right goodly ornament, in forme of a great bush) which the Vayuod would not in the field put vpon his head, although hee was thereunto by the Embassadour most earnestly requested, but caused it to be carried before him: he also presented him with two very faire red ensignes, in token of the Turks fauour and protection; the one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne *Petrascо*: moreouer, he gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horses richly furnished, with foure others, and a most faire Faulcon. The Vayuod himselfe was most brauely mounted, and (after the manner of his country) had ten very faire spare horses led before him. At whose enterance into the towne all the great ordnance was discharged, with great vollies of small shot: and so the Embassadour still riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had six of his chiefe followers euery one of them presented with a rich robe of cloth of gold: in

The gouernement of Transyluania by the Emperor confirmed vnto Michael the Vayuod.

requitall

A requitall whereof the Embaſſadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euery one of them with a good ſuit of apparell: with this Embaſſador of the Turks was alſo the Polonian Embaſſador, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. Theſe Embaſſadors (as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthy and renowned man, together with the countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia, from the Emperor vnto the Turks obeiſance: howbeit he ſeldome or neuer ſpake with them, but that either before or after he had conference with the Lords *Vngnad* and *Zechel* (the Emperors Commiſſioners) concerning their requeſts; alwaies proteſting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the Emperors conſent and good liking. Whereof *Mahomet* aduertiſed, and that he was not by any thing yet ſaid or done, to be remoued from the Emperour, gaue him by the ſame Embaſſadors to vnderſtand, How that he was with ſome ſpeech with the emperor concerning peace (as indeed he then
B was by meſſengers from the Baſſaes at Presburg) which if it ſorted to effect, that then it ſhould be well; but if not, that then it ſhould be good for him whileſt yet he had time, wiſely to conſider of his owne eſtate, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vain praiſe of a certain fooliſh conſtancy, to aduenture himſelf with al that he had vnto moſt certain danger and deſtruction: promiſing him in recompence of that his loyalty, to giue vnto him for euer, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and at his need to furniſh him both with men and mony; offering moreouer to make him a great Commander in his army in Hungary, and the Baſſa of Temeſware as his friend to be at all times ready with fifty thouſand horſe and foot (as need ſhould be) to aſſiſt him againſt the
C Emperor, reſeruing to himſelfe whatſoeuer he ſhould more win from him: for all which bounty and kindneſſe, requiring only to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers the Vayuod little regarding, declared the ſame vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners: yet ſtill proteſting neuer to ſtart, but to ſtand faſt for the Chriſtian Emperor. Notwithſtanding as a man deſirous to better his eſtate, he tooke hereupon occaſion to requeſt of the Emperour the country of Tranſyluania, by him ſo lately taken in, vnto him and his ſonne in inheritance for euer, with ſuch frontier townes as in former time belonged vnto Tranſyluania: and that whatſoeuer he ſhould win from the Turks, might be his and his ſonnes: he alſo requeſted, that all the preferments and dignities in former time granted by his Imperiall Majeſty vnto *Sigiſmund* the late Prince, might now be beſtowed vpon himſelfe; and for his ſeruice done, to be furniſhed
D with mony for the payment of his ſouldiers: And that the Emperor with the other Princes of the Empire ſhould aſſure him, That if he were taken by the Turke, they ſhould ranſome him: but in caſe he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of thoſe countries, then by the Emperors appointment to haue ſome conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper Hungary ro liue in, with the yerely penſion of an hundred thouſand dollars. All which his requeſts if it would pleaſe him to grant, he promiſed this yere to do ſo much againſt the Turke, as had not in an hundred yeares been done before: with vaunt, That if he had had the imploiment of the money which was ſpent in the time of this warre, he would not haue doubted but to haue brought all the countries from the Euxine (or blacke ſea) to Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Solnock, vnder the Emperors obeiſance. A large promiſe indeed, but hardly to haue bin performed by
E a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whileſt things ſtood in diſcourſe after the Cardinals death, *Sigiſmund* the late Prince in the meane time ſupported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turks, the Tartars, and the Moldauians, was ready to haue inuaded Tranſyluania: yea, the Tartars (as the forerunners of his greater power) were already entred the country, and had out of the frontiers thereof carried away ſome booty. Whereof the Vayuod vnderſtanding, in great haſt aſſembled his forces out of all places, which in ſhort time was growne to ſome good head, the countrey people together with the free Haiducks (an aduenturous and reſolute kind of ſoldiers) in great number daily reſorting vnto him. So being now eight thouſand ſtrong, and moſt of them braue and luſty men, he with them and 20 pieces of artillery remoued to Cronſtat the foure and twen-
F tieth day of Aprill, ſending part of his army (which euery day more and more encreaſed) before him to Neſſen: where all his forces being aſſembled to the number of almoſt fifty thouſand horſe and foot, he with great celerity paſſed the rough and high mountaines into Moldauia without reſiſtance, but yet not without ſome trouble, his ſouldiers by the way being glad ſometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemy hauing of purpoſe before carried away

Michael the Vayuod goeth againſt Sigiſmund Bathor & the Vayuod of Moldauia.

whatsoeuer he could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whose speedy comming and great strength, *Sigismund* and *Ieremias* the Vayuod of Moldauia hearing, and vpon the reasonable estate of their owne forces finding themselues too weake to encounter him, retired themselues out of Moldauia into the frontiers of Polonia, there to gather greater strength, and so to meet him: for as yet *Ieremias* the Vayuod had not receiued from the Turke such forces as were vnto him promised, and as he still expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his enemies thus fled) with fire and sword entering into Moldauia, tooke in the greatest part thereof, the feareful country people still yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Ieremias* their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributary vnto the Turke) had laid vpon them a most grieuous imposition, as vpon euery man a duckat a month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in Moldauia, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing still in his company one of the Emperors Commissioners in Transyluania, most trusty seruants, who might faithfully report vnto them the whole manner of his proceedings) after the departure of *Sigismund* and *Ieremias* his enemies, staied not long; but hearing that they were retired toward the confines of Polonia, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the castle Othune neere vnto the riuer Nester, being thirty thousand strong; Polonians, Moldauians, Turks, and Tartars: with whom he joyned a most fierce and cruell battell, which begun about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage, but greater obstinacy on both sides maintained vntill the enening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuailing, his enemies at last betooke themselues to flight, of whom were there slaine eight thousand, beside many others of them drowned in the riuer Nester: where of the Valachians were lost two thousand only. Concerning *Sigismund* and *Ieremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthrow giuen out; some saying that they were slaine, and some that they were in flying drowned: howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight escaped, to the greater trouble of themselues, as of their afflicted countries also. *Michael* after this so notable a victory, taking in the rest of Moldauia, caused the people to sweare their obedience vnto the Emperor, himselfe, and his son, to the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as they tooke it) wronged therin; but especially of the great Chancellor, an old enemy vnto the house of Austria. Wherof ensued greater troubles in those frontier countries than before, to the further effusion of more Christian bloud, much better to haue been imploied against the fatall enemy, in defence of the Christian commonweale. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the surest bulwarkes of that side of Christendome, and most exposed vnto the fury of the common enemy, were now once againe vnited vnder the obeisance of the Emperour, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Christian commonweale, and hurt of the Turks; if they might haue so continued, as God wot they did not long.

Sigismund and the Moldauian ouerthrown by Michael the Vayuod.

Moldauia subdued by Michael.

Now the Vayuod notwithstanding this so great a victory, well considering that he of himselfe could hardly keep this new gained prouince of Moldauia against the power of the Turk, (pretended that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleased:) as also against the Polonians (not more desirous to restore *Ieremias* againe into Moldauia, than the Prince *Sigismund* into Transyluania) without the helpe of some other more mighty Prince whom he might rest vpon; by his Embassadors (sent for that purpose) offered the souereignty of al those three countries vnto the Emperor, with condition, that he should appoint him perpetuall Gouernor of the same vnder him. The Emperour also vnderstood, how that *Mahomet* the great Turke had not long before againe sent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commanding him without delay to restore the country of Transyluania vnto the Prince *Sigismund* (vnto whom he was by the mediation of the king of Polonia now before reconciled) threatning otherwise with fire and sword to destroy Valachia, and by force of armes to depriue him both of Transyluania and his life together. Wherefore the Emperour doubting lest the Vayuod either for feare or for the better assuring of his own estate, should to his prejudice fal to some agreement with the Turke, yeelding to all that his Embassadors had of him requested; with condition that he should be bound as need should require to serue with his people against the Vurke; and that in Transyluania neere vnto his owne person should be alwaies resident one of the Emperors counsellors, as superintendent ouer the whole country. Wherewith the Vayuod being contented, The Emperour sent thither Doctor *Petzen* with six thousand souldiers, and a great summe of money to pay the Vayuods souldiers, as he had before requested; and

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A ſo to take of them an oath, That they ſhould from thenceforth become his Majeſties faithful ſeruants. Which ſuperintendent ſo by the Emperor ſent, the Vayuod receiued with great honor, as vnto him of all others moſt welcome. Neuertheleſſe being againe returned into Tranſyluania, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppreſſe the people of the country, and in ſome ſort to tyranniſe ouer them; vſing great ſeuerity againſt diuers of the nobility alſo, eſpecially ſuch as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigiſmund* his couſin, or any way to haue fauored his quarrel. All which he did without the conſent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his promiſe made, No more to imbrue his hands in the bloud of the nobility of Tranſyluania, without the knowledge or conſent of his imperiall Majeſty or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for
B all that, if he had not don, he could not poſſibly haue kept them (diſdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeiſance. Neuertheleſſe the Tranſyluanians taking it in euill part to be ſo oppreſſed, and the nobility almoſt extinguiſhed, yea, and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by general conſent as if it had bin but one man, riſe all vp in arms againſt him: inſomuch that he finding himſelfe with his Valachians and other his fauorits too weake for them, retired with all ſuch as would follow him, into the mountains; and from thence ſent preſently for aid vnto the lord *George Baſta* (a worthy captaine, and then the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungary) for the ſubduing of theſe rebellious people, and the reducing of them vnto their former obedience. Who by letters from *Matthias* the Archduke, at the inſtance of the Vayuod commanded
C ſo to do, with about 6000 horſe and foot and 8 field pieces remoued from Caſſouia in the vpper Hungary the 4 of September. Where by the way came vnto him Embaſſadors alſo from the people of Tranſyluania now vp in armes, and confederat alſo againſt the Vayuod: who in like manner alſo requeſted his aid, pretending themſelues to be the Emperors moſt loyal ſubjects, but not vnder the gouernment of ſuch a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alledging and exaggerating many his moſt cruell actions, and cleerely proteſting, That for the preſent want of a good Gouernor, they were enforced for the ſafegard of their liues to band themſelues together: which if haply it might be in any thing prejudiciall vnto the Emperors claime and intereſt, which he with ſo great toile and coſt had procured in that prouince, it was againſt their wills, as enforced by neceſſity to do that they did in defence of themſelues. Which Embaſſadors ſo ſent from the people, *Baſta* with all ſpeed diſpatched away backe againe, comforting
D them without further ſtir to expect his arriual in Tranſyluania: yet couenanting withall, That they ſhould before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelity & allegiance vnto his Imperial Majeſty. Now might many and important conſiderations trouble the mind of *Baſta* in ſo doubtfull a caſe. To giue vnto the Vayuod againſt the people, was the expreſſe order from *Matthias* the Archduke the Emperors Lieutenant Generall: but to aid the people confederat againſt him, as they had requeſted, ſeemed now both more profitable and honeſt, eſpecially hauing moſt certaine tokens of the ſmall and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who only by diſpenſation intereſſed in that prouince, was not ſo carefull of another mans; neither ſeeming to haue regard of *Petzen*, or of his owne word giuen for not further embruing his hands in the bloud of the Nobility of Tranſyluania, without the Emperours knowledge and leaue: vpon
E which promiſe was likewiſe grounded the archdukes order for giuing of them aid: ſo that ſuch breach of his faith, & contempt of *Petzen*, had haſtned the conſpiracy of the people againſt him; deſpairing of all other health than that which by force of arms they could procure vnto themſelues. To ſtand doubtfull himſelfe, or to hold others in ſuſpence, vntill that by currors in this new caſe he might receiue new inſtructions from the Emperor or the Archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leiſure to each party to make ſides, & to increaſe the ſlander of the laſt yeare, That he might ſo eaſily (and eſpecially from the Valachian) haue aſſured that prouince to his Majeſty, had he not bin an heartleſſe man of no reſolution, euen ſuch a one as durſt not looke vpon a cat (as ſome had ſaid) all which might not a little pricke an honourable mind. To take part with the people confederat againſt the Vayuod, if it ſhould not haply fall out at the
F firſt encounter, might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, either the Turke or the Poſonian in fauour of *Bathor*: but if it ſhould ſort to the quite contrary, and ſo himſelfe to loſe the day; then he ſaw himſelfe void of all defence againſt the malitious, eſpecially in that the World commonly meaſureth the wiſedome vſed in any action, according to the ſucceſſe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreaſonable, but aboue all others,

in

in matters of war. In this ſo troubled a tempeſt of contrary winds, of power to haue driuen a right good mariner out of his courſe, *Baſta* laid hand vpon the helme of good meaning, and ſpread the ſailes of ſuch diſcretion, as taught him in matters of war to be lawfull for a General to depart euen from the inſtructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the means leading to that end; eſpecially when the preſent occaſion ſo requireth, which the Prince could not with reaſon before comprehend, as depending of the moſt mighty fortune of war, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect counſel from far. So in this ambiguity *Baſta* reſolued to joyn himſelfe vnto the confederats, moſt in his judgment concerning his Imperial Majeſty, as being the vttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt and charge, to keep the country of Tranſyluania at his deuotion, which conſiſted in the people, and not in the woods or mountains: the matter being not great by what means ſoeuer it were done, ſo that it were honourable and honeſt. G H

Baſta taketh part with the Tranſyluanians, againſt the Vayuod in whoſe aid he was ſent.

Vpon this deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14 day arriued at Torda, and there joyned himſelfe vnto the confederats, to the great wonder of the Vayuod, in whoſe helpe hee was ſent: where repoſing himſelfe one day, conſulting and conſidering of their forces, about 12000 ſtrong, with foure field pieces, beſides eight of his owne, with the ſix thouſand ſouldiers he brought with him, in all about eighteene thouſand, he determined not to giue leiſure vnto the Vayuod to call vnto him further helpe, hauing now with him about twenty thouſand foot and twelue thouſand horſe, with ſeuen and twenty field pieces: amongſt whom was diuers of the Siculi, in hope of their antient liberty, men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the Coſſackes, Valachians, Raſcians, and Seruians, people of prey ſeruing only to ſpoile: whom *Baſta* knew to be far inferiour in courage to his twelue thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe; not onely for the valour of his owne men accuſtomed vnto the frontier ſeruice, but alſo for the confederates, who engaged with their goods, liues, and honour, and deſirous to be reuenged of the Vayuod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore hee ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two daies march came within ſight of the Vayuod: who hauing ſent out certaine great troups of horſemen to take view of the enemy, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on Miriſlo a village faſt by, out of which they had before drawne certaine ſmall field pieces into the campe. I

Miriſlo is a village two leagues on this ſide of Alba-Iulia, directly vpon the high-way ſtretching from the ſide of Maracz a nauigable riuer, vnto the foot of an hil; along ſt which the riuer running, ſomtimes neerer, and ſomtimes farther off, together with the riſing of the hill, maketh an vnequal liſt of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut vp as it were into a narrow throat, as in the ſelfe ſame place where the aforeſaid village ſtandeth, & where the Vayuod lay incamped in a place of great aduantage, behind a great trench drawn from the riuer, croſſe that little ſpace of ground betwixt the mountaine and the riuer. On this ſide, which from Miriſlo the farther a man goeth the farther the plaine enlargeth, *Baſta* encamping cloſe vnto the village, oppoſed againſt the comming of the enemy 3 great *corps du gard*, two of them Hungarians, towards the hill fauored with a Church, and the third toward the riuer, of the Almane footmen, vnder the charge of County *Tomaſo Caurioſi* of Breſcia, Sergeant Major of the field, with all the artillery: who as in a place neere and very open vnto the enemy, there intrenched himſelf, ſtil approching neerer and neerer both on the one ſide and the other. K L

Towards the euening of the ſelfe ſame 17 day came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio* with Letters from the Vayuod, containing, That hauing vnderſtood of his arriuall in the camp of the Conſpirators, he now further deſired to know whether it were by the conſent and commandement of the Emperor, or not: and how it came to paſſe that he would ſo doe, conſidering the diuers chances of war, the ſword hanging as it were euen ouer his head if he ſhould chance to loſe the battell? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the authority he had from the Emperor (alluding to the Imperiall Standard he carried with him:) and that as concerning the fortune and danger to enſue, he referred that wholly vnto the will and pleaſure of the Almighty, the juſt Iudge of all controuerſies. But in the meane time he exhorted him to leaue that prouince he had ſo euill gouerned, vnto his Imperiall Majeſty, as he was in duty bound; promiſing him free paſſage into Valachia, and giuing him time to conſider thereupon vntill 8 a clocke the next morning, after which time it ſhould be free for euery man to do for himſelfe what he could. Which anſwer the Vayuod hauing read, inflamed with diſdaine, with many proud words full of threats and diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently M

A ſently cauſed by the ſound of the drum and trumpet the battell to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide *Baſta* after he had aſſured his campe, hauing not only ſent, but gone himſelfe to haue the counſell of his own eies, for his better vnderſtanding how the enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the trench before the front, & in part along the ſide of the enemies camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the plain betwixt the enemies camp and the village was ſubiect; thought it beſt to remoue, and to make a ſhort retreat about the ſpace of an Italian mile, according to the commodiouſnes of the place; thinking it no hard matter; of ſo proud an enemy, and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martial ſtratagems, to gain a
B notable victory. This his purpoſe propounded in counſel, was greatly diſliked of the captains of the confederats: vnto whom it ſeemed more ſafety to aſſault the Vayuod, yet lying in his ſtrength, than to retire before the face of an enemy ſo ſtrong and aduenturous: for that ſuch a retreat according to the maner of that country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight: and to breake his order & ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own people, and to encourage his enemies. But *Baſta* the better to perſuade them, promiſed therin to ſhew to them a more cunning kind of fight than was yet vnto them knowne; and declared the aſſurance that he in his own perſon, with the Almains in the rereward would giue them in that retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not loſe ſo much as a man, much leſſe they needed to feare to fall into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being onely to giue the plaine vnto the enemy,
C wherein to ſhew himſelfe into the open field. So the retreat being agreed vpon, the morning following beeing the 28 of September, the three *Corps du guard* (before ſpoken of) were betimes called backe, and the baggage ſent away: after which followed the Tranſyluanians and Hungarians, the Almaines in the rereward encloſing the great ordnance.

The battell of Miriſlo betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta the emperors lieutenant.

The Vayuod aware of their departure, ſent forthwith a great troup of horſemen, eſpecially of the Coſſackes, to take view of them, and to skirmiſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by a company of musketiers in the rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harme, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtill charged, to the great contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his deſignes as might bring them all to their wiſhed effect. But when he ſaw the great artillery vpon the carriages to come out of the vil-
D lage, a certain ſigne that the enemy ſet forward with al his forces, he marched faire & ſoftly to giue him hope to ouertake him: and ſo retired as far as he thought good from the village, hauing before thought of a conuenient place wherin his people might with roome enough vpon aduantage ſtay: when as about halfe a mile from him, and as far from the village, he might ſee the enemy march with his people in order of battell; then began he to march towards him alſo: and perceiuing the enemy to come in one only thicke front, by reaſon of the ſtreitneſſe of the place, hauing on the right hand towards the riuer placed as it were all his horſmen, and towards the mountaine his footmen alone, and 500 foot placed aloft without any artillery, as it ſeemed he would haue done, hauing planted ſome below at the foot of the hill in the way, and in the midſt, euen before the front of the battell, where the horſemen came after the footmen;
E he alſo placed his ſquadron in one front onely, to the intent not to be incloſed by the enemy on the flanke of his army. The body of his maine battell conſiſted of one great ſquadron of about 3000 Almaine footmen, flanked on each ſide with 150 Rutters of Sileſia: before the ſquadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe wing of three hundred musketiers: in the right wing toward the hill he placed a company of launces, with two ſquadrons of the country footmen: and in the left wing toward the riuer one ſquadron of Tranſyluanian footmen, & two of launces, for that the enemy was at that time very ſtrong in horſemen: the Coſſacks, archers and harquebuſiers he placed in the rereward: of his great artillery he would make no vſe, for that hauing not much, he would not ſtand vpon the defence thereof, but deſired rather with all ſpeed to come to the ſword with the enemy, vnacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot
F to foot, and well the leſſe fit, by reaſon of their light armor. And therefore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his ſquadron of Almaines to giue the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of his footmen towards the artillery at the foot of the hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the enemies infantery. And doubting in the performance hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great ſquadron of about 3000 launces, which ſeemed

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to ſtand vpon that wing to giue the firſt charge; he gaue order vnto *Sodeviz* his Lieutenant, G
and Colonell of the Rutters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he ſhould at a certaine ſigne giuen, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great ſquadron. So his people being ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet downe, he putting on his helmet, with cheerefull countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew vnto the Vayuod, that his Truncheon could do more than his Scimitar: And himſelfe ſetting forward betwixt the ſquadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketiers, about two houres after noone, marched faire and ſoftly towards the enemy: who without mouing expected the diſcharging of their artillery; whereunto the neerer that the enemy came vnto it, the leſſe harme it did him, by ſhooting either ouer or ſhort in the field, which eaſily aſcended. The wing of musketiers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillery; and the ſqua- H
dron toward the foot of the hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be enforced to ſpend their firſt vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently came in, all afront, juſt vpon the ſigne giuen; and ſo with his Almaine footmen and the Rutters on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of the enemies footmen. At which very inſtant, the Rutters on the left hand alſo ſo couragiouſly charged vpon the three thouſand launces, that better could not haue beene deſired of any band of moſt old and expert ſouldiers. The lances retiring without any hurt, and the firſt volley diſcharged, forced the infantery and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the wings charging, there enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, onely forty of *Baſta* his men being ſlaine, and as many hurt; where of the enemies were loſt in the battell ten thouſand: and I
greater had the ſlaughter beene, if the village and appoch of the night had not couered many of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance of the great victory that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlaine of the Romans but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings ſtood for a time doubtfull) there being loſt of the enemies aboue fifty thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the peaſants of the countrey reported) twenty thouſand ſlaine in this battell. By this victory *Baſta* recouered many enſignes and much armour, before ſent by the Emperour vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And preſently after the ouerthrow, there were many troups of horſemen ſent out euery way with proclamation, to ſpare the liues of ſuch of the Siculi as ſhould lay downe their armes: of K
whom many were ſent priſoners vnto diuers places, eſpecially to Fogaras, a ſtrong Towne towards Valachia. As for the Vayuod himſelfe, hee with certaine Coſſackes eſcaped by flight.

Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowne.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the County *Caurioli*, to enforme the Emperour of all the particularities of the ſucceſſe of that expedition: who ſeemed to be therewith pleaſed, yet neither gaue reward vnto the County, neither commended *Baſta* in that hee had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although he had in writing before approued of his reſolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederats. Staying that day in that quarter, *Baſta* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to ſend out a thouſand horſemen to purſue the flying Vayuod: who in ſtead of ſo doing, joyning themſelues with other their conſorts, L
ſetled themſelues to ranſacke Alba-Iulia, vnder the colour, that there was the Vayuods wealth and ſubſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither Merchant nor Citiſen: which worthily ſeemed vnto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guilty to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his campe, and ſo ſtaied one day not far from thence, to haue giuen ſome redreſſe vnto the ſpoile that had happened; yet was all that his labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and chiefeſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more wiſedome as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any tearmes of ſeuerity, without hope of doing any good. So he reſolued in all haſte to march towards Fogaras (whither he heard ſay the Vayuod was come with new forces out of Valachia and Moldauia) and in ſix daies march came to Cibi- M
nium, where he receiued certaine newes, That the great Chancellor of Polonia, and *Sigiſmund* (ſometime the Tranſyluanian Prince) were with a ſtrong army vpon the frontiers of Moldauia; hauing ſent before them *Moyſes* the Siculian, with about eight thouſand of the Siculi (his ſouldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to be ſeene. Which aduertiſement interrupted the

This Chiaki was the chiefe man and as it were the ringleader of the Tranſyluanians into rebellion.

courſe

A courſe of *Baſta* his victory; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the enemy, and to leaue behind him a doubt of ſo great importance: and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelfe of the aid of the countrey people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old Prince were once ſeene in Tranſyluania. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to prouide for all euents as need ſhould be; and ſo reſolued to ſend the Chiaki, and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi*, to parley with *Moſes*, who made a ſhew of no great moment of his good will towards the confederats. In the meane time came two meſſengers from the Vayuod, offering in his name, that he ſhould doe whatſoeuer were in the behalfe of the Emperour to be impoſed vpon him. Vnto whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Commanders propounded; Firſt,

A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta.

B That he ſhould for euer reſigne all the claime he had or might haue in the countrey of Tranſyluania: then, That he altogether with his army, ſhould giue his oath of fidelity vnto his Imperiall Majeſty: alſo, That he ſhould forthwith through Valachia go with his army vnto the frontiers of Moldauia, to ſtay the Polonians from farther entrance: and moreouer, to giue his wife and little ſonne in hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receiue the oath and promiſed hoſtages: vnto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops caſtle in Alba-Iulia, the Vayuod hauing before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in Tranſyluania: although *Baſta* thought it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper Hungary. This agreement being made, *Baſta* kept on his way towards Fogaras, which he found already poſſeſſed by the Chiaki, & ſo from thence to Corona. After which, the Vayuod diſtruſting of the articles agreed vpon,

C went directly into Valachia, but not at all into Moldauia; not ſo much diſcomfited with the forces of the Polonians whom he went againſt (not doubting to giue them a great ouerthrow) as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the Siculian, who in the battell might ſhew himſelfe his enemy behind him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his own followers, or only for feare of treaſon by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall forces were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the ſtrength of the mountaines, without any great loſſe of his people, hauing left his baggage behind him, which was aſſailed and taken by the Haiducks and ſuch other ſharkers enured to prey, who alwaies ready in like occaſion, help to ſpoile and chaſe them that are already running: although that afterwards in diuers skir-

Michael for feare of being betraied vnto the Polonians, takes his flight into the mountains.

D miſhes with the Turks (who to cauſe him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polonians, had preſumptuouſly ſcoured vp and downe the country) he loſt many. In fine, giuing Moldauia loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold onely Valachia his old gouernment. Euen he which but a little before commanded aboue an hundred thouſand ſouldiers in field; he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command Valachia and Moldauia, and happily the other countries alſo neere vnto him, as hauing receiued the command of Tranſyluania as Gouernour for the Emperour; he that made Conſtantinople to tremble, and found no Empire equall to his deſignes. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with birds of prey, who greedily ſeeking to prey vpon others, become themſelues a prey vnto others greater than themſelues: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne valour and wiſe-

E dome, their owne proſperous proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the vnſtable wheele of Fortune: or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the very children of Folly. So commonly falleth it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the garboiles of war betwixt their mighty neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wiſedome, reſt themſelues onely vpon the aduice of their Counſellours, are by them led they wot not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the leaſt inſight into politicall gouernment, he might well haue vnderſtood, that amongſt ſo many mighty Princes he could not much grow, or yet well root himſelfe, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould alſo haue knowne within what compaſſe a new Prince ought to haue vſed ſeuerity and rigour; and that he ought to obſtaine from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way

F procure vnto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his ſubjects. Whereas his Counſellors not ſo much reſpecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perſuade him ſo by good meanes to plant himſelfe ſure in Tranſyluania; but ſo both caſt him headlong from his high eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſſe of Caniſia, a matter of important conſequence.

Now

Now lay *Basta* encamped in the field in Transyluania, when a messenger came vnto him from the great Chancellour of Polonia, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpose to trouble Transyluania, hauing no such order from the King: albeit that he would aduise the Transyluanians, if they wished to liue in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their owne nation, and such a one as the Turke should well like of, whereas otherwise they should but seeke their owne destruction, together with their neighbors. Which his counsell was well marked of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiser sort, not so much to proceed of any good meaning he had towards the Transyluanians, as of an old grudge and inueterate hatred he had alwaies borne against the house of Austria, as also, that he euen then countenanced the Prince *Sigismund* with his army to no other end, but by him to raise vp new stirs in that Prouince, and so to draw it from the Emperors obeisance, although thereby it became againe tributary vnto the Turke, who in all these matters had a great hand. Yea, some sticked not to say, That he couertly aimed at that principality for his sonne, howsoeuer he masked the same vnder the shew of *Sigismund* the late Prince. But vnto him answer was giuen by the Transyluanians, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their consultations they would haue a principall regard of their owne welfare, together with the common. Which answer he hauing receiued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of Valachia in stead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and so leauing a conuenient number of souldiers with him, returned himselfe towards Polonia. Vnto which election so made by the Polonians, the Turks craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play the lyons; wisely for a time comporting the injury: and the old Chancellor as crafty as they, hauing a secret purpose by occasion of these present troubles, to prefer at length his son vnto the principality of Transyluania, and thereunto also to joyne the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, had therin of purpose placed the aforesaid *Simon*, a man of no valour, and of a small apprehension, whom he might againe at his pleasure displace, and joyne those prouinces vnto his new purchase: which he could not so well do if he should haue there placed a man of greater reach and courage. So worke the heads of the Great, and so trauell the braines of the ambitious aspiring.

The Chancellour placeth a new Vayuod in Valachia in stead of Michael, by him driuen out.

Basta vnderstanding of the retiring of the Polonians, entered into consultation with the Chiaki and other the principall men of that Prouince (which lodged with the army in the country villages thereabout) for calling together the States and people, to make choice of some such men as they thought meetest to be sent vnto the Emperor, to know his pleasure for the gouernment of that Prouince. But now in the meane time, whilest there was no suspition of the forreine enemy, began to worke certaine malecontents, which thinking with greater liberty to liue vnder a weake Prince, than vnder one of greater power; with one voice cried out, That *Sigismund* with a great power was entred into the confines of Transyluania, one whiles towards Valachia, another while by the way of Moldauia; and that the strength of the country and others there by still resorted vnto him: with other such like inuentions, of purpose deuised to haue made *Basta* suddenly depart, or at leastwise to haue troubled the Dyet or assembly called, and the consultation also. But he well aduised of their purpose, moued not out of his quarter, but there lay very priuatly, to declare thereby the great confidence he had in the thankfulnesse of the nobility of that country, as by him deliuered from the oppression of the Vayuod: as also to make them to vnderstand, That the gouernment to be appointed was not to be setled in the sole power of a tyrant, but in the fidelity of the subjects, protected vnder a most gentle, royall, and most father like gouernment, not ambitiously sought after, but voluntarily of themselues offered, and for the common good, by the Emperor accepted. Beside that, he knew right well, how that *Castaldo* (in like case before in the yeare 1551, sent into Transyluania with 8000 Almaines) left behind him his army, and without any precedent courtesie went priuatly to Alba-Iulia, where Queene *Isabel* had for her defence assembled a Dyet of all the States, and there by well handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperor that kingdome, which he could not by the feare of his forces haue gained: for which doing, Writers attribute vnto him the name of great wisedome, notwithstanding that the yeare following he was forced to abandon his conquests, but yet not though any default in himselfe.

False rumours raised to haue terrified Basta.

But it is truly said, That men pleasured, according to the occasion change their manners, as doth the camelion his color according to the place: nothing being by nature so short, nothing

of

A of leſſe life than the remembrance of a benefit with the vnthankful, which the greater it is, the more it is repayd with ingratitude, either by making it to haue bin of little worth, or to haue proceeded not of curteſie, but from ſome other more priuat and proper conſiderations of the giuer. The Diet aforeſaid being aſſembled, diuers broiles were there raiſed by the male-Contents; as vſually it commeth to paſſe where the people haue to do with the gouernment, apt to be moued with euery humor, alwaies ready to change their opinion, as ſtraight glutted therwith, headſtrong, faithleſſe, all in words to no end: ſome of them in that aſſembly cried out, That the Almaines might be payd, diſcharged, and thanked for the paines they had taken for them as their neighbors, with offering to do them the like pleaſure as their occaſions ſhould require; others cried to haue them put all to the ſword, ſo much they were deuoid of reaſon:
B others cried out as faſt, That they were not by any means to indure the gouernment of *Maximilian* the Archduke, but by ſome nominated vnto them, would needs haue a prince of their own country, and ſuch a one as the Turk ſhould wel like of, as the Chancellor had perſuaded them. *Baſta* for all that not diſmaied with ſo vnexpected an incounter (albeit he began to ſuſpect that he had loſt all his labor, if he were not in ſhort time with greater forces relieued) at ſuch time as the Chiaki, with other chief men amongſt the people, came as their manner was euery other day to viſit him; with couragious ſpeech and vnapalled countenance told them
C plainly, That he wel perceiued their drift and purpoſe; and yet doubted not either of their oth of obedience giuen vnto his Imperiall Majeſty, either of the freſh remembrance of the great benefit they had from him ſo lately receiued; and in caſe it might happen them, little to eſteem of thoſe things (greater than which could not happen among men) that yet they ſhould wel know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully reſolued not to ſtir one foot thence with his forces, but rather to loſe his life, which he would for all that ſel as dear as he could. Wherunto anſwer was giuen with much curteous ſpeech, That he ſhould not giue eare vnto any the ſpeeches of the light vulgar people, but rather to content himſelfe that the Nobility, in whoſe hands the chief power of that prouince was, had not don any thing not beſeeming themſelues. So after much diſpute, were appointed three perſons according to the three Eſtates (the Nobility, Commons, and State in generall) to go vnto the Emperour, to requeſt of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their gouernor: with ſpecial requeſt alſo, That it would pleaſe him not to ouercharge with forrein ſoldiers that prouince already ſore impouerIſhed, eſpecially hauing in it ſelf people ſufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble
D to incounter with the Turks, than the heauy & ſlow Almains, and they alſo of double charge. Theſe difficulties with much ado thus appeaſed by ſuch as ſtood faſt for the Emperour, *Baſta* thought it not good againe to call any ſuch aſſembly; hoping that time, and the Emperours great wiſdom, would for al theſe matters find conuenient remedy. Yet ſaw he plainly, the peoples mind was, to reſolue to remain for euer free, if they ſhould haue come to a ſecond Conſultation; and rather a princely deſire to command, than to be commanded: yea, in that ſelfe ſame Diet the Chiaki was declared gonernor on the behalf of the people, with authoritie of himſelf in many things to determine, without calling together of any aſſembly of the reſt of the States; which they ſaid they did only, vntil they were by his Imperiall Maieſty prouided
E of a Gouernor. Neuertheles *Baſta* well perceiued more than a Tribunitiall power to be now joined by the people vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners; knowing that this Chiaki well hoped to haue bin proclaimed Prince of the Confederats, in caſe they had not bin preſently relieued againſt the Vayuod: and hauing in him yet noted ſtil his great ambition, for that marching from Torda toward the Vaiuod, he cauſed to be caried before him a ſpear, with an Hungarian cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a lance, in token of his chiefe command; albeit that afterward at the complaint of Baſta, pretending therin a wrong to be done vnto his regiment, marching vnder the Imperial ſtandard, he took it down: neither was he then a little ſuſpected to haue ſuffered his ſoldiers to ſack Alba-Iulia, as alſo to haue ſurpriſed Fogaras, and to haue vſed diuers other means all tending to popularitie and ambitious aſpiring. Wherin he deemed it better to diſſemble, than to proceed further, and then to do it indeed when hee had ſuf-
F ficient power.

Baſta his ſtout ſpeech to the Tranſiluanians.

The next day following came al the Counſel of that prouince, with the Deputies appointed to haue gon vnto the Emperour, and the people, to the houſe of *Baſta*, requeſting him (although ſuch their manner of comming might ſeem to exceed the bounds of requeſt) that he

would ſend his Germans out of the country,and ſo after ſo many troubles to giue it leaue to breath a little:as for himſelfe, he might ſtay at Alba-Iulia vntill the men deputed to that purpoſe might go vnto his Majeſty with their requeſts. *Baſta* not a little troubled with ſuch an imperious requeſt,and now,but not before, perceiuing the occaſion of this great diſcontentment,ſaw himſelf much deceiued in a moſt material point,and the ground of all this action; by truſting too much to his owne too ſmall forces, too weake for the defence of his perſon, much leſſe to keepe vnder ſo populous a prouince,ſuch as before in the yeare 1552, vnder the leading of *Caſtaldo*,had of it ſelf ſent out 70000 fighting men for the beſieging of Lippa, and now vpon the ſudden 12000 with a few noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed Enemy; where they now held an armed conſultation with him, the Nobility meeting together with their great retinues,& ſo much the greater, by how much the ſuſpition was the more by them feared,for them to be inforced to reſolue vpon any thing contrary to their good liking:whereas he contenting himſelf only with their oath,without any other hoſtages, and ſo giuing ayd vnto the Confederats,had put himſelfe vpon their faith,together with all his people,into the midſt of Tranſylvania;a matter of far greater importance than any pledge they were able to haue giuen him. Beſides that, of the 6000 men which hee had brought with him into that Country,three thouſand fiue hundred of Sileſia now brought to 2000, could not be perſuaded longer to ſtay without their pay before hand,the pay of their Country being ſpent already: and the reſt drawn out of the gariſons in the vpper Hungary,or els there preſſed,were at a certain time to return home. Yet neuertheleſſe he attempted in ſome ſort to ſatisfie their requeſt,for not grieuing of the Countrey,by requeſting them to deliuer vnto him ſome ſtrong place,wherinto he putting his men into gariſon,they might ſo lie without any further charge or trouble to the Countrey,liuing vpon their owne wages. Which when hee could not obtain,and withall conſidering, that if thoſe few of his people which yet remained could bee contented to ſtay with him, the retaining of them might giue occaſion vnto the deſirous of new ſtirs,vpon euery the leaſt diſorder of the ſoldiers to alter the matter at their pleaſure (as had hapned vnto the eight thouſand Almains of *Caſtaldo*, driuen ſomtimes out of that Country vnder the colour of ſome inſolencie by them committed; although others had beene the chief doers therof,namely about ſome twenty Polonians) hee reſolued of all theſe things to giue notice to the Court,and ſo fair and ſoftly to march with his ſouldiers vnto the frontiers of that country,and to ſaue his eight pieces of artillery with other munition in Samos Vivar caſtle,a ſtrong fortres a good way within the confines,which together with the ſtrong caſtle of Kuivar, *Aga Leche* an Albanoiſe,and Generall of the Vayuods horſmen, deliuered to *Zakel* Captain of Zaccomar,one of his Majeſties Commiſſioners,who there prouided for the Gouernor *Baſta* his familiar fauourit: although that the Tranſylvanians had with great promiſes ſought to haue croſſed ſuch deliuery of the aforeſaid Caſtles, and to haue had them in their own power.

The error of Baſta.

Wherfore *Baſta* not deceiued, but by neceſſity inforced, yeelded that hee could not hold, and gaue that he could not ſel,making a vertue of neceſſity; deceiued in the euent of the matter which he had propounded vnto himſelf from the beginning, for aſſuring that Country to the Emperor:by an excuſable error,if it be true that ſome wiſe men ſay,Nothing to bee more vnreaſonable,than by the euent of matters to iudge of their wiſdome by whom they were managed; which conſiſteth not in diuining before of the certainty of the euent,but in the reaſonable coniecture therof by the means leading therunto, than which nothing is more deceitfull,as not depending from their own actions only,but from other mens alſo more groſſe and vnreaſonable:none knowing better how much the wiſdom of man deceiueth it ſelf,than thoſe which are vnto themſelues true witneſſes of the euent of their own conſultations. Neuertheleſſe the matter was afterward ſo wel handled by *Baſta*,*Petzen*, and others the Emperors great fauorits in Tranſylvania,that in a Diet holden among the Tranſylvanians, he was with a conuenient gard again by them receiued as the Emperors lieutenant, vntil further order were by him taken for the gouernment and aſſurance of that countrey:the Chiaki and his Complices faintly conſenting therunto,as not greatly pleaſed therwith. Neither had *Baſta* much cauſe to be proud of ſuch his gouernment, hauing thereof no longer aſſurance than pleaſed that fickle people to afford him:yet ſith no better could be had,he muſt take it as he might,deeming it better in ſome ſort for the preſent to hold it for the Emperor,than not at all. With which his

weak

A weake ſtate amongſt more enemies than friends we will for a while leaue him.

But whilſt things thus paſſed, as we haue ſaid, in Tranſylvania and Hungary, the treaty for peace betwixt the Emperor & the Turks being vaniſhed into ſmoke, *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turkes General in Hungary, hauing all the laſt Winter made great preparation for the inuaſion of the Emperors territories, and the doing of ſome notable enterpriſe for the recouery of his reputation, ſomwhat impaired by the euil ſucces of the laſt yeares Wars; and euen in theſe his preparations of this year, not a little troubled by the mutiny of the Ianizaries and Spahi, for want of their pay at Conſtantinople, as alſo with the rebellion in Caramania; now at length in the later end of Auguſt, by order from the grand Seigniour his great Lord and maſter, began to ſet forward with his army from Belgrade, ſuppoſed to be aboue two hundred thouſand
B men ſtrong. And comming to Babatſca, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in the neather Hungary, ſate down before it, and hauing planted his artillery furiouſly battered it, with purpoſe to haue the next day aſſaulted it: but the captaine of the caſtle conſidering the weaknes of his garriſon to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy, and that the walls were already ſore ſhaken with the fury of the great ordnance, came to a reaſonable Compoſition with the great Baſſa, and ſo deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit don, and the Caſtle to him ſurrendred, he marched from thence to Caniſia, a ſtrong town in the frontiers of Stiria, of moſt men before ſuppoſed a place impregnable; for that it was ſcituat in a very deepe mariſh, and furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſoldiers, part Hungarians, and part Almains. After this ſtrong town *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa eſpecially longed, ſo to free thoſe frontiers of the Turkes
C from the often incurſions that the garriſon ſoldiers of that place made therein; as alſo by the taking of that ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe from the Chriſtians, to open a more free and ſafe paſſage to the Turkes for Auſtria, to the indangering of thoſe places of the Empire alſo farther off. Wherefore incamping his great army on the ſide of the mariſh which compaſſed the Iſland round wheron the town ſtood, he began with fagots and earth to fil vp the mariſh, ſo to paſſe ouer his army; they in the town in the mean time not ceaſing with their thundring ſhot to diſturb them, and to do them what harm they might: who for all that proceeding in their work had brought it now almoſt cloſe to the Iſland; where while they were about to haue landed, they were by the garriſon ſouldiers ſo incountred, that hauing loſt a number of their men, as wel Ianizaries as others, with two of their beſt captains alſo, they were by plain valor inforced
D to retyre. But preparing themſelues againſt the next day, with greater force to haue againe returned vnto the aſſault of the Iſle, they ſaw the Imperial army now at their backs, and come ſo neer them, that with their artillery they did them great harm; which put them in no ſmall fear, ſeeing themſelues incloſed betwixt the town and the camp, and both out of the one and the other to receiue no ſmall hurt, as wel with the ſmall ſhot as the great: beſides that out of the camp diuers whole bands ſometimes ſallied, diſcharging great vollies of ſhot euen into their trenches. In the Imperial army were but two and forty thouſand horſe and foot, men of diuers nations, vnder the leading of Duke *Mercury*, now Generall of the Emperours forces in Hungary, with whom were the Lords *Nadaſti*, *Eſdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the gouernour of Croatia, with diuers other famous Captains come thither for the relief of Caniſia (a place of ſo great
E importance for the defence of that ſide of the Country) and to helpe that it fell not into the power of the barbarous enemy. But *Ibrahim Baſſa* vnderſtanding by his eſpials the ſmal number of the Chriſtians, and wel knowing how much he was too ſtrong for them, by reaſon of his great multitude, went out againſt them, and finding them as ready as himſelfe, joined battell with them, with great ſlaughter of men both on the one ſide and on the other. Which bloudy fight (the victory yet ſtanding doubtfull, but in mens iudgements more inclining to the Chriſtians than to the Turks) was at length by the comming on of the night broken off. At which time the Chriſtians retyring themſelues into their trenches, the Turkes ſtood all that night in the camp, with their weapons in their hands, as fearing to haue bin again in the night by their enemies aſſailed. Mean while the Chriſtian Captaines at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercury* their General; at ſuch time as the
F Turks preſuming on their multitude, dared them to battell the next day, could by no means be perſuaded to go forth againſt them, or once to ſtirre out of their trenches. Inſomuch that the General of the Tartars thereupon beeing incouraged, made an inrode into the Countrey thereby, and meeting with two hundred Waggons laded with victuals going vnto the Chri-

Caniſia beſieged by the Turks.

A battell betweene the Chriſtians & Turks before Caniſia.

ſtian camp, ſlew the conuoy that garded them, and ſo caried them quite away. Wherby ſuch G
want aroſe in the Chriſtian Camp, that hauing not what to eat, and out of hope of any new ſupply of relief in time to come, they were glad by night to diſlodge & retyre. Which could not ſo ſecretly be don, but that it was of the Turks perceiued: who preſently following after them, in the tail of the army cut off about 3000 of them, with certain pieces of great ordnance and moſt part of the baggage; the reſt of the army in the mean time retyring farther off into places of more ſafety. From this victory the Turkes returned again to the ſiege of Caniſia; where after a few daies, the gariſon ſoldiers now out of hope to be in good time relieued, ſuddenly fel into mutiny, refuſing any longer to defend the towne, now hardly layd vnto by the Turks; and the rather, for that diuers of the Hungarians were already fled out of the Towne vnto the Baſſa, hauing, as it was thought, reuealed vnto him the whole eſtate of the beſieged. H
So that now there was no remedy, but that the Towne muſt be deliuered vnto the enemy: although *Paradiſer* with ſome other of the captains did what they might, as they ſaid afterward, to haue perſuaded the contrary. Wherupon they came to parly with the Baſſa, and couenanting with him, That they might with bag and baggage depart, and with a ſafe Conuoy bee brought ouer the riuer Mur, promiſed to yeeld the town vnto him. All which the Baſſa granted, fearing how to haue bin able to haue kept the field, if they ſhould any long time haue holden out, Winter now ſo faſt approching. So the 22 of October the town was vnto the Baſſa right cowardly deliuered, and the garriſon ſoldiers with their baggage, in 100 waggons lent them by the Turks, ſafely conducted ouer the Mur, as was vnto them promiſed. After the agreement made for the yeelding vp of the towne, the Baſſa in courteſie ſent vnto *Paradiſer* the I
gouernor a very rich gown of cloath of gold: which albeit hee refuſed, yet was it afterwards layd to his charge, as a preſumption of ſome treacherous colluſion betwixt him and the Baſſa for the betraying of the town, which it was thought he might much longer haue kept. *Ibrahim* now thus poſſeſſed of the town he had ſo much deſired, fortified it more ſtrongly than euer it was before; and for the more aſſurance thereof, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of 4000 foot and 500 horſe, all old expert ſoldiers: and immediatly after without reſiſtance forraged the country round about Caniſia, burning all before him as he went; the poore Chriſtian inhabitants flying as faſt as they could for ſafegard of their liues. But hauing thus with the ſpoile of the country wel pleaſed his ſoldiers; he deſirous to haue the ſame againe in time repeopled, as therby to yeeld vnto the Turks the more profit, ſtaied their further outrage, vpon great paine K
forbidding the ſame; by open proclamations in euery place ſet vp, inuiting the Chriſtians without fear of farther harm, to return again into the country, where ſubmitting themſelues vnto the great Sultans obedience, they ſhould vnder his protection ſafely dwell, without any tribute to be of them exacted for three years ſpace next following. Which proclamations were in his name thus publiſhed.

Caniſia yelded to the Turks.

Stiria forraged by the Turks.

Ibrahim Baſſa, to the Inhabitants of the Country about Caniſia, Greeting.

Ibrahims proclamation.

WE Ibrahim Baſſa, *by the grace of God Viſier, and Couſin vnto the moſt puiſſant and inuincible* L
Sultan Mahomet, *Emperor of the Turks: Vnto all the inhabitants of the marches about Caniſia, and the reſt of the country of Steirmarck, from the greateſt vnto the leaſt, Greeting. Whereas we haue willingly heard, that ſome of you willing to ſubmit your ſelues vnto the great Sultan, and to ſweare vnto him fealty, are again returned vnto your old dwellings: We promiſe and aſſure you vpon the faith of the ſaid Emperor, that whoſoeuer ſhall be found neere the fortreſſe of Caniſia, now belonging to the great Sultan, with all reuerence ſubmitting himſelf as his ſubiect vnder his gouernment, acknowledging him for his Soueraign, ſhall enioy more priuiledges than he did before, and alſo be protected in the ſame. And for that we know that your houſes are for the moſt part deſtroyed, as alſo your poſterity; you ſhall therfore for theſe three years next following be exempted and free from all tributes and charges whatſoeuer, to the end you may the better recouer your ſelues. Of which grace if you ſhall willingly accept, we promiſe you, that neither you, your wiues, or children ſhall be in any thing wronged, or your goods in any part impaired, but ſo much as in vs poſsibly is, to be defended: ſo that ſo many of you as pleaſe, may in ſafety return into your old dwellings, giuing before knowledge therof vnto the Gouernor of this our fortreſſe.* M

Giuen in our Camp after the conqueſt of Caniſia.

Many

A Many of theſe poor countrey people before fled for feare of the Turks, and not knowing where to beſtow themſelues, now vpon this proclamation returned to their antient dwelling places, there to begin the world again vnder the Turkiſh obeiſance. But for that County *Serinus* was the man whom of all others in that Countrey the great Baſſa ſought after, as him whom he moſt feared after his departure to trouble this his new conqueſt, and to ſeek to be reuenged (hauing in this calamity of Stiria his country loſt twenty villages of his owne, quite burnt by the Turks, and the people moſt ſlain or els taken priſoners) hee many times before hauing ſought to perſuade him to yeeld his obedience vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, and now in hope after ſo great a loſſe to bring him in, before all his fortunes were vtterly ruined (by the loſſe of Caniſia, and the entrance of the Turks into Stiria, not a little indangered) writ to him
B as followeth:

Ibrahim Baſſa his letters vnto Count Serinus.

WE Ihrahim Baſſa, *chiefe of the Viſier Baſſa's, and couſin to the moſt puiſſant Sultan* Mahomet, *to the County* Serinus *ſendeth greeting. We haue oftentimes hertofore written vnto thee concerning the matter thou knoweſt of, but what the cauſe is we receiued no anſwer, we know not. Yet could I not but write vnto thee again, That if thou canſt be content to begin the matter aright, and to ſubmit thy ſelf vnto our protection, we will be ready to receiue thee. Thou ſeeſt, that what we foretold thee is now more than fulfilled both vpon thee and thine, which thou wouldſt neuer beleeue. Neuertheles, for the ſtaying of the further effuſion of the bloud, as well of thy ſubiects as ours, and to come to ſome good attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine hand vpon thyne heart, and to conſider how much more it concerneth thee*
C *than vs, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more vnto thine than ours. What our affection is toward thee,* Hierom *the Vaynod can tell thee. Fare thee well.*

From our Camp, after the conqueſt of Caniſia, the 7 of Nouember, 1600.

But theſe letters being alſo as the reſt, anſwered with ſilence, the great Baſſa hauing diſpoſed of all as he thought beſt at Caniſia and in the country therabout, returned with his army to Belgrade, there to winter: hauing before fully certified the great Sultan of all his proceedings, and the ſucces of this war; vaunting after his vain maner, the next year to beſiege Vienna alſo, if he ſo commanded. Of all which *Mahomet* vnderſtanding, & not a little pleaſed therD with, cauſed great triumphs to be made four daies together at Conſtantinople, and in token of his loue and fauor, ſent a rich robe of cloath of gold, with a leading ſtaffe all ſet with pearl and pretious ſtones, vnto the Baſſa yet lying at Belgrade.

This loſſe of Caniſia much troubled all that ſide of Chriſtendom, eſpecially them of the territories belonging to the houſe of Auſtria; in a ſort diſmaied, to ſee the Turkes ſo eaſily poſſeſſed of a town, before thought almoſt impregnable, and the ſtrongeſt defence of all that country againſt the furious impreſſions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a moſt ſafe and ſure receptacle: all men with one voice blaming the diſcord of the captains in the Imperial army, for ſo retyring without any good doing; but aboue all deteſting the cowardiſe of *Paradiſer*, who known to haue in the town a ſtrong garriſon, with good ſtore of munition and
E victuals (as was ſuppoſed) had ſo baſely deliuered the ſame vnto the enemy; not doing his vtmoſt deuoir for the defence therof: wheras if he had ſo don, haply in the meane time the cold and vnſeaſonablenes of the weather (though no other relief had bin) winter being now come, might haue inforced the Turks to raiſe their ſiege. Wherupon he was for this ſo foule a fact by the Emperors commandement apprehended and caſt in priſon at Vienna; where after he had long lien, and his cauſe oftentimes examined, he was the next year after condemned of felony and cowardiſe, and ſo the fifteenth day of October executed; hauing firſt his hand at four ſtrokes of the Executioner ſtruck off, and after that his head. With him alſo was in like maner executed his Enſigne-bearer: and after them his lieutenant with the Maior of the ſaid town; who both bound faſt to a ſtake, had firſt their tongues cut out, and afterward their heads
F chopt off.

Paradiſer executed for yeelding Caniſia.

Now the rebellion before raiſed in Caramania by *Cuſſahin Baſſa* (as is before ſaid) was not with his death altogether appeaſed; Orfa Alſo a great city of that country (which hauing taſted the ſweetnes of liberty in the time of *Cuſſahin*) yet ſtil holding out againſt *Mahemet* the great Baſſa the Sultans lieutenant General there. At which time alſo a companion of *Cuſahin*

the late rebel, called the *Scrivano*, and one of his chief fauorits, seeing how hardly not only *Cusabin* himself, but the rest of his followers, had bin handled by the Turks, began to make head, and to call vnto him all such as loued their liberty: vnto the sweet name whereof so many in short time were come about him, that out of them he formed such an army as made him now dreadful vnto the Turks his enemies. Against whom *Mehemet Bassa* going with all his power to haue oppressed him, found him with those his rebellious followers so couragious (for the desire they all had to break out of the *Othoman* slauery, and to liue in such liberty as was promised them by their Captain and General) that joining battell with them he receiued a notable ouerthrow, insomuch that fearing to haue lost his whole army, he was glad to retire, and to send out commissions for the raising of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the meane time, whether it was for fear of this new rebellion, or for that hee vnderstood of the Embassadours sent from the Persian vnto the Christian princes, began to suspect lest that king should break the league he had made with him, and so to his further trouble take vp arms also against him. Wherfore vpon a Turkish pride, he sent an Embassador into Persia, to certifie the king, That for the more assurance of the league betwixt them, he demanded to haue one of his sons sent vnto him in hostage, as a pledge of his fathers faith. Which his so proud demand the Persian King took so disdainfully, that in his rage he commanded the Embassadour to be slaine. But that his fury being by his graue Counsellors somwhat appeased, he remitted the seueritie of that his rigorous command, and sparing his life, was contented, that in despight of him that sent him he should endure the bastinado only; and so grieuously threatned sent backe againe to his master. Who hauing receiued this shameful answer, and doubting some further matter from that angry King, commanded new and strong garrisons to be put in all his strong Holds confining vpon the Persian kingdom.

The Turks embassadour euill intreated in Persia.

1601. This troublesome year of Iubilie thus past, the Emperour much troubled with the losse of Canisia, and in doubt of worse to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Bassa*, whom for all that he trusted not, did afresh intreat with him concerning peace) and seeing also the great need hee had of greater aid to withstand the mighty power of the Turke, with great instancie requested aid of the Pope, and of the other princes of Italy. Who considering also how much it concerned the rest of the Christian commonweal to haue the frontiers of Hungary defended, condescended vnto the Emperors request: and so the Pope with the beginning of the Spring sent him eight thousand soldiers in pay, vnder the leading of *Io. Francisco Aldobrandino* his Nephew, their Generall; who with the like charge had now serued euer since the year 1599. King *Philip* also at the instance of the Emperour gaue order vnto the County *Fuentes* to send into Croatia certain bands of Dutches; who by direction from him were forthwith conducted to Millan. The Great Duke of Florence also sent vnto him two thousand souldiers vnder the leading of *Francisco de Monte*; with whom also by his appointment went the Lord *Io. de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the Archduke forthwith requested to be Master of his Camp. Thither came also the Duke of Mantua, with an honourable company both of horse and foot, beeing forthwith by the Archduke made his Lieutenant Generall. And so whilest these people assembled together into Croatia, the Emperour sent also another good Army into Hungary, drawne for most part out of Germany, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother, and the Duke *Mercury* his Lieutenant Generall, went into those parts to withstand the Turk. A third Army he also made of the Imperials; which strengthned with the Forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga* Gouernor of the vpper Hungary, joyned themselues with *Basta* for the recouery of the country of Transylvania, out of which he had bin of late driuen, as shall be hereafter declared.

And so whilst these armies were in preparing, many hot skirmishes passed in Hungary betwixt the Christians and the Turks, the losse falling somtime to the one side, and somtime to the other. But the time being now come that souldiers might well take the field, *Ibrahim Bassa* being before dead at Belgrade, whilst he was yet intreating of a dissembled peace, and *Hassan* one of the Visier Bassa's by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in Hungary in his place; yet delaying his comming: the parly for peace layd aside (as neuer indeed by the Turks intended, but only by them entertained to delay the time to their own more aduantage) Duke *Mercury* General of the Emperors forces taking the offer of so fit an opportunitie, came with his army from Comara (where he had lien expecting the euent of the parley) and layd siege to Alba-

The death of Ibrahim Bassa.

Regalis

A Regalis,one of the chiefeſt & ſtrongeſt cities in Hungary;which ſeated in the midſt of a mariſh,was thought almoſt impregnable: beeing hardly to bee approached but by the ſuburbs, which ſtrongly fortified and defended by the mariſh, ſerued the City in ſtead of 3 moſt ſure bulwarks;within which ſtood alſo the city it ſelf,wel defended with a good wall and a ditch. This city the Duke for certain dayes continually battered, as if he had purpoſed at length to haue taken it by aſſault:but in the mean time certainly informed by a fugitiue lately fled out of the city,That the broad lake on the other ſide of the City, ouer againſt the place where he lay,was not ſo deep but that it was to be paſſed (contrary to the opinion both of the Turkes captiues,and of the natural inhabitants,whom he had vpon that point examined)and that the Turks preſuming vpon the ſtrength therof,& thinking themſelues on that ſide ſafe,had bent
B almoſt all their care and forces to that ſide of the City now by him battered, not regarding any great peril to be from the other ſide feared; he appointed the Lord *Ruſworm* with his ſoldiers to make proofe if the Sigeth ſuburbs (for ſo they were called) on the aforeſaid ſide of the city, ſo little regarded by the Turks,were not to be ſurpriſed;for that theſe ſuburbs being taken,the City would not long hold out. For the vndertaking of which enterpriſe *Ruſſworm* was by the captiue Turks and country people thereby dwelling,much diſcouraged; they all with one conſent affirming,That albeit he ſhould find no other difficulties in attempting of it,yet the lake it ſelf was not poſſible to be paſſed. Who neuertheles not altogether truſting them,ſent certain of his owne men ſecretly to try the matter: who hauing ſo done, brought him word,That the lake was vndoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be paſſed. Wher-
C fore he with 1000 ſelect ſoldiers,with euery one a good fagot at his back beſide his Arms,to fil vp the deepeſt of the mariſh,by night entred the ſame:wherin he had not gon far, but that almoſt with the danger of his life, hee found it much deeper and more troubleſome than the Spies had vnto him before reported. But caried with an inuincible courage himſelf, and his ſoldiers mooued by his example, he ſtil went on,they alſo following of him. It is a thing almoſt incredible to tel what theſe aduenturous men endured,plunged in the deep mud among the flags and bulruſhes,going ſtil vp euen to the waſt where the mariſh was the ſhalloweſt; where alſo if one miſſed but a ſtep, he was by and by ouer head and ears,and in danger to bee drowned, if he were not by his fellowes preſently holpen. Yet at length by Gods helpe,hauing but with the loſſe of ſix or ſeuen men a little before day got ouer, the Duke by an ap-
D pointed ſigne aduertiſed therof,with greater ſtir and tumult than at any time before, aſſailed that ſide of the city were he lay, as if euen then and there he had only meant to haue ingaged his whole forces for the winning therof. When in the mean time the Lord *Ruſſworm* on the other ſide with his reſolute ſoldiers,with ſcaling ladders prouided for the purpoſe,ſcaled the wals of the ſuburbs,and almoſt vnperceiued recouered the top therof (the Turks being at the ſame time wholly bent for the defence of the other ſide of the city, where moſt ſtir and apparant danger was) and ſo beeing got into the ſuburbs,with a great and terible cry aſſailed the Turks,who ſurpriſed with much feare, and not well knowing which way to turne themſelues, without any great reſiſtance fled into the city,the Chriſtians following them at the heels,and making of them a great ſlaughter. In which ſo great a confuſion,euen where leaſt was feared,
E the Duke by other his ſoldiers took the reſt of the ſuburbs,aes he had before determined;the Turks there alſo for fear forſaking them,retyring with all the haſt they could to their fellows in the city,there to liue and die together. The Chriſtians in in theſe ſuburbs, beſides other rich prey,took alſo 14 great pieces of artillery,with good ſtore of ſhot and pouder. The ſuburbs,the greateſt ſtrength of the city,thus happily taken,the Duke again ſummoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Wherunto the Turks gaue no other anſwer but by their pieces,which they diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians ſo perſuading them to yeeld. Wherwith the Duke much diſpleaſed,ſent them word, That hee would ſend them other manner of meſſengers tomorrow, and by Gods help ſup with them in the city,although he were not vnto them welcome. Neither failed he of that his promiſe;for the next day out of the ſuburbs
F hauing with the fury of his artillery made two great breaches in the city,he by the ruins therof with great ſlaughter of the enemy entred the City, albeit that the Turkes did what they might to haue defended the ſame, by caſting downe vpon the Chriſtians as they entered, darts, wild-fire,and ſuch other things,vſually prouided for ſuch purpoſes. But ſeeing now no remedy,but that they muſt needs giue place to the fortune of their enemies, they fled amain into

Alba-Regalis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The ſuburbs ſurpriſed.

The city taken.

in their houſes, there to defend themſelues, os els to die: many of which houſes they had before of purpoſe ſo vndermined, as that they could eaſily ouerthrow them, and ſo ouerwhelme as many as ſhould come within the danger of them. Which ſo ſtrange a reſolution was by many of them as deſperatly performed; inſomuch that the goodly Church, the palace, with many other ſumptuous buildings, were left to the Chriſtians all rent & torn, not much better than rude heaps of rubbiſh and ſtones: howbeit the Baſſa vpon promiſe of life, yeelded himſelf, and was by the Duke preſently ſent vnto the camp; the reſt of the ſoldies beeing (as in ſuch caſe it commonly hapneth) all or moſt of them put to the ſword: the greateſt part of the prey fel vnto the Wallons; who by heaps breaking into the richeſt houſes, not only took what themſelues light vpon, but ſtript the Germans alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to their great heart-burning and grief: yea theſe rauenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, opened the tombs of the Hungarian Kings, there long before buried, to ſpoil euen the dead of ſuch things as had for honors ſake bin interred with them. Shewing themſelues therin more barbarous than the Turks, who by the ſpace of ſixty yeares hauing had the City in their poſſeſſion, had yet ſpared thoſe reuerend monuments, and ſuffered the Reliques of thoſe worthy princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of Alba Regalis, the Baſſa of Buda (not long before taken priſoner, and as then lying at Vienna) hearing, abſtained from meat with his two ſeruants a whole day, proſtrat vpon his face, praying vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this year bin angry with the Turks. Which had the ſiege of Caniſia taken the like effect, had then vndoubtedly bin vnto them moſt vnfortunat: but God in his wiſdom ſtil tempereth the ſweet with the ſour.

Now in the mean while was *Aſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, and General of the Turks Armie, with ſuch ſoldiers as were already aſſembled at Belgrade, comming to haue relieued Alba-regalis; and albeit that he vnderſtood by the way as he marched, that the City was by the Chriſtians won: yet held he on his intended journy; and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of Buda, with the other Sanzacks and commanders of the towns and caſtles therabout, had formed an Army of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and vnexpert ſoldiers: with the which power he ſtil held on his way toward Alba-Regalis, as wel thereby to giue ſome contentment to the angry Sultan his maſter, as in hope alſo to ouerthrow the Chriſtian Army, or at leaſtwiſe to find the city as yet vnrepaired, and ſo to regain it. But vain was that his deſignment, eſpecially for the recouery of the city; for that the Duke had no ſooner taken it, but that he forthwith cauſed the breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of old expert ſoldiers; and being himſelf about twenty thouſand ſtrong, and hearing of the Baſſa's comming, ſet forward to meet him; and being come neer vnto him, began an hot and bloudy skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa to proſecute his intended purpoſe for the recouery of Alba-Regalis, the next day ſent away part of his Army, to make proofe if haply the city might yet be again recouered, and himſelfe in the mean time with the reſt of his army offered battel vnto the Chriſtians; ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not be able to trouble them whom they ſent to Alba Regalis, or to relieue the city, if it ſhould chance to be by them oppreſſed. When as the Duke before informed of the baſeneſſe of the ſouldiers in the Baſſa's army, and that although he were for number of men far aboue him, yet for old hardy and expert ſoldiers he was ſtrong enough for him, valiantly went out and encountered him; and ſo euen at the firſt onſet by plaine valour diſordering the formoſt ſquadrons of the Turks battel, inforced them to retyre with the loſſe of ſix thouſand men; among whom were the Baſſa of Buda, ſix Sanzacks, with diuers other Captains and Commaunders of good place and mark. At which time he alſo took from them diuers pieces of great Artillery, and had vndoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrown all the reſt of the Baſſa's Army, had not a great ſquadron of the Tartars euen at that inſtant ſhewed themſelues at the backes of the Chriſtians, and ſo ſtaying them, giuen leiſure to the Baſſa to reſtore his diſordered battell. Wherupon the Duke contenting himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten, in good order retyred again into his trenches, hauing in this conflict not loſt aboue three hundred of his people. But whileſt both Armies thus lay, and new ſupplies repaired vnto them, expecting but when they ſhould come vnto a generall day of battel; the Ianizaries ſtill murmuring, That it was now no fit time of the yeare any longer to keepe the field, by their importunitie inforced the Baſſa to retyre to Buda, and there to his diſ-band his Army. In which his

The Chriſtians ouerthrow the Turks.
The Baſſa of Buda ſlain.

retreit

A retreat many were by the Christians cut off in the tail of his army, and a number of prisoners taken; and among the rest fifty of the French mutiniers of Pappa, whom the Archduke *Matthias* at the instance of Duke *Mercury* afterwards pardoned. Neither sped they much better, who were sent by the Bassa to haue attempted the taking of Alba Regalis; for beeing come neer therunto, they were so welcommed with great shot out of the city, and charged with often sallies by the strong garrison, that seeing no hope to preuaile, they were glad to rise, and to return again to the Bassa that sent them.

About the same time that the Duke began to besiege Alba-Regalis, *Ferdinand* the Archduke hauing receiued great aid from the Pope, with the other Princes of Italy, and the King of Spain, and so now 30000 strong, by the aduice of the Duke of Mantua his Lieutenant ge-
B neral resolued to besiege Canisia: which to haue againe recouered out of the Turkes hands, concerned much not them of Stiria and Austria only, but the other prouinces adjoining, yea and Italy it self also. Wherupon he with his army in good order came the tenth of September and incamped before it; the Duke of Mantua and *Don Iohn de Medices*, with 2000 Harquebusiers and two Cornets of horse being come the day before to take view of the towne, at whom the Turks made diuers shot, but without any harm doing. And albeit that the Turkes there in garrison (in number not past a thousand, accounting likewise 300 of the Wallons somtime of the garrison of Pappa) with their often and gallant sallies greatly troubled the Christians, and that great bands of the other Turks came out of the strong towns and fortresses therby, to skirmish with them, and to see if they could put any moe souldiers into the town
C for the more assurance therof; yet such was the carefulnesse of the Christian Commanders, and valour of their souldiers, that the Turkes both in the one place and in the other were still repulsed and put to flight, with the losse also of some of their small Castles and forts thereabout. To approch this strong towne, and to plant a battery against it, seemed to be a matter of great difficulty, for that it was (as we haue elswhere said) inuironed round with a marish; yet means was found to dry it a little, and to fill it vp on the one side, and to come so neere the Town, that hauing planted three tyre of artillery against it, the Christians began furiously to batter it, beating downe both the walls, the houses, and other buildings therin; yea at length they had brought their approches so neer, that they were come with their trenches euen close vnto the Towne ditch, persuading the Turks, now whilest they might vpon good conditions,
D to surrender the Towne, and so to saue their liues. Whereunto their fierce and inraged mindes were so far from hearkening, that brauing the Christians, they said, That they would in despight of all their forces keepe the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Archduke and the Duke of Mantua, by the aduice of *Medices* and the rest of the principall Captaines and Commanders in the Army, resolued to giue a general assault vnto the towne. In the mean time newes was brought into the Campe, of the winning of Alba-Regalis, which there made great rejoicing; in signe wherof the Christians (as their manner is) in triumph many times discharged their great Ordnance; and by fit men persuaded the garrison soldiers in Canisia to yeeld, and not to cast themselues into such danger as had their fellows in Alba Regalis; for that in so doing they should not only saue their liues, but easily
E also obtain such other conditions as they could reasonably desire: whereas otherwise they should to their cost find the Christians strong enough to constraine them, which must needs bring with it their vtter ruine and destruction. Whereunto the garrison souldiers (amongst whom the renegat Wallons were the chiefe) contemptuously answered, That they little feared such weake assailants: and with great cry and scorn commaunding the messengers to depart, in token of their confidence, as also not to seeme inferiour vnto the Christians, oftentimes to small purpose discharged their great Ordnance, as had the Christians the day before. Now although the walls of the towne with continuall battery were sore shaken, and the breaches almost laid open; yet was the intended assault for a while deferred, vntil the bridges might be made that were to be laid ouer the towne Ditch for the Christians to passe
F ouer vpon. But all things, as was thought, now in a readinesse, and the Florentines with some other Italians (whose lot it was to giue the first assault) beeing come forward, the bridge by which they were to passe the town ditch, was found both too short and too weak for them to get ouer vnto the other side by; so that sinking vnder them, not the soldiers only, but euen the Commanders themselues (and namely *Herbenstein*) were in great danger to haue bin lost. By which

Canisia besieged by the christians.

which means they hindred, and the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, G
and their musketiers ſtil playing vpon them afront, they were inforced to retyre, leauing behind them 300 of their men ſlain. Yet were not the Chriſtian commanders any thing therwith diſcouraged, but being generally reſolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand, vntil they had brought it to effect, began to make ſuch prouiſion as they knew to be needfull to preſerue their army vnder, againſt the violence of the winter weather, as alſo to hinder that no victual might be brought vnto the towne, ſo by famin at length to inforce the Turkes and Wallons to yeeld: who although they were already pinched with wants, inſomuch that horſfleſh was dainty cheer with them; yet for all that, they nothing abated of their wonted fiercenes, but being again required to yeeld, vouchſafed not to anſwer one word, but in ſtead therof ſhook their naked ſwords afar off at them, in token of their vndaunted courage. But yet for al H
this reſolution of the commanders for the continuance of the ſiege, *Aldobrandino* Generall of the Italians, being now a little before dead of an old infirmitie that he had, the Italians began at the firſt ſome few of them ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of their quarter; but afterwards in great number to depart, and ſo to return again into their country: alledging for their excuſe want both of pay and victuals. But the reſt better minded, vnderſtanding the Turkes were riſen from before Alba Regalis, and the reſt of the army diſbanded, began to enter into new hope, by ſome deuice or other to paſſe the ditch, and ſo by force to take the town; & the rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue informed both of the weakneſſe and wants of the beſieged. Whereupon they began afreſh to make new engins for the approching of the walls, without danger of the enemies ordnance any more to flank them. At which time alſo, I
viz. the fourth of November, the Lord *Ruſſworm* came vnto the camp, ſent thither from Duke *Mercury* with 8000 ſouldiers, after that *Haſſan Baſſa* had diſſolued his army. By whoſe comming they were alſo the more incouraged to proſecute that they had vndertaken. Neither failed the Turkes in the meane while with often ſallies to trouble the Chriſtians, attempting aboue all things to haue fired their tents, for that lying open in that ſo cold a ſeaſon of the year, they muſt of neceſſity be inforced to raiſe their ſiege and be gon. But the ſucces of theſe their ſo great deſignes was not anſwerable to their hopes, being ſtil beaten back with loſſe into the city by the Chriſtians: whom it behooued to look well about them, for that the beſieged deſperatly ſet, and all reſolued rather to die than to yeeld, aduentured themſelues to all
dangers, neuer ceaſing to do what they might to put the Chriſtians out of hope for winning K
the town. But whilſt the Turks with doubtful & as it were deſperat hope ſo defend the place, and the Chriſtians grown ſtronger by the comming of their friends, lay in hope to winne the ſame; lo, in the later end of Nouember, a North wind accompanied with a deep ſnow ſo furiouſly raged, that it ouerthrew the greateſt part of the tents and pauilions of the Chriſtians, and as it were buried the whole army in froſt and ice; in ſuch wiſe, as that in the Arch-Duke *Ferdinands* camp (being reaſonable wel prouided for) was 1500 men with 300 horſes ſtarued and frozen to death. At which time the ſtate of them that came with the Lord *Ruſſworm* was moſt miſerable; who wearied with the ſiege of Alba-Regalis, and as it were ſpent with the dirty trauell of the deep way, had not brought with them their tents or other prouiſion, and were therfore inforced to lie abroad in ſo cold and vnſeaſonable a time: with whoſe miſeries L
although their good Generall was much grieued, yet to do the Chriſtian Commonweal ſeruice, he with them right patiently endured. In which ſo great an extreamity, the Archduke with the reſt of the Commanders vpon view taken, well conſidering what ſmall hope there was in good time to take the towne, the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the Winter weather ſtill more and more increaſing, thought it better betimes to riſe, than longer to expoſe their army vnto the moſt certain deſtruction either of the enemy or the cold. Which was don with ſuch haſt and confuſed tumult, as that their riſing rather ſeemed an haſty flight, than honorable departure; leauing behind them for haſt their great ordnance, with their tents and baggage, a common voice ſtill running, That they were well if they might but ſaue themſelues: ſo that the ſoldiers euery man mindful of himſelf, and in feare to be purſued by the enemy (no man chaſing them) fled, but ſtill accompanied with ſuch furious windes, ſnow, and extream cold, that M
with all the labour they could take, they could get them no heat, but fell down to the earth, many of them frozen, and ſo once falling neuer roſe more, being vnable for want of heate to help themſelues: in which caſe they were not to expect for helpe from others, euery man ha-

The Chriſtians inforced by vnſeaſonable weather to forſake the ſiege of Alba-Regalis.

uing

A uing enough to do to look vnto himſelf: ſo that vpon the way wherby the army went thus diſperſed with the weather, lay aboue 500 dead of cold, beſide 400 others left ſick in the forſaken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the army, were thought to haue bin al ſlain by the gariſon of Caniſia.

But hauing thus paſſed through the troubles of Hungary, it is time now alſo to look back again into the frontier countries of Tranſylvania and Valachia; which to haue kept in the Emperors obedience, and ſo preſerued as a liuely member of the Chriſtian commonweal, no leſſe concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are many. *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, the laſt yeare for his cruelty firſt driuen out of Tranſylvania by *Baſta*, and afterwards out of Valachia by the great Chancellor of Polonia (as is aforeſayd)
B and another placed in his ſtead; as a man forſaken euen of his own better fortunes, and not wel knowing which way to turn himſelf, thought it beſt now at laſt to ſubmit himſelf to the Emperour, if ſo happily by his means hee might in ſome ſort repaire his broken eſtate, and ſo at leaſtwiſe recouer his gouernment in Valachia. So reſolued, he ſet forward, and in the beginning of this year, *viz.* the three and twentieth of Ianuary, with fiue and thirty of his followers, and ſix Coaches, arriued at Prague, where he was by the Emperours appointment honourably receiued, and his coſt at the Emperors charge defraied. To whom he excuſed himſelf of the ſeueritie by him vſed in Tranſylvania (the cauſe of thoſe late troubles in that country) as inforced therunto by the ſtubbornneſſe of the Tranſylvanians themſelues, whom he found ſtil inclined to rebellion, and not willing to be commanded by any but themſelues. Which
C his excuſe (as true) was wel admitted, and he with all kindnes vſed. Now at this ſame time *Baſta* lying alſo in Tranſylvania, as gouernour for the Emperour, right ſlenderly accompanied (as is before alſo declared) the parliament at Clauſenburg being ended, and all controuerſies as was thought, wel compoſed, now without fear one night, the Watch being ſet, went to bed to take his reſt; where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Tranſilvanian Lords (among whom the Chiaki was chiefe) came with their followers, and ſurpriſing the watch and entring the palace, brake into the chamber where he lay, took him out of his bed, and ſo kept him priſoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles off met with *Sigiſmund Bathor* their late prince, before ſecretly by them called in, whom they honourably conducted vnto Clauſenburg, and there deliuered *Baſta* vnto him (the late Gouernour
D for the Emperour) whom he commaunded to be caſt into irons: and ſo going to the Palace, gaue like order for the apprehending and ſafe keeping of the reſt of the Nobility alſo, ſuch as had taken part with *Baſta* in the behalf of the Emperor. For now the Tranſylvanians were diuided into three parts; wherof the one ſtood for the Emperour, the ſecond for *Iſtuan Bathor*, pretending that vnto him belonged the ſoueraignty of that prouince; but the third, & far the greateſt, for *Sigiſmund* their antient Lord and leader; who now by means of the King of Polonia reconciled vnto the Turke, and in this troubleſome time by his fauourits called again into his country, was of them ioyfully receiued at Alba-Iulia, Clauſenburg, and the reſt of the chief cities of Tranſylvania. Who now therof again poſſeſſed, for the better aſſuring of his
E eſtate, forthwith writ vnto the Emperour of all that had happened, requeſting him to content himſelf, that he was deſirous of his loue and fauour, promiſing to be alwaies his good friend and neighbor, and for euer to keep good amity with him. Giuing *Baſta* alſo (whom hee had now at the interceſſion of certaine great friends inlarged) to vnderſtand, That hee was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging to his principalitie, as alſo to ceaſe from further moleſting of his people, that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto his obedience. Which his requeſt was neither of the one nor the other much regarded or hearkened vnto. For the Emperour vpon the firſt aduertiſement of this ſo great an alteration in Tranſylvania, calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod (not ſo much troubled with the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, as for that his wife and ſonne, whom hee had left as hoſtages with *Baſta*, were now fallen into the hands of the Tranſylvanians his mortall enemies) and ſatisfying him in many
F things that he had before requeſted, tooke order with him, That with all conuenient ſpeed returning home againe into Valachia, where he was now of many much longed for (the people generally diſliking the ſimple Vayuod which the great Chancellor had ſet ouer them) and gathering together ſuch power as hee could, he ſhould ioine himſelfe with *Baſta* his Lieutenant General, vnto whom he had already ſent great companies both of horſe and foot,

Michael reconciled to the Emperor.

Baſta impriſoned by the Tranſilvanians.

Sigiſmund recouers Tranſilvania.

for

for the repulsing of *Sigismund* out of Transylvania, and the reducing againe of that prouince G
vnder his obeisance. Whereupon the Vayuod forthwith returning into Valachia, and assembling about ten thousand of his friends, all good and expert soldiers, went to seek for *Basta*, as he had with the Emperor agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, but newly departed from Veradinum: Where mustering their army, they with their vnited forces entred into Transylvania, there to put in execution what the Emperor had commanded. Where the Vayuod in disdain of the people that loued him not, with fire and sword wasted all the Country before him as he went; not without the great discontment of *Basta*, to whom it seemèd not good to make desolat that country, which he was in good hope should in short time be his Lord and Master the Emperors. But *Sigismund* vnderstanding both of the comming of his enemies, and the harm they did in his coun- H
try, rise from Solnock where he lay incamped with his army, and so to hinder their further proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come so neer vnto them as that he might wel discouer them, he would not come to the trial of a battell with them, as was by them offered; but fortified himself in his trenches, so seeking but to delay the time vntill the comming of the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chancellor of Polonia, as also of six thousand Turks to haue bin sent him from the Bassa of Belgrade. Where hauing afterwards vnderstood, That the passage of the Tartars to haue been sent him, was stayed by *Don Ferrant Gonzaga* the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungary; and that the Turks staying at Giula, would come no farther, except they had their pay before hand; finding himselfe too weake with his owne power to incounter with his enemies, he rise with his Army, with a purpose to I
haue retyred a little back, and to haue taken certain streight passages wherby the enemy must needs passe, so by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his weak strength. But *Basta* and the Vayuod perceiuing his rising (whereunto they were still attentiue) followed him with such speed, that they ouertooke him before he could get thither, and so hardly pressed him, that needs he must turn his face and join battel, or else suffer his people altogether like beasts to be slaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable victory; yet such was the valour of the souldiers of *Basta* and the Vayuod, that in a great battel hauing disordered his footmen, they put them to flight, and so cut them all in pieces. Which the prince beholding, and not able to preuent, be- K
time fled with his horsmen from the fury of the enemy, and so retyred to the vtmost confines of Transylvania, hauing in this conflict lost ten thousand of his faithfull soldiers. Wherupon Claudiopolis, with diuers other cities and towns of that country, returned again vnto the Emperors obeisance.

Sigismund ouerthrown by Basta and the Vayuod.

In the prosecuting of this victory, the Vayuod to satisfie the hatred he had of long borne against the Transylvanians, did what spoil he could, vtterly wasting all the places wherby hee passed. Which *Basta* not liking, requested him to vse his victory with more modesty, and to haue more respect to what he did, especially vnto such places or persons as of themselues returned vnto the Emperors obeisance. Wherunto he proudly answered, That hee would doe what he thought good, without his appointment or the Emperours either, especially in that L
country which he had now with his own sword twice conquered: & that therfore *Basta* might command them that were by him to be commanded; as for himselfe, he acknowledged no soueraignty that either *Basta* or the Emperour had ouer him. Vnto which so presumptuous a speech *Basta* replied not; but yet much discontented therewith, began to enter into a great suspition, from what ground those his hauty conceits (easily by his words to be gathred) might grow; and so from that time better obseruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelligence with the Turks, with purpose to join hands with them, that so by their helpe chacing the Imperials out of Transylvania, he might hold it to himselfe as tributary vnto the *Othoman* Emperour, of all others best able to defend him. Which to bee true (besides diuers other strong presumptions) he certainely vnderstood by certaine letters of his written to that pur- M
pose, intercepted by his soldiers and brought vnto him. Wherupon he became very pensiue and heauy, for the great power the Vayuod was of in those Countries, as also for the great strength he had euen then present about him, and wherwith he was as it were then garded. So consulting with certain of his Colonels and chief commanders of his army, what were best to be don in that so dangerous a case whereof so much depended? A Wallon Captaine offered

himselfe

A himſelfe to go into the Vayuod his campe,and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitor. Which his offer well liked of, and he as ready to performe as he was to promiſe, going into the Vayuods camp accompanied with ſome threeſcore men,and finding him in his tent,boldly ſtepping to him, willed him to yeeld himſelfe the Emperours priſoner: whereat he being about to lay his hand vpon his ſcimitar, the Wallon captaine with an halbert thruſt him into the breaſt, at which very inſtant another with a ſword at one blow claue his head down to the ſhoulders. An vnworthy death for ſo worthy a captain,had not ambition (the torment of great ſpirits)caried him too high with the wings of immoderat deſire,beyond the bounds of loyalty and reaſon. But there he lyeth now dead among his friends,whom the great Turke ſomtime more feared euen in his palace at Conſtantinople, than he did all the reſt of the Emperours
B commamders. Preſently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was raiſed by the ſoldiers in his camp;but *Baſta* forthwith ſhewing himſelfe with all his ſoldiers in arms,and withall producing the letters declaring the treaſon by the Vayuod contriued with the Baſſa of Temeſware againſt the Emperour, all was againe appeaſed: but eſpecially for that his ſouldiers now ſaw themſelues without an head, and too weake alſo for the Imperials there preſent and already in armes. In the Vayuods tent were alſo other letters found,ſo plainely declaring his ſecret colluſion with the Turke,and treaſon againſt the Emperor, that the Valachians who at the firſt were wonderfully moued with his death, and hearing the ſame read, reſted not now only contented,but ſaid moreouer, that he was worthily ſlaine, and that if they had knowne him to haue any ſuch traiterous purpoſe, they would of themſelues long before haue taken of
C him deſerued puniſhed. Now vnto his ſouldiers *Baſta* offered, at their choice, either to depart whither they would without danger; or elſe taking the oath of obedience vnto the Emperour,to enter into his pay; which moſt part of them did. The tumult appeaſed, the dead body of the Vayuod was laied out a whole day for the ſouldiers to gaze vpon,and ſo afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had ſo fortunatly ouerthrowne his enemies; vnhappy man himſelfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vnconſtancy.

Michael the Vayuod ſlaine.

Baſta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force, what by agreement,in ſhort time tooke in moſt part of the country: for that the Tranſyluanians ſeeing the ſmall power of *Sigiſmund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod ſo
D much of them hated;as alſo to auoid the dangers euen preſently hanging ouer their heads from the Imperials,if they ſhould in any thing ſhew themſelues obſtinate againſt them;ſubmitted themſelues wholly to the courteſie of *Baſta*, ſo that the places were but few that yet held out for the Prince *Sigiſmund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raiſing of a new army (hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith alſo loſt his hope)by the help of the Turks, Tartars, and Polonians, to recouer againe the poſſeſſion of his ſtate, and by force of armes to chaſe out the Imperials. But he being brought to ſo low an ebbe,and almoſt all the country of Tranſyluania poſſeſſed by *Baſta*;who would not haue thought but that now after ſo long trauell it would haue remained wholly at the Emperors deuotion? and ſo many, that thought themſelues to ſee much, ſaid aſſuredly it would. But ſee the change, and what
E ſmall aſſurance euen the greateſt haue of the conſtancy of the vain multitude: neuer more like themſelues,than in diſliking to morrow what they beſt liked to day,fooliſh, ſenceleſſe, improuident,raſh,headſtrong,violent,and aboue all things mutable, and vnconſtant. So now for all that *Baſta* had done for the aſſurance of this country vnto the Emperor(being ſo much as moſt men thought to haue bin ſufficient,and indeed as much as was poſſible for him to do) euen in the winding vp of this yeare 1601,the Tranſyluanians vnderſtanding that *Sigiſmund* with a great army of Polonians,Turks,& Tartars,was now comming againſt the Imperials,moſt part of them preſently tooke vp armes in his fauour;ſaying,That their firſt oath voluntarily giuen vnto him as their naturall Prince & Gouernor, was more to be reſpected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a forrein Prince. Inſomuch that *Baſta* perceiuing with
F what a tempeſt he was like euen preſently to be ouerwhelmed,to ſaue himſelfe and his people from the rage thereof, withdrew himſelfe and his followers vnto a ſtrong towne in a corner of that country: from whence he with all ſpeed ſent vnto the Emperor for greater aid,as well for the defence of the place he yet held,as for the ſubduing again of that rebellious people. After-

The Tranſyluanians ſubmit themſelues vnto Baſta.

The Tranſyluanians reuolt againe vnto Sigiſmund their old Prince.

Baſta flyeth.

whose departure *Sigismund* without resistance entring the country, was of the people in gene- G
rall joyfully receiued as their most lawfull Prince and soueraigne, and all the honor done vnto him that was by them possible: in which his so Princely, but dangerous estate, now twice in lesse than the space of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit assured, we will for a while leaue him to joy therein with his subjects.

The Bassa of Agria ouerthrown by Ferrant Gonzaga.

But whilest the state thus turneth vpside downe in Transyluania, the Bassa of Agria going out with ten thousand Turks in hope to haue surprised Toccaie (a strong hold of the Christians in the vpper Hungary) was encountered by *Ferrat Gonzaga* the Emperours Lieutenant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great slaughter of his Turks chased to the gates of Agria.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor this yeare also no lesse troubled with the procee- H
dings of the *Scriuano* in Caramania and Natolia, than with the euill successe of his affaires in Transyluania and Hungary. For the *Scriuano* by his last yeares victory growne into great credit with the common people, and still by them more and more followed; to maintaine the reputation of his credit, came now again this yere with a great power into the field, to meet with *Mahomet* the great Bassa and Generall of the Turks army; who with fifty thousand good souldiers (a power thought sufficient to haue represſed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scriuano* joyning battell, in a great fight cut in sunder a great part of the Bassaes army, and so become master of the field, forraged all the countries adjoyning almost as farre as Aleppo; still calling the people vnto liberty, and causing himselfe to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mahometane Faith, and of the liberty of those countries with him combined: I
in such sort, as that it now stood the great Turke vpon to send another great army to the aid of *Mahomet* the discomfited Bassa. With whom also the *Scriuano* (presuming of his former fortune) comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the first encounter with his people put to the worse: but forthwith by his good direction hauing repaired his disordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting souldiers, he with a great slaughter disordered also the Bassaes army. Yet hauing not any other firme state or stay to rest vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with these his rebellious followers, of whom he had now lost a great many, he thought it not best to aduenture too far (not knowing how presently to repaire his losses) but contenting himselfe with what he had already done, retired with his army into the strength of the mountains, there that K
Winter to liue vpon the spoile of the countries adjoyning, and the next yeare to do more harme than euer he had done before.

The Ianizaries in mutiny at Constantinople.

Beside all which former troubles, the plague also this yeare sore raged both in Constantinople and many other places of the Turkish Empire. At which time also the Ianizaries in Constantinople hauing receiued some disgrace by some of the Great Sultans fauorits, and with great insolency requiring to haue their heads, caused their Aga well accompanied presumptuously to enter into the Seraglio to prefer this their request: whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the rest, caused for his presumption to be taken into the midst of the Spahi, and so by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great slaughter of the Spahi themselues also, slaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries arising vp in arms also, L
and euen now ready to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wisedome of *Cicala Bassa*, bestowing amongst them a great sum of money, againe appeased without further harme doing. Which their so great insolency *Mahomet* imputing vnto their excessiue drinking of Wine, contrary to the law of their great Prophet; by the persuasion of the Mufti, commanded all such as had any Wine in their houses in the city of Constantinople and Pera, vpon paine of death to bring it out and to staue it, except the Embassadors of the Queenes Majesty of England, the French King, and of the State of Venice: so that as some report, Wine for a space ran downe the channels of the streets in Constantinople, as if it had bin water after a great shower of raine.

1602 *Sigismund* the Transyluanian Prince now of late againe possessed of Transyluania (as is be- M
fore declared) could not yet well assure himselfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the Transyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withstand the force of *Basta*; who still strengthened with new supplies both of men and all things else necessary for the wars from the

A the Emperour, was now with a great power already entred into Transyluania: the Polonians busied in the warres of Sueuia, and the Turks with their other greater affaires, neither of them sending him their promised aid, the greatest hope and stay of himselfe in that newnesse of his estate. Wherefore seeing himselfe euery day to lose one place or other, and fearing also lest his soldiers for want of pay should in short time quite forsake him and goe ouer to *Basta*; he thought it best betimes and whilest he had yet something left, and was not yet altogether become desperat, otherwise to prouide for his estate, especially hauing small trust in the Turks, to whom he had been before so great an enemy. Wherfore he dealt with *Basta* for a truce or cessation from arms, vntill Embassadors might be sent vnto the Emperor, to entreat with him for some good attonement. Wherefore *Basta* being conrent, and the Embassadors sent, the
B matter was so handled with the Emperor, that *Sigismund* to make an end of all these troubles, was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall Majesty, to resigne vnto *Basta* his Lieutenant all such places as he yet held in Transyluania, vpon much like conditions he had about three yeares before made with him: and so in all, and for all, to submit himselfe vnto his Majesty. Which intended surrender of the Princes being bruted in Transyluania, *Zachel Moyses* his Lieutenant (& now in field with the Princes forces) not able to endure or to heare, that that noble Prouince should again fall into the hands of the Germans; encouraging his soldiers, went vpon the sudden to assaile *Basta*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, & so discomfiting his army, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of Transyluania: but he an old and expert Com-
C mander, perceiuing euen the first mouing of the Transyluanians, with great celerity put his army in good order, and so joyned battell with them: wherein he with the losse of some fiue hundred men ouerthrew *Moyses*, with his army of Transyluanians, Turks, and Tartars hauing slaine about three thousand of them, and put the rest to flight: *Moyses* himselfe with some few others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turks territories towards Temeswar. But when *Sigismund* vnderstood what his Lieutenant had without his knowledge done, he in token of his owne innocency went himselfe vnto the Imperiall camp, accompanied onely with certain of his gentlemen, and there vnto *Basta* excused himselfe of that which was by his Lieutenant against his will, and without his priuity done; frankly offering to performe whatsoeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and him. And so presently calling his garrisons out of all such strong places as were
D yet for him holden, he surrendred them to *Basta*; and so forthwith honorably accompanied, put himselfe vpon his way towards the Emperor. After whose departure out of Transyluania, all that Prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Basta* as to the Emperors Lieutenant: who presently called an assembly of all the Nobility of the country, taking of them an oath for their obedience and loyalty vnto the Emperor. Thus by the wisedome and prowesse of this worthy commander, is the country of Transyluania once againe brought vnder the Emperors obeisance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the strongest city the Turke holdeth in Hungary.

Zachel Moyses ouerthrown by Basta.

But whilest these things thus passed in Transyluania, great troubles arise in Valachia (the country next adjoyning) for that the people of that Prouince not able longer to endure the
E great insolency of the Turks (who after the death of *Michael* had by their power made one *Ieremias* Vayuod there) by a generall consent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radoll* (a fauorit of the Emperors) Vayuod, chased *Ieremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of Moldauia, his friend, by his meanes, and the helpe of the Turks, returning into Valachia, draue out thence *Radoll* againe: who being now at this present with *Basta*, with about ten thousand Valachians his followers, earnestly requested of him (now that hee was so quietly possessed of Transyluania) to helpe him with his forces for the recouery of Valachia. And *Basta* well considering how much it concerned the quiet and sure keeping of the possession of Transyluania for the Emperour, to haue that so neere a Prouince to friend, easily yeelded to his request; and gaue him a great Regiment of his
F old approued souldiers, and so sent him away to recouer his estate: with whom (at his enterance into Valachia) the Moldauian meeting with a great power both of his owne and of the Turks, come thither in the fauour of *Ieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a most terrible and bloudy battell, the glory whereof fell vnto *Radoll*, hee carrying away the victory.

Great troubles in Valachia.

victory. In which battell two of the Turks Baſſaes were there ſlaine, with a great number of others both of the Moldauians and Turkes. After which victory *Radoll* recouered againe the Souereignty of Valachia, for which hee was beholden to *Baſta:* and ſhortly after with the ſame aid cut in pieces a great power of the Tartars, that were comming to haue aided the Moldauian. G

Troubles in Hungary.

Now in the meane time in Hungary alſo paſſed many an hot skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, whoſe garriſons at Buda and in other places in the lower Hungary, attempting to haue ſurpriſed Alba-Regalis, and diſcouered by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, County *Serinus* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Turks with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to Caniſia; vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and put to flight the conuoy that garded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And ſhortly after, the free Haiducks of Comara in a great party going out towards Buda to ſeek after booty, & hauing taken threeſcore Turks priſoners, and ſo with them about to haue returned home; vnderſtanding by the way, that *Ali* ſometime the Baſſa of Buda, and now Gouernour of Peſth, was with a ſmall retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from Buda towards Belgrade, there to meet the Viſier Baſſa, but then comming into Hungary; they ſlew all the priſoners, and hauing got two ſmall boats, about fifteene miles beneath Buda lay in wait for the Baſſa: who according to their expectation comming downe the riuer, was by theſe aduenturers fiercely aſſailed, and of his thirty followers hauing foureteene ſlaine, being himſelfe alſo ſhot in two places of his body, was there with a great booty taken, and ſo brought to Comara, and ſhortly after preſented vnto *Matthias* the Archduke at Vienna: who amongſt other things, certainely enformed, that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great army by the commandement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* comming to beſiege Alba-Regalis, and that hee was now vpon his way as farre as Belgrade; preſently ſent thither the County *Yſolan* Gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the city, the Turks hauing already taken all the paſſages, to haue hindered the Chriſtians from putting in either men or munition, more than was therein already. Howbeit the County now got in there, and being no leſſe good enginier than a valiant Commander, cauſed all them in the city to labour vpon the rampiers: ſo that beſide the naturall ſcituation thereof, which was very ſtrong, he had in ſhort time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt mens judgment it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Ali Baſſa* was ſometime the great Turks butler, but after the taking of Agria made Baſſa of Buda; which great place he held but three moneths, being by the enuy and ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, remooued thence, and made Gouernor of Peſth: from whence now going downe the riuer to Belgrade, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiduckes, vnto whom he offered for his ranſome three hundred thouſand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken ſeuenty thouſand duckats. H I K

Ali Baſſa taken priſoner.

A great ranſome offered by Ali Baſſa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſſe of Alba-Regalis (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt yeare) and now reſolued for the recouery of the ſame, to ingage if need ſhould be a great part of his forces; had cauſed an army of 150000 ſtrong, to meet at Hadrianople for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of *Haſſan Baſſa* one of the chiefe Viſiers, to be ſent into Hungary. Who by the way of Belgrade comming to Buda, and from thence to Alba-Regalis, there the twelfth of Auguſt incamped (as hee had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his tents couering all the country round about, as if it had been a white ſnow: where hauing well intrenched himſelf, and planted his artillery, he began a moſt terrible and furious battery, in ſuch ſort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach only, but to haue beaten the city euen from the face of the earth, which ſeemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rend with the thundring of the great ordnance: and for that the mariſh and deep ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his pioners to be filled vp (a worke thought almoſt impoſſible) and ſo brought on his men to aſſault the counterſcarfe, which the Gouernor had cauſed to be made before the city for the better defence thereof: which aſſault coſt him much bloud, by reaſon of the wonderfull valor of the defendants: yet in the end the great number of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were inforced to forſake it & retire into the city: but ſhortly after ſallying out again they L M

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Turkes.

A they with ſuch forces aſſailed the Turks now got within the counterſcarfe, that hauing ſlaine moſt part of them that were entred, they forced the other out againe: at the brute whereof, an alarm being raiſed throughout the camp, infinit numbers of the barbarous enemies came running thither with ſuch ſauage fury, that without regard of their liues they as deſperate men preſſing ſtill on, fell twice as many as before: inſomuch that the Chriſtians weary of that long and bloudy fight, & on euery ſide charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies ſhot, were glad againe, but not without great loſſe, to abandon the place. With which skirmiſhes and diuers others that they had, the number of the defendants were greatly diminiſhed, to keepe a weake city, ſhewing as yet the ruins of the late ſiege, when it was by the Chriſtians won; the breaches therof being but euill repaired, and the mines yet gaping, requiring great and ſtrong
B fortifications to hold out and endure any long ſiege againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy. Yet was not the courage of the valiant County *Ysolan* the Italian Gouernor, any whit therwith abated, but by his letters gaue the Archduke *Matthias* to vnderſtand in what caſe things ſtood with them in the city; requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him reliefe, for that otherwiſe the city, ſo weakly both manned and fortified, would be in danger to be loſt; many of the garriſon ſoldiers being already ſlaine in the defence thereof, and diuers of the Hungarians forſaking the wals, daily flying vnto the Turks camp; promiſing yet neuertheleſſe himſelfe to do the vttermoſt of his deuoir. Vpon the receit of which letters, the Archduke gaue order to the lord *Ruſſworm* (maſter of the camp) to to go forthwith to Comara, and there with ſuch forces as were from diuers places come thither, to go forth and to proue if by any meanes the weake garriſon
C of Alba Regalis might ſo be relieued, by putting in ſome good ſupply of freſh ſoldiers. According to which command, *Ruſſworm* comming thither, without delay tooke the field with 12000 men which he found there, to ſee if he might with them, put into the city the deſired reliefe. But whileſt the matter was in the performance therof too long delaid, by diſcord ariſing betwixt him and the other colonels, about the maner of relieuing the town, the Baſſa had time to effect his purpoſe; who the 28 of the ſame moneth of Auguſt, after a long and terrible battery, cauſed a generall aſſault to be giuen vnto the city: which the Turks from time to time renuing, continued all that day and the next night, with ſome part of the day following alſo, without ceaſing: ſo that the defendants now much weakned, and they alſo that were left, ſo wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer reſiſtance (and the
D County himſelfe, who gaue as it were life vnto them all, being now alſo carried away dangerouſly hurt in the thigh with a muſket ſhot) there was a ſigne of parly giuen vnto the enemy: which the Baſſa granting, and the fury of the aſſault ſtaid, certaine of the chiefe captaines and commanders in the city, going vnto the Gouernour, put him in mind of the weakeneſſe of the place, of the force of the enemy, of the number of his moſt valiant men ſlain, of the want of the defendants. They had (as they ſaid) done enough for their honor, hauing endured ſo many and ſo great aſſaults, in a place not defencible: and enough to diſcharge their fidelity, hauing holden it out to the vttermoſt of their power. That they could do no more than they had done, being not relieued; and that the ſame bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the Emperor alſo to relieue them, ſeeing that otherwiſe it was not in their power to maintaine it.
E That they had, with the loſſe of their liues and bloud, ſhewed their fidelity vnto the Emperor, no ſufficient army appearing from him (according to his promiſe) for their ſuccor. That to fight any longer was but to encreaſe the glory of their enemies, and their own loſſes: ſeeing that after they had done what they poſſibly could, expoſed to a thouſand dangers, they ſhould neuertheleſſe be vanquiſhed, and the city taken. That the ſame conſideration which carried valiant minds vnto the effects of honour when they are relieued with hope, diſſuaded them being out of all hope of an happy end of theſe troubles: and to loſe themſelues to no purpoſe, was as great a ſigne of folly, as to let ſlip a faire opportunity, was a ſigne of cowardiſe. That they were to expect nothing but extreame miſery, if the enemy ſhould againe force them; the breaches being ſo broad, as whereby they might eaſily enter: and their owne beſt men ſlaine,
F that ſhould keep them out. And that therefore he ſhould do well, to come to ſome good compoſition with the enemy, whileſt they had yet ſomething to yeeld vp vnto him, and that hee ſtood in ſome feare of them; and not to expect, whilſt they were ſpoiled of all means, either to reſiſt him by force, or to bind him by courteſie: nothing remaining for them in the place, but

A long and terrible aſſault.

Reaſons whereby the beſieged captains perſuaded the Gouernor to yeeld the city.

death,if they ſhould obſtinatly ſtand to the defence therof;nor no way left to ſaue their liues, G
but by yeelding.

With theſe perſuaſions the Gouernor moued, came to a parly with the Baſſa,being right glad thereof;as well knowing that a towne beſieged comming to a parley,is commonly more than halfe won:and glad by any means to gaine it,for that therof depended the aſſurance both of his head and honour: where after ſome ſhort talke it was agreed, That the County ſhould yeeld the towne into the hands of the Baſſa,with all the great ordnance,and other warlike munition therein:and that the County with his garriſon,ſhould with bag & baggage in ſafety depart with their arms,by the ſuburbs leading toward Rab;and with a good conuoy in ſafety to be brought halfe way thither: This capitulation agreed vpon,and by the Baſſa and the county ſigned,euery man aſſured himſelfe of the Baſſaes faith,and thereon reſted.But what faith is to H
be expected from a faithleſſe man?Vpon the firſt bruit of this compoſition,yea, and before it was altogether well concluded; whileſt the merchants in the towne were ſeeking for wagons to carry their merchandiſe, and the ſouldiers for horſes to carry their baggage, the ſcarceneſſe thereof bred a great confuſion and ſtir among the people;as commonly it falleth out in things done in haſte,but eſpecially where men for ſafegard of their liues, in their flight for haſt fall into a thouſand errors:ſo whileſt ſome in this hurly burly were quarrelling about their horſes and carriages,and otherſome were opening the gates to be gone; others were buſie in robbing and pilfering the baggages of their captains and companions;miſerable men,who all appointed for a prey vnto the greedy & mercileſſe Turks,yet fel to preying one vpon another. Which diſorders encouraged all the reſt of the ſouldiers to fall to pillage alſo, ſome loading them- I
ſelues with ſuch goods as the merchants had for lacke of carriages left behind them;and otherſome euen with the goods of their owne captaines: which the ſoldiers appointed for defence of the breaches ſeeing,left their charge, and came thronging into the towne,and thruſt themſelues in amongſt the pilferers,as if the pillage of the towne had bin vnto them by triumphant victory aſſured,and that they themſelues had bin victors, and not men vanquiſhed. The Tartars lodged at the foot of the breach, ſeeing it forſaken, and without any great ſtrength to defend it, let not this opportunity ſlip, but preſſing in without any great reſiſtance, entred the ſame; and ſo in a trice full 30000 of them thruſt into the towne, and there ſurpriſed the vanquiſhed Chriſtians, at once loaded with prey, feare, and deſpaire. After whom, euen by the
Alba Regalis taken by the Turks. ſame breach,the Turks entred alſo,to be partakers of the ſpoile:ſo that in a moment the town K
was full of enemies both of Turks and Tartars.The Turks beſide the booty they tooke themſelues,fell to quarrelling with the Tartars,for ſome part of theirs;and ſo long as there was any thing that might pleaſe their eies,or fill their hands,they abſtained from ſlaughter and bloudſhed, buſying themſelues with that which for the preſent was more for their profit: but the
The Chriſtians cruelly murdered in Alba-Regalis. pillaging ceaſing, by reaſon there was no more to be had, then the perfidious wretches fell to maſſacring of the miſerable Chriſtians,the ſword deuouring all that they could light vpon,ſo that all the city flowed with bloud. Neither was there any end thereof,vntill that by the comming in of the Baſſa the ſlaughter was ſtaied; by which meanes County *Yſolan* the late Gouernor with ſome other captains and ſoldiers were ſaued, hauing eſcaped the enemies fury.

In this maſſacre were ſlaine 3000 Criſtian ſouldiers, beſide others of the citiſens, in num- L
County Yſolan carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople. ber not few. The captains that were ſpared,were led priſoners to Conſtantinople, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation: and with them the County *Yſolan*, for his valor and noble courage vnworthy of ſo hard a fortune. Howbeit,that he by liuely and pregnant reaſons ſhewed,both himſelfe & the reſt to be vnjuſtly detained, as taken priſoners contrary to the publike faith vnto him before giuen; within the aſſurance of the capitulations agreed vpon with the Baſſa and out of the actions of war. Whereunto it was againe anſwered him, That the towne when it was taken, was yet ſtill in his power, and he at choice whether he would deliuer it or no. That if he would by the yeelding vp of the towne challenge his liberty,according to the articles of the capitulation,he ought then to haue deliuered it as was agreed, and not to haue ſuffred it to haue bin taken by force, according to the ordinary proceding of war: the lawes M
whereof do juſtly condemne to death,or to captiuity,ſuch as are by force of arms vanquiſhed. That euery towne which during the treaty of capitulation, is by force taken, followeth the courſe of the later condition & ſtate,and not of the former,ſeeing that it is conquered and not

deliuered

A deliuered. That this is the reaſon that they are puniſhed by the rigor of armes, which haue not bin carefull to preſerue themſelues by the ſweetneſſe of peace: for that a man is not to expect of his mortall enemy any other courteſie, than that which neceſſity cauſed him to promiſe, which hee may for his owne good againe violate, as hee for the good of his enemy againſt his will hath granted. With which quirkes and quillets the County deluded, ſay what he could, was carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople, where we muſt for a while leaue him. And ſo the Baſſa hauing in eighteene daies taken Alba Regalis, (now being eleuen moneths poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians) cauſed the breaches he had made, to be againe repaired, and the city well prouided for, both of victuals and munition, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon of ſix thouſand ſoldiers; and with his people hauing ouerrun all the country as far as Strigonium,
B roſe with his army and retired again to Buda: whereas he was making a bridge of boats ouer the Danubius betwixt Buda and Peſth, for the more eaſie tranſporting of victuall, and better relieuing of the one the other as need ſhould require; and hauing brought that worke to paſſe; and about to haue gone to the ſiege of Strigonium; commandement came from the Great Sultan, That he ſhould with all ſpeed returne to Conſtantinople; for that *Mahomet* accounting of him as of a moſt valiant man, was now minded to imploy him in his wars againſt his Rebels in Natolia, where things now went not well, as ſhall be hereafter declared. Vpon which commandement, the Baſſa gaue leaue to all ſuch in his army as had charge of any place, forthwith to returne to their ſeuerall places of gouernment: appointing ſome others with thirty thouſand ſoldiers, in the company of *Zachel Moſes* (but of late Prince *Sigiſmund* his Lieutenant) to
C go with him into Tranſyluania: who after the ouerthrow he had there receiued by *Baſta*, was come vnto this great Baſſa, offering vnto him, with ſuch an aid as was now appointed for him, and the helpe of ſuch other his friends as he had in Tranſyluania, to chaſe *Baſta* with his Germans out from thence, and to reduce that Prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman* Emperors, as it had in former time beene. And ſo by the way of Belgrade *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelfe with the reſt of his army haſted towards Conſtantinople. Which he was thought the more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his ſetting forth had put him in good hope to marry one of his Aunts (a woman of great wealth and honour) if by the winning again of Alba-Regalis he ſhould make himſelfe worthy ſo honourable a match, after which he now longed.

D But long it was not after his departure, but that the Imperials now at laſt aſſembled together at Comara, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelue * Naſſadies and two gallies, ſome by water, ſome by land, marched downe alongſt the riuer to Strigonium; where were alſo 20 other ſhips ready to receiue them, and ſo all embarked, were by the Lord *Ruſſworm* and other the Imperiall captaines conducted to Buda, there with ſome notable enterpriſe to redeeme the diſgrace by them before receiued in not relieuing of Alba Regalis. Whoſe comming was ſo ſudden and ſo vnlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in any greater helpe or prouiſion than was already in the city. And for as much as the Chriſtians knew the good ſucceſſe of this their enterpriſe taken in hand, not ſo much to depend of their ſtrength, as of their politique proceeding and ſpeedy diſpatch of the matter begun, they
E thought it not good to vſe any long delay, or to ſpare for any labor, but ſo ſoone as they might, by taking the Water-city (or as ſome call it, the Iewes ſuburbs) ſo to cut off the paſſage of them of Buda to Peſth, as alſo from thence to trouble them in the caſtle and the vpper city of Buda. Which their intended exploit they haipply attempted & brought to paſſe in this ſort: The city of Peſth ſtanding right ouer againſt Buda, is (as we haue oftentimes before ſaid) diuided from the ſame with the great and ſwift riuer of Danubius; ouer which the Turks vpon boats had with great labor and coſt of late built a moſt eaſie and commodious bridge for paſſage or carriage of things from the one city to the other. This bridge the Imperials thought neceſſary firſt to break, the more eaſily to beſiege either the one or the other city; and for that purpoſe had by a ſtrange deuice built a ſhip, which by the force of the ſtreame carried downe
F the riuer, and reſting vpon the bridge, ſhould by a wonderfull power breake the ſame. Which ſhip the Turks ſeeing comming downe the riuer with the reſt of the Fleet after her, they ran by heapes, eſpecially out of the Water City, to the bridge for the defence thereof: where whilſt they were thus buſied, County *Sultze* on the other ſide by land with a petard blew vp one

**The Naſſadies are a certaine kinde of boats which the Hungarians uſe vpon the Riuer of Danubius.*

The lower city of Buda taken by the Chriſtians.

one of the gates of the city, and ſo entering and killing all ſuch as he light vpon, came vnlooked for vpon the backs of the Turks at the bridge, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he draue into the riuer, who there periſhed; the reſt, in number not many, by ſpeedy flight retiring themſelues into the city: whereupon he had now brought ſuch a generall feare, that they all as well the ſouldiers as the citiſees, with the Chriſtians at their heeles, with as much haſte as they could tooke their refuge into the vpper city of Buda, much ſtronger and better fortified than was the lower city. At which time the bridge was by them vpon the riuer broken alſo, ſo that now the one city could no more relieue the other as before. G

The Water city thus woon, and the bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to beſiege either the one or the other city. But for that they of Peſth might with their great Ordnance much anoy them in the beſieging of the caſtle and the vpper city of Buda, they thought beſt to begin with it firſt: which they did in much like ſort as they had before don at the lower city of Buda, the ſame deuice againe well proſpering in their hand. For the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the fleet vpon the riuer making a great ſhew as if he would euen preſently on that ſide haue entered, had with the ſtirre by him raiſed, drawne downe moſt part of the garriſon ſouldiers vnto that ſide of the towne, where moſt ſhew of danger was: whileſt in the meane time County *Saltze* with the Gouernor of Althem (before vndiſcouered) vpon the ſudden by land ſcaled the other ſide of the city, and gained the wals, the Turks yet dreaming of no ſuch matter. But hereupon began a terrible outcry, the Turks ſtanding as men aſtonied, eſpecially now feeling the Chriſtians weapons in their bodies, before they knew they were got into the city. In this ſo great an amaſement ſuch of them as could, fled into the ſtrongeſt towers, the reſt hid themſelues in cellars and other the moſt ſecret corners they could finde, out of which they were afterwards by the Chriſtians drawne and ſlaine. They which were retired alſo into the towers and other ſtronger places of the city, ſeeing the great ordnance bent vpon them, and now out of all hope of reliefe, offered to yeeld; requeſting onely, that they might with their wiues and children with life depart; promiſing for that fauour ſo ſhewed them, to perſuade them of Buda alſo in like manner to yeeld. Vpon which promiſe, that their poore requeſt was granted, and the Lord *Nadaſti* with certaine other Captaines ſent with ſome of theſe citiſens to Peſth, with their wiues and children to Buda: who comming thither, according to their promiſe moſt earneſtly requeſted them of Buda to yeeld, for that they were not now to expect any further helpe, and that by their fooliſh obſtinacy they ſhould be the cauſe of the death of them, their friends, their wiues and children. Vnto whom alſo, to mooue them the more, the Lord *Nadaſti* promiſed in the name of the Generall, That they ſhould all excepting ſome of their chiefe commanders in ſafety depart. Howbeit they of Buda would not hearken thereunto, but ſtood ſtill vpon their gard. In this city of Peſth, well inhabited with Turkiſh Merchants, the Chriſtians found great ſtore of wealth, which all became a prey vnto the ſoldiers, with a thouſand horſes for ſeruice, many great pieces of artillery, and much other warlike prouiſion. H

The City of Peſth taken by the Chriſtians.

Peſth thus woon, and a ſtrong garriſon left therein, they returned againe ouer the riuer to beſiege the caſtle and vpper city of Buda, which they attempted by vndermining the ſame, as alſo by battery, hauing placed ſome of their great ordnance ſo high, that they could at their pleaſure ſhoot into the middeſt of the ſtreets of the city; wherewith they much troubled the Turks, not a little before diſcouraged with the loſſe of Peſth; thundering alſo at the ſame time with their other batteries in diuers places of the walls both of the caſtle and of the city. Where vnderſtanding that the Turks garriſons of the frontier Townes and Caſtles thereabouts (hearing of the ſiege) were comming to the reliefe of their diſtreſſed friends, they ſent out their horſemen with ſome part of their footmen againſt them: who meeting with them, gaue them a great ouerthrow, and ſo with victory returned againe vnto the reſt of the Army lying at the ſiege, being ſtill in hope either by force or compoſition to become Maſters of the city. I

The vpper city and caſtle of Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

But whileſt they lay in this hope, and hauing the twelfth of October brought their approches neerer vnto the walls, had there planted certaine notable pieces of battery, with purpoſe the next day with all their power to haue aſſaulted the City; behold, the Viſier Baſſa hearing (by the way as he was going to Belgrade, and ſo to Conſtantinople) that the city of Peſth K

was L

M

A was won, and Buda beſieged; changing his mind, returned in haſte with ſuch forces as he had yet left, and ſo vnlooked for came and ſet downe before Peſth, being not then aboue fiue and twenty thouſand ſtrong, but thoſe all for the moſt part old and expert ſouldiers. But whileſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of Peſth on the one ſide of the riuer, and the Imperials at the ſiege of Buda on the other, diuers braue attempts were in both places giuen both on the one ſide and the other. The Chriſtians in Peſth beſieged by the Turks, hauing amongſt them diuers braue captains, and deſirous of honor, one day vnder their conduct ſallied out of the city to skirmiſh with the Turks; and comming with them to the ſword, by plaine valor diſordered them, and enforced them to fly, & ſo allured with the ſweetneſſe of the victory, purſued them euen to the trenches: from whence a great ſquadron of the Turks horſemen and harquebuſi-

A notable skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

B ers at the ſame inſtant iſſuing out, and with their multitude ouercharging the Imperials, conſtrained them of force to retire: in which retreat, County *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of theſe aduenturers) doing what he might both with his valour and direction to haue ſtaied the diſordered retreat of the Chriſtians, was with many others ſlaine: wherewith the reſt diſcouraged, tooke their refuge towards the city. Which they of the garriſon beholding, ſent out certaine companies to relieue them; by whoſe comming out, the fury of the Turks was not only repreſſed, but they alſo euen vnto their trenches againe repulſed. Shortly after which hot skirmiſhes, the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the other Chriſtian Captaines on the other ſide of the riuer, hauing with continual battery made ſuch a breach into the caſtle, as that the ſame ſeemed to be now ſaultable, in good order came on with certaine companies of their footmen ap-

C pointed for that ſeruice, and ſo couragiouſly aſſailed the breach: where the Turks, who before had expected this aſſault, hauing in beſt ſort they could repaired the breach, and on both ſides thereof placed diuers murthering pieces, with great ſtore of dangerous fire-workes; at ſuch time as the firſt companies of the Chriſtians ſought couragiouſly to haue entred the breach, ouerwhelmed them with that deadly fire, and ſo rent them with their murthering ſhot, that they no ſaſter entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and ſlaine: with the ſight whereof, they which were appointed to ſecond them, nothing diſcouraged, but ſeeking deſperatly to haue entered, and with the taking of the caſtle, and ſlaughter of the Turks, to haue requited the death of their fellowes, were themſelues in like ſort welcommed. So that now a thouſand of them being loſt, the Captaines conſidering how much the loſſe of ſo many braue ſouldiers

D concerned the whole enterpriſe taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the loſſe of the greateſt part of them, they cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo the aſſault for that time to be giuen ouer.

But long is was not that the Viſier Baſſa (thus retired as aforeſaid) had lien before Peſth, but that by reaſon of his ſudden returne, great wants began to ariſe in his camp; his ſouldiers for want of food being glad to eat their dead horſes, a pound of bread being ſold for two Hungarian Duckats, and a buſhel of oates for fiue, and yet hardly ſo to be gotten: which wants in that ſo waſted a country ſtill more and more encreaſing, and many of his ſoldiers ſecretly ſtealing away from him, hee had much adoe by all the meanes he could vſe, to perſuade them there to ſtay eight daies longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done, than ſome few weake

The Viſier Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

E attempts giuen, and ſome light skirmiſhes made, rather for faſhions ſake than for any hope of preuailing; and the want of all things ſtill encreaſing: he with the reſt of the Commanders fearing ſome ſudden miſchiefe to be done them by the hungry and diſcontented ſouldiers, the ſecond of Nouember, cauſing his baggage to be truſſed vp in the dead time of the darke and ſilent night, riſe with his army, and ſo in haſte retired directly to Belgrade, leauing behind him in his camp three hundred dead horſes, not yet eaten by his hunger ſtarued ſouldiers. Immediatly after whoſe departure, the Lord *Nadaſti* and ſome other of the commanders in the army, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers and certaine great pieces of artillery, ſome by land, ſome by water, went downe alongſt the riuer to Adom, a faire well built towne vpon the banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from Buda, and ſeruing as it were for a

F ſtorehouſe for the garriſon there: Which towne *Nadaſti* ſummoned by his Huſſars ſent before, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Which they of the towne at firſt refuſed to do: but afterwards ſeeing a far greater power come, prouided of great ordnance and all things elſe requiſite for a ſiege, they with the ſight thereof diſcouraged, without more adoe offered

to yeeld the towne, ſo that they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart: which they did, G
the Chriſtians conducting them as far as Feldwar, which caſtle was alſo at the firſt ſummons,
by the perſuaſion of them of Adom deliuered vnto them: for they of the caſtle, by them en-
formed of the great ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and of the ſtore of great ordnance they had
brought with them, and that they ſtaied therewith but faſt by, were eaſily perſuaded to hear-
ken to their friends, and ſo yeelded. Which done, the free Haiducks the ſame night ſurpriſed
alſo the caſtle of Pax: from whence the Chriſtians ſtill marching on alongſt the riuer, tooke
in alſo the city of Tolna.

But whileſt *Nadaſti* with the reſt were thus buſied in taking theſe caſtles and towns alongſt
the South ſide of Danubius, they in the camp at Buda were aduertiſed of the new deſignes of
the Turks Lieutenants and Captaines thereabout, for the reliefe of the beſieged: as that the H
Baſſa of Boſna, with the Gouernours of Caniſia, Sigeth, and others, had aſſembled an army of
thirty thouſand for the raiſing of the ſiege. Wherefore the Chriſtians doubting as they lay
at the ſiege diſperſed, to be by them oppreſſed; leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered
themſelues together into the Water-city: which the Turks out of the vpper city quickly per-
ceiuing, as feeling themſelues now at ſome more liberty, preſently ſallying out, took both the
trenches and the tents ſo left, with no ſmall ſlaughter of ſuch as were left for the keeping of
them: and ſo poſſeſſed of the trenches and the tents, held them by the ſpace of two houres,
vntill they were by ſtrong hand by the Chriſtians beaten out, and ſo with ſome loſſe inforced
againe to retire into the city. The Lord *Nadaſti* alſo, with the reſt that had taken the aforeſaid
caſtles and towns vpon the ſide of Danubius, making a rode towards Alba-Regalis, in their re- I
turn within a mile of Buda light vpon a thouſand Turks there gathered together, moſt part of
whom they ſlew, and hauing put the reſt to flight, took ſome fifty of them priſoners. At which
time alſo another of the Imperiall Colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the
Turks comming to the reliefe of the beſieged, not far from Buda, ſlew moſt part of them, took
an hundred and threeſcore of them priſoners, with a number of horſes and much other rich
booty, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the ſiege in the meane time
idle, their great artillery ſtill thundering againſt the walls both of the caſtle and the city: ſo
that by the fury of the cannon hauing beaten downe a ſtrong tower next vnto the Danubius,
not far from the kings ſtable, they were a little before night about to haue there entered, when
ſuddenly ſuch a tempeſt of winde and raine ariſe, as that they could not poſſibly vſe their pie- K
ces, or well any other weapon: ſo that the heauens as it were then fighting for the enemy, they
were enforced for that time to giue ouer the aſſault begun. Which ſtorme was no ſooner en-
ded, but that two thouſand of the Turks both horſe and foot, to keepe the Chriſtians other-
wiſe buſied, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the city, charged vpon the Stirian horſemen; who preſent-
ly relieued by the men at armes, ſo welcommed them, that hauing loſt an hundred and three-
ſcore of their men, they were glad with more ſpeed to retire, than they came out. But ſeeing
ſome of the Chriſtians that ſo hardly purſued them, ſome ſlaine, and ſome hurt from the wals;
taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they ſallied out againe;
where albeit that a great number of them were ſlaine, yet fell they out againe the third day al-
ſo, and were againe by the County *Thurne* with great loſſe of their men beaten backe into L
the city: where in purſuing of them, the Chriſtians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid cloſe for
that purpoſe) ſuddenly aſſailed and dangerouſly gauled, the County himſelfe being hurt in
his left arme, and ſome other Captaines ſlaine. In all which ſallies, although the Turks were
ſtill put to the worſe, yet thereby they gained time in ſome good ſort to repaire againe their
breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the ſiege, certainly enformed that a world of the
fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themſelues way through
Valachia) were comming as far as Temeſwar to relieue Buda; thought it not beſt (eſpecially
now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that ſo great a Northerne tempeſt, but
The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians. betimes whileſt they had yet ſpace, to raiſe their ſiege and be gone: Which they did the ſix- M
teenth of Nouember, leauing the Water-city, with all that they had got about Buda, againe
vnto the enemy: onely Peſth they furniſhed with victuals and all things elſe neceſſary, lea-
ning therin almoſt ten thouſand ſoldiers in garriſon, for the defence therof againſt the barba-

rous

rous enemy. As for Adom it was ſtrengthened with a garriſon of Hungarians only, with their wages offred to be paid before hand; which for all that, they refuſed to accept; alledging that for the great danger this place was expoſed vnto aboue others, they could not ſafely take their oath for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to do what beſeemed valiant ſoldiers, in ſuch ſort as that all men ſhould well vnderſtand, that nothing euill ſhould happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and gone, the Turks forthwith came downe out of the higher city into the lower, declaring their joy for the recouery thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordnance, with diuers other ſignes of triumph. But whileſt in their jolity they ſpared not by the mouth of the cannon to ſend commendation to them of Peſth, they from them againe receiued the like; but in ſuch rude manner, that the Turks wearied with ſuch greetings, requeſted them to ſpare their ſhot and pouder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbors for that Winter, vntill the next Spring at which time it was to be thought that this ſtrife ſhould be ended by their Emperors, the weaker yeelding vnto the ſtronger either the one or the other city. Yet for all this their great joy, their cheere in Buda was not great, victuals by this ſiege being become ſo ſcarce, that it was by the Turks feared, That if the Chriſtians had there longer lien, they ſhould for very want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the city. Of which their need their friends not ignorant, and hauing made what prouiſion they were able for their reliefe, were with a great conuoy bringing the ſame towards Buda: whereof the garriſons of Comara and Strigonium hauing intelligence, went preſently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid way betwixt Alba-Regalis and Buda, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouiſion of victuals; like vnbidden gueſts making themſelues merry with that which was neuer prouided for them.

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuano.

Theſe doubtfull wars of Hungary, with the general reuolt of Tranſyluania much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like vnto the wars he had in Aſia againſt the *Striuano* and the rebels his followers; the euill ſucceſſe whereof (as moſt dangerous to his State) ſo much tormented his haughty minde, as that it would ſcarce ſuffer him to thinke of any thing els. For the Rebel encouraged with the ſucceſſe of the laſt yeares wars, and ſtil growing ſtronger and ſtronger, (by reaſon of the great number which, allured with the ſweet name of liberty, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, dayly more and more reſorted vnto his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Aſia, putting all to fire and ſword that ſtood in his way, ranſacking alſo diuers walled and fenced cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more eaſily do, for that the Ianizaries of Aleppo and Damaſco, with many other their partakers and fauorits, which might greatly haue hindred his proceedings, were at the ſame time alſo vp in arms, and together by the ears amongſt themſelues, to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the midſt of the courſe of theſe his deſired fortunes fell ſicke of a natural diſeaſe, and ſo died. By whoſe death the rebellion was no whit appeaſed, (as commonly in like caſe it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in ſhort time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scriuano* was no ſooner dead, but that a yonger brother of his, no leſſe warlike & couragious than himſelf (to the great contentment of the rebellious) ſtept vp in his place, fiercely proſecuting the wars his brother had before him taken in hand. Againſt whom *Haſſan Baſſa* by commandement from the grand Seignior with a great army ſetting forward, with hope in that newneſſe of his command to haue oppreſſed him, and ſo to haue quenched that ſo ſpreading a fire; at length met with him, that was eaſie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and bloudy fight ouerthrowne and ſlaine together with his whole army, except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight ſaued themſelues from the fury of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan now enforced to employ his beſt commanders and ſoldiers into thoſe parts for the ſubduing of him, for that cauſe called *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of Hungary to ſerue againſt this new Rebell: who in the meane time following the courſe of his victory, made hauocke of all as he went, taking vnto his owne vſe all ſuch tribute as was in thoſe Countries and others alſo farther off, due vnto the great Sultan, hauing of late exacted onely of the city of Ancyra and

The death of the Scriuano.

The Scriuano his yonger brother takes vpon him the leading of the Rebels in his brothers ſtead.

Haſſan Baſſa ſlaine, and his army ouerthrowne by the Rebels.

and the country thereabout, three hundred thousand duckats: so by exacting of great summes of mony from the country people (such as be his enemies) heaping vp great treasures for the maintenance of his wars,

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with them close in ambush in the woods neer vnto two marishes,ouer which the Turkes had made two bridges to passe the great artillery and Waggons vpon; the Turks being well neer 20000 strong,and our men but 2200 horsmen,& 6000 foot, a smal number in comparison of their enemies. But whilst that these men lie thus close in ambush,with a purpose to do some notable exploit,let vs for a while return to Pesth, to see what things there passed in the mean time.

The Turks after the losse of Pesth,much grieued to haue this impostume so neer vnto their hearts,sought to break it to our hurt,imploying all their treachery to gain our garison souldiers, and with their forces to distresse them of victuals. And the Christian Army was no sooner risen from before Buda, but that the Turkes came downe again into their base towne, which they found much ruinated and in euill estate: but the joy of their conquest buried in it all the obiect of their sorrow,and the feeling of their grief;the lesser passions alwaies giuing place vnto the greater,and sorrow finding no place at all in the midst of their immoderat joy. Wherof they gaue a number of testimonies, by the thundering of their great ordnance, by fires of joy,and vollies of small shot; all which in their fury they discharged vpon them of Pesth: who with the like curtesie requited them,sending them back again bullets for bullets. Which now became a common exercise among the canoniers,passing the time in these actions,more vpon a brauery than to any purpose, small harm being don therby either on the one side or on the other: in such sort,that in the end the Turks better aduised, requested our men to cease from such shooting,as they on their part would do likewise,and to expect the end of the negotiation of peace,of a certain begun(as they said)betwixt their two princes. But purposing indeed by this means to spare their pouder,shot,& pains, and to reserue them to their better vses.

Buda distressed for want of victuals.

And yet for all this triumphant ioy, the Turks in Buda were in great want of victuals, the late siege hauing deuoured all their prouisions, and no new supply thereof as yet come vnto them: insomuch that their greatest care was now how to come by victuals, without which they must needs forsake the city. Of which their so great necessities the other garisons in the places therabout aduertised, assembled themselues to take order therfore; and hauing prouided 200 wagons loden with all maner of necessary prouisions at Alba-Regalis, with a conuoy of six thousand soldiers put themselues vpon the way toward Buda. Of all which their proceedings the garison of Strigonium hauing got vnderstanding, and joining vnto them the garison of Comara, met with them vpon the way betwixt Alba-Regalis, and charged them; and so with great confidence came on both sides to handy blowes, the Turkes beeing in number stronger, and our men in valour and resolution; the Waggons in the meane time standing still as the motiue of the charge,and appointed for a prey vnto the Victors. But our horsmen being for most part Hussars, wel acquainted with such charges, with their diuers courses greatly troubled the enemy; our footmen in the mean time charging them also with a number of harquebusiers. Against whom the Turkes with the same arms and like courage defending themselues, but many of them being slaine,and their Wagons gained from them, they were forced to giue place,and so were almost all cut in pieces. The Waggons thus surprised,were diuided as a rich booty among the Victors; forty wherof were sent to the garison at Pesth,who were wel content that the enemies trauell and wealth had bin gathered for their good,and without any pains of their own,to solace themselues with the fruit of their enemies labours.

The Turks ouerthrown by the Christians.

But what should we say? the most sure resolutions are somtimes by chances crossed, and tempests otherwhiles ouertake vs euen in the very entrance of the desired port. The Turks of Buda vnderstanding of the brute of this medley,and that it was for their bread, posted in all haste to haue succoured their Troupes,and arriued at the same time that our men victoriously led alongst by the riuer of Danubius the Waggons which they had before gained. At the sight of which obiect they animated with hunger after the victuals, and with desire to be reuenged vpon them, fiercely charged them. So that our men,who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious and possessed of their enemies booty, seeing these new come Enemies so furiously to charge them,daunted with the present peril, and with the consideration thereof only possessed, bethought themselues of nothing else but how to saue themselues,

and

A and to leaue their honour, booty, and the field, all as ſpoiles vnto their enemies. The furious countenance of the Turkes, and their number ſurmounting ours by 1500, ſo bereft them of their reſoluton for to fight for their liues and waggons, as that they without more adoe quite forſook them, accounting themſelues happy enough if they might but ſaue themſelues. And the Turks without farther purſuing of them, contented to haue recouered their victuals, left them, and ſo returned homeward, driuing their waggons along the banke of Danubius. But ſee, the winde which by and by changed, and hauing as it were with a ſudden tempeſt vndertaken euen at the entrance of the port to ſwallow vp both the one and the other, ſent the garriſon of Peſth vpon them of Buda to ſtay them. Great changes of fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh men with ſhewes, bringing forth effects quite contrary to their ex-
B pectation. Theſe Turks ſtaid vpon their retreat by the comming of theſe new come aduerſaries, did euen as ours had done before. For not willing to prefer their goods before their life, and more greedy of victuall than of battel, they quitted their prize, and retyred. For our men in number two thouſand, were ſeized of a forreſt about the midſt of the way whereby the Turks were to paſſe, & which they could by no means ſhun, and diuided into two companies, kept themſelues cloſe there in ambuſh, reſolutely attending for the comming of their enemies. Of which their purpoſe the Turks not aware, and ſtil preſſing on forward, found themſelues hardly charged, before they could ſee them by whom they were ſo charged; one of our companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks incloſed betwixt them, and in ſo great and ſudden a fear not knowing againſt whom to defend themſelues with-
C out any great reſiſtance betooke themſelues to flight, leauing their wagons, and caſting away their armes: yet ſo, that a number of them were left dead vpon the place, ſome others of them taken priſoners, and the reſt chaſed euen vnto the gates of the City. But our men being victors, with the waggons, and a number of priſoners returned home, and by the mouth of their great artillerie gaue a thouſand teſtimonies of their victory vnto the ſorrowfull cowards, who themſelues alſo carried the heauy newes thereof vnto the reſt of their fellowes ſhut vp within the City of Buda.

But ſee againe the change of Fortune, conſtant only in vnconſtancie, as the ſequell ſhortly after ſhewed. Danubius that great riuer was then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that men and carts might now ſafely paſſe too and fro thereupon. In which ſo hard ſeaſon, the Turks
D in garriſon at Buda hauing once vpon the frozen riuer braued the Chriſtians in Peſth, and the two and twentieth of Ianuary in like brauery comming out the ſecond time, were by the garriſon ſoldiers of Peſth put to flight, and by two hundred of the moſt forward and valiant ſoldiers hardly purſued; vpon whom, not only they which fled, but other of the Turks alſo out of Buda in greater number returning, chaſed them likewiſe back again euen to the bridge, whereby they were to haue paſſed into the City: which now drawne vp for feare of greater harme from ſuch a number of Turks as were now come out, and were ready to haue entred at the heeles of the flying ſoldiers; the poore ſoules ſo ſhut out, and too weake for ſuch a multitude as then had them in chaſe, were there euen in their friends ſight euery man ſlaine, the Turks themſelues with little harme returning to Buda.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Peſth ouerthrowne.

E Neither long laſted the ioy of this victory: for within a few days after, one *Lethner* a Captaine of the Chriſtian garriſon in Peſth, more grieued than the reſt with the loſſe of ſo many valiant men, and ſome of them his friends and companions alſo; certainely vnderſtanding that certaine of the chiefe of the Turks of Buda, with two of their greateſt Commanders, and a great traine of gallant Gentlewomen, were for their pleaſure the next day about to goe vnto the hot Baths neere vnto Buda, and taking with him threeſcore muſketiers, the night before ſecretly vpon the yce paſſed ouer the Riuer, and ſo not farre from the Bathes lay cloſe in ambuſh, expecting the comming of their deſired prey. In which expectance they lay not long, but that theſe Turks caſting no perill, came accordingly as they could haue wiſhed, and in thoſe pleaſant Bathes merrily bathed and ſolaced themſelues:
F Fooles to ſeeke after the pleaſures of peace amidſt the gulfe of the miſeries of warres, and euill aduiſed, to aſſure themſelues of faire weather in a ſtorme ſo neere at hand. For in the midſt of all their delights theſe reſolute men came ſuddenly vpon them, not fearing any

The Turks in bathing themſelues at Buda, by them of Peſth ſurpriſed and ſlaine.

ſuch danger,and ſlew all the men,ſparing none but one boy and the Gentlewomen:who in the time of the conflict, naked as they were, ran as faſt as they could into the city; feat hauing in them ouercome as then the modeſty of their ſex. Which exployt done,the Captain leauing the Turks ſlain in the bath (now become red with their blond)returned with his ſouldiers laded with the rich booty,and merrily ſporting at the naked gentlewomen. With whoſe fearfull cry they of Buda ſtirred vp,ſent out certaine of their garriſon after them, but to no purpoſe,for why,they were in ſafety before got home. By continuance of this froſt (by reaſon wherof victuals could not be ſent down the riuer) the garriſon ſouldiers of Peſth were driuen to ſuch wants,as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat among them;the Turks their enemies ſtill roaming about the fields,to keep them from victuals, and to increaſe their neceſſitie.

Great want of victuals in Peſth.

Of theſe neceſſities the Turks of Buda were partakers alſo, hunger-ſtarued like the other, but yet euery day in the field to ſeek relief. They knew right wel that hunger was hard to be deceiued,being ſtil in action and vigilant; and therfore they ſought ſome means how to deceiue our men ſtil attending vpon them, & ſo to aſſure themſelues of victuals. To which end they gaue it out, and made ſhew as if they would haue beſieged the fort of Adom, diſtant about two leagues from Buda; vnder colour wherof they receiued into their city a Conuoy of fifty wagons laded with victuals and munition;which our men hindred not, as hauing no ſuſpition of any ſuch purpoſe of theirs. With which reliefe the Turks incouraged,gaue knowledge therof vnto their ouerthwart neighbors in Peſth by a thouſand great ſhot, which they in thundering manner ſent ouer the riuer vnto them, as men of courage, and deuoid of feare. Howbeit that this action was more vain than profitable vnto the Turks, who for the diſpence of their ſhot and pouder gained not ſo much as the life of one ſouldier, nor one ſtone out of the walls of Peſth. Vpon this jolitie theſe ſame garriſon ſouldiers of Buda ſhortly after thought vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed Palotta,a ſmall caſtle of the Chriſtians,by night. But being in good time diſcouered,they were deceiued of their hope,and with the loſſe of an hundred and twenty of their men inforced to retyre:vnto whom *Gaſpar Horwad* captain of the caſtle,by a country peaſant before ſworn to do the errand,ſent a little pot ful of ſalt, & a bottle of wine; willing them in deriſion, with that ſalt to ſeaſon the Veniſon they had taken in their late hunting,and with that bottle to quench their thirſt,and to cheer them vp after their late conqueſt.

Buda victuelled.

This jeaſt did more prouoke theſe Enemies,galled ſo to heare of their ſhame and loſſe; in ſuch ſort, that in reuenge thereof they diſcharged a thundring ſhoure of great ſhot and ſmall bullets vpon the garriſon of Peſth, which in great aboundance fell out of the cloud of their rage. But all to ſmall purpoſe, for that their Cannons being euill leuelled, ouerſhot the Towne, carrying with their thundering bullets more feare than they did hurt;yea,that which worſe was,the ruine made by their great battery fell vpon their owne City. For whileſt they were thus thundering, fire by the negligence of the Cannoniers fell into one of their barrels of pouder, which taking hold of another, and ſo running along as if it had beene by a traine made of purpoſe,burſt out with ſuch force,that it ouerthrew a long piece in the walls of Buda, which in the fall thereof ouerwhelmed a great number of the ſouldiers that were neere vnto it. The noiſe of this thunder-clap was great,and the force thereof terrible;ſo that it reuiued them of Peſth with ſome good hope,by this breach to force the place, the Turkes beeing from thence retyred. Vpon which occaſion the Gouernour of Peſth reſolued to giue an aſſault vnto the place,and to make vſe of the mean that Fortune, without his paine or trauell, had put into his hand. Wherupon taking with him a thouſand Almaines and three hundred Hungarians, he forthwith in hope of good ſucceſſe marched toward the breach,and happely had preuailed,but that by the way they by chance met with a company of Turkes, who gaue an alarm vnto them of the vpper town; who vpon that bruit of their approach, manned their walls,and with great ſpeed repaired the breach. Now all that they of Peſth could do, was to reuenge themſelues vpon thoſe Turks they had met withall, who were there all ſlaine except ſome few, whom they ſaued and caried priſoners to Peſth,to be by them inſtructed of the enemies affairs.

About

A About this time *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia, aduertiſed that the Turks in garriſon at Siliſtria were gon abroad into the country to ſeek after booty and victuals, with his ſoldiers paſſed forthwith ouer the riuer Danubius vpon the ice, to ſurpriſe the town bared of the gariſon: whoſe men for the deſire of the riches of the place, & for fear leſt the garriſon ſoldiers ſhould return before they had gained the place, with redoubled force & courage ſo aſſailed the town, that the Turks diſmaied, and deeming the number of the Chriſtians that ſo furiouſly aſſailed them to be greater than indeed it was, by reaſon of the greatnes of the enterpriſe by them taken in hand; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, left the way open for them to enter: Who forthwith ouer the dead bodies of their enemies thruſt into the town, took the whole ſpoil therof, which was both great & rich, as being a town well peopled; and ſo ſet fire on it, to the intent it ſhould
B no more ſerue as a place for the enemy to retyre vnto. The Vayuod thus victorious and rich, returned with his ſoldiers laded with ſpoiles of their enemies, before the Turks could gather themſelues together to hinder their retreit. And vnto *George Baſta* (who was then in Tranſylvania in arms againſt the Turks) for his part of the booty he ſent him thirteen of the enemies Enſignes.

Siliſtria ſpoild and burnt.

But our troupes are now too long in their ambuſh, where the valiant *Collonitz* holds them cloſe, attending the comming of the Turkes and of their Conuoy to Caniſia; now we muſt draw them out of their Sentinels, and ſee what effects their deſignes ſhall bring forth. Theſe braue ſouldiers had now lien three daies in their ambuſhes without diſcouering of any Enemy; vntill that the ſixth day of March three Spies fel into their hands, whom the Turks had
C ſent forth before, to diſcouer what enemies were then abroad in the field. But theſe faithful Infidels ſo taken, would not by any meanes diſcouer any thing hurtfull vnto their friends, or profitable for ours. So that in fine, the General mooued with their obſtinacy, commaunded one of their heads to be ſtrook off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them what by faire intreaty and perſuaſion they could not. The other two that were yet aliue, diſmayed with this ſpectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at laſt conſtrained to confeſſe, That they were the enemies Spies, ſent forth to view the Countrey, to ſee if the Chriſtians had any forces there, able to hinder their Cannons and Wagons for entring into Caniſia. Which not appearing, and they reporting vnto their Companies that the Country was clear, that then within two daies after, the Conuoy was to paſſe euen by the ſame place where
D they then lay, to be put into Caniſia, ſetting forth from Babotz two houres before day. Our men thus reſolued of the enemies deſignes, forced their hope to defeat them, and again retired themſelues into their ambuſcado's, attending for their hoped prey, in ſuch ſort, that our men in their conceits held the victory now as good as already gained, howbeit that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two hours after the taking of theſe ſpies, the Haiducks, layd without the principal ambuſcado, and hidden within the thickets and buſhes, diſcouered a Cornet of horſemen, with fiue enſignes of the Turks come out of Caniſia, marching to meet with the Conuoy, in ſafety to conduct the ſame into the towne. At which ouerture the Hungarians awaked, gaue knowledge vnto their Generall of the arriuall of the enemy, to the end he might reſolue what was beſt in that
E caſe to be done. Which opportunity *Colonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his horſmen in good order, to incloſe the Turks betwixt the mariſh & the wood, and to cut them ſo incloſed, in pieces. The Turks hauing diſcouered nothing but the mariſhes & the woods, held on their way, and ſo as men hauing their hands and feet bound, fell into the power of their enemies. For being come into the danger, the Chriſtian Carabins charged them in the head of their companies as they marched, & diſordered them: the Hungarians fel vpon their flanks, which they opened; and the horſmen preſſed them at their backs. Theſe poor miſera-
The Turkes ouerthrown by Collonitz.
ble men ſo incloſed, not knowing againſt whom firſt to defend themſelues, and ſeeing death vpon euery ſide of them, became as beaſts to bee ſacrificed vnto the fury of the Chriſtians. The ſmall reſiſtance that they made deſerued not the name of a fight, being all ſlaine, and ha-
F uing themſelues not ſlain one man; layd by heapes one vpon another, not hauing ouerthrown ſo much as one of their enemies. In ſuch ſort, that of ſix hundred men that were there together, there were not foure of them ſaued. Their horſemen which followed them, ſeeing they were ſurpriſed, in ſtead of relieuing them, ſhameſully fled; and thinking by flight to ſaue them-

themſelues while that their companions were in maſſacring, preferred their liues before their G
honour: for if it be a ſhame for ſoldiers in fight to fly with the ſafety of their friends, it muſt
needs be an irrepairable diſhonour to fly away and leaue them vnto the ſlaughter. But our
Carabins taking the occaſion for their aduantage, no more ſpared their horſes in the purſuit
of theſe Infidels, than they had don their hands in defeating their fellows: but haſtily purſu-
ing theſe fugitiues, ſlew a number of ſuch of them as were worſt mounted, and followed the
reſt euen to the gates of Caniſia. Thoſe of the town at this tumult raiſed an alarm, ſhot off
their great artillery, and diſcharged many vollies of ſmall ſhot againſt our men, as wel to ſtay
their purſuit & to ſaue their own, as to giue them warning that were to bring the conuoy, that
our men were ready in the field to ſurpriſe them. But during this fight, three of the Turkes
ſtout horſmen paſſing well mounted, aduentured to paſſe by our troups, and vpon the ſpur to H
meet with them that were bringing the conuoy, and to giue them warning of the ouerthrow,
that ſo they might again return to Babotz. Which their ſo braue an attempt fortune fauou-
red, as not willing to fruſtrat the deſert of ſo worthy valour. Wherfore vpon this aduertiſe-
ment they returned, and retyred themſelues againe into the Caſtle of Babotz from whence
they came.

Babotz in vain beſieged by Colonitz.

But our men aduertiſed of this their retreit, and as it were deceiued of their hope for inter-
cepting of the conuoy, vndertook an exploit much more haughty, braue and dangerous: for
forthwith they made head toward Babotz, with a reſolution to carry the place; and although
they were almoſt ſixteen miles from it, yet they reſolued to goe thither, and to make them-
ſelues maſters therof. And ſo marching cheerfully on, therin vſed ſuch diligence, that about I
nine a clock at night they arriued at the place: whither they were no ſooner come, but that
they did what they might to daunt their enemies, to make their conqueſt the more eaſie. The
greatnes of the attempt it ſelf ſerued well to that purpoſe, but yet the beleef more, if they
could driue into the enemies mind the ſufficiencie of their forces, for the performance of ſo
great an exploit; which cauſed them to ſound their trumpets, to ſtrike vp their drummes, to
remoue their artillery, to ruffle with their arms, to keep a ſtir with their ſoldiers, and to make
the noiſe not of a ſmall, but of a puiſſant and great army. But the Turks in number twice ſo
many as were our men, and within a good and ſtrong place, were not with ſuch a bruit to bee
carried away, but ſtanding faſt vpon their gard and reſolution, prepared themſelues for fight,
and how to receiue our men if they ſhould attempt to aſſail them. Now whileſt the alarmes K
thus ſounded, our companies aduanced, repeating oftentimes the name of *Ieſus*, and making
themſelues ready for to fight. This skirmiſh began with a thouſand cannon ſhot, which the
Turks out of the caſtle deliuered vpon the troups of the Chriſtians, and their muskets ſtill
playing from the curtain of their walls, ſo that the caſtle ſeemed as if it had bin a mountain
of fire. All which terrors no whit ſtaied the hope of our reſolute footmen, who thwarting
theſe flaming ſhowrs, marched along the counterſcarpe of the ditch towards the gate of the
towne, to haue broken open and forced the ſame. The Turkes at the ſame time were come
forth out of the towne, making ſhew as if they would haue ſallied forth vpon our men and
haue fought with them. But at the ſame inſtant that they charged the front of our footmen,
they were by them ſo encountred and beaten backe, that hauing loſt ſome of their men, they L
were glad again to retyre into the town. Where they indeauored to defend themſelues, not
daring afterwards to fight without the fauor of their walls: within which it ſtood them vpon
to haue both courage and power, being ſtill furiouſly aſſailed by our men, who planted vpon
the town ditch, with their muskets and harquebuſes ſo plied the Turkes vpon their walls and
in their holds, as that they durſt not ſhew themſelues or looke out, for the ſhowres of lead
which they thundred vpon them. And aſſuredly, if our men had then had inſtruments where-
with to haue opened the gates or the wals, as wel as their muskets and harquebuſes had made
a breach into the reſolution of the Turks, the town had vndoubtedly bin ours. But this deſign
being not before foreſeen, neither intended, wanted the means to put it in execution; ſo that
for want of petards and ſcaling ladders the place remained ſtil the Turkes, and ſaued it ſelfe M
out of our hands. In fine, our men hauing been four houres in fight before it, both doing and
receiuing harm, and finding no means to enter the place, were inforced to ſound a retreit and
to leaue it.

In

A In this retreat the Chriſtians burnt certain villages of the enemies, rather to ſhew they had bin there, than for any other valor therin; ſeeing that things inſencible, which follow the order of their nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them, without reaſon. This done, they of purpoſe returned to little Comara; for the long time that they had kept the field, the diuers exploits of them don againſt the enemies, and the common report of the Vanquiſhed, had ſtirred vp the enemies, ſo that they began now on euery ſide by heaps to flock together, to ſwallow them vp, and euen now preſſed vp their retreit. So *Collonitz* in deſpight of the enemy, in ſafety brought back his ſoldiers; and being entred into Comara, cauſed the heads of the chief of the ſlain Turkes to be ſet vpon the pikes of the paliſado's, and vpon a great Pine tree ſtanding before the gate, which for this purpoſe had almoſt all the branches lopped off.
B An action learned from the cruelty of the Turkes, and now don by the Chriſtians, more to aſtoniſh and deter them from this their cruel cuſtom, than for any glory or profit inſuing therby; ſeeing that to tyranniſe vpon a dead body, is but a ſigne of cowardiſe, and an action altogether vnprofitable.

This done, our men departed from this Caſtle, as men worne and almoſt ſpent with trauel and wearineſſe, but yet more with famine. For why, they thinking to haue executed but that deſigne which had put them in armes, and that in ſo ſhort a time alſo, had taken no prouiſion of victuals with them; ſo that they were all pined with hunger, ouercome with watching, and halfe dead with labour. Their horſes alſo in like ſort languiſhed, the Countrey beeing alike cruell both to the one and to the other. For beſides that it was vnfruitfull vnto ſuch as kept
C the field (all the fruits therof being gathered together and carried into the towns by the men of War) it was not poſſible for our men to forrage, or to ſeeke for victuals there, and to come to an happy end of their deſigne; for that they had raiſed an alarm abroad in the Countrey, and ſo perhaps might themſelues haue become a prey vnto them whom they thought to prey vpon. Which was the cauſe that our ſouldiers had for the ſpace of three days eaten nothing but Crabbes and Acornes which they found in the Woods which couered their ambuſhes: ſo that being now come into this Caſtle, they deuoured a world of victuals, and requeſted euery one of them to returne vnto their owne garriſons; their bodies weakened with hunger, being ſcarce able to beare their Armes. But that was not all; for departing from little Comara, they were aduertiſed, That the Turkes had ſhut vp all the wayes whereby they were to
D make their retreit home; in hope eaſily to ouercome men already with hunger brought low, and to kill the bodies which trauell had already ſpent. Howbeit the great courage of our men fruſtrated this the enemies deſigne, and ſaued themſelues. And ſo farre off was it that this aduertiſement diſmayed *Collonitz*, that euen to the contrary it the more increaſed his courage, as appointed for his glory; being glad to haue ſuch an occaſion offered vnto him for the ſhewing of his valour, although it were thorow the middeſt of danger, death, and ſlaughter. So that in ſtead of ſhunning the combat, whereas it was reported, That the Turks with great aſſurance marched neere vnto a Caſtle of the Chriſtians, to make head vpon a paſſage whereby our men were to retyre; he ſuddenly turned head toward the ſame place, with a firm reſolution, with true valour vnexpectedly to encounter the enemy, which had thought to
E haue ſurpriſed him by cowardiſe. And the ſouldiers weakened with hunger, although they well apprehended the danger of this deſigne; yet reſting vpon the great reſolution of their worthy Generall, and conſidering the neceſſity they had to go farther for their ſafety, vpon a good courage were content to follow whitherſoeuer their Generall would: who led them directly to the aforeſaid Caſtle, where it was expected that the Turkes ſhould haue charged them. But being come thither there was no body to be ſeene, and yet our men, as hungry as they were, ſtayd there one day in ambuſh, expecting the comming of their enemies; who for all that, hauing no mind to meet them, appeared not, but gaue them time and liberty in ſafety to retyre themſelues euery man into his owne garriſon, to refreſh themſelues, and to recouer their ſtrength.

The great courage of Collonitz.

F But now while ſt our men of Warre after theſe troubles in Tranſylvania and Hungary, repoſe themſelues; let vs in the mean time take our journey to Conſtantinople, and goe to the marriage of *Haſſan Baſſa* one of the Viſiers of the grand Seignior, and the laſt year General of his army in Hungary.

At

At ſuch time as he departed from this great city, to go vnto the conqueſt of Alba Regalis, G
Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperour, reſolued to ſet all vpon the regaining of this city, cauſed to be preſented vnto him a Crowne and a Sword; the one in reward of his valour, if he returned with victory from this exploit; and the other in reuenge of his cowardiſe if he failed in the performance of it: promiſing him indeed his ſiſter in marriage, amongſt other the glorious rewards and trophies of his victory; and threatning death as a puniſhment among the griefs of his diſhonour. But it came to paſſe, that by the cowardiſe of our men he came vnto the effects of his deſire (as is aforeſaid) and tooke the City which promiſed vnto him the glorious triumph in Conſtantinople. And vnder the ſweet influence of this planet he returned vnto Conſtantinople, where he found all things in readineſſe for the ſatisfying of his expectation, and aduancement of his glory. He is magnificently receiued of his Prince, curteouſly ſalu- H
ted by all the Nobility, and with greateſt reuerence poſſible honoured of the people. And as he had happily diſcharged his charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in readineſſe for the performance of the promiſe of the grand Seignior his Lord and maſter: Who had cauſed them to be in moſt ſumptuous manner prouided for the ſolemniſing of the mariage, and the contentment of the Baſſa. But nothing now wanting that he could haue deſired or wiſhed, more than the very ſolemniſing of the marriage it ſelfe, and that alſo euery day of all men expected; the Ianizaries and Spahi, with the other ſoldiers of the Court, to the num-
A dangerous mutiny of the Janizaries & Spahi in Conſtantinople.
ber of about fiue and twenty thouſand, euen vpon the ſudden when as no ſuch thing was fea- I
red, came in armes, and ſo preſented themſelues before the Divano or high Tribunall, holden for the chiefe adminiſtration of juſtice in the great Turks palace, the firſt foure dayes in euery weeke: and hauing ſet guards at the Court gates, the more ſafely to execute what they were reſolued vpon, proudly demanded to haue audience for certaine of the Spahi and Ianizaries, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all to deliuer vnto the great Baſſa's their grieuances, and the cauſes of that their aſſembly. Who as ſoone as they were entred into the Divano before the Baſſa's (of whom the moſt couragious of them was not without feare, as looking for nothing but preſent death) they at the firſt demaunded to haue *Haſſan Baſſa* deliuered vnto them. Who thinking that his head ſhould haue ſerued as a ſacri-
fice to pacifie this their fury; as a man altogether diſmayed, wan and pale, paſſed thorow this mutinous multitude, to haue gone vnto the great Sultan; proteſting of his owne innocencie, and calling vpon his Prophet *Mahomet* to diſcouer vnto them the truth of all things. But K
they, after a thouſand injuries and reproches by them heaped vpon him, rudely demaunded of him, Whence it proceeded, that whileſt he with a great part of the forces of the Empire was buſied in Hungary for recouery of the City of Alba-Regalis, there was in the mean time no order taken for the repreſſing of the dangerous rebellion in Aſia; which Rebell (as they ſaid) was now grown ſo proud, as with Enſignes diſplaied to come within three or four dayes journey of Conſtantinople, the Imperiall City of the *Othoman* Emperours. Whereunto hee in no ſmall feare anſwered, That hee for his part had done his duty, as well whilſt he had the charge of the Army in Aſia, as now of late whileſt he had the like charge againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary, as euen his very enemies themſelues could witneſſe. But ſeeing himſelfe in great danger of death, he inſtantly requeſted them, That his guiltleſſe death might be vn- L
to the State in generall profitable, and that in diſcharging of his conſcience hee might declare vnto them the cauſes of this contempt and neglect for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebell in Aſia, which they were ſo deſirous to know: It proceedeth (ſaith he) onely from the euill gouernment of the grand Sultans mother (who then all commaunded) and from the negligent careleſneſſe of the Capi-Aga. Which his ſpeech although they with much impatience and ſtorming gaue eare vnto; yet hearing him ſo well to excuſe himſelfe, and to lay the blame there where they were well contented it ſhould reſt, they gaue him leaue to goe to the great Sultan, to requeſt him that they might ſpeake with him; and further to deale with him, that they might haue the heads of them who had been the cauſe of this diſhonourable ſeruice, or otherwiſe cowardly behaued themſelues in the mannaging of the wars againſt the Rebels in M
Aſia. Threatning him withall, That if he failed to performe this his Charge, hee ſhould not fail to feel the heauy effects of their iuſt fury. An heauy charge; yet glad was the Baſſa to vndergo the ſame, to be freed out their hands, where he ſaw himſelfe in great danger, amongſt

them

A them, most of whom had somtime serued vnder him, than amongst so many his most mortall enemies. But what remedy? he must now so do or die therfore; for which he was the more to be excused. So in great fear comming vnto the great Sultan, almost as fearefull as himselfe, he shewed vnto him the great danger like euen presently to insue by the mutiny of his best soldiers, and garders of his person: persuading him betime to appease their fury, before they had imbrued themselues in bloud; for fear of further danger like enough to insue, as wel vnto his own person, as vnto the rest of his most faithfull and trusty Counsellors, from such furious headstrong men, vp in tumult with their armes in their hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the greatnesse of his state to doe any thing as thereunto forced by his subiects, least in so doing he might breed in them a contempt of himselfe, and increase their insolency;
B that yet neuertheless in this action, being altogether extraordinary, hee was not to rest vpon that point, for that these mutinous souldiers turned not their weapons (as they pretended) against his Imperial power and soueraignty, but rather to the contrary, against the contemners therof, seeking to be reuenged vpon them that had don him such euill seruice for the maintenance of his honor and majesty, and for the punishment of the insolent and disloyall. Wherfore the justice of the cause requiting and couering the malice of the fact, he was of opinion, that it were best for him to yeeld a little vnto the zeal of these his best soldiers, and to satisfie their iust desires, although they had by very euil and vnlawful meanes sought the same. And therfore aduised his Majestie, in some sort to satisfie the iust complaints of these men, armed for reuenge of his honor, and to chastise the chief commanders of his Asian forces, such as by
C whose treachery or cowardise his seruice being neglected, had armed these men against them: with the same hand punishing such as had wronged his Majesty in honor, and appeasing the discontented for the good of his seruice. *Mahomet* thus by the Bassa perswaded, as also to shew himself in majesty vnto these his discontented subiects (one part of their desire) the necessity of the cause so requiring, in his Imperial seat presented himselfe vnto them, accompanied by the Mufti (the great Mahometan priest) & some few others of the reuerend Doctors of their Law; who by the Sultan commanded to sit down, and the Bassa's standing vp (so great the respect is to men of that sort, euen in a barbarous nation of so small respect) the chiefe of the seditious stepping forth, demanded leaue to speak both for himself and the rest. Which being granted, he boldly thus began.

Mahomet sheweth himselfe to the mutinous soldiers.

D

Most happy and mighty Emperor, we the Spahies and Ianizaries thy obedient slaues, full of grief and discontentment to see a great part of thine Empire in danger to be lost, desire to know of thee the cause why thy Greatnesse doth not remedie it, and imploy the means which God hath giuen thee. They suppose the Rebels courses in Asia are vnto thee vnknown, seeing they haue bin so hardy to come in arms so neer vnto thy Imperial city, the place of thyne abode, and that without any let or resistance. They desire to know if all this haue bin made known vnto thee, and whether thou wilt take vpon thy selfe the care of the gouernement of thy great monarchy, or no; which through the negligent careles nes and euill gouernment of some by thee put in trust, is like vnto a body with great & wel proportioned members, but of little or no strength or power. Or else, that thou void of care, canst be content that all should be dismembred, and so euery man to take vnto himself what he can lay hand of, as the Rebels do in Asia.

A proud speech of a seditious soldier to Sultan Mahomet.

E

Now let no man maruel at this presumptuous rude speech of a proud Ianizary to his Soueraign; for why, they are the men which may most boldly speak in Turky; they are the stay of the Turkish Empire, the great Sultans children acknowledging no other father but them: nay rather the great Turke himselfe is their Creature, for they raise him vp and confirme him in the Empire, they are his greatest strength, and to them he is most beholden. If *Mahomet* were with so insolent a speech much mooued, he was not iustly therfore to be blamed: howbeit being beset with such a furious multitude with weapons in their hands, and hauing no meanes
F to withstand their fury, he wisely dissembled his inward choler, and with a faire countenance and a majesty full of mildenesse, with the best and calmest words that he could deuise, sought to appease them: imputing the great disorder and euill successe of his affaires vnto the vnfaithfulnesse of his ministers, and the concealing of the truth therof from him. Saying moreouer,

ouer, That before this their complaint he had resolued to reforme these matters, and to take G
from them all occasions of discontentment, or for them to vse any such speech as was not beseeming them; whose obedience and respect of loyall duty vnto him their Soueraign, should haue been an example vnto the rest of his subiects. Vpon which speech, they fiercely demanded of *Hassan Bassa*, Why hee had not giuen an account vnto his Maiestie, of the Rebels proceeding in Asia. Who answered, That he had neuer failed of his duty therein, but that he had been alwaies hindred so to do by the Capi Agi; saying, That it was not needfull to trouble him their Soueraigne therewith, (hauing committed these matters to others) but to reform and amend them as well as they might otherwise, without giuing of him any such distaste concerning these matters. And further, That the cause of all these disorders proceeded H
from the Empresse his mother, the Capi-Aga, and some few others, vnto whom he had commended the mannaging of those his affairs. With which his answer the mutiniers more mooued, furiously said, That they were come thither to demand the heads of such offenders; beeing resolued to take another course if he should refuse to grant it them: [meaning therby to make a new Emperor.] Wherunto for all that, the great Sultan answered, That it was no reason, neither that he would for their humors put such as they demanded innocently to death; but willed them to rest themselues contented, vntil it might by order of justice be tried whether they had deserued death or no, and that then he would giue them euen his own son, if he were found culpable. But the mutiners constant in their resolution, again replied, that he had not by justice put his brethren to death, but for the preseruation of the state: and that those I
whom they so demanded, were so guilty of that wherwith they were charged, as that they deserued not to haue an orderly trial: That the lawes, how iust soeuer, should be vnprofitable, and justice iniury, if they were not by them to be punished; and that therfore it must needs be so, or else that they would take therein a course themselues. As for the Empresse his mother, they were contented that she should be confined vnto some place farther off, and no more to meddle in matters of State. A strange thing it was, to see so great a Prince so to be forced by the sedition and mutiny of his subiects, to deliuer so great an Officer of his Court as was the Capi-Aga, with such others as they required, to be vsed at their discretion. But the violent resolution of these most insolent men so vp in mutiny, made the Sultan *Mahomet* wisely to
The Capi-Aga with some others executed. yeeld to what they demanded, causing the Capi-Aga and the others to be brought forth; who presented themselues vnto their fury as men already halfe dead. *Mahomet* did what he might K
to haue saued them, but the mutiners with a great and dreadfull clamor still cried out to haue them dispatched; neither could they be appeased vntill they saw their heads struck from their bodies. For the losse of whom so deer vnto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieued; to be in some part reuenged, commanded the executioner to proceed, and to do vnto some other of the chiefe Bassaes (whom he knew to be much loued and respected of the Ianizaries, and whom he could haue been content to haue been rid of) as he had done vnto the Capi-Agi and the rest: but then the murmuring and mutiny of the Ianizaries was in such sort increased, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for feare forced with patience to temper his choler, and by giuing way, so to appease them. The Empresse the Sultans mother for all that was not then confined, but reserued to the further troubling of the State. L

Other brueltie of Sultan Mahomet. With like tyrannie, and no lesse injustice, *Mahomet* but a few dayes before had caused *Capin* one of his great Bassaes to be beheaded; but whether it were for the desire hee had of his wealth and riches, or for the enuy of his honour and valour, was vncertaine: howbeit the former cause seemed vnto many to be more probable, for that *Mahomet* immediatly after his death tooke the whole spoile of his wealth, and seised vpon all his goods except 400000 duckats, which *Caly Bassa* father of the dead Bassa had detained for himselfe. Which his purloining *Mahomet* hauing discouered (as the eie of the couetous man is fixed alwayes vpon his prey) demanded one day of the Bassa, If it were true that he had retained to himselfe those 400000 duckets. Which fact the Bassa, partly for feare, and partly for couetousnesse constantly denied, and swore himselfe to be guiltlesse from any such crime. Whereupon he was forthwith M
taken, and thinking by lying to haue saued his life, was for the truth put to death, without any further examination of the matter, hauing his head struck off. Such is the smal assurance euen of the greatest that liue in tyrants courts. Neither rested his greedy mind so contented with

the

A the Baſſa's bloud; for why, that ſerued but for a ſhew, it was his wealth muſt work that cure, which was all forthwith ſeiſed vpon, rifled, and carried away, to ſatisfie in effect the greedy appetite of the hungry tyrant, who changed the dowry and ſucceſſion of the wife & children of the dead Baſſa, into bonds, chains, priſons, and ſlaueries.

Mahomet another Baſſa with theſe cruelties diſmaied, and perceiuing the like euill hap and danger to hang ouer his own head, that had ouerwhelmed *Calil* and his ſon; reſolued to haue prouided for himſelf againſt this miſchiefe, by flying vnto the Rebels in Aſia. But this his purpoſe diſcouered by certain ſpies (which ſerue as means to open a way vnto the Turks cruelty) and he with one of the chief followers of *Capin Baſſa* taken by the Ianizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

B But whileſt theſe things thus paſſed at Conſtantinople, the Rebels with all diligence proſecuted their rebellion in Aſia, and bent their forces againſt the great towns there. Their army was exceeding great, euery man joining himſelfe vnto the firſt forces which were in good eſtate, being not as yet with any greater power oppreſſed, and rich with the ſpoiles that they had taken. Theſe men had beſieged Angore a great and ſtrong town in Aſia, and ſeemed reſolutely ſet down for the carrying therof. Wherof the citiſens being afraid, and out of hope of relief, came to parly, offering them a ſum of money to redeem themſelues and their city; and ſo in fine agreed to giue them 200000 ducats, vpon the ready payment wherof the rebels preſently departed. *The ſucces of the Rebels in Aſia.*

Shortly after, the new Captaines of Sultan *Mahomet* arriued there alſo, whom he had pla-
C ced in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeaſing of the ſouldiers of the Court, who would needs make it treaſon, and put to death the Citiſens for hauing giuen ſuch mony as is aforeſaid, vnto the rebels, though it were done for the preſeruation of their liues: as if lawes were to be reſpected in the horrors of neceſſity, or that life were to become a ſlaue vnto riches, and riches not made for the vſe of mans life. Well, needs they would for this ſuppoſed treaſon, as they pretended, haue put them to death, and ſacked their City. But indeed all was in their greedy fury to haue carried away that which the Rebels in their mercy had left them. Theſe poor citiſens with this ſo cruel a reſolution diſmaied, and out of all
D hope of finding fauour at ſuch mercileſſe mens hands, reſolued now to haſard all, and ſo vpon the ſudden taking vp arms, ſtood vpon their own defence. Herupon aroſe a great and cruel fight betwixt theſe ſoldiers and the citiſens, both the ſubiects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the ſelf ſame ſuperſtition; but the one ſide armed with pride and couetouſneſſe, and the other with neceſſity and deſpair: howbeit at laſt the iuſter cauſe preuailing, the Citiſens ouercame theſe new come ſouldiers, and hauing ſlaine a great number of them, chaſed the reſt out of the City. This euil incounter of theſe few Captaines euen at the firſt entrance into their Charges, giuen them by the ſubiects themſelues, increaſed the Rebels courage, ſo that they being in number forty thouſand, vnder the leading of one of the Tartar Han his
E brethren, beſieged Butze a great and rich city, being the ſtorehouſe for the warlike prouiſions of Aſia, and the place whereunto the Turkes Cuſtomes, Taxes, and Subſidies of Aſia were brought, and there kept. Theſe men after certaine dayes beſtowed in the ſiege, and great reſiſtance made by the beſieged, at length by force carried the place, ſlew the inhabitants, and ſacked the City. Which exploit gracing their fortune with honour and booty, increaſed alſo their power and reputation; ſo that redoubled on all ſides, and increaſed with courage and ſpoiles, *Mahomet* diſmaied, reſolued by fair means to appeaſe them, and to intreat with them of peace. This good fortune had drawne vnto their part the Gouernour of Babylon, either weary of the ſeruice of the Turke, or deſirous by the ruine of the State in general to increaſe his own power: whoſe reuolt greatly increaſed the Rebels power, and diminiſhed the Grand Seigniors. Beſides theſe miſhaps alſo, the great Shaugh of Perſia (commonly called the Sophy) thruſting himſelf into theſe diſorders, to make his gain, and to fiſh (as they ſay) in a
F troubled water, had now taken Corbery, a ſtrong towne vpon the borders of the Turkes Empire, and was making himſelf ready for new conqueſts. All which tempeſts ariſing as it were in one together, cauſed *Mahomet* to ſtrike ſail, and mauger his Imperial dignity and honor, to ſeek for peace: which indeed could not be great in ſuch weakneſſe of his nature, neither braue in ſuch his great want of courage. For great dignities and honours without valour to maintaine them, are but like rich garments which couer bodies almoſt rotten, but heale them not.

Mahomet

Mahomet desirous to come to some good agreement with his rebellious subiects, at length (but not without his great dishonor) obtained the same, granting al their demands, disarming them by yeelding vnto them, and not by true valor: and giuing vnto *Zellaly* one of their chieftains the honorable place of Bassa of Bosna, to content his ambition, and to binde him therewith to do his seruice. The ready way by sufferance to increase the disloyal subiects courage, in stead of stopping their proceedings by the seuerity of justice: for to grace a rebel with offices of authoritie, is but to arm him with lawfull power, the better to vndertake whatsoeuer shall best fit his appetite and desire, vpon the hope of his own priuat and certaine profit or aduancement.

Mahomet in danger to be deposed.

Mahomet his other Captaines and men of War seeing this dishonourable peace of their Prince, and preferment of the Rebels, rewarded with honours and dignities, in stead of paines and punishments, which they should of right haue for their rebellion endured; began to enter into great murmuring and discontentment against their great Sultan. They considered his vniust dealing and base fear, in aduancing the rebels vnto such honors and preferments, as of right belonged vnto his most faithfull and loyall Officers and seruants; by such vnworthy dignities making them slaues vnto his enemies, and vassals vnto the rebels: they, to their dishonor and losse, by their insolencie and treachery injoying the honours and preferments of right due vnto their faithfull and loyal seruices. Which dangerous persuasions transported them so far from their allegiance and duty, as to vndertake a greater and more perillous matter against his crown and dignity, than had the rebels before by taking vp of arms in the field against him; whereunto the assured knowledge they had of his cowardise incouraged them also. So that their resolution was to thrust him out of his Imperiall state, and to set vp his eldest sonne called also *Mahomet*, in his place. These are the inordinate effects of injustice and cowardise, the ouerthrow of Princes; their injustice through cruelty arming all creatures against them; and their cowardise through contempt dispensing with euery man for his duty: so that he must be iust that will keepe his subjects in order; and valiant, that must hold them in awe.

Vnto these discontentments these mutiniers joined also (as I said) the sloathfulnesse, effeminacie, and insufficiencie of *Mahomet*, vnfit to deal in matters of estate, and altogether vnable to manage wars. He was too cowardly (as they thought) to represse their valour by force, and too weak to crosse their designes by wisdom: which not a little incouraged them in that their so desperate and dangerous a resolution. They drew also into this their plot the Sultanesse *Mahomets* chief wife and the yong princes mother; who blinded with ambition (the bane of great spirits) had not the hap to reject their persuasions, as dangerous vnto her and her son, but shutting her eies against the due consideration of loyaltie and duty, cast both her self and her son headlong into the midst of most desperat dangers.

This project, (of no lesse importance than of the deposing of one of the greatest monarchs of the world) resolued vpon, some of these men, according to the maner of the Turks, joining superstition vnto their designes, consulted with an Astrologer concerning the successe of the actions of the young Prince, whom they were about to install in his fathers Imperiall throne. This man to be excused in his trumperies, seeing that to deceiue is the chiefe point of his Art, erected the figure of the Princes natiuity, consulted with his spirits, considered the celestial bodies, and in fine arriued at the point of his iudgement, for the good and welfare of the Prince: And thereupon dispatched an Eunuch towards the Sultanesse with these pleasing speeches, That she should be of good courage, and in assured hope that the yong Prince her sonne within a few daies should haue the Imperiall Crown set vpon his head, and the Royall Scepter put into his hand: his art (as he said) promising vnto him these honors, by the fauor of the coelestial bodies, of whom he had learned these news; and by the conference with spirits, from whom he had this assurance. But ô the vaine and foolish knowledge of man against God! attributing vnto the second causes that which altogether belongeth vnto his owne power; robbing him of his owne prouidence, which extendeth ouer all, to giue it vnto Creatures, which neither haue their owne beeing, neither are able of themselues to bring forth or to worke any effects at all without it! and that more is, to giue certaine credit vnto the enemy of all faith and beleefe, euen to the father of leasing, who taketh as much glory in falshood, as God himself doth in truth; as being the proper mark of his power. For it chanced

ced that these letters sent by the Eunuch to the Sultanesse, were intercepted and brought vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan, whom they most concerned: whereupon it so fell out, that he which tooke vpon him to foretell the long life and Empire to befall to another man, could not foresee the end of his owne life, which followed him fast, euen at the heeles, being himselfe by the commandement of the great Sultan, with the yong Prince, the Eunuch, and fifty others of the conspirators, and such as were consenting vnto the conspiracy, most cruelly strangled, and the Sultanesse her selfe drowned. Howbeit some report this yong Prince to haue bin strangled vpon suspition of conspiring against his father, with the rebels of Asia: which after his death being found not to be so, the Bassa which put that suspition in *Mahomets* head, to haue bin therefore worthily hanged. But with these contentments taken from the crosses of our enemies, let vs againe returne vnto Hungary.

Mahomet causeth his eldest son, with diuers others, to be strangled.

The last yeare ended with the great bruit of the comming of the Tartar Han, with a great army into Hungary: and now he had dispatched his Embassadors towards the King of Polonia, to demand of him tribute, and passage through his country. Great and proud demands to be both at once required. But the King of Polonia requited him againe with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly answering of his threats. Which so resolute and blunt a refusall, caused the proud tyrant to change his intended course, and for feare of being defeated by the Polonians in passing through their country (as the Tartars had often beene) before he could come into Hungary, tooke another way, and turned with his Army toward Valachia. Of whose comming *Radul* the Vayuod vnderstanding, and that beside the forraging of his country, they had a purpose to displace him, and to set vp another Vayuod in his stead; with great diligence gathered together the greatest power that he could, and so marched vnto the borders of his country, there to attend the comming of these Tartars, and to stay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his desire, for the barbarous people being arriued, and attempting with all their force to haue entred, were by this little army encountered; which commanding the country, tooke all the aduantages of the streit passages, and there notably repulsed the fierce enemy. Two of the first encounters fell out fortunately vnto the Valachians, who therein slew about 3000 of the Tartars; whose auauntgard for all that still came on, and at the third encounter so long maintained the fight, that their whole Army was now come in, and hardly charged the Valachians; whose fortune surcharged, began then to change, the hardy being constrained to bow vnder the multitude, and valour forced to yeeld vnto number. Which was not done without a long and cruell fight, both armies encountering with great courage and fury, the one for the defence of their countrey, and the other for an entrance vnto their conquests. Howbeit the strong enemy at length preuailed, and entring into Valachia, brought in with it ruine, death, and destruction.

The Polonian denies the Tartars passage through his country, into Hungary.

Diuers hard cõflicts betwixt the Tartars, & The Valachies in their passage through Valachia.

The Tartars hauing by force thus opened themselues a way through Valachia, and grieuously spoyled the countrey, were come with their army to Quinque Ecclesiæ, a towne in Hungary, to joyne their forces with *Hassan Bassa*, now after his marriage returned into this country with a great army to continue his charge: who caused the Tartars to be mustred in his presence, and found them to be forty thousand strong. Men of great courage against the weake, but meere cowards before the couragious: who in stead of assaulting the walls of any strong towne, fell vpon the cottages of poore countrey villages, ransacking and pilling the poore inhabitants, as well in the villages of the territories subiect vnto the Turks, as in the territories of the Christians; constraining the poore people, contrary to their conscience, and the prejudice of their faith, to sweare to serue the Turke: besides that, they enforced them to furnish them with all warlike prouision and munition, which they put into Canisia, but a while after that our men had defeated the Garrison there. Neither were they so contented, all the neighbours being thereabouts subiect to this tempest: for they passed into Stiria with their families, and ouerrun a part of that Prouince, spoyling it of men, cattell, and goods; leauing in stead of them, destruction, misery, and death; and carried away with them two thousand poore Christians for slaues, whom they sold vnto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From whence they went into the country of Shauery, embruing themselues with the bloud of the Christians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them, carrying

The Tartars in Hungary.

Great spoyle made by the Tartars in Hungary, Stiria, & Shauarie.

carrying away with them a thousand Christian captiues into most miserable bondage and G
slauery. Which cruell outrages afterward thrust the valiant Colonell *Collonits* into the field, against these barbarous people, to stay their incursions, and to defeat them if he could.

This worthy Commander had but a few daies before beene much troubled in appeasing the French light horsemen in garrison in the villages about Roquesburg, risen vp in mutiny for their pay: whose hot and moued spirits he by his wisedome so calmed, as that they were content againe to be sworne to the Emperor, and so joyned themselues vnto the army of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men strong.

In the meane time, the Tartars greedy of prey, and still seeking after booty, ransackt and spoiled fiue and twenty countrey villages about Veradin; all which they afterward burned also, carrying away with them a great booty both of men and cattell, no man resisting them. H
At which time other companies of them also inuading the County *Serin* his Island as far as Rackenspurge, made in it great spoile, as had their fellowes elsewhere, and beside other booty, carried away with them two thousand Christian captiues. These outrages of the Tartars armed the County on the one side, and *Collonits* on the other; who couragiously opposing themselues against these barbarians, for a time staied their incursions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Army, sufficient enough for the valour thereof, to haue ouerthrowne that of their enemies, for number dreadful. This made them to turne their course another way into Sclauonia, being in number fiue and thirty thousand men, leauing nothing behind them there but death and desolation, for the number of prisoners, and great booties which they carried from thence. Amongst other their spoiles, it was their fortune by the way to meet I
with six hundred of the Christian souldiers, of whom not one escaped their hands, but were slaine euery mothers son. At length it so fortuned, that certaine of their troups in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the County *Serin*, who with his followers still houered aloofe off, for feare to be of their great multitude ouerwhelmed: a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his soldiers ouerthrowne and all cut in pieces, and a number of Christian captiues by them taken, deliuered out of chaines and set at liberty. Which exploit was greater
The Tartars oppressed by county Serin. for the feare it brought vpon the enemy, than for the slaughter there made. For the Tartars, still in doubt to meet againe with the Christian troups (who left not one of them aliue that they could light on) were glad now to keepe themselues closer together, and so did a great deale the lesse harme than when they without feare roamed vp and downe at their pleasure: K
so that euen by this little victory the Country receiued some comfort, and the Earle greater honour; Small helps being infinite treasures in time of necessity, which out of it would not be to be reckoned of.

The garrison souldiers of Canisia, of late defeated by *Collonitz* in going to meet the Conuoy comming towards them with victuals, (as is before declared) the rest of the garrison desirous to be reuenged, were consulting of the meanes how to bring the same to passe. It fortuned that at the same time there was a fugitiue Christian souldier in the towne, who made shew of a man male-content, desirous to turne Turke: of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he seemed to know much of the designes of the Christians, and the meanes how to crosse them: Whereof he so assured them, as if the matter had beene now already
A notable exployt done by a fugitiue Christian. done; promising to bring them euen into the middest of the Christian campe, and to deliuer it into their hands and power. Howbeit his meaning was nothing lesse; for seeing the L
Turks much busied with carrying in of victuals into the Castle, brought into the Towne after the ouerthrow of their fellowes before sent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentiue to that businesse; knowing the place in the Castle where the pouder and munition lay, he at the same time by a traine layd fire thereunto, and afterward, amiddest the tumult and the stirre, by a loope hole in the wall, got himselfe out of the Towne, and came vnto *Collonitz*, who with his troups lay neere there by in ambush, expecting the opportunity to performe some notable exploit vpon the successe of so dangerous an aduenture, whereunto he had before beene made priuy. Neither fayled the fire any thing of the accustomed vio- M
lence thereof, but seemed rather to redouble the same, it had so suddenly consumed the Buildings, Munitions, and Persons. All the place felt the fury thereof; the Cannons, Cannoniers, Souldiers, and whatsoeuer else, was subject vnto this dreadfull blast: all was shaken

and

A and turned vpſide downe, yea, the fire burſt out of the caſtle, and burnt the greateſt part of the towne alſo. There was a confuſion of feare, miſhap and miſery together, the terror whereof cauſed many of the Turks to caſt themſelues ouer the walls, in hope ſo to ſaue their liues: but whileſt they thought ſo to haue eſcaped the danger of the fire, they preſently fell vpon the edge of the ſword: for meeting with the ſoldiers of *Collonitz* (who lying in ambuſh neere thereby, awaited the opportunity in that ſo confuſed a tumult, to haue ſeiſed vpon the place) they were all either taken priſoners or ſlaine. But ſee the hap, how one croſſe chance of fortune ouerthrew this ſo notable a deſigne, as had it beene well followed, might in one moment haue recouered that ſtrong place, which had before for the ſpace of many daies endured the greateſt forces of the *Othoman* Emperour; neither yet was then ſo loſt, but through
B the infamous treachery of our men.

A faire opportunity for the recouery of Caniſia ouerſlipped through the diſloyalty of the French & wallons.

You haue heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by faire perſuaſions, rather than by true effects, appeaſed the French men and Wallons, vp in mutiny for their pay; ſo that by him perſuaded, they had againe giuen their oath of fidelity vnto the Emperour, and to follow his Army. But now when occaſion ſerued, and held out as it were both her armes vnto the Chriſtians, for the regaining and conqueſt of Caniſia, theſe French men and Wallons, the greateſt part of *Collonitz* his ſtrength, injuriouſly refuſed her ſo faire an offer; and at ſuch time as they ſhould rather haue fought naked, than haue failed in their duty, (it being to haue gained a moſt great and rich conqueſt) for want of pay (as they pretended) turned their backes, and beeing by no entreaty or perſuaſions to be mooued, to the diſcouragement of
C the reſt, who were better minded, and their owne eternall infamy, withdrew themſelues from the Army. So that *Collonitz* rather by the wicked vnfaithfulneſſe of his owne diſloyall ſoldiers, than by the valour of his enemies, diſappointed of his purpoſe, was to his great diſcontentment, contrary to that hee hoped, enforced to retyre without any thing more doing.

The Tartars defeated by the Huſſars of the Lord Nadaſti.

While this exployt, ſo well begun, but euill performed, was in hand, the Turks and Tartars aſſembled together, made a cruell ſpoile in the country about Rab, euen almoſt vnto the gates of the Towne, carrying away with them a great number both of men and beaſts. In fine, it chanced that the Huſſars of the Lord *Nadaſti* came that way, who vnderſtanding what had happened, with all ſpeed made after theſe Robbers, ouertook them in their retreat neer vnto
D Alba Regalis, ſlew a great number of them, and inforced the reſt to leaue a great part of their prey behinde them. With which booty recouered euen out of the Lyons mouth, they returned to Rab; of whom the poore inhabitants and country people, with teares ſtanding in their eies, requeſted to haue againe their owne goods. But War, the enemy of Charity, and nurſe of barbarous Cruelty, had ſo hardened the hearts of theſe men of War, as that they were not to be moued to reſtore them their cattell againe, but that they muſt redeeme them for preſent mony, which they did, and ſo receiued them.

Now the noble *Collonitz* ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſhamefully forſaken of his owne Souldiers, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, and the Turks and Tartars in great numbers comming to the reliefe and repairing of this ſo ſore ſhaken towne; and out of hope to do any good thereon, full of griefe and indignation returned towards Comara. And howbeit that euill hap
E had cruelly fruſtrated the glory of his enterpriſe, yet the Heauens, in deſpight of Fortunes frowne, left not this noble and valiant Captaine altogether without honour, but as amorous of his vertues and valour, preſented vnto him in this Winter of Fortunes diſpleaſure, ſome trophies of glory. For vpon the way as he was returning home he met with 2000 Turkes, whom ſome ſmall reſiſtance he cut all in pieces; miſerable ſacrifices, appointed vnto the fury of his wrath. In this fight their enſignes were all taken, and a number of priſoners, the chiefe of whom, together with the Enſignes, he ſent to Prague, as a Preſent for the Emperor, and a token of his good ſeruice.

2000 Turks defeated by Collonitz.

The report then was, That the Turks and Tartars with their vnited forces had forraged
F Sclauonia, taken diuers ſtrong holds, burnt a number of villages, and carried away eight thouſand Chriſtians priſoners, beſide a great number more ſlaine with the ſword, or conſumed with fire, and all the Cattell of the Country driuen away: and that being with this booty

booty to come to Quinque Eccleſiæ, they had there receiued command with *Mahomet Baſſa,* G
to beſiege Comara, and that all the Commanders of the Turks army were thereupon reſolued. All which reports no whit diſmaied the valiant *Collonitz*, or any thing altered his deſignes; but hauing fortified Comara, againſt the intended ſiege of the Turks, and taken from thence foure culuerins, according to a former purpoſe by himſelfe intended, reſolued now to take from the Turks the Caſtles of Loqua and Boulonneuar, the garriſons whereof greatly annoyed the territories of the Chriſtians, and hindered the deſignes of this great Captaine. Theſe two Caſtles are ſcituate vpon a great mariſh which ſeparateth Hungary from Raſcia, and are therefore as bounders of Hungary, and ſtrong enough to be defended againſt a ſmall army.

The Caſtle of Loqua beſieged by Collonitz.

Vpon which reſolution he ſet forward with his ſmall and valiant power, and the fourth H
day arriued within the ſight of Loqua, a Caſtle well manned: and furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the defence thereof. The army lodged, *Collonitz* with a drum ſummoned the beſieged ro yeeld vp the place, with promiſes of courteſie if they ſhould now accept of the ſame whileſt it was offered them: Which they ſtoutly refuſed to do, ſwearing to the contrary, That they would die and liue within thoſe their walls. *Collonitz* ſeeing them ſo reſolued, firſt cauſed a mill to be aſſaulted, which placed ouer againſt the caſtle, and well fortified, ſerued in ſtead of a bulwarke, and ſeemed hard to bee taken: howbeit his men, loth to haue their good fortune euen in the beginning checked, gaue thereunto ſo braue an aſſault, that after the enemy had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became maſters of the place, carried it, and therein lodged: but finding it dangerous to be kept, and to ſtand them I
in ſmall ſtead, they ſet it on fire, and afterward planted foure Culuerins in battery before the Caſtle. But as they were thus buſied, the Turks couragiouſly ſallied out vpon them, not doubting to aduenture themſelues, for the hope they had to be in ſhort time by their great Army relieued. In this army they met afront with the Haiducks, whom they fiercely charged, and ſo gauled them, that hauing ſlaine thirty of them, they retired without any loſſe; forthwith diſcharging ſo many thundring ſhot and arrowes vpon our men, as that they well knew not how to ſaue themſelues from the danger of them; in ſuch ſort, that all the waies to approch the place being ſtopped, they began to deuiſe how to ſet the caſtle on fire: Which they by certain fire-workes attempted, but to ſmall purpoſe, the fire being no ſooner kindled, but that it was forthwith by the Turks quenched. This done and our men diſappointed of K
their hope, they deuiſed to ſet fire vpon the timber which joyned the paliſado to the Caſtle ſtretching toward the port. Which their attempt ſorted but to ſmall effect alſo, the fire burning but ſlowly to do the enemies any great harme. All which deuiſes failing, they reſolued by plaine force to aſſault the Caſtle, and to ſcale the ſame: which enterpriſe reſolued vpon, the Haiduckes carrying before them certaine ſtrong and thicke plankes of wood, in ſtead of targuets, to defend them from the ſmall ſhot and arrowes of their enemies; by this deuice gained the paliſado placed vpon the ditch: and being there in ſome ſafety, with their muſkets and harquebuſies ſo applied the beſieged, that they draue them from their curtaines, and made that they durſt no more ſhew themſelues vpon the walls. And immediately after, two companies of the Haiduckes placed ten ladders againſt one of the towers of the Caſtle, and L
ſo with their Enſignes in their hands couragiouſly mounted the ladders, in hope to haue gained the place: but the Turks as men reſolued to liue and die in their Caſtle, valiantly repulſed thoſe Haiduckes, and by force drew in vnto them from off the ladders, the two Enſigne-bearers of the Haiducks, whoſe heads they cut off, and caſt them downe vnto their fellowes, which were yet comming vp the ladders; and the two Enſignes ſo gained vpon the walls, they placed in the middeſt of their owne, as the trophies of the ſpoyles of them who would haue ſpoyled them. With which ſo great courage of the enemies, and death of their fellowes, our men not a little diſmaied, kept themſelues cloſe at the foot of the wall, as afraid any further to force the place, which to their loſſe they ſaw ſtored with ſuch valiant men to defend it.

Notable reſiſtance made by the beſieged Turks.

M

Collonitz perceiuing this diſcomfiture of theſe men, and well aſſured that the caſtle was not but by valour to be won, immediatly drew out of euery company of the County *Ringraue*, certaine

A certaine of the beſt and moſt reſolute Souldiers to renew the aſſault: Which ſo honourable a charge they cheerefully vndertooke, and as men of courage, began forthwith to mount the ladders. Which the Haiduckes beholding, againe tooke courage, and partly aſhamed of themſelues, and parrly to bee pertakers of the ſpoile and prey, if they ſhould preuaile, did what they might for the winning of the place, ſtriuing now who ſhould do beſt. Which aſſault was with ſuch fury and preſſe of men maintained, that the Turkes not able longer to withſtand ſo great forces, were conſtrained to yeeld both themſelues and their Caſtle vnto the fury of their angry enemies. Which caſtle indeed coſt much Chriſtian bloud, but yet more of the Turks: for the Haiduckes armed with rage and reuenge, ſlew almoſt all in the caſtle, as well Raſcians as Turkes, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Amongſt others there was an B Hungarian renegate there taken, whom for haſte they beheaded, beeing not at leiſure to empaile him, the ordinary puniſhment of ſuch faithleſſe miſcreants. But during this ſpoile made by men chafed with fury, the winde and fire were on their part exerciſing of their rage alſo. For the fire which they had caſt vpon the paliſado, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increaſed with the wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, hauing burnt the paliſado, got hold of the caſtle alſo; whereunto the Souldiers (loaded with prey and booty, the things they moſt deſired) had no regard at all: ſo that the fire vtterly conſumed the Caſtle, with whatſoeuer elſe had eſcaped their greedy hands.

The caſtle of Loqua by the Chriſtians, taken and ſacked.

The Turks in garriſon at Boulouuenar (a fortreſſe but a league diſtant from this burnt Ca- C ſtle) ſeeing theſe flames of fire, and doubting what might betide themſelues, began to conſult what courſe were beſt for them to take, as either to attend the comming of the enemy, and ſo to abide the chance of warre, or elſe betimes to prouide for themſelues by flight: the conſideration of their honour and duty perſuaded them to ſtay, but the ruine of their neighbours as ſtrong and valiant as themſelues, perſuaded them otherwiſe. In fine, the care of the preſeruation of their liues preuailed, and the reſolution was, That they ſhould fly. And ſo putting all their houſhold-ſtuffe and goods into certaine boats there ready vpon the Lake, they by the middeſt thereof fled: fooliſhly perſuading themſelues, That our men comming thither, and finding nothing more, would not long there ſtay, but be gone; after whoſe departure they might as they thought returne againe vnto their old dwellings, and in the meane D time hide themſelues in the mariſh, vntill that the enemy were paſt. But our men comming thither, and finding no man in the Caſtle, neither yet any thing elſe that could well be carried away, wondered to ſee that there were any men ſo cowardly; as for feare to abandon ſuch a place, as for the ſtrength thereof might haue beene an example for others to ſtand vpon their guard and defence, they ſought out euery corner thereabout, to finde out whither the Turks were fled. At laſt after much diligent ſearch, they found certaine boats which the Turks had ſunke in the channell neere vnto the Caſtle gate, which cauſed them to thinke that they were fled by water, and happely were in ſome place not far off. Theſe boats were forthwith drawne vp out of the water, and found furniſhed with oares and ſuch other things as belonged vnto them. Which done, *Collonitz* choſe out certaine of the moſt valiant and reſolute of the Hai- E duckes, whom he commanded in thoſe boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who accuſtomed to ſuch exploits, and not ignorant of the places and ſecrets of their Countrey, went aboord, and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gone paſt two leagues vpon the Lake, but that they diſcouered a party of theſe fugitiues hid in a little Iſland, awaiting the end of this tempeſt, to recouer againe that which they had forſaken. The Turks diſmaied with the ſight of theſe men, and forced by neceſſity to ſtand vpon their guard, welcommed them with certaine little faulcon ſhot which they brought with them in their boats, thinking to haue hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with ſuch muſicke, to be moued therewith: beſides that, the deſire of the booty, which was by the Turks brought out of the Caſtle into the Iſle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof; ſo that all feare of danger ſet apart, they landed in the Iſle. Whom ſo landing, the Turks with great F courage receiued; ſo that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for ſo ſmall a number on both ſides to bee beleeued, onely valour and not number holding the ballance of the victory. But in the end, the chiefe of the Turks, and he which was their Gouernour in Boulouuener, ſlaine, the reſt diſcouraged came to parley, yeelding themſelues with their wiues and

The Turks for feare forſake the caſtle of Boulouuenar.

The Turks fled out of the caſtle of Boulouuenar ſurpriſed and ouerthrowne.

and children, and all that they had, as a prey vnto the victors. The prisoners were brought backe againe vnto the Castle, vntill the next day, that our men hauing put a good and strong garrison of foure hundred Haiduckes, and two hundred Hussars into Boulowenar, with their prisoners, and their booty, returned toward Comara: where they, notwithstanding diuers reports of the assembly of the Turkes garrisons for the suppressing of them vpon the way, in safety arriued, with a rich booty, and a number of waggons loaded with the spoiles of their enemies. The Emperor had for his part thirteene ensignes, beside the places won; which being nigh vnto Canisia, much bridled the spoilings and incursions of that garrison. G

Moyses by Basta ouerthrown flyeth vnto his strong castle of Solomose.

But leauing these endlesse troubles of Hungary for a while, let vs now againe looke into Transyluania, to see what they there do. *Moyses* the Rebell by *Basta* the Emperors Lieutenant (as we haue before said) ouerthrowne, and disappointed of his hope, betooke himselfe vnto a strong castle of his owne, called Solomose, there in feare attending the finall successe of his affaires. *Basta* in the meane time being as wise to make vse of his victory, as he was valiant to obtaine the same, subdued the rest of the country, represt the Rebels, stopped the way of sedition, and put *Moyses* in dispaire of all safety. Who seeing himselfe brought vnto such extremity offered to yeeld his Castle vnto the Turks, and so without farther acquainting of any man with his purpose, thrust himselfe with his wife and family, and all the rest of his substance into Temeswar, a strong City of the Turks not far off: whom the Bassa in shew most courteously receiued, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a prey of the great wealth of this new-come fugitiue: who had not there long staied, but that he had perswaded the captaine of Givasger, a strong frontier Castle there by, to deliuer the same to the Turks, and that without the priuity of the garrison souldiers, for that hee doubted that they would hardly be thereunto drawne: who yet getting knowledge thereof, put their captain in remembrance of his duty, beseeching him not to draw such an infamy both vpon himselfe and them, by committing so foule a fact. But afterward finding him resolutely set downe for the betraying of the Castle, they suddenly laid hands vpon him, and strucke off his head; and so with the bloud of their traiterous captaine, hauing auerted the eminent danger, with great honour held the place. H

He with his wife and family flyeth vnto the Turks.

I

Moyses now as he thought in safety at Temeswar, was yet still plotting how to trouble the state of Transyluania, and raise new stirs therein; and to that end sent a number of spies with letters of credence vnto the principall men of that country, assuring them of great and sufficient aid from the great Turke, if they would but take vp armes for their liberty (as he termed it) and shew himselfe in field against the Imperials. Neither was *Basta* in the meane time careless of him, or negligent in his so weighty affaires; but knowing that he as a notorious Rebell had yeelded his castle vnto the Turks, and was himselfe retired vnto Temeswar, forthwith made choice of six thousand of the best souldiers in his whole army, and so setting forward to besiege it: whom at his arriuall the Turks there in garrison derided, in hope to frustrate his designes. For why? They thought that their Castle seated vpon a steepe high hill, fortified with good and strong wals, enuironed with a broad and deepe ditch, and not subject vnto battery, could not but with much labor, great danger, and long time, be gained out of their hands, it being impossible (as they supposed) for their enemies to make a breach, or finde an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men seeing the strength of the place, and the difficulty to force it, stood at the first as men dismaied at the foot of the hill where the Castle stood; yet more discouraged with the impregnablenesse of the place, than with the valour of the defendants. But what cannot industry and valor do? in seeking about to find some meanes to make shew of their courage and valour, they discouered a little sharpe steepe hill ouer against the castle, from the top wherof the castle was to be battered, and the besieged distressed: but to bring the cannon thither & especially with horses, was impossible, by reason of the steep roughnesse of the ascent therunto, with broken and hanging rocks, ouergrowne with trees and bushes, as if it had bin another Alps, not but with fire and vineger to be opened: yet in fine, our men resoluing to gaine the place, did themselues that which their horses should haue done but could not, and by force of hand drew their cannon vp to the top of the hill, and hauing planted it ouer against the midst of their enemies great ordnance, began to batter the castle: which done, they day and night made their approches, fortified their forts and trenches, brought on their warlike munition, and put all things in such order, as if they would euen K

Basta besiegeth the Turkes in the castle Solomose.

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M

A euen by plaine force haue carried the place. But the Turks more admiring the valorous reſolution of our men, than reſoluing themſelues vpon their reſiſtance, being not many in number within the place, and ſeeing themſelues to haue to do with men of inuincible courage, laying aſide both their hope and weapons, craued to come to parley. Which granted, it was at length agreed, That they ſhould deliuer vp the Caſtle, leauing behinde them their great ordnance, their munition and enſignes, and ſo with their armes and liues onely ſaued, to depart. A great and glorious conqueſt got with ſmall charge; only by reſolution gained by our men without perill: thoſe being indeed the true victories, which neither draw bloud out of the veines, nor teares out of the eies.

The caſtle of Solomoſe yeelded to Baſta.

This ſtrong place ſo gained, contrary to the common opinion conceiued thereof, led the B whole prouince as it were by the hand vnto the obeiſance of the Emperour: in ſuch ſort, that *Baſta* hauing called together all the principall men of Tranſyluania, declared vnto them the juſtice of his cauſe, the right of the Emperour, with the malice and trechery of the Turks and rebels: how they might liue in aſſurance with the one, and become miſerable with the others: That the Emperour was alwaies armed for their defence and health, deſiring nothing but their welfare and preſeruation; whereas their enemies to the contrary ſought altogether their ruine and decay; That as they were not to expect light flames of fire out of the ſea, no more they were to looke for aid from thoſe their mortall enemies, whom they knew to haue before decreed to haue put them all to death, and to haue giuen their country vnto the Tartars their enemies: That this diſaſter had not now beene to fall vpon them, either euer haue beene by C them perceiued, without the aid of the Emperour; who oppoſing himſelfe againſt this fire, had quenched it and put it out; preſeruing them with his great charge, and ſauing them euen in the middeſt of their greateſt perils and dangers. That they ſhould therefore remember theſe his ſo great benefits, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publique faith, which bindeth vs to the reward of good deſerts: and that all the recompence that the Emperour deſired, was the welfare of the eſtate, as concerning their owne good: inſomuch, that he deſired nothing of them but their obeyſance, for being bound to defend them and preſerue them to his power: whereby it ſhould come to paſſe, that he ſhould be ſatisfied for his trauels, and they preſerued from their enemies; the Prince and the ſubjects together jointly working their mutuall health and welfare, each of them according vnto their proportion, D for that this mutuall performance of duty preſerued the ſcepter for the good gouernment of their eſtate. Whereunto their anſwer was, That they beſought him that their country might be relieued from the croud and cruelty of the men of war, and deliuered from the intollerable burthen of tributes, which ſo heauily oppreſſed it: that theſe objects and inconueniences could not keepe them conſtant in their obedience, ſeeing that they both felt them, and receiued them from the hand of them, to whom they had yeelded their obedience, in hope to haue beene by them relieued: That the new feeling of the wound did continually renew in them the hatred, and the object of their armes ſtill kept both their eies and their minds occupied vpon them who were the cauſes thereof; ſo that they could not well either looke vpon them or make reckoning of them: That therefore it would pleaſe him to eaſe them of their grie- E uances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 Hungarian duckats yearely for to pay his men of war, and would farther furniſh them with all prouiſions neceſſary: it being a thing more honourable and profitable alſo vnto a Prince, moderately to vſe his ſubjects meanes to keepe his ſtate in perpetuity, than through couetouſneſſe to deuoure them in one day, in their loſſe to vndoe himſelfe for euer. This their offer was by *Baſta* accepted, and the minds of theſe people by this contentment giuen them, kept in their dutifull allegiance and loyalty vnto the Emperour.

Baſta his admonitions to them of Tranſyluania.

The anſwere of the Tranſyluanians vnto the admonitions of Baſta.

But whileſt *Baſta* thus trauelled for the quieting of Tranſyluania, *Moyſes* the rebell in the meane time was for his part no leſſe buſied for the diſturbing thereof againe; inſomuch, that hauing by the appointment of the Viſier Baſſa receiued ten thouſand Tartars in his aid, and F aſſiſted with a great number of Turks, he with enſignes diſplaied, entred into Tranſyluania, proteſting there to die or to be reuenged of *Baſta*, who had before chaſed him out thence. And the better to effect this troubleſome deſigne, he now had made choice of a moſt fit time for the performance thereof. *Baſta* vpon the truſt hee had of the publique faith which he came

New enterpriſes by the Rebell Moyſes in Tranſyluania.

He with enſigns diſplaid enters into Tranſyluania.

to

to take of the Transyluanians, for their allegiance vnto the Emperor, which assured him from all stirs and tumults in that prouince, being with a small power come from Claudiopolis in Hungary, and then lying at Wiscebourg, vpon the confines of Hungary. Which his journey, and the necessity of his presence in Hungary for the defence thereof, had caused the Transyluanians to beleeue, that hee should for that yeare stay in Hungary as Generall of the Emperours army there. Vpon which persuasion of his absence many of them began againe to hold vp their heads, and to entertaine high conceits of new stirs, whereunto *Moyses* by his espials had prepared them, and now by his presence not a little discouraged: insomuch that many as well of the nobility as others, joyned themselues to him, and increased his army against the Imperials. G

Moyses with his power being come into the Prouince, first forced a Castle, about three leagues distant from Wiscebourg, and slew all the garrison therein. Which exploit encouraged him farther, full of hope in the absence of *Basta*; and seeing himselfe now the absolute master of the field, which hee at his pleasure without resistance forraged, robbed, and spoiled, with his men looded with booty, besieged Viscebourg, a litrle towne of vpon the confine of Hungary and Transyluania, neither by art nor by naturestrong, but exposed as a prey vnto him that is in the field strongest, if succours be not at hand to relieue it. Howbeit weake as it was, it held out three weekes siege, and hauing a breach made in the walls endured two assaults against all the forces of the Rebell. After which the besieged thinking themselues to haue sufficiently discharged their duty, in holding out so long, and induring of so much, and out of hope to be relieued by the weake forces of *Basta*, came to parley with the enemy, and their liues and goods saued, yeelded vnto him the towne, and so departed themselues to Varadin. H I

Wiscebourg besieged by Moyses.

Wiscebourg yeelded to Moyses.

Now albeit that there were no great forces of the Emperours on foot in Transyluania, yet the hungry Haiduckes for all that failed not to follow these warres, euen amidst the great clouds of their enemies, and were euer taking of some prey or booty from the enemy, the chiefest and almost the only meanes whereby they liue. In which doing, as they benefited themselues (the chiefe Motiues of their aduentures) so they not a little eased the country, by repressing the excursions and pillages of the Turks, whereof the countrey had endured the fury. Where, amongst other prisoners by them taken, it was their fortune to light vpon a Chiaus of the Turkes come from Constantinople, going toward the Rebell *Moyses* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*. Who by them examined, confessed, That *Moyses* was a man in great grace and reputation with his Lord and Master the Grand Seignior: And that he was sent to assure him thereof; as also of all the needfull assistance of his Prince, if hee should faithfully and effectually serue him in Transyluania, and bring it vnder his subjection and power, as he had promised and sworne. In which doing, he should not onely gaine the credit of a noble and faithfull seruant towards him, but should farther obtaine thereby the honour to bee the Lieutenant Generall of his army in this Prouince; the Great Sultan (as hee said) hauing meanes as easie as words to aduance his faithfull seruitours, who might draw more good fortunes in one houre out of this infinite source of felicity and greatnesse, than they could in a thousand yeares out of the pouerty of the Princes of Europe. He said also, That the Great Sultan had on foot an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men strong, for the conquest of Pesth, and Strigonium, furnished with all things necessary, which had now already turned head towards Hungary, had it not beene for the rebellion of some of his disloyall subjects, whom for all that hee would in short time chastise, and so turne his whole forces vpon the Emperor. K L

Moyses in great fauour with Mahomet.

Moyses proud of his late conquest, and hauing found a great deale of great Ordnance in Wiscebourg, resolued to prosecute his victory, and to besiege *Basta* in Somosinnar, wherein-to he had thrust himselfe, with the rest of his small forces; But *Basta* better acquainted with martiall affaires than he, and knowing that a Generall departed from his charge, and brought to the mercy of a Wall for his chiefe defence, hath lost his credit and reputation with his friends, and they also in hope of safety from him thought it best first to take order for the strengthening of the place, so to put *Moyses* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward as he might to prouide for the safety of himselfe and his. Wherefore he in good time M

A generall besieged, looseth his reputation.

aduer-

A aduertiſed the Gouernour of Caſſoua (who was neereſt vnto him) of *Moyſes* his deſignes, and of the neceſſity wherewith he was himſelfe encloſed. Who forthwith conceiuing the conſequence of ſo great an exploit, as concerned both the loſſe of the place, and of ſo great a commander as was *Baſta*, a loſſe irreparable; preſently commanded ſix companies of horſemen to thruſt themſelues into the place, for the better defence thereof. Theſe horſemen either afraid of the Rebels army, or elſe fauouring his proceedings, without reſpect of that they had in charge, or of their honour (things deerer vnto men of worth than their liues) without any attempt at all giuen, returned againe to Caſſoua, hauing with their pilfering and outrages by the way much offended and prouoked the minds of the country people by them ſpoyled. But being now better aduiſed, and repenting themſelues of their faults, and
B craning pardon of their gouernor, whow as about with the reſt of his power to haue cut them in pieces, they offred him for ſatisfaction, ſix of the principal authors of their diſloyalty; who were all forthwith executed, and their quarters (to the terrour of others) hanged vp vpon Gibbets by the high way ſide. But *Baſta* by their treachery lay in the meane time without ſuccour, forſaken by his friends, and the place wherein he lay, in danger to be taken: when the Tranſyluanians dwelling neere thereby reſolued to relieue him, as well for feare of the Turks bondage, as for the tyranny of *Moyſes*; one of whoſe ſecretaries with letters of credence then threatned all the country with fire and ſword, and all kinde of miſeries, if the inhabitants helped not with all their power to force the place and to win it. Which threats by *Moyſes* publiſhed before he had any abſolute power, diſmaied euery man: for why, they could
C not hope for any moderation or kindeneſſe in the proſperity of him, who in the time of his aduerſity gaue ſuch apparant teſtimonies of his cruelty. So that the people, doubting this angry man, reſolued to preuent his ſo grieuous threats by relieuing of *Baſta*, who only was able to ſtop him. Amongſt others, *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia, mindefull of the aid that *Baſta* had giuen him againſt the Tartars; and willing now as a friend to reach his hand in time of his ſo hard diſtreſſe, immediately raiſed a power of eight thouſand Valachians, which he preſently ſent to the reliefe of *Baſta*. *Moyſes* aduertiſed of their comming, and farther vnderſtanding that *Baſta* hauing well fortified the place, was departed thence, hauing before his departure aſſuredly promiſed his men there left to relieue them, and that he was now in the midſt of the field gathering together his army, changing both his reſolution and purpoſe, of himſelf
D raiſed his ſiege, and ſo departed. After which, miſhaps began to fall vpon him by heaps. The Turks forthwith forſooke him, taking their way to Temeſwar, whither they were by the Baſſa called backe, to repreſſe the Haiduckes, who were now euery day euen at the gates of the city. Theſe actiue and couragious men for their profit attending vpon all occaſions, knowing that the better part of the garriſon of Temeſwar was gone to aid *Moyſes*, vpon the ſudden had deſperatly aſſailed the ſuburbs of that ſtrong city, ſlaine all they found there, rifled them and burnt them: and ſo loaded with a great and rich prey both of cattell and other things, returned to Veradin, no man purſuing of them: And not ſo contented, were euery day abroad ſeeking after new booty; which was the cauſe that the Baſſa now called backe the Turks from *Moyſes* againe into their garriſons.

The Vayuod of Valachia ſendeth aid to the reliefe of Baſta.

Moyſes raiſeth his ſiege.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar calleth home his Turks out of Tranſyluania, for the repreſſing of the Haiduckes.

E *Moyſes* notwithſtanding this departure of the garriſon Turks of Temeſwar, was yet maſter of the field, *Baſta* with his ſmall forces not daring to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, yet by far too ſtrong for him, the ſuccours from the Vayuod of Valachia being not yet come, which he dayly expected, howbeit that many hot skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the ſtragling ſouldiers on both ſides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the country ſeeking after booty. *Moyſes* ſeeing therefore not any ſufficient enemy to appeare in field able to ſtay him, laid ſiege to Claudinople, a great, but weake city, and not very well manned, for that it was thought a place fitter by the weakeneſſe thereof to weaken and deſtroy ſuch as ſhould vndertake the defence thereof, than ſufficient to be maintained by their valour. Neuertheleſſe, the garriſon ſouldiers and the inhabitants (more to make a ſhew of their fidelity
F and allegiance toward the Emperor, than for any hope they had to mantaine the place) ſtanding vpon their gard and defence, *Moyſes* was conſtrained to plant his great ordnance againſt it, and to batter it: which he did, and in a very ſhort time with the fury of the cannon had beaten downe the bulwarkes and flankers thereof, and made a faire breach in the wall, ready now to haue giuen thereunto an aſſault, and to haue entred. Whereupon the beſiegednot, ignorant

Claudinople beſieged by Moyſes.

Claudinople yeelded to Moyses.

rant of their owne weakeneſſe, came to parley, and agreed to giue vp the city, the citiſens ha- G
uing their liues, goods liberty, and religion ſaued, to ſtay there ſtill, and the ſouldiers with their armes and baggage to be in ſafety brought ouer the mountaines into ſome place of ſurety. The taking of this city much encouraged the rebell, reſolued there to make his reſiſtance, and the ſeat of his principality. Full eares of corne draw birds to picke vpon them, and the good fortunes of Generals, ſouldiers to follow them: they forſake none but ſuch as are before forſaken of their better fortunes; to become ſlaues vnto gaine, and enemies vnto honour. The Turks and Tartars thirſting after theſe commodities, and allured with the ſmell of riches, repaired thither on euery ſide; in ſuch ſort, that the army of *Moyſes* increaſed in number, his mind with hope, and his fortune with power. Armed with theſe aſſurances, he H
ſent for his wife and family then at Temeſwar, to come vnto him to Claudinople, to be partakers with him of his good hap. And for that purpoſe ſent a conuoy of 400 Turks to conduct them on the way thither. Who being come to Temeſwar, and about to haue led the wife and family of *Moyſes* out of the city, were not ſuffered by the Ianizaries that had the garding of the towne, ſo to do: who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found ſo many diſloialties, trecheries, and treaſons in the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Valachians, to the great hurt and hinderance of his eſtate, that he could no more aſſure himſelfe of them: and that doubting of the fidelity of *Moyſes*, being a Tranſyluanian, he was reſolued to keepe this gage for his more aſſurance: aſſuring him withall, That his wife and family being in his power, ſhould receiue nothing from him but fauour and grace, ſo long as he receiued from him the effects of his loyalty, but that he ſhould neuer hope to injoy them but in I
Temeſwar, or ſome other ſuch like place aſſured for his ſeruice. *Moyſes* aſtonied at this anſwer, was much moued againſt the great Sultan, complained in his ſoule, that hauing ruinated his faith, his honour, and the welfare of his country, to aſſure him of his fidelity towards him, he yet doubted of his conſtancy, as if all theſe crimes did not binde him to ſerue him with his perſon for euer, were it euen but for feare of puniſhment from them whom he had ſo grieuouſly offended.

In the meane time the ſuccours ſent from the Vayuod of Valachia were vpon the borders of Tranſyluania vnder the conduct of *Marſa* the Vayuod his Lieutenant, and *Baſta* was gathering together his forces, to recouer againe his former eſtate; expecting euery houre the comming of two thouſond horſamen out of Sileſia, with which vnited power he was in K
good hope to diſcomfit the rebell, and to recouer his former loſſes. All which, *Moyſes* by his eſpials right well knew, and for the remedy thereof reſolued to march with thirty thouſand men to meet with the Valachians, and to cut them off, before they could come far into Tranſyluania, or joyne their forces with *Baſta*. For the furtheriug of which his purpoſe he had learned the place whereby they were to enter, their number, and the way they were to hold, the better to conduct his army againſt them; and being in number more than three to one, already aſſured himſelfe of the victory. All which fell out according to his deſire: for the Valachians comming on, being in number but eight thouſand, fell as it were a prey into his mouth. For needs fight they muſt, or die therefore, although the number were vnequall; for that to fly was more dangerous vnto the Valachians (hauing the Turks and Tartarian horſemen at their backes) than manfully to fight it out. Neceſſity gaue courage vnto the weaker ſide, and feare cauſed them to performe more than they would haue done, had they had liberty to haue fled: yet for all that, the greater number at length preuailed againſt the leſſe; ſo that after a great and mortall fight, wherein a great number of the Turks and Tartars were ſlaine, the Valachians in the end were enforced to leaue their dead companions,

The Valachians by Moyſes put to flight.

their honour, and their tents, with all their baggage in the field, and to betake themſelues to flight; but not all in rout as freſh-water ſouldiers, but with often making ſtands, as men diſdaining by true valour, but only with number oppreſſed, to be ouercome. The rebels proud of their victory, and now fearing no more harme, forthwith gaue themſelues to the rifling of the enemies campe, diuiding the ſpoyle, and filling the heauens with the noiſe of their M
trumpets, publiſhing thereby the trophies of their victory. Which diſorder the Valachians perceiuing, and thereof conceiuing hope of ſome good to be done, turned head, and ferred cloſe together, couragiouſly thruſt themſelues into the middeſt of theſe proud and triumphant victors. Which vnexpected thunderclap ſo diſmaied them and troubled their wits,

that

A that surprised in disorder, with their hands full of spoils in stead of weapons; they could neither recouer their courage, nor put themselues againe in order. Such confusion maketh men oftentimes to feele the blowes of death, before they be aware of the arme that giueth the same: so, of these men so confounded, some stood as men amazed, othersome ran away to saue themselues, and othersome stood vpon their defence, but all were alike slaine: so that in fine, this great army was for the most part cut in pieces, and the rest put to flight. *Moyses* himselfe was there among the rest slaine, worthy for his treason to haue beene reserued to a more shamefull death.

Moyses with his army by the Valachians ouerthrowne, and himselfe slaine.

Of this victory the Vayuod by letters certified *Basta*, to whom he sent fiue and twenty of the enemies ensignes for an honourable present, with this joyfull news of the death and ouer-
B throw of the rebell; whose body as the Vayuod writ, was found dead amongst the middest of the dead, slaine euen at the first charge, wherein his guard was ouerthrowne. And for that it was commonly beleeued, that he was not yet dead, neither present at that battell, as some had giuen it out; to manifest the contrary vnto the World, and by his example to terrifie others, his head was vpon a lance set vp at Carolstad for all men to behold: a preferment well beseeming such an ambitious head, as had made so great troubles, and beene the death of so many Christians.

Moyses his head vpon a lance set vp at Carolstad.

This rebell suppressed, another by and by start vp, called *Albert Nage*, who gathering toge-
C ther the rebels of Transyluania, mingled with certaine Turks, Tartars, Cossackes, and Moldauians, all together amounting to the number of six thousand, made head towards Lippa. Against whom, *Basta* with all speed sent forth three thousand Haiducks well acquainted with the countrey, which sometimes serued them to better purpose than their armes, for that the rebels sought not so much to come to a set battell, and to try the matter by true valour, as by taking the aduantages of places, to delay the time and purchase gaine, the chiefe end of their rebellion. These rebels the Haiducks surprised neere vnto a Castle called Ferre, where they meant to haue lodged, and charged them. Who so vpon the sudden ouertaken, and ignorant of their enemies power, supposing them to haue beene more in number than indeed they were, made small resistance, but as a many of rascals, gathered by villany, and without trusting
D of one another, by flight prouided euery man for himselfe as he might. In which flight, the greatest number of them were slaine, and their chiefe taine with much ado saued, to be at another time for his euill deserts justly executed.

New rebels in Transyluania discomfited.

Basta by these good haps, and the aid of the Vayuod of Valachia, being again become ma-
E ster of the field, in very short time after had reduced all Transyluania vnder the Emperours obeysance, vnto whom, he together with the Vayuod, for an honourable present and a testimony of their good seruice, sent to Vienna, and from thence to Prague, an hundred ensignes gained from the rebels. All which with some other rich spoles, the master of the Ceremonies in great pompe and triumph led, together with *Moyses* the late rebels horse, exceeding richly furnished with furniture of pure gold, and was for his paines by the Emperour rewarded with a chaine of gold, sent vnto him by the County *Fustenberg*.

An honourable present by the L. Basta sent vnto the Emperour.

The troubles of Transyluania thus once againe quieted, *Basta* resoluing againe to besiege
F Temeswar, with his power marched towards Lippa, there to meet with the forces of the Vayuod of Valachia, the better to vndertake and performe the intended exploit. His army consisted of twenty thousand men strong, carrying with them fiue and twenty pieces of great ordnance, furnished with all things necessary. And of the enterprise it selfe euery man had good hope, as well for the sufficiency of him the Generall that had vndertaken it, as for the want of reliefe that was not like any way to be brought vnto the besieged. But while he so lay at the siege thereof, his souldiers too greedily and excessiuely feeding vpon fruit (whereof there was that yeare great store) fell so into the bloudy flix, and thereof in such number died (although he had giuen most streit command, That none should be eaten, or vpon great penalties be brought into the camp) that he was glad to rise with his army and be gone.

Whilest this was in doing, the County *Solmes* lying in garrison at Carolstat, tooke vpon
G him to surprise Wiscenbourg; and setting forth but with foure hundred souldiers of his garrison, with wonderfull diligence surprised the place, and without any great resistance became masters thereof. But the citizens ouer-grieued with the insolent outrages of these

County Solmes surprising Wiscenbourg, is himselfe taken prisoner.

men

rent, whether they were good or bad, ſo that they ſerued to that effect; and nouriſhed with the ſame milke of infidelitie that their Prince was, trained vp in the ſame ſchoole, and foſtred with the ſame air, feared in him againſt them, that which they felt in themſelues againſt him. An hard matter it is to aſſure minds fraight with like craft, ſubtiltie, and deceit, and poſſeſſed with like diſtruſt one of another. Howbeit *Mahomet* ſpared no kinde of cunning to deceiue theſe crafty and ſubtil men; offering vnto them, together with his gracious pardon, great preferments, dignities, and honors, ſo that they would but yeeld to him their due obedience, lay down their arms, and no more take vp the ſame but in his ſeruice. But theſe wily foxes knew right wel, that the promiſes of faithleſſe princes coſt them nothing but words, the honor and credit therof they regarded not, ſo that therby they might attain vnto the height of their deſires, which they eſteemed aboue all other things: ſo that for them to truſt vnto a thing of ſo ſmall value with him that was ſo prodigal therof, and for the ſame ſo eaſily to yeeld vp their liues and fortunes, which they eſteemed as their chiefeſt treaſures, they thought right worthily to deſerue all ſhame and miſhap that might betide them. So that they not only refuſed to lay down arms, and to yeeld their obedience vnto him, as he deſired, but euen to haue peace with him vpon any conditions whatſoeuer, ſeeing them dangerous vnto themſelues, and good only for him their enemy.

Mahomet finding the rebels ſo reſolutely ſet down, as not by any means but by force to bee appeaſed, thought it now beſt to turn his purpoſe vnto the Chriſtians, and to offer them that which the others had refuſed; in hope that peace made with the one, ſhould be the vtter ruin of the other. Vpon which point he being in himſelf reſolued, ſought now ſome honeſt means not vnbeſeeming his greatnes, to effect this his purpoſe. For the eaſing him of which care, the French Embaſſador then Lieger at Conſtantinople, was very fitly then intreating with the Viſier Baſſa's for the deliuerance of the County *Tſolan*, taken at Alba-Regalis the laſt yeare, and againſt all law of arms detained priſoner at Conſtantinople. This noble gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit, as wel for the ſufficiencie of himſelf, as with inſtructions to deale with the Emperour concerning an intreaty of peace to be had. Wherupon he commanded him to bee ſet at liberty, with charge, That he ſhould both diſcreetly and faithfully deal with the Emperor concerning this matter of peace; which if he ſhould by his induſtry effect, to his good liking and content, then he ſhould remain free, otherwiſe to return againe into his former captiuity and bondage: for whom the French Embaſſadour gaue his word and became pledge. Vpon which barbarous conditions the Earle was forthwith deliuered, who by the law of arms ſhould not at all haue bin detained.

Beſides this plot laid for the negotiation of peace, *Achmet Baſſa* to this purpoſe writ to *Colonitz*, then commander of the Emperors army in Hungary; the copy of which letters was as followeth:

Letters of Achmet Baſſa vnto Collonitz concerning peace.

To thee our friend Collonitz *health and greeting. I ſuppoſe you yet remember the propoſitions concerning peace, which our Soueraign and moſt mighty Monarch not long ago cauſed to bee opened and propounded vnto you by certaine of his Baſſa's neere vnto Strigonium; which as then remained not reſolued. But if now it ſhall ſeem vnto you good, that we ſhould aſſemble our ſelues together into ſome place of aſſurance both to the one ſide and the other, we may again confer about that buſines, as hauing on my part full power and commandment from my Prince ſo to do; yet with charge, That before all other things Strigonium ſhould be again deliuered vnto vs. Which being don, wee may eaſily afterward determin the other difficulties, and conclude a good and wholſome peace. God which onely reigneth in the heauens aboue, is witnes of our faithfull and iuſt deſire, to aſſume a quiet and firm peace betwixt vs, and that to auert theſe flouds of war from the poor people, and to giue them ſome repoſe and reſt after ſo great troubles. This is our intent and purpoſe, which God knoweth to be void of all fraud and guile; which we now declare vnto you, in hope to vnderſtand yours alſo. But if you be not reſolued to render to vs Strigonium, before we begin to intreat of other matters, it is not needfull for you to trouble your ſelf to giue any anſwer to theſe our letters. But if you ſhall reſolue to the contrary, to deliuer the ſame, with as much ſpeed as you can, in few words let vs vnderſtand the ſame with the time & place fit for our aſſembly & meeting to the intent fully to determin of theſe affairs. You know alſo that you haue bin of long time accuſtomed to pay tribute to our Prince; which if you ſhal continually pay for the time to come, and diſcharge the arrerages for ttime paſt, it ſhall*

bee

A *be commodious for vs, and honourable for you, seeing that it is an honour vnto you to be tributaries vnto the Grand Seigniour, it hauing alwaies in times past bin for your good and profit. Besides that, peace shall likewise be intreated of with the great Cham of Tartarie, who is commanded by our most mighty and gratious Emperor vpon iust and reasonable conditions to entertain the same, and neuer more but in peaceable manner to come into Hungarie. Now if that you shall neglect or reiect this treaty for peace, it is certaine that you shall be the authour of the misery and ruine of the whole countrey, it being impossible that the towns and villages consumed with fire should euer recouer their former beauty or felicity. God which reigneth in heauen is there witnesse vnto me, and my dead Emperour vpon earth, that I speake franckely with you, and without dissimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let vs vnderstand if you haue a desire to attend vnto this treaty of peace, according to the purport of your Letters: for if you shall*
B *resolue to the contrarie, we protest vnto you to write no more concerning these affaires.*

Collonitz hauing receiued these letters, sent them forthwith vnto the Emperor, requesting his Maiestie to consider what answer he would haue giuen vnto them. Whom the Emperor, desirous of a good peace, commanded to embrace the occasion, and by proofe to learne whether the Turks desire were indeed conformable to their words or not. Whereupon *Collonitz* taking vnto him certaine of the best commanders of the army, vndertooke the businesse, and entred into the treaty of peace with the Turks: wherein he found the vnreasonableness of their demands to tend so much vnto the hurt and dishonor of the Emperor, as that they euen at the first entrance shut vp the way to al further or reasonable conference; it being altogether
C impossible to bring to any conformitie, minds set down vpon resolutions so far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperour would haue been glad of peace vpon any condition) after their proud manner, vnreasonably demanded to haue Transyluania, Strigonium, and Pesth restored vnto them; for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour Agria and Canisia, pebles for pearles. So that vpon propositions so far different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both sides as they came, to try by armes that which by talke and conference they could not agree vpon. But as all the Turks treaties of peace with the Christians are indeed but false shewes to abuse the facilitie of the Christians by, euen so now also it was knowne, that they in the meane time, whilest this treaty of peace was in hand, gathered together great store both of men and munition at Belgrade, wherewith to arme a great con-
D uoy of victuals, which they had thought during this interparley for peace to haue put into Buda. But *Collonitz* vnderstanding thereof, ceased further to intreat of peace, which with the false shew thereof did but hurt and deceiue the Christians, and betooke himselfe againe to his arms (his and their safest and surest refuge) resoluing with the other Captains & Commanders of the army to do what they might for the crossing and hindring of the Turkes in their purpose for the putting of victuals into Buda: whereof there was now such want, that the Turks in garrison there hauing alreadie eaten all their horses, and for victuals rifled the Gouernours house, were resolued to abandon the city, if they should not be within some few daies relieued.

The Turks vnreasonable demonds breake off all the treaty of peace.

Now vpon this resolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of Buda, the
E Christians for the more assurance of their purpose, prepared therefore both by water and by land, embarking their footmen vpon the riuer, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one the Gouernour of Strigonium, and the other of Pesth; whilest that *Collonitz* with the horsemen scouring alongst the banks of the riuer of Danubius, took the charge by land. And so it fortuned, that vpon the 22 day of August he with his horsemen neere vnto the village of Mohatsch (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell vpon the head of the Turks army, led by the Bassa *Murat*, consisting of six thousand Turkes, two thousand of them being Ianizaries: who altogether lay encamped vpon an euen plaine, very commodious for our horsemen, who let slip neither the time nor the opportunitie of so great an aduantage offered them, but forthwith charged them: where after a number of notable charges both gi-
F uen and receiued, which still abated both the number and courage of the Turks, they at last retired toward the body of their army, and that in such hast, as that their retreat little differed from a speedy flight. After whom *Collonitz* followed with like hate as hee had charged them; but euill followed by his friends, who euill performed their charge, seeking after

A notable enterprise of Collonitz vpon the auantgard of the Turks army.

the ſpoil, in ſtead of purſuing their enemies; the Turks perceiuing the ſmall number that purſued them, turned vpon them, and ſo began again not only to make ſtrong reſiſtance, but euen right hardly to charge them. Who ſo by them preſſed with no leſſe courage than power, were now glad themſelues to retyre, in ſtead of purſuing the victory; but yet ſo, as that the retreit was made without any great loſſe therin receiued. Howbeit, the Turkes not a little incouraged with this change of fortune, and perceiuing themſelues too ſtrong for their enemies that charged them, came on ſo faſt and ſo couragiouſly, as that in fine they had defeated the Chriſtians, had not the Haiducks out of their boats from the riuer in good time come reſolutely to their relief. Which cloud the Turks perceiuing, ready to pour forth a great tempeſt vpon their heads, and not daring to abide the ſame, againe retyred, leauing the Chriſtians Victors both in the firſt and laſt charge: who not content with the retreit of the Turks, furiouſly charged and purſued them euen vnto their great campe, and ſo returned, carrying backe with them both the glory of the field, and the ſpoil of their enemies. H

Collonitz in good time releeued by the Haiducks.

In this conflict, the red cornet of *Murat Baſſa*, the cogniſance of his great commaund, was taken, with two field pieces; ſeuen hundred Turks were left dead vpon the place, and ſix ſcore more taken priſoners: amongſt whom was *Saxar Beg*, who being a man of vnderſtanding, & by the Chriſtians examined, confeſſed, That *Haſſan Baſſa* the day before this conflict came into the Campe, and there honourably dined with the great Cham; with whom after their great cheer, he entring into diſcourſe of many great matters, and among the reſt, concerning his return into his country; was much againſt the ſame, vntill ſuch time as they had new victualled Buda, wherunto he was (as he ſaid) both in honour and duty bound to giue his aſſiſtance, the loſſe of this place being of ſo great importance vnto the grand Seignior. That otherwiſe his aid had been to him rather hurtfull than profitable, his people hauing deuoured ſo much victuals and performed nothing, if he ſhould now at this time faile to doe his Prince ſeruice; who could neuer thinke either valour or credit to be in him, if he ſhould fail in ſuch actions as wherin his valour and fidelitie ſhould appear; all things hauing no other credit and reputation but according vnto their effects. And that therefore hee ſhould reſolue to ſee the end of this exploit, which required euery mans helping hand for the performance therof, conſidering the forces of the enemy in readineſſe to hinder the ſame. Moreouer hee aſſured them, That the Baſſa's purpoſe was to new fortifie Haſwar, Pax, and Kaletſch, frontier Caſtles, and neceſſarie for this action, and ſo to goe to the ſiege of Peſth: and that done, to beſiege Strigonium, which for all that, he doubted to win this year, as well by reaſon of the approach of winter, as for that a great part of his forces were far off, and not eaſily in a little time to be aſſembled together. That the Tartars were yet a great way from the camp, where the Baſſa's of Aſia and Caramania were within a few daies expected, the one of them leading with him the reconciled rebels of Aſia, and the other ſix thouſand Ianizaries. Which his confeſſion although it were not altogether true, yet caried it ſhew of ſome probabilitie, as time by proofe afterward declared. I K

The Turkes affaires reuealed to the chriſtiãs

Some of our men were in this charge ſlaine alſo, but few in compariſon of the Turks, who there loſt ſome of their beſt men. It was noted, that tn this conflict the ſoldiers of Colonell *Sultze* had euil behaued themſelues, refuſing to purſue the enemy being in flight; whether it were for that they feared ſome ambuſh layd for them, or for that they diſdained to follow Generall *Collonitz*: the reaſons perhaps for which their Colonell ſtaied them from the purſuit of the enemy. But to euill purpoſe: for being out of order at ſuch time as the Turkes turning back renewed the fight, they had beene all ſlain and cut in pieces, had nor the Haiduckes in good time (as we ſaid) come on to their reſcue. As for *Collonitz*, hee moſt brauely bare himſelf in this conflict, ſo much as in him was vrging his good fortune for the obtaining of a ful victory; ſometime performing the part of a good Captaine, and ſometime of a moſt valiant ſouldier; ſometime forcing the charge, and again ſtaying his men in the retreit: inſomuch that oftentimes loſt amongſt his enemies, and again returning by the grace of God, he eſcaped death as it were by miracle, and from being taken priſoner, by chance. Into neither of which dangers hee could haue fallen without the great danger of the whole Army, which next vnto God, was for the ſafety thereof chiefely beholding vnto the valour of him their ſo braue a Leader. But God in his wiſedome createth not ſuch worthy men, but by his prouidence L M

A uidence also to preserue them: Wonder it were otherwise, that euer such worthy men should return from among the midst of so many desperat dangers, Death as it were enuying at their liues, and their enemies for their glory chusing them out to triumph of their spoils and ouerthrow. And without doubt, had the rest of the Christians after his example prosecuted their good fortune, and don what good soldiers should of duty haue done, their enemies had beene quite ouerthrown, and they themselues had bin both victorious and rich: where now for lacke of good resolution, the victory was almost equall; for besides the spoils by them gotten, they might haue carried away with them a whole years pay due to the garrison of Buda, which the Turks, put into a fear, and only carefull of their liues, had left in their camp, which they afterward again recouered, vpon recouery of their force and courage. This mony, with much more,
B was all appointed as a prey vnto the good fortune of our men, had they bin so valorous as to fetch it; but failing of their indeauor in so glorious an action, Fortune failed them also of her bounty.

Now at length the Christian army was met together, about the fourth of September, wherin the lord *Russworm* commanded as General; who desirous to vnderstand of the Turks affairs and designes, sent forth two of his most trusty and expert souldiers to performe that piece of seruice: who in Turks apparel being got into the Turks army, were there eight daies vndiscouered or suspected of any. Where after that they roaming vp and down had taken a full view of the Turks army, and in what they might discouered their designes, they returned back, declaring vnto their General what they had both there heard and seen; as, That the Turks army
C was very great, but yet not such as that which the last year besieged Pesth: That the Turks lay incamped at large, and not all together, which caused their Army to seem the greater, taking vp half a league for the lodging therof, being wel prouided of cannon and other field pieces. That *Hassan Bassa* commanded therin as Generall, hauing brought with him twelue thousand Ianizaries, beside his horsmen and the reconciled rebels of Asia, which were daily lookt for; the leader of whom was not known, some thinking it to be him who had alwaies commanded them, being a most valiant captain and expert commander, but others deemed him to be but one of his Captains that had forsaken him (as indeed he was) a right valiant man also, but not of so great experience as he. That the great Tartar Han, come to aid the Turks in their wars
D in Hungary, was to the great discontentment of *Hassan Bassa*, now already returned toward his own country (with such booty and prisoners as he had got from the poor Christians) to appease a rebellion there raised by a yong Tartar prince his nephew, who by his vncle the great Han giuen in hostage to *Mahomet*, and kept at Constantinople as in prison, hauing got means to make an escape and to return into Tartary, was about to trouble his vncles affaires, in hope now in his absence to mount vnto the throne of his estate: and that the Tartar being come to the banke of the riuer Danubius, and by the Turks denied boats to passe ouer in, and with many railing and opprobrious speeches by them charged for his departure, as a Coward, had found meanes to make a floting bridge of great faggots, whereby he passed his footmen ouer the riuer, his horsemen swimming ouer the same; and so was by great journies returning toward his owne territory, boasting by the way as he went, That hee had rejected and trodden
E vnder foot all the prayers and requests of *Hassan Bassa*, entreating him yet to stay a while in Hungary for the seruice of the great Sultan his master. Besides that, That they had seene six great Vessels vpon the riuer of Danubius, with ten lesser Vessels following after them, garded with three thousand souldiers well armed, and men of good sort, three hundred of them being Ianizaries, appointed to safe conduct the munition to be brought vp the riuer, and to serue as a conuoy to the other Vessels that went to follow them with victuals, if haply the Christians should attempt any thing against them. And in fine, That the Turks army could not possibly be great this year, by reason of many great lets wherwith the great Sultan was this year troubled: which much abated the courage and hope of his Captaines, who hanging their heads,
F came vnwillingly to these Wars, accounting themselues happy if they might in this expedition but take Pesth, that they might not returne so much dishonoured as they came daunted and discouraged. With which newes the Christians were so much encouraged to incounter with the Turkes, as if they had beene assured to fight with men already discouraged and out of heart.

The Lord Russworm informed of the Turks designes.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the garrison of Strigonium.

In the mean time the Hussars of Strigonium, alwaies ready for fight, by good fortune going forth, met with 400 Turkes seeking for forrage; who incountering together, at the first made a most braue and gallant fight, euery one of them wishing, That their priuate successe might be the beginning of their generall victory. But the Hussars being both more skilfull in that manner of skirmishing and sudden incounter, and also of greater courage, at length brake the Turks rankes, of whom six score lay dead vpon the ground, most of the rest being taken prisoners, with an hundred and thirty good and seruiceable horses, wherewith both the glory and the profit of their victory was increased. Colonel *Sultze* also with 300 men marching out from the Campe, chanced to discouer an hundred of those braue horsemen which but newly came out of Asia with *Zellaly* the Rebell; who hauing neuer seen the army of the Christians, nor yet felt their forces, were with three hundred Ianizaries vpon a brauery come ouer the Riuer Danubius, to take a view of the Christian Camp: for the drawing on of whom, the wary Colonel had sent forth fifty of his horsmen a great way from the rest of his troup, as it were to discouer the country therabouts. These fore-runners failed not to meet with the Turkes, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to haue had a great hand ouer that so small a number; when vpon the sudden Colonell *Sultze* with the rest of his company comming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his owne men, and discouraged the Turks: who surprised with feare, thinking the Christians to be more in number than indeed they were, hauing left some fifty of their men dead vpon the place, as men dismaied and voyd of vnderstanding fled: in which their flight, such as were not by the Christians slaine, were in the riuer of Danubius drowned, whereinto they for feare all headlong plunged themselues. G H I

The Turks defeated by Colonell Sultze.

All these little conflicts serued but as sparkes, to kindle the great fire by the Bassa intended; his first purpose being to put a Conuoy of victuals into Buda, which the Christians purposed by all means to hinder: which so contrary intentions were not but by force and policie to be decided. The Christian General wisely doubting lest the Bassa should come and lodge his Army betwixt Vicegrade and Buda, and so victual the city at his pleasure, raised a strong fort of an old church, betwixt the said two places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lansquenets. Beside which fort, called the fort of Saint *Andrew*, hee built another at the head therof in the Isle of Vicegrade, in such order and proportion, that these two forts might one of them defend the other, and annoy them that should attempt to force either of them. Together with this commodiousnes, the fort in the Isle kept the passage vpon Danubius free and open for the bringing of victuals and other necessaries to the Campe of the Christians; and was but a league and an half from Buda. Into which fort was put a Regiment of foure thousand Italians, being all very wel armed. Which don, he made a bridge of boats vpon the Riuer, which began in the camp and ended at the Isle, for the releiuing of the fort; & so from thence passed quite ouer the riuer to Vacia, a little town, which it was needfull for the Christians to keep. K

These Forts finished according to the necessity of the time, it was not long after, but that the Bassa sent ten thousand Turkes both horse and foot to take the first of them, which they supposed to haue beene but weakely fortified. Who comming thither, were with such courage receiued by the Lansquenets with their harquebuses, as that the whole Fort seemed to haue beene on fire. Wherewith the Turkes dismayed, as men in their expectation deceiued, and in approching of the same hauing some of their men slain and moe hurt, they soone after sounded a retreit, and hauing done nothing but lost a number of their men, returned to their Campe from whence they came. In which enterprise failing, they resolued vpon another, and began to make a bridge ouer the Danubius, in hope thereby to passe ouer, and to annoy the Christians on the other side of the Riuer. Wherof the General of the Christians vnderstanding, suffered them without any interruption to spend the time in performing of the same. But certainly informed by his espials, both of the day and houre wherein they were about to passe ouer, he layd an ambush of foure thousand Lansquenets and two thousand Reisters for them, in such place as from whence they might without danger do great harm vnto the Enemy, and assure the body of the Christian Army. The riuer of Danubius had growing vpon the bankes thereof, and especially in the desolate and vnfrequented places, great store of flags L

A great Ambush laid for the intercepting of the Turks. M

and

A and reeds, which were now thicke, & high enough to couer the footmen in, hauing with them four culuerins ready charged. Behind this ambush lay Colonell *Collonitz* with his regiment, and in the head of it the prince *Ioinville* with a certain number of French gentlemen, who vpon a braue courage, and a desire they had to see seruice, had followed him into those wars. There was also the Lord of Bassomperre another Frenchman, with his own priuat followers, in number few, but in valor great. Vpon the flanks lay four troups of French Carabins, Loranoises, and Wallons, most expert and resolute soldiers.

The Turks hauing made their bridge, began now to passe ouer the same, being charged by some few stragling and loose fore-runners of the Christians, sent before for that purpose: whom the Turks not much regarding, still pressed on, in hope to ouertake them and to cut
B them in pieces, not aware of the ambush laid for them, nor of their enemies counter-designes. The footmen in the mean time lying stil close in the reeds in ambush, beholding how and in what order they passed, and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But hauing perceiued ten thousand Turks to be now come ouer, and making head toward them; the Wallons vpon the banke of the riuer (as was before appointed) first discharged their pieces vpon them, and slew some of them. Neuertheless the Turkes still passing on by them, slew of them also about foure and twenty, and so keeping their way, marched directly toward the Christians. But this their forwardnesse was quickly stayed, and their courage abated; for in passing by, they were vpon the sudden assailed by the Lansquenets and Reisters, now risen out of ambush, and by them hardly layed vnto on euery side; as also by the horsemen,
C who now come in, had put them into some disorder before they were wel aware of them. The Wallons also at the first by the Turks scattered, bnt now again rallied, & desirous to reuenge the death of their friends and fellows, played their parts, and on another side right furiously charged their enemies. During al which fight, the Culuerins ceased not to open the flanks of the Turks battell, with the losse of a number of their men, by the fury therof rent in pieces. Neither did the valiant *Collonitz* foreslow so fair an opportunitie, but afront charging this dismaied company, by plaine force caused them to giue ground: the Carabins in the mean time charging them vpon their flanks, and the Wallons behinde. Who thus on euery side beset and hardly layd vnto, as men discouraged, and out of hope to be relieued, turned their backes and fled amaine, to haue recouered the bridge whereby they came ouer. In which fight and
D flight two thousand of them being slaine, and the rest not able to recouer the bridge, driuen headlong into the riuer, were therein drowned and slaine to the number of fiue thousand of them, those which remained aliue beeing all taken prisoners. Amongst the rest one of the Bassa's, a man of great account amongst the Turkes, was slain, with many other Captains and commanders of great note, and fifteen hundred Ianizaries. There were also foure field pieces taken, with thirty ensignes and two Cornets, beside a very rich prey of braue and couragious horses, with much fair armor, rich apparell, and good scimiters, weapons of no small account and price amongst the Turks. This ouerthrow much abated the courage and hope of the rest of the Turkes for comming to the effect of their designes, and increased the courage and hope of the Christians, reasonably wel hereby assured of the good succes of their affaires for
E this year in Hungary.

The Turks falling into the ambush laied for them by the Christians, receiue a notable ouerthrow.

About this time Sultan *Mahomet* hauing put a fleet of Gallies to sea, to haue gone against the king of Fez, was certainly informed, how that the same with tempest sore beaten, to auoid shipwrecke, was againe returned vnto the same port from whence it loosed, bringing backe with it nothing for all his great charges, but sickneesse and great losses at sea receiued. The like euil hap or worse hauing at the same time also betided another Fleet by him set out into the Euxine or blacke sea, to defend those sea coasts from being rifled and spoyled by the Rebels in Asia, who with their daily incursions did there still great harme. For albeit that *Zelally* one of the Captaines of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet* his faire promises, was by
F the streit of the Dardanelli (called in antient time the streit of Hellespont) come with twelue thousand good souldiers out of Asia into Europe, and so marching through Macedonia, was come into Hungarie, there to doe his Lord and Master good seruice; yet the chiefe Rebell held still out, and both now and for diuers yeres after maintained a most cruel & dangerous warre, to the great trouble of the Grand Seignior, and the hindring of his affaires. And euen now the crafty rebell hauing made shew as if he would haue submitted himselfe,

The doings of the Rebels in Asia.

and

and come ouer into Europ as *Zellaly* did;and had therfore certain gallies sent vnto him from *Mahomet*,to haue transported him and his soldiers in: he now of them possessed, slew all that were sent therin,and kept the gallies to himself. So that so far from was it,that the rebellion was extinguished in Asia,and the rebels suppressed, as that they were now vp in greater number than euer,and so did also more harm. Wherunto they were also the more incouraged by the example of *Hassan Bassa* (not him the Generall in Hungary,but another Bassa of the same name) who by the great Sultan sent against these rebels,had for a time kept them vnder, and somwhat represſed their insolencie; but now by *Mahomet* displaced,and another being sent to succeed him;he therwith discontented,so animated and insenced his soldiers against him, as that comming to haue taken vpon him his charge,he found most part of the soldiers ready to turn their weapons vpon him:so that at length they fel together by the ears about the matter, some taking part with the old General,and some with the new. In which tumultuous quarel a number of soldiers were slain, all they of the richer sort spoiled,and the Sultans seruice and authority neglected. But the new General armed with his princes authority,and some of the old soldiers also taking his part,at last preuailing,*Hassan* the old Generall with his partakers were glad to flie and shift for themselues; who for all that, hauing afterward gathered together the dispersed soldiers,and joining with the rest of the rebels,held stil the body of a good army on foot:by his example stirring vp the people to rebellion, crossing the seruice of his Soueraign,and doing what harm he could,so to seem vnto his followers the more valiant.

Tauris recouered by the Persians.

The Persian king on the other side taking aduantage of these the Turks troubles at home, as also of his wars with the Christians,at the same time with a great army besieged the great city of Tauris, as then kept by the Turks with a most strong garison. In which siege hee for battery vsed the help of the cannon,an engin of long time by the Persians skorned, as not beseeming valiant men;vntil that by the irown harms taught,he was now content to vse it,beeing with the same,as also with skilful canoniers furnished by the Portugals. By which means he in short time after again recouered this great City from the Turkes, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the Persian King, but now againe restored vnto the Persian Kingdom.

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on euery side beset with troubles,and not wel knowing which way to turn himself for remedy,being much perplexed in mind, began to enter into consideration of the vanity of these earthly things,and of the frailty of his estate;and so struck as it were with remorse of conscience,and a firm beleefe that God did thus chastise and punish him for his offences,considering that his ancestors had neuer bin troubled with any such attaints or disgraces;he conuerted all his thoughts vnto prayers towards God, and therefore commaunded publique prayers to be continually said in all the Moschies or churches thorowout his dominions;giuing himself wholly also vnto such deuout exercises and works of charity: & withal sent two of his most reuerend priests bare headed and bare footed on pilgrimage to Mecha (where the chief temple of their great Prophet is,and where they vainly beleeue their superstitious prayers are of him most speedily heard)there to pray vnto him for the health & prosperity of him their prince and Soueraign.

A great fight of a Flemish ship with the Turks gallies.

At the same time *Amurat Rais* an old pyrat the Turkes Admirall for the West part of the Mediterranian,roaming there vp and down,and doing what harme he could, chanced to light vpon a great Flemish ship,which he with his gallies forthwith inclosed, the calmnesse of the weather then fauoring him, & hindring the Flemings,their ship being able to make no way. Who so beset, and hauing made a great fight against the whole fleet, and slaine a number of the Turks,and sore rent diuers of their gallies,though not without losse of many of their own men also;being not able longer to fight,and now seeing themselues borded by as many Turks as could wel stand vpon the hatches of the ship, & their gallies hanging round about her; as men of inuincible courage resolued to die,and yet to sel their liues as dear as they could,laid all the pouder they had left in the ship,on an heape together, and thereunto vpon the sudden put fire, by force whereof the Turkes with the hatches were all blown vp, the Flemings with their ship rent in pieces, together with diuers of the Gallies that were fastened vnto her, and an incredible harme done vnto such other of the Gallies as were neere vnto her. Men worthy alwaies to vanquish, seeing that they feared nothing more than to be themselues vanquished: and more worthy to haue liued for the glory of men, than by their crueltie to haue

A haue periſhed to the diſhonor of men. The old pyrat aſtonied at ſo great and deſperat a reſolution, hauing in this exploit loſt much, and gained nothing, haſted to the ſhore to repaire his rent gallies, and ſo to put to ſea againe: Where he had not long been, but that he by chance (and that full ſore againſt his will) met with the great Duke of Florence his gallies, accounted the beſt gallies in the world, and ſuch as now at this preſent moſt troubled the Turks deſignes. At which meeting, after many a thundering connon ſhot on both ſides diſcharged, not without the apparant loſſe on the Turks behalfe, when they ſhould haue come to haue grapled together, and to haue fought hand to hand, a thing which the Florentines moſt deſired, as in hope to haue made the famous pyrat the prize of their victory; he not willing ſo to do, ſuddenly turned about and fled; after whom the Florentines followed amaine, and in the chaſe
B ſunke ſome of his gallies, and took otherſome full of great riches: and ſo brake the credit of this old and renowned pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Chriſtians feared vpon that coaſt. But leauing *Mahomet* to his deuotions, and the old pyrat to bewaile his loſſes, let vs again returne to ſee what the great armies of the Turks and of the Chriſtians did more in Hungarie.

While theſe armies lay encamped the one attending vpon the other, many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them, moſt wherof ſorted vnto the hurt and loſſe of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a troupe of aduentures going out of the Chriſtian army to ſeeke after booty, fell vpon a like troup of the Turks, come out for the like purpoſe: where after a ſharp encounter on both ſides giuen & receiued, the Turks at length put to the worſe and defeated, betook
C themſelues to flight, hauing left a number of their fellows dead vpon the place, and loſt two of their enſignes, with an hundred and thirty horſes of ſeruice. In which chaſe the Chriſtians hardly purſuing them, draue a number moe of them into the Danubius, wherin they moſt miſerably periſhed; and tooke a great many moe priſoners, amongſt whom were found aboue foureſcore Italian renegates, who brought into the camp, were as enemies vnto God, in a martiall court all condemned to be hanged, and ſo accordingly executed, ſauing the captain himſelfe, who for the regard of his place was beheaded.

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians.

Eighty Italian renegats hangd

Shortly after, the great Baſſa ariſing with his army, came in the beginning of October, and incamped neere Buda, both for the preſeruation of the place, and the ſafety of his army, now greatly diminiſhed both in number and courage. For it was certainly knowne by diuers fugi-
D tiues from the Turks, that in theſe many conflicts they had loſt a number of their beſt ſouldiers, but eſpecially of their Ianizaries. So that the Baſſa for ſupplying of that defect, was glad to make choice of 600 of his beſt ſoldiers, whom armed with muskets and ſcimiters, the proper armes of the Ianizaries, he entertained into the rooms and pay of the Ianizaries that were dead and ſlaine: the reſt of his army for the moſt part conſiſting of bare and feeble baſe raw ſouldiers. Beſides this, that all the army was full of mourning and lamentation, the ſoldiers in all places bewailing the loſſe of their brethren, their friends, and companions: ſo that in ſtead of their wonted threats and brauery, nothing was to be heard but ſighing & complaining: and moreouer, that the generall opinion conceiued of the greatneſſe of the Chriſtian army (imagined to bee much greater and ſtronger than indeed it was) had ſtrucke ſuch a feare into the
E minds of the Turks, as that they were reſolued, Buda being once victualled, to returne home, all their other proud deſignes for this yeare ſet apart: which was the cauſe that they had diſlodged with their army, and drawne neere vnto the city, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and ſo to be gone; accounting themſelues right happy, if they might but performe that good piece of ſeruice and ſaue themſelues.

The Chriſtians before in doubt leſt the Turks ſhould haue beſieged Peſth, as they had before giuen it forth they would, and ſeeing them now to bee riſen with their army, and incamped neere vnto Buda, reſolued to follow them, and in what they might to croſſe their deſignes: and thereupon leauing Peſth, as now out of danger, they roſe alſo, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Iſle of Vicegrade, betwixt the ſaid Fort and Vacia; where
F they ſtayed foure daies, and then by a bridge which they made vpon the Danubie, whereby to paſſe from the Iſle where the Italians lay in garriſon, vnto the Fort of S. *Andrew*, kept by the Lanſqueners, they with the whole army paſſed the riuer, and ſo came and incamped before the Fort of S. *Andrew*, in the face of the enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two armies was plaine and open, without woods, buſhes, or riuers, to hinder the ioining

of

of a set battell. In which so fit a place, the Christians encouraged with the feare of their ene- G
mies, and the diminishing of their number and courage (whereof they had got knowledge as
well by their tumultuous rising, as by other aduertisements) were desirous in so fauourable
occasions, to haue giuen them battell; and for the desire they had thereof, were come thither
to seeke it: which the Turks on the other side sought as much to shun, not daring to aduen-
ture themselues vnto the fortune of a generall battell, for all the bragges they had made. Ne-
uertheless very shame arming them with some resolution, they put forth into the field a bat-
talion of fiue thousand men, fiue daies after that the Christians were incamped on that side
of the Riuer. This battell of the Turks came marching on, within halfe a quarter of a
league of the Christians, which they would not haue done but vpon the confidence of a grea-
ter number following of them, hauing behind them ten thousand men both horse and foot H
layd as close as they possibly could a little out of the way. Now the Christians thinking of
no other forces ready to fight, but those which appeared in their sight, sent forth twelue hun-
dred men against these fiue thousand Turks, to skirmish with them, vntill the whole army
were put into order, euen for a generall battell that day to haue been fought, if the Turks
should accept thereof; whereunto the Generall, the Colonels, Captaines, and souldiers in ge-
nerall, were fully enclined, the whole army with great cheerfulnesse marching on foot, at
this loud alarme of their common desire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change
of effects, had the Turks been likewise disposed for the producing of the same. But they be
the extraordinarie fauours of Fortune, when fit occasions ioyne themselues with braue reso-
lutions, and such resolutions with meanes to effect the same. This is the let of many most no-
ble trophies, which most commonly faile, either for lacke of fit occasion, or for lacke of good I
resolution for the performance of them. But as most men iudge of other mens conceits by
their owne inclination, so the Christians themselues resolued to giue battell, thought the
Turks their enemies to haue been of the same resolution: and those fiue thousand men to
haue been the head of the auauntguard, followed with the whole army, comming to draw
them out to skirmish vntill the comming on of the rest of their forces. Howbeit their designe
was quite contrary to this the Christians hope; for their purpose was onely to traine them
out into their ambushes, so without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpose
they gaue sufficient testimonie, and cause of suspect; for that the skirmish hauing continued
three houres, with some losse on both sides, the Turks army appeared not: and these fiue K
thousand Turks now in skirmish, by little and little retyring, sought so to haue drawne the
Christians into the danger of their ambush. Which their manner of fight caused the Chri-
stians to suspect the matter: for it was not like, that fiue thousand men should giue ground
to twelue hundred, if they had not had some secret meaning therein, which they sought to
effect to their more aduantage: which caused the Christian Carabins which followed them,
not to be too earnest in pursuing of them, and more closely to serre themselues together, the
better to endure the shocke of their enemies, if they should charge them. Neither were they
in that their prouident feare deceiued: for the Turks seeing their purpose discouered, and
themselues now out of hope to effect the same, vpon the sudden made a stand, and so pre-
sently comming on, hardly charged the foremost of our Carabins, : who as men halfe surpri- L
sed, to see themselues so readily and resolutely charged, by men who but now made shew as
if they would haue fled, were not able so valiantly to receiue the charge (considering the
great number of them by whom they were charged) but that some few of them were ouer-
throwne and slaine, with some of the Hungarians amongst them. Howbeit they made good
resistance; and right valiantly repulsed their enemies, of whom they slew a great number also.
The prease in this conflict was great, euery one desiring to shew himselfe braue and coura-
gious in the head of his owne army. But new supplies still comming in, the Turks in fine
shrunke backe and retired, hauing left three hundred of their fellowes dead vpon the place,
accompanied with an hundred of the Christians there slaine likewise. Now vpon the retreat
on both sides, euery man in his conceit appointed the next day for the generall day of battell: M
the bragging speeches of the Turks giuing the Christians occasion so to thinke; for why,
they seldome or neuer refuse battell being offered them by the Christians, as wel for the con-
fidence they commonly haue in their multitude, as for the fooliſh opinion they haue of the
ineuitable predestination of men to life or death: accounting it amongst them an eternall in-

A conflict betwixt the Turks and the Christians.

famie,

famy to refuſe any combat againſt the Chriſtians, which howſoeuer it fall out, ſhould ſort to their aduantage, by vanquiſhing gaining the fruits of their victory, and by loſing their liues in battell, to gain the joyes of heauen; being vainly perſuaded, no mens ſouls to go more readily to heauen, that the ſouls of ſuch as die in battell againſt the Chriſtians. Such effects old ſuperſtitious opinions are able to work in the minds of men, euen to the deſperat aduenture and ſpending of their liues. Howbeit that this effect at this time witneſſeth, that theſe men with all theſe aduantages, as much feared the danger as any other poore faint hearted men; and that a ſtrong apprehenſion of fear is able to preuail againſt all cuſtomes and perſuaſions, be they neuer ſo old, as alſo againſt all other accidents whatſoeuer. For why, the Turks contenting themſelues with their great brags and vain threats, came not forth according to their promiſe, neither could by any means be drawn to aduenture themſelues vnto the hazard of a generall battel. The loſſe of their great and choiceſt men diſcouraged & deterred them from aduenturing all to the hazard of ſo great a peril: for (as I haue ſaid) almoſt all the Ianizaries and moſt valiant ſoldiers were dead or ſlain; and the reſt, men of ſmal ſpirit or courage, reſerued that little which was in them, for the ſafegard of themſelues, and not for the gaining of any notable victory. They had alſo in theſe often conflicts loſt all their Erasbles, which are a deſperat kind of ſoldiers fighting on horſeback without ſaddles, hauing onely a little piece of tapeſtry vpon their horſes backs, and by the readineſſe of their horſes do for a long time in one ſort maintain their fight. They carry light darts made of ſtrait and faire Canes, excellently well made, and ſtrongly armed; and their handy weapons are good ſables, or broad and ſharp curtle-axes. Theſe men a great while fought moſt valiantly in the laſt combats, but in fine were all ſlaine, except ſome few which caſt themſelues into Danubius, and were there drowned. The loſſe of which men much diſcouraged the Turks; for why, their ſeruice ſtood them in great ſtead in receiuing the enemies charges, and with their bodies couering of the Turks ſquadrons in their greateſt perils & combats. Howbeit the Turks receiued not theſe loſſes without returning ſome part therof to vs again. For *Collonitz* had but a little before fallen into great danger of his perſon, & loſt ſome of his followers in an enterpriſe of great moment, had the effect anſwered vnto the project therof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Iſle of Vicegrade, he cauſed eight great field pieces to be ſo placed, as that therewith he ſo much annoyed the Turkes, that they were about to haue forſaken the place: and the more to force them ſo to doe, the ſecond of October he imbarqued himſelfe with 600 Haiduckes vpon the Danubius, and ſo by night with great ſilence landed neer vnto the enemies, thinking ſo vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed them. Which for all that could not ſo ſecretly be don, by reaſon of the appearing of the day, but that the Turks were therof aware; who therupon with great preiſe iſſued out of their trenches, and with al their force and power charged him. Againſt whom he made head, rather vpon a braue and conſtant reſolution, than any confidence he had in his own forces, not hauing men ynow to withſtand the leaſt part of his enemies. Which his ſo great reſolution ſo abated the Turks fury, as that they ſtood a good while in doubt to charge men ſo reſolued. The field pieces which he had brought ouer with him into the Iſle then ſerued him to good purpoſe, beating them backe with their murthering bullets, who with their number thought to haue ouerwhelmed him. Which good help oppoſed againſt the number of the enemies, for a time ballanced the victory, and wrought the death of many on both ſides. This maner of fight endured the ſpace of two hours, maintained more by reſolution than by ſtrengh and power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number preuailing, the Chriſtians therwith rather oppreſſed than vanquiſhed, forſaking their field pieces, diſorderly retyred towards their boats: but the Turks eagerly purſuing them, ſlew 400 of the Haiducks, the reſt recouering their boats, carryed with them their Generall, by them hardly defended from the fury of the enemy. Which loſſe hapned not ſo vnto the Chriſtians, but that it was mingled with ſome loſſe of the Turkes alſo, of whom the moſt forward and couragious were in that fight ſlain, as was afterwards knowne by certaine priſoners of theirs which were afterwards taken, who made report of the loſſes by them there receiued. The Turkes by this ſo deſperate and dangerous an attempt warned to preuent the like for the time to come, caſt vp great trenches in the Iſle alongſt the bank of Danubius, therin placing certain Ianizaries and other their beſt ſouldiers, who there lay vntill the Campe diſlodging went to lie before Buda.

Collonitz in ſurpriſing the Turks is himſelf ſurpriſed.

The

The Turks had before built a bridge of boats at Lamaſcin, which gaue them paſſage into Stiria, where they did great harm; for the ſtrengthning wherof they had built at both ends a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed both with men and munition. This bridge ſo commodious to the Turks, and hurtful to the Chriſtians, *Trautmeſtorf* gouernor of Stiria, and a great commander in thoſe parts, with his Stirian troupes, and ſome good aid brought vnto him by the County *Serin*, vndertook to break. Vpon which reſolution he vpon the ſudden approched one of the aforeſaid forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame before they were well aware of his comming. In which doing, he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtir that was poſſible to be made with trumpets, drummes, and clattering of armour, as if it had bin ſome great army imploied in that action, the more to terrifie the defendants. Which ſo great and dreadful a noiſe, joined vnto ſo braue an attempt, with ſo great courage begun, ſtrook ſuch a terror into the minds of the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled ouer the bridge to the other fort. Of which forſaken fort the Chriſtians became maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good fortune, preſently drew out therof two Cannons, and therewith battered the other fort: in which the Turks, hauing no other place of refuge to flie vnto, nor hope of ſafety but in their laſt valour, ſo wel behaued themſelues, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them; howbeit a breach being made by the fury of the cannon, and ſcaling ladders ſet vp, the fort was on euery ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks ſo valiantly endured by the ſpace of fiue hours, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould preuail or haue the better. In this aſſault were many on both ſides ſlain; the Turks not being to be ouercome but with the loſſe both of their liues and honour; and the Chriſtians not able to retyre, without the loſſe of that ſo great and rich an enterpriſe. So that the aſſault was with great reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turks fighting for their liues, and the Chriſtians for their honour; vntill that at laſt the Turks with much ſlaughter ouercome, the fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners, both the forts were forthwith raſed, and the bridge broken, which before had ſerued for an ordinary paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoil the Chriſtian territory by. The boats wherof the bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great Ordnance therein found, broken in pieces and caſt into the riuer.

Lugaze a ſtrõg place yeelded to Baſta.

At the ſame time Lugaze, a place of great importance for the ſeruice of the Emperour, and ſo neer vnto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing theerabouts, but that it might from thence be diſcouered and knowne, was by the Tranſylvanians deliuered to *Baſta*, the Emperors Lieutenant in that countrey. From which place he ſending out certain ſcouts toward Belgrade, they brought in with them certain priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa* in Hungary, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa* the gouernor of Temeſwar, That he ſhould only attend to the preſeruation of his own, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their affairs ſo requiring. And that hauing re-victualled Buda, his purpoſe was for this year to return, in hope of ſome good peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor.

The two armies of the Turks and the Chriſtians lay ſtil neer the one of them to the other, the Turkes carefull for the re-victualling of Buda, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentiue to their doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which becauſe they could no way better do than by offering of them battell, they thereupon generally reſolued, vpon a Friday being the ſeuenteenth of October, the day by them aſſigned for the battell (hauing by the ſhooting off of three great cannons giuen warning vnto the ſouldiors thorowout the camp, for the preparing of themſelues firſt towards God, and then to the ſeruice of their Prince) after they had wel refreſhed themſelues, in good order tooke the field, and ſo ſtood ready ranged there, either to giue or accept of battell. Before whom the County *Rhingraue* was ſent forth with his Regiment, about halfe the way betwixt the two Armies, to diſcouer the mouing of the Enemy, and to receiue his firſt charge, if occaſion ſhould ſo require. Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about noone diſcouered a troupe of horſemen come out of the Turkes Camp, about ſome buſineſſe they had to do, but to them vnknowne. Whom the Scouts ſuppoſing to haue been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retyred back again, and by their haſty retreit put the whole army in an alarme; which came brauely marching on, in hope now to haue come to try the matter by true valor

A lour, and by the fortune of a generall battell to haue made that day for euer famous by their victory and the ouerthrow of their proud enemies. And in the heat of their so great courage like enough it was for them to haue performed the same, had the Turks had but so much courage in them as to haue met them in the field, as was well hoped they now would. But they with their former losses discouraged, and resolued only vpon the safegard of themselues, and the victualling of Buda, had no minde to enter into these honourable lists, but kept themselues close within the couert of their tents and the strength of their trenches. And so the Christians with a false alarme moued, and hauing for the most part of the day in vaine expected the comming forth of their enemies, returned into their campe deceiued of their expectation.

The Turkes refuse to accept of battell offered them by the Christians.

The same day there was an espie taken, whom they which tooke him thought to haue been
3 a Turke, howbeit he was found to be one of their owne men; by whom they were better enformed of the cowardise of the Turks, of their purpose for the shunning of battell, and of their resolution for the keeping of themselues within the safegard of their trenches; and that they so did, as well for the losses they had before receiued, as for diuers other vnlucky accidents, which caused them to misdoubt some euil successe in the end and winding vp of this their expedition. Neuertheless, the Christians not greatly trusting to these reports, still kept their army in readines, to giue their enemies battell vpon the least occasion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cause of feare, the Turks hauing no desire at all to come to a generall battell: so that in stead of great effects that were expected, the time passed by in light skirmishes and vaine alarmes betwixt the two armies; vntill that at length the Turks hauing by the
C riuer sufficiently stored the city of Buda with victuals, the great Bassa secretly by night rose with his army, and so retired toward Belgrade. Which so base a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with such silence made vnder the darke couert of the night, as that the Christians had thereof no perceiuing vntill that they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of Buda and of some other few places of the Turks in Hungary, was all that the great Bassa did this yeare with his great army; whereas at his first comming it was giuen out, that he would therewith take both Strigonium and Pesth from the Christians.

The great Bassa hauing victualled Buda, secretly by night riseth with his army, and so retireth out of Hungary.

The next day the hasty and sudden departure of the enemy being perceiued, the Generall of the Christians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the army, to consult with them, what were best to be done in so vnexpected an occurrent? Of whom, some
D were of opinion, That it was best forthwith in all haste to pursue their fearfull enemies: othersome for many reasons dissuading the same, and othersome withall propounding some other notable exploits to be taken in hand. But in conclusion, the safest point was resolued vpon, which was, not to hazard any their troups in pursuing of their flying enemies, who were hardly to be ouertaken; but now immediatly after their departure to attempt the taking in of some one of their strong holds: where, amongst others that were propounded, Hatwan was thought to be the most necessary place, being so seated, as that beside the great harme it did to the Christians thereabout, it much hindered both aduertisements and victuals to be brought vnto Pesth. Which exploit resolued vpon, they forthwith rased the Fort of S. *Andrew*, and the fort by them built in the Isle of Vicegrade, because they should not stand the Turks in any
E stead after their departure, and so with all their power set forward toward Hatwan. This town is seated beyond the riuer of Danubius toward the North, about eight leagues from Buda, crossing the way to Transyluania and Cossoua, vpon a faire and euen plaine, neere vnto a great and deepe marish, and was sometime defended with good and strong walls, with a castle, and three large and deepe ditches, for a long time in the power of the Turks, and which without losse a great while held out against the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was most streitly in vaine besieged: vntill that afterward it was againe besieged by *Maximilian* the Archduke, the Emperours brother, then Generall of his army in Hungary in the yeare 1594, vnto whom it was by composition surrendered, after it had for a certaine space beene by the Turks notably defended: who considering the harme this place did vnto the Emperours territories, by reason of the scituation thereof, wherein a great and strong garrison of the Turks alwaies lying, forraged all the Christian territories as far as the riuer Vague, yea, and oftentimes tooke booties as far as Strigonium, and by spoiling of all that side of Hungary, caused the Countrey to pay contribution as farre as Ternauie, standing within foure leagues of the mountaines which seperat Hungary and Morauia: all irreparable losses to the Christians, and

hardly to be auoided: for which reasons he caused it then to be dismantled, and to be made vnseruiceable for the wars. After which time for all that, the Turks for the commodiousnesse of the place, had with great labour againe new fortified the same, with wals made with great piles of wood and faggots, with earth rammed in betwixt them; a stronger kind of fortification, and better able to withstand the fury of the cannon, than are wals of stone: in which sort the Turks vse most commonly to fortifie such places as they meane to defend, and which oftentimes cost much for the Christians to gaine the same from them.

Hatwan besieged by the Christians.

This place thus fortified, and both with men and munition well furnished, and with all things needfull stored, was able to endure a great and long siege; whereunto the garrison therein was as resolutely set downe, as were the Christians to attempt it: where now, at their first comming vnto it, a part of the Italian Regiment, assisted with 300 Lansquenets, vnder the leading of County *Sultze*, and *Grasold* Generall of the Italians, were appointed to go before the rest of the army, and to begin to make their approches: which they did by forcing of a water-mill, driuen by the water of the marish, not past a musket shot from the towne. Wherin while they were busied, the Turks sallying out of the towne, came to fight hand to hand with the Christians, and had with them a sharpe combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the place and of their liues, and the Christians for the gaining of the same, and for their honour. Which so contrary a resolution in that conflict cost the liues of many; and among others, the life of *Grasold*, Generall of the Italians, there slaine with a harquebuse shot, vnto the great hurt of the whole army, but especially of the Italians, now depriued of so great and expert a Commander. At last for all that, the Turks were enforced confusedly to retire again into the town, hauing in this sally lost a number of their men also. The Christians neuertheless hauing driuen the Turks backe into the towne, went forward with their businesse in making their approches, and placing their gabions to couer their cannon: wherein the Turks with their great and small shot did them great harme, but especially with their murthering pieces, charged with nailes and other small pieces of yron. Howbeit, by the comming of the Lord *Russworm* with the rest of the army, the approches were the next day brought on, and the battery planted so neere vnto the towne, as that the Turks could not without most manifest danger and losse, any more sally out to trouble the Christians in their workes. The first inconuenience the besieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was soone taken from them, the cannon right furiously battering the wals in the mean space. Wherewith the Turks discouraged, and now out of hope to be relieued, thought it not best for them to expect either whilest a breach were made, or an assault giuen, but by parly to preuent these dangers, in hope so to come to some easier composition, while yet they stood in their whole strength. And so parley by the Turks demanded, and by the Christians granted, and hostages for the surety thereof on both sides giuen, they sent two of the chiefe men amongst them to entreat of the same: who at the first demanded, That their liues and liberty saued, they might with bag and baggage depart. Whereunto answer was giuen them, That they should only with their liues and liberty be gone, with some few hundreds of their worst horses of courtesie giuen them, to carry them to such a place as they meant to retire themselues vnto, and to deliuer into the hands of the Christians all such renegats as were in the towne.

The Turkes in Hatwan crane parley.

Now the besieged Turks carrying yet the markes of the cruelty by the Wallons exercised vpon them in the former siege, when as the same town was by force taken, and filled with dead bodies of all ages & sex, and doubting now this second shipwreck, with like misery threatned vnto them by the Christian Generall, if they should expect the dreadfull euent of a generall assault; accepted of these hard conditions, seeing no better could be obtained; and so couenanting, that they with their families, their liues and liberties saued, might with a safe conuoy be conducted vnto some place of surety within their owne territory, they promised to giue vp the town. Which agreement on both parts resolued vpon, they full of sorrow and heauinesse, with their families departing out of the towne the 29 of Nouember, were by Colonell *Andast* with certain Hussars safely conducted to Solnoc. The Christians entring the town, found therein great store of victuals & munition, the houses full of corne and other necessaries, and the shops stored with weapons, shot and pouder, with 24 pieces of great ordnance ready mounted, which might haue well sufficed for the defence of the place. But all these things are but accessories vnto one principall, that is to say, to resolution, without which they are but of small force, and with-

Hatwan yelded vnto the Christians.

A with which they are able to do much. Beside that, the place it selfe thus furnished well considered, seemed almost impossible to haue bin forced; but especially now that Winter was come on, which might haue brought a thousand stormes and difficulties, by the Christians not to haue been endured: so that euery man beholding the same, with his eies cast vp towards heauen, gaue God the praise, for taking away the Turks courages in their so great aduantages, and encreasing of the Christians in their no lesse difficulties: vnto whom the glory of this victory was wholly attributed, seeing that contrary to all apparance and mans forces, he had giuen to the Christians the victory, no way able by their owne forces to haue been gained. But God, which in his prouidence from heauen beholdeth all things vpon earth, disposeth of the same as he seeth best for his glory, and the welfare of his: so that in this action he was the only pilot
B which brought this our ship into the hauen of health; for the haires of our head are of him numbred, and euen the least creatures vpon earth are of him regarded.

Into this new gained town the Christian Generall put a good and strong garrison of a thousand Lansquenets and fiue hundred Hungarians, part horsemen, and part footmen, for the keeping of the place and of the country thereabout: which done, he retired with his army toward Pesth, which he relieued with victuals, and strengthened with the troups of the Colonels, *Collonitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there bilited to passe that Winter, and to preserue the place against the deuises and enterprises of the Turks at Buda, who were still deuising and practising for the regaining thereof.

C The time of the yeare for soldiers any longer to keep the field now past, and the great army of the Turks risen and gone, the Lord *Russworm* breaking vp his army neere vnto Strigonium, caused all the Ensignes by him this yeare gained from the Turks, euen 64 in number, to be gathered together all very braue and gallant; all which he sent with great pomp and triumph to Vienna, for a Present to the Archduke *Matthias*; who receiued them with great thanks giuen both vnto the Generall that sent them, and the souldiers that had gained them; and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of Vienna at the same time highly commending the Generall, and not a little rejoycing to see those same Ensignes now in their power within the city, which not long before had proudly braued them in the field.

The Lord Russworm breakes vp his army, & sendeth the Ensignes gained from the Turke for a present to the Archduke Matthias.

Now after the breaking vp of the Christian army, a great number of insolent and seditious
D souldiers, especially of the Regiment of Colonell *Altmein*, roming vp and downe the country, to seeke for booty, most cruelly rifled and spoiled the country villages, with the inhabitants therein, as well the Christians as the Turks, sparing no more the one than the other: whose outrage not otherwise to be staied, they were by commandement from the Emperor, by force charged at Widhof, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in prisoners to Vienna, foure and thirty of them were there for example hanged, and the rest as men not worthy of entertainment cashiered.

The time of the yeare hauing (as we said) broken vp the army of the Christians, the Regi-
E ment of the County *Reingraue* was put in garrison into the villages of Chiante and Ternavie, alwaies at hand with the enemies, as fittest to repulse them. These souldiers were alwaies kept in doings, still fighting while others were at peace, and mannaging their armes, whilst others hanged theirs by the wals. For beside the troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh, but bad neighbours, the very inhabitants of the countrey (who held all that might hurt them, for enemies, were they neuer so much their friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occasion at al, tooke vp arms, and right furiously charged them as their mortall enemies. Of which combats there was no end, the country peasants still striuing to rid themselues of such ghests. So that these valiant men still enforced to buy their bread with the price of their bloud, as men become desperat, vsed the Christians as they did the Turks, diuiding all things with them by the sword. But in these small and often fights moe men were slain and lost than would haue bin in
F a generall battell, some good number either of the one side or the other being euery day slain: which daily inconueniences caused these souldiers to resolue to go to seeke their liuing elsewhere, rather than in the midst of the graues of their fellows. Whereunto they were the rather enduced, for that but a little before, the troupe of Captaine *Clinchampe*, the best and brauest of the whole Regiment, was one night right furiously assailed, and almost surprised by the country peasants. Wherfore they departed out of Hungary into Austria without victuals, apparell, or money, their pay due vnto them for 17 months being kept from them. A cruelty full of

The soldiers of the regiment of the Reingraue euill bilited, by extremities driuen to prouide for themselues.

couetousneſſe, and a couetousneſſe full of cruelty, by wrong and hard dealing to leaue thoſe men to the deſperat extremity of hunger, who for our ſafety had expoſed themſelues to all manner of danger. For if the Prince (as he may of right) demand the liues of his ſubjects in his ſeruice, as bound vnto their loyalty; they may alſo of right require due prouiſion for their maintenance: of which two offices where one faileth, the whole ſtate muſt needs fall. For prouiding whereof, great was the wiſedome of *Auguſtus*, who laid vp the publique reuenue apart by it ſelfe, to defray the publique charge; and that which was his owne priuat, to ſerue his owne priuat vſes.

These poore ſouldiers thus reſolued, craued leaue of the Biſhop of Presburg to paſſe by the ſuburbs of his towne, without doing therein any harme: which their requeſt he courteouſly granted; and ſo according to their word they indeed paſſed, not ſo much as once wiſhing for that they durſt not once touch. Which their ſo quiet paſſage cauſed the Biſhop to furniſh them with boats, whereby to paſſe ouer the riuer which diuideth Hungary from Auſtria.

The peſants of Auſtria ſeek by force to ſtay the paſſage of the ſouldiers of the Reingraues regiment into their country.

Which once knowne vnto the peaſants of Auſtria, they aſſembled themſelues together, to the number of 1500 men, and caſt vp a fort vpon the banke of the riuer, with three fauleconers in it, reſolutely ſet downe to keepe them from comming ouer into their country. Which their ſo forward a reſolution for a while ſtaied theſe men of war: who to auoid further trouble, courteouſly requeſted paſſage of theſe men, promiſing all their good behauiour in paſſing quietly through their country: which the churles in moſt churliſh maner refuſed to grant, with proud threats of the danger of their liues, if they ſhould by force attempt the paſſage, and not with quietneſſe returne. With which brauadoes of the country churles theſe troups of martiall men prouoked, reſolued by force to remoue theſe lets, and by the ſword to open themſelues a way: ſo turning the head of their baggages toward the fort, as if they would haue there paſſed; while the peaſants ſtood gazing vpon them, *Camgaillard* with his troupe of horſemen vnperceiued of them tooke the riuer a little higher vp, and by ſwimming gained the farther banke: after whom captaine *Clinchamp* with his troups immediatly followed alſo. In which paſſage they were much troubled with great flakes of yce, with the great deepeneſſe of the riuer, with the ſteepneſſe of the bankes where they were to land, and many other difficulties: all which they regarded not to be reuenged of their enemies. Theſe valiant men being got ouer, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſing theſe rude country churles, and furiouſly charging of them, quickely ouerthrew them, and cut them in pieces: of whom 300 were left dead vpon the place, as many moe hurt, and the reſt put to flight. Which was no ſooner done, but that the reſt of the troups of the Regiment without let paſſed the riuer, and ſo joyned themſelues vnto their victorious companions. Seuen weekes this Regiment ſtaied in Auſtria, and ſo longer had, but that vpon the complaint and requeſt of the Nobility and of the people of the country, they hauing for 17 months pay due vnto them receiued nine months pay, were licenſed to depart. Which was a great ouerſight in them that had to doe therewith, at once to disband ſo many good men, as had not their like amongſt all the reſt of the Emperours garriſons, and who being ſtaid with a little mony, might with their good ſeruice haue ſtood the Emperour in great ſtead: as by proofe afterward appeared; when as the Emperour by neceſſity forced to call them together againe, could not of all that ſtrong Regiment raiſe but three companies; the reſt being ſome of them returned into their own countries, other ſome of them gone to ſerue in other places, or elſe otherwiſe diſperſed. Of which three companies, the firſt was giuen to *Camgaillard*, the ſecond to *Baltazar Marades* a Spaniard, and the laſt to *Iohn Paul* an Italian: Which three captaines had before commanded in the Reingraues Regiment, and done the Emperour good ſeruice, as they did afterward alſo.

Diuers happy conflicts of the Chriſtians with the Turks and Tartars.

The reſt of this yeare ended in Hungary, with diuers other encounters and combats, Fortune therein ſtill fauouring the Chriſtians. As 300 Haiducks, going forth to ſeeke for booty, by good hap chanced to meet with a company of the Turkes being very rich, and diuers of them men of good account; amongſt whom, the Gouernour of Mohatz was one: all whom theſe Haiducks cut in pieces; to be borne withall, for ſhewing no fauor vnto them, who moſt cruelly had before ſpoiled them of their parents, lands and goods. Beſides that, they tooke the Gouernor of Copan, with his ſonne, and 24 other very rich Turks, with 170 horſes of ſeruice, and eight fat Oxen prepared for their prouiſion. Which fat booties drew forth other ſouldiers alſo to ſeeke out for the like: of whom, certain troups of the Chriſtians going forth

toward

toward Batſwar, a towne of the enemies, met the Gouernor of the towne and of the territory thereabout come out with his garriſon againſt them; where betwixt them was made a right hot and ſharpe fight: wherein at the firſt encounter the Turks ſeemed to haue the better, but in the end the Chriſtians taking courage, ouerthrew them and cut them in pieces. In this conflict diuers priſoners were taken, with three Enſignes, and many other rich ſpoiles. This happy exploit was ſeconded with newes agreeable thereunto out of Moldauia, whereof the Vayuod by a Curror ſent of purpoſe, gaue our men to vnderſtand; which was, of the generall ouerthrow of the Tartars: who hauing with all manner of cruelty waſted the country, had in the end made the inhabitants ſo deſperat, that repoſing more comfort in a ſpeedy death (the end of all miſeries) than in a lingring life, turmoiled with ſo many intollerable calamities, they generally arming themſelues, joyned themſelues with their Vayuod, ſo to try their laſt fortune. With which reſolution they in battell encountering with the Tartars, gaue them a great ouerthrow, a number of them being left dead vpon the field, and the reſt put to flight, and chaſed out of the country, the Moldauians notably reuenging their former loſſes, and in their owne territories burying their enemies.

Beged Baſſa thinking to haue ſurpriſed the Lord Baſta, is himſelfe by him ſurpriſed & ouerthrown.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the yeare on their part idle, but ſtill plotting of their great and notable deſignes, euen through the middeſt of the froſt and ſnow to haue beene performed. The Baſſa *Beged* hearing that the Lord *Baſta* lay with his troupes diſperſed in the country about Lippa, in great ſecurity by reaſon of the extremity of the time, altogether vnfit for men to keepe the field: and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, now amidſt the froſt and the ſnow to ſurpriſe him; acquainted three other of the Turks Captains and Commanders thereabout with the matter: who liking well thereof, with 5000 men all together ſet forward, in hope to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed him. But he an old expert Captaine, and not ſo careleſſe as they ſuppoſed, had his ſecret ſpies ſtill abroad among them: by whom he aduertiſed both of their purpoſe and of their comming, reſolued in both to preuent them; and to that end hauing called together his forces, ſet forward to meet them in the mid way, and ſo before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpoſe: for meeting with the Turks fearing no ſuch matter in place of diſaduantage, and vpon the ſudden charging them round, they, deceiued of their expectation for the eaſineſſe of the victory promſed them, as men diſmaied, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance fled; aboue eleuen hundred of them being in this conflict ſlaine, and the reſt put in rout, and driuen into the riuer Maruze, there periſhed; ſome few onely by ſpeedy flight with the Baſſa eſcaping. Twenty of the Turkes Captaines were here taken, with ſome few other priſoners, and a great and rich booty.

Bethlin Habor choſen chiefe of the Rebels in Tranſyluania.

Much about the ſame time *George Barbell*, one of the chiefe of the Rebels in Tranſyluania, acknowledging his fault, came to Claudionople, to take the oath for his allegiance vnto the Emperor: by whoſe example a great number of others moued, came in and ſubmitted themſelues alſo: and happily he being a good and valiant Captaine, had done much more for the ſeruice of the Emperor, had he not bin by death preuented; for ſhortly after he ſuddenly died. The other Rebels moued neither by his example, nor by the comming in of ſome others of their companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a moſt renowned Captaine, and of great reputation amongſt the ſouldiers) for their Chiefetaine: who proud of ſuch a choice, immediatly after ſent an Herauld vnto *Baſta*, to will him forthwith to deliuer vnto him all the country of Tranſyluania, as to him that was of late choſen Prince thereof, or elſe to denounce vnto him moſt cruell war: and to tell him further, That if he refuſed ſo to do, he was in good hope by his owne forces, without any aid from the Turke, to driue him out, being well aſſured of the faithfull deuoire of the Tranſyluanians. At whoſe proud threats *Baſta* ſmiling, only ſhewed him his open hand in ſigne that he accepted of his proud threats, not vouchſafing him any other anſwer at all. This glorious boaſter bare himſelfe the higher, for that he had married the widow of *Moyſes* the chiefe Rebell, whereby he had gained both great riches, and much credit and reputation among the common people: both which he enjoyed but a while; for the fourth day after that he was married, he died, and ſo was buried. *Baſta* neuertheleſſe, for the better aſſuring of the ſtrong places of Tranſyluania, put into them garriſons of his moſt faithfull Germanes, and diſpatched *Crauſenich* away toward the Emperour, to requeſt of him a ſupply of a thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, without which he thought it impoſſible to

Baſta his ſcornfull anſwere to the meſſenger of Bethlin.

Bosta sendeth for new supplies vnto the Emperour for the keeping of Transyluania.

preserue and keepe the Prouince troubled with so great factions, and so earnestly sought after by the Turks: and further to certifie him, That the little forces he had left was not sufficient for the keeping of the places beset with so many enemies, and all lying as it were in their mouthes: That the Prouince swarmed with seditious people, one thrusting another forward in mischiefe and rebellion, as the eares of wheat driuen with the winde do one another in the field: That the Turks were alwaies making of new incursions, which hee was not able to represse without greater forces, which he expected from his Majesty with all speed possible: protesting, for want of such supply to be in time sent vnto him, to lay the losse of the Prouince vpon the negligence of them which might and ought to haue sent the same; acquitting himselfe for the losse thereof, seeing that he durst not to repose any trust or confidence in the faith of the citisens and inhabitants of the townes, although they were disarmed, for hauing so often falsified their faith, and put their Prouince in danger of vtter ruine and destruction. But leauing these troubles of Transyluania and Hungary, let vs a little step backe to see what happened among the Turks themselues, after the departure of the great Bassa with his army out of Hungary.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great promises made vnto his Rebels, sought to appease the rebellion in Asia, and by that meanes drew *Zellaly*, one of the chiefe Rebels, with twelue thousand good souldiers out of Asia into Europe, and so into his warres in Hungary, vpon an assured promise made vnto him of the gouernment of Bosna: the hope whereof, as it had drawne him vnto these late warres, so had it also encouraged him with his gallant troups of most braue horsemen to doe the best seruice he could, so to shew himselfe worthy of so honourable a preferment: which he right notably performed during all the time of the Bassaes abode in Hungary, to his owne great commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Masters seruice. But the Bassa with his weake army retired out of Hungary, and the Bassa himselfe returned toward Constantinople; *Zellaly* with three thousand horse withdrew himselfe into his promised gouernment of Bosna, to possesse himselfe thereof: and being come neere to Bagualue, the chiefe Towne of that Prouince, he there encamped in a faire large medow, within sight of the city. Now *Zeffer Bassa*, then Gouernour of the Prouince, and not as yet thereof discharged, seeing this Rebell thus to encroach vpon his charge, as if he would euen by force intrude himselfe thereinto; with all speed called together his garrisons and men of war (euer ready at his becke) and so went forth against *Zellaly*, with a purpose to haue quickely, and without any great trouble, cut him with his so small a company all in pieces. But the old Rebell not ignorant either of his owne weakenesse, or of the Bassaes strength, hauing himselfe lost the best part of his forces before in Hungary; as he was a man of no lesse wisedome than courage, resolued now to attempt by policy that which he well knew he could not by force effect. Wherefore he as a great Prince, vpon some braue resolution, began to encampe himselfe as if he had meant there to haue lien, when as immediatly after vpon a faire night hauing caused diuers great fires to be made in his tents, as if it had been to beguile the enemy with, he suddenly rose and departed. Of whose flight (for so it was like) the Bassa vnderstanding, and that he had forsaken his campe, hasted thither with all speed with his souldiers to take and pillage the same; not making any other account of him that was so fled and gone, but as of a base and faint-hearted coward, who for feare and want of courage had left both his campe and honour as a prey vnto his enemies; the spoyle whereof the Bassa (being possessed of the campe) gaue vnto his souldiers; who glad of such a morsell, greedily swallowed it vp, which by and by after became their bane and vtter destruction: for whilest that they were charging themselues with booties, and euery man was thinking of his prey, nothing carefull of their common safety, *Zellaly* with his three thousand horse, all valiant and resolute men, suddenly the same night returning, surprised the Turks being fast on sleepe, as buried in security, and cut them in pieces. Some of greater courage than the rest, began to make head, and to giue some shew of their valour, but ouercome with the generall feare, out of order, and not resolued what to do, they were quickly with the rest forced, ouerthrowne, and slaine. In this surprise there were of the Bassaes men six thousand found dead vpon the place: a very great slaughter to be made by so few men. But what cannot valiant resolution do against carelesnesse, lulled asleep in the lap of security? The Bassa himselfe escaped by flight, with such as could get out of the campe to follow him.

Zellaly comes into Bosna.

By policy ouerthrowes Zeffer Bassa the Gouernour, and possesseth it himselfe.

Now

A Now *Zellaly* well knowing how to vſe his victory, marched in haſte to all the chiefe pla-
ces of that Prouince, and with his forces, more feared for their victory than for their number,
cauſed all the inhabitants of thoſe places, with moſt part of the reſt of the people of that coun-
try, to ſweare vnto him their obedience and fidelity. In which doing he gathered together
great ſtore of wealth, with a great number of braue horſemen for ſeruice: all which he put into
Balnaluc, a ſtrong towne, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a crowne of laurell
vpon his head, and his ſoldiers ſinging his praiſes amiddeſt the ſmoke of a thouſand pieces of
great ordnance, which he cauſed inceſſantly to be ſhot off for the ſpace of two daies together:
giuing it out withall (amongſt all the joyfull feaſts and triumphs, made for the magnifying
and ſetting forth of his praiſe and glory) That his reſolution was, to take part with the Chri-
B ſtian Emperor, if the great Baſſaes, or other his enemies in great place in court, ſhould ſeeke to
croſſe his deſires, or to formalize his actions or proceedings in this manner of the obtaining
of his gouernment.

Now *Mahomet* doubting what this man, ſo well acquainted with rebellion, would do, had by diuers meſſengers ſent for him to Conſtantinople, after the breaking vp of the army in Hungary, there of his Imperiall and infinite bounty, to receiue the honourable rewards of his good ſeruice and valour, the greatneſſe wherof he had (as he ſaid) already vnderſtood by *Haſſan Baſſa* the Generall: which ſo bound him to the reward thereof, as that his deſire and pleaſure was, to grace him in Court with his owne hands, for the greater teſtimony of the loue he bare him, and of the eſteeme he had of him. But the crafty and miſtruſtfull Rebell, doubting that theſe
C faire words were all but baits to draw him into his power, and the endangering or aſſured loſſe
both of his life and liberty, ſhut his eares againſt theſe ſo ſweet charmes, and as a man well
aduiſed, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince juſtly offended, is alwaies open for to
puniſh his rebellious ſubject, being once in his power, with as great juſtice in puniſhing
him, as he with wrong and diſloyalty offended him; would in no wiſe accept of the offer: but
ciuilly anſwered, That he moſt humbly thanked the great Sultan, for his ſo great and honou-
rable offers) and that he was ſo mindefull of him: but that he for his part deſired not any grea-
ter reward for the ſeruices by him done, more than the gouernment which his Majeſty had be-
fore promiſed him, whereof (according to which promiſe, which he could not thinke, but to
be agreeable to his good liking) hee was now poſſeſſed, with a reſolution to hold and keep
D the ſame for his Majeſties ſeruice. Which was as much in effect, as for a diſloyall ſubject to
talke with his angry ſouereigne, with his hand vpon his ſword: but with this ſly anſwer, ſuch
as it was, Sultan *Mahomet* for all his greatneſſe, muſt as yet content himſelfe, for feare leſt if he
ſhould haue ſought to haue by force remoued him, he might ſo haue raiſed a more dangerous
rebellion in Europe, than was already in Aſia. *Zellaly* ſo politique and reſolute a man, and
not to ſeeke what to doe in ſuch matters, being poſſeſſed of ſo great a gouernment, and the
Chriſtian Emperour at hand ready to haue backed him, if he ſhould vpon any diſcontentment
haue reuolted.

Mahomet ſends for Zellaly to come to Conſtantinople.

He refuſeth to come.

The troubles of this yeare 1603 thus ouerpaſt, the beginning of the next was like vnto a 1604
faire blooming tree, which promiſing great ſtore of fruit, but afterward blaſted with the ex-
E tremity of the weather, proueth in effect as barren, as it before ſeemed in hope fruitfull. For
beginning with the ſweet Weſterne winds of peace, it ended with the ſterne Northern blaſts
of warre. The Turks had oftentimes the laſt yeare made motions of peace, but eſpecially to-
ward the end thereof; outwardly making ſhew of a great deſire and forwardneſſe in them-
ſelues thereunto. Which buſineſſe the laſt yeare begun, was euen with the beginning of this
yeare alſo effectually continued, and Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to con-
ferre and conclude vpon the ſame. Amongſt theſe Commiſſioners, Colonell *Althem* was
one; who to performe his charge, hauing taken with him the other Commiſſioners deputed
with him for this purpoſe, with certaine other Captaines, embarqued himſelfe with them in
thirteene ſhips from Strigonium, and from thence ſailing downe the Riuer, landed with his
F traine in the Iſland betwixt Budy and Peſth. Of whoſe arriuall there, the Turks of Buda ad-
uertiſed, and on their part ready, came forthwith thither alſo, with all the outward ſhewes
that might be, of their moſt earneſt deſire for the concluding of peace: whereas our men, who
by a thouſand effects were aſſured of the vnfaithfulneſſe of the Turks, and that neceſſity and
not the deſire of any quietneſſe, had drawne them to ſeeke for peace, to the contrary ſhewed
them-

A treaty of peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

themſelues very backeward in this buſineſſe. For why, they knew right well, that the Turks G
had not taken this matter in hand but to ouertake them, and by this time of peace to gaine a time of war more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruell deſignes. They had the yere before made ſufficient proofe of our forces, accompanied with good fortune, which cauſed them to deſpaire by ſtrong hand to vanquiſh and ouercome vs: beſides that, they ſtill euery houre in one place or other receiued a thouſand loſſes and croſſes from our garriſons, who diſtreſſed and annoyed them both with their forces, and with driuing of them vnto the extremity of wants. Our men knew moreouer alſo, that the troubles of Aſia as well from the Rebels as from the Perſian which lay ſo heauy vpon the great Sultan, drew them to this neceſſity, to ſeeke for a breathing time of peace, wherin to repaire that which was in their forces and ſtrength by wars impaired. And euen yet alſo the manner of the Turks demeaning of them- H
ſelues in this action, their delaies, their excuſes, and deferring from day to day to conclude vpon ſome point of their treaty, gaue our men good cauſe to ſuſpect them of euill meaning, as men reſpecting their profit more than their faith: and more ſubtill and cruell in all their actions, than honourable and valorous. The fifth of Ianuary was the day by our men expected for the treaty; for as then the Baſſa of Buda had appointed with the reſt of the Commiſſioners to come into the Iſle to heare what out commiſſioners ſhould demand, & to entreat of the peace. But hee was too true an Infidell to faile of his Infidelity, and ſo came not at all, but deceiued our men both of their hope & expectation. At length in ſtead of himſelf, letters were brought from him to Colonell *Althem*; wherby he excuſed himſelfe for not comming, requeſting him with the reſt of the commiſſioners, to come ouer the riuer to Buda, the more commodiouſly I
for them to confer together, and ſo the better to conclude their negotiation. Now though *Althem* for the Majeſty of his Prince, and the honor of the State, ought not at the requeſt of theſe his enemies to haue put himſelfe into their power, but to haue ſtood faſt vpon the tearmes of honor, yet to the end that the country of Hungary, ſo miſerably ſpoiled with wars, ſhould not take occaſion to complaine of his negligence in this negotiation of peace, he reſolued to go to Buda, as the Baſſa had requeſted: deeming euery action tending to the hinderance of the common good, to be but in ſhew honourable, and in deed hurtfull. Vpon which reſolution he ſent before the Gentleman of his ſtable, and his Cooke, with a Gentleman of the Turks, ſent but the day before from the Baſſa: which men going aboord together, were aſſailed with ſuch a cruell tempeſt vpon the riuer, that neither the skill of the watermen, nor goodneſſe of the K
veſſell was able to reſiſt the force thereof, ſo that the boat was ſunke and the men drowned. An euill preſage of the peace to be made, the raging water as it were foreſhewing the troubles to come. But this tempeſt by the ſacrifice of theſe poore drowned men appeaſed, *Althem* and *Geisberg*, two of the chiefe commiſſioners, embarked themſelues, and ſo paſſed ouer the riuer to Buda. At whoſe arriuall the Turks gaue in ſhew a thouſand teſtimonies of their joy for their comming. Neither did the Germans refuſe their kind offered courteſies, but largely fed of the good cheere, and filled themſelues with the good wines, whereof the Turks had giuen them plenty: and they againe vſing them as kindly, as if they had bin their brethren, and conuerſing with them as with their owne countrymen. Amidſt this carowſing and platters full of good cheere, the propoſitions of peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were ſerued in L
alſo, and a truce for twelue daies demanded to conſider of the matter: during which time it ſhould bee lawfull for euery man without let freely to come and goe whither they would: which was forthwith on both ſides agreed vpon. And for better teſtimony of the Turks true meaning in this their negotiation of peace, the Baſſa in the preſence of our Commiſſioners diſpatched a Curror toward the great Sultan, to aduertiſe him of this buſineſſe, and of the proceeding therein, according to the cammandement by him before giuen. Which he did, to cauſe our men to beleeue that the great Sultan himſelfe was deſirous of peace, and that his Captaines well affected thereunto, were willing to further the ſame. Which done, the Baſſa preſented vnto Colonell *Althem* two caſes full of Turks armes, of all manner of faſhions, very rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a mule, with furniture for an horſe, em- M
broydered with gold and pearle, very ſumptuous and rich, as a Preſent from the Great Sultan his Lord and Maſter, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, he preſented vnto the Colonell, a robe of purple veluet, with ſleeues cunningly enbroydered with gold and pearle, emboſſed with fine and curious figures cunningly wrought with the needle: for the

The Chriſtian commiſſioners courteouſly entertained at Buda.

Preſents by the Turks giuen to the Chriſtian commiſſioners.

rare-

A rareneſſe thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richneſſe thereof to haue beene deſired: which was by euery man wondered at, when as ſhortly after it was by *Althem* preſented vnto the Archduke, together with other preſents from the Turks. Beſides that, the ſame Baſſa in token of friendſhip, preſented vnto *Althem* himſelfe another very faire and rich robe: all the reſt of the Commiſſioners receiuing alſo from the Baſſa other robes of leſſe value, but yet all very rich and ſumptuous.

This buſineſſe for this time thus ended, and the truce for twelue daies concluded, the Chriſtian Commiſſioners loded with Preſents tooke their leaue of the Turks, with the ſhewes of their good wils, and ſo returned backe againe to Peſth. Howbeit theſe the enemies faire Preſents ſtill ſauoured but of enmity, being indeed but like to the Preſents of *Hector* and *Ajax*,
B tending rather to war than to peace.

Now the death of the moſt valiant and renowned Lord *Nadaſti*, which at this time happened, was another euill preſage of the bad ſucceſſe of this treaty of peace now at hand: who hauing of long beene a barre vnto the Turks rage in that part of Hungary where he dwelt, they now after his death, with the violence of their forces, as with an heady ſtreame, bare downe before them all our good fortune in that Prouince. This worthy man of great fame and deſert, had ſpent both his yeares and fortune in the moſt honourable warres againſt the Turks: wherein he was ſo skilfull and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Chriſtians honoured as another *Matthias*. He had a thouſand times moſt valiantly fought againſt theſe miſcreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Chriſtian
C Common-weale, the aduancement of the Emperours ſeruice, and the reliefe of his diſtreſſed Country. Theſe his heroicall deeds of armes were engrauen vpon the gates of the Townes and Cities of Hungary, and within the rockes of Tranſyluania, hauing both in the one country and the other right happily defeated theſe Infidels. He had the honour to haue receiued the firſt incurſions and attempts of the Turks, at ſuch time as *Amurath* the third hauing perfidiouſly broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces inuaded Hungary; and was the firſt of all the Chriſtian Chiefetaines that made head againſt them; and being by their ſudden comming in by them almoſt ſurpriſed, performed yet great and worthy exploits and ſeruice againſt theſe faithleſſe men. It ſhould ſeeme that good fortune fauoured the Country of Hungary, but only in reſpect of him: for he being dead, it died alſo,
D burying it ſelfe as it were in his graue, and him in glory; not ſuffering him to grow old, and ſo to languiſh in the ruines of his natiue Country. He died of a naturall death, about fifty and foure yeares old, moſt part whereof he liued in armes, ſtill charged with the burthen of his armour, and euen at the yeelding vp of the ghoſt yet breathing wars againſt theſe the enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. His death was much lamented for of many faithfull Chriſtians, but eſpecially of his owne tenants and ſubiects, whom he had alwaies kept and preſerued in ſafety, and ſtill maintained them in all peace and tranquility during all theſe former warres; the Turks not daring once to aſſaile them, nor to enter into their territory, being ſtaied from ſo doing by the bulwarke of his valour, right dreadfull to their attempts. Neuer Turke was buried in his Territory, no more than were the Barbarians vpon the bankes of the riuer Euro-
E tas, his wiſedome had ſo wiſely prouided for the preſeruation of his people; and his valour ſo worthily aſſured them of their health and ſafety. He was for his Country another *Epaminondas*, who made his towne not only free from the armes and inuaſions of their enemies, but alſo dreadfull to their forces ſo long as he liued. The Turks on the contrary part no leſſe rejoyced for his death; but accounting his country now rich and plentifull (for that it had neuer been by them ſpoiled) for their moſt aſſured prey came now thither on all ſides, to haue taken the ſpoile thereof, and therewith to haue enriched themſelues. But as they were about ſo to haue done, the valliant *Collonitz* honoring the remembrance of the Lord *Nadaſti* his late fellow and companion in armes, and holding that for his owne which he had left, oppoſed himſelfe with his forces againſt theſe rauening wolues. So that they were no ſooner entered into this
F his territory, but that contrary to their expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadaſti*, and by him ſo ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durſt no more attempt the like.

The true and iuſt commendation of the Lord Nadaſti.

The death of the Lord Nadaſti.

This ſo great a loſſe of ſo worthy a man was a little eaſed by the victory about the ſame time gained by the Vayuod of Valachia againſt the Turks ſpoyling of his Countrey. This

valiant

The Turks ouer throwne by the Vayuod of Valachia.

valiant champion not able longer to endure the proud insolency and tyranny of these barba- G
rous people, gathered together his troupes of horsemen, with such other small forces as he had; whereof the Turks hauing made small reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging and ransacking his Country, were, when they least feared, by him vpon the sudden surprised and ouerthrowne, many of them being cut in pieces, a number moe taken prisoners, with all the spoiles they had got, and the rest with such feare chased out of his Country, as that being glad to haue escaped, they tooke no pleasure for a great while after, to looke into that his Prouince againe.

But to returne againe to the Commissioners for the peace to be made betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour, the Bassa of Buda, to the end that the Captaines and Gouernors of the towns and castles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the truce, should not continue H
their warlike actions, to the prejudice of his faith giuen; immediatly after the departure of the Christian Commissioners from Buda, dispatched diuers currours towards them, to giue them knowledge thereof, and especially to the Gouernor of Agria, commanding them from thenceforth to abstain from their ordinary incursions into their enemies territories, and from all other actions of hostility, and so to keep themselues quiet vntill they were from him otherwise commanded. This little time of respite and breathing from warre, gaue great contentment vnto the poore country people, now with warres almost exhausted and spent. And now our souldiers during the time of truce laying their armes aside, ran by heaps with spades and shouels vnto the places where our Armies had sometimes lien encamped, there to delue and
search to finde such things as the Armies rising in haste had haply left there buried. In which I
action they so busied themselues as if they had beene Labourers in Harueſt, so that nothing was in the fields to be seene, but men digging and remouing of stones and earth. A right foolish businesse, and yet so exceedingly pleasing the greedy minds of these couetous men, as that amiddest their such moiling labour they accounted themselues at great ease. The Turks also did the like, mingled together with our men, and our men with them, without any injury doing one to another either by word or deed. And no doubt it is, but that there they found more trauell than wealth, the greedy desire which drew them into this worke, deceiuing them in effect. And in this mad labour both the parties spent many daies without any let or injury doing either on the one side or the other. The Christians of Pesth also passiug ouer the Danuby, went into the victualling houses of the Turks at Buda, whereinto they were suffered K
to enter, and at liberty to walke vp and downe the towne at their pleasure. And so the Turks of Buda likewise came ouer the riuer vnto Pesth, and there walked at their pleasure, no man letting of them. Which manner of liuing was very commodious and pleasing both for the one side and the other, the Christians buying of the Turks such things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewise. Through which quiet and peaceable intercourse and traffique, the people in generall seemed euen in that short time to haue forgotten a great part of their forepassed miseries, this little time of peace, joyned with security, hauing well assuaged the same. But while these mutuall and vnwonted courtesies thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks, and the minds of most men were filled with the expectation of an assured peace to haue beene euen forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet* in the middest of all L
his pleasures and delights died in his Imperiall Palace at Constantinople: the newes whereof being in the euening brought to Buda by a courrour of purpose sent from Constantinople, the Bassa forthwith sent the Captaine of the Sentinels of Buda, to Colonell *Geisberg* at Pesth, to assure him of the death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the succession of his young son *Achmet* into his Empire, now already both at Constantinople and other places thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which messenger he also wrote vnto Colonell *Althem*, to certifie him both of the death of the Great Sultan, and of the succession of his sonne, as also that he was by him commanded to continue the negotiation of the peace, and so if he could to conclude the same. For the more euidence whereof, behold the copy of the letters themselues:

The small time of truce yeeldeth great contentment both vnto the Christians & Turks in Hungary.

The death of the great Sultan Mahomet.

M

The Letters of the Bassa of Buda to Colonell *Althem*.

OVr due commendations remembred, noble Lord Gouernour, our deere friend and right honourable neighbour. We haue thought good to aduertise you, that the fourth day after your departure from this

A *this city we receiued Letters from Constantinople, giuing vs certainely to vnderstand of the death of our most mighty Emperour* Mahomet, *and of the succession of his son Sultan* Achmat, *into all his dominions and Empires: whereby we are, as his most humble subiects, summoned to yeeld vnto him our oath of faithfull obedience, as vnto our rightfull Lord, and lawfull successour of his father into all his estates and dominions. Moreouer, he particularly commandeth vs, to giue him certaine aduice and knowledge concerning the negotiation of the peace begun betwixt vs and you, by the commandement of his deceased father: promising to confirme and ratifie all that whatsoeuer he shall finde done and agreed vpon concerning that businesse, without any qualification at all. And that if the treaty be not yet concluded and ended, that his will and desire was, that it should be so, according to the just means and assurances that we should faithfully and carefully together deuise. Whereof I should readily giue him aduice and answer; which I*

B *haue deferred to do, vntill I haue receiued your answer, which may instruct me what to resolue vpon. Which yonr answer I attending, haue staied the Currour of Constantinople, to the intent he may carry backeward vnto our Emperour, what he is to hope for concerning this businesse, by the answer that you shall giue vs. These are now therefore to aduise you, as our deere friend, and a most valiant Gouernour, to set downe that which you shall thinke to be most fit and necessary in this businesse: giuing you withall to vnderstand, that our new Emperour is a man of resolution euen in these his young yeares, wherein he now flourisheth, hating idlenesse, deeming no losse greater, and altogether irrepaireable, than the losse of time. If then you be still desirous, that the peace betwixt our Emperours should be made and confirmed, I hope you will employ your whole endeuour, with speed to determine this most happy negotiation, and so necessary for euery mans good. As also to auert farre from our owne heads, the curses of the common people,*

C *for whom it is most needfull that the peace should for their good and quietnesse be concluded, seeing that the fruit thereof is expected to be vnto them happy, and the glory thereof for euer ours, for hauing by our diligence and true endeauour concluded the same. Which maketh me to hope, that when you shall finde your selfe ready to conclude this treaty, you shall not bring with you men enemies vnto peace, or such as shall dissuade the same; but rather wise and graue men, which to the vttermost of their power may aduance the same; and finde out good and reasonable meanes to assure an eternall and faithfull peace betwixt our Emperours, vnto which so generall a good euery one of vs is in duty bound to imploy the vttermost of his sufficiencie and power. And this is that I haue of truth to write vnto you at this time; And so I bid you farewell.*

Now these Letters although they most concerned the continuation of the treaty of peace, already begun, and were too friendly from an enemy, to haue in them any good meaning, yet did they well assure the Colonell to whom they were written, of the death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the succession of his sonne *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here set downe.

This late mighty Monarch, and now nothing but a loathsome lump of dead flesh, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this life about the later end of Ianuary, in the yeare of Grace 1604, (according to their computation which begin their yeare at Christmas) when he had liued about foure and forty yeres, and thereof reigned eight. He was a man of no great spirit, and yet exceeding proud; which was the cause that he was both the lesse beloued and feared of his subiects in generall, but especially of the Ianizaries and other his souldiers and men of warre, who scorning his loose gouernment, and grieued to see euen the greatest affaires of his State not only imparted to women, but by them mannaged and ouerruled also (as by his mother, the Sulraneese his wife, and others) not onely rebelled against him, but were oftentimes in their rages about to haue deposed him. He was altogether giuen to sensuality & voluptuous pleasure, the markes whereof he still carried about with him, a foule swolne, vnweldy, and ouergrowne body, vnfit for any Princely office or function: and a minde thereto answerable, wholly giuen ouer vnto idlenesse, pleasure, and excesse, no small meanes for the shortening of his daies, which he ended with obloquie, vnregarded of his subiects, and but of few or none of them lamented.

He had issue foure sonnes, and three daughters married vnto three of the great Bassaes. *Mahomet his issue.*

His first and eldest sonne was called *Mahomet* (after his owne name) whom he caused to be strangled in his owne sight, vpon suspition of aspiring vnto the Empire, and conspiring with the Rebels in Asia: but afterward finding him guiltlesse, caused his body to be buried in his owne Sepulchre, and hanged the Bassa that had mis-informed him.

His

His ſecond ſonne died a naturall death, being yet very young.

His third ſonne was Sultan *Achmat*, who ſucceeded his father, and came to the Empire by the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt brother. G

His fourth ſonne being then a youth of about ſixteene yeares old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with ſuch a ſtreit guard ſet ouer him, as that his name was not to be learned, euen by a good vnderſtanding friend of mine, of late lying about three moneths together at Conſtantinople, who moſt curiouſly enquired after the ſame, hauing very good meanes to haue learned it. He was reported to haue been long ſince murthered, howbeit that he of late liued, but looking euery day to be by his brothers cruell commandement ſtrangled, which is accounted but a matter of courſe, and a death hereditary to all the yonger male children of the *Othoman* Emperours: the policy for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, ſo requiring. H

Mahomet, how he lies buried at Conſtantinople.

His dead body lyeth buried at Conſtantinople, in a faire Chappell of white Marble (neere vnto the moſt famous and beautifull church of S. *Sophia*) for that only purpoſe by himſelfe moſt ſumptuouſly built about fifty foot ſquare, with foure high ſmall round towers, about the which are certain ſmall round galleries of ſtone: from which the Turkiſh prieſts and churchmen, at certain houres, vſe to call the people euery day to Church: for they vſe no bels themſelues, neither will they ſuffer the Chriſtians to vſe any. But the top of this Chappell is built round, like vnto the antient temples of the heathen gods in Rome. In the midſt of this Chappell (being indeed nothing elſe but this great Sultans Sepulchre) ſtandeth his tombe, which is nothing elſe but a great vrne or coffin of faire white Marble, wherein lieth his body, couered I with a great couering of the ſame ſtone ouer it, made riſing in the midſt, and ſtooping on each ſide: not much vnlike to the coffins of the antient tombes of the Saxon kings, which are to be ſeen on the North ſide of the Quire of S. *Pauls* Church, and in other places of this land: but that this coffin of the great Sultan is much greater and more ſtately than are thoſe of the Saxon kings; it being aboue fiue foot high at the end therof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, couered with a rich hearſe of cloth of gold downe to the ground: his turbant ſtanding at his head, and two exceeding great candles of white waxe, about three or foure yards long, ſtanding in great braſſe or ſiluer candleſtickes gilded, the one at his head, the other at his feet, which neuer burne, but there ſtand for ſhew only. All the flore of the Chappell being couered with mats, and faire Turky carpets vpon them. And round about this his tombe, euen in the K ſame Chappell, are the like tombes for his wiues and children, but nothing ſo great and faire. Into this Chappell, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawfull for either Turke or Chriſtian to enter, but firſt he muſt put off his ſhooes, leauing them at the church or chappell gate, or carrying them in his hand. Neere vnto this chappell, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are diuers other chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selym*, this mans grandfather, with his ſeuen and thirty children about him: of Sultan *Amurath*, this mans father, with his fiue and forty children entombed about him. And in other places not far from them, are the chappels and ſepulchres of the reſt of the great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Bajazet*, Sultan *Selym* the firſt, Sultan *Solyman*: all by theſe great Mahometan Emperors built, whoſe names they beare. And being all of almoſt one forme and faſhion, haue euery L one of them a faire Hoſpitall adjoyning vnto them, wherein a great multitude of poore people are daily ſtill relieued.

Some others of the great Baſſaes haue their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and ſtately almes-houſes alſo, not much inferiour vnto thoſe of the great Sultans; as namely, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, of all the Baſſaes that euer were amongſt the Turks the moſt magnificent, hath his ſtately chappell, ſepulchre, and almes-houſes, neere both in place and beauty vnto that of *Solymans*. The Turks bury not at all within their churches, neither are any at all buried within the wals of the city, but the great Turkiſh Emperours themſelues, with their wiues and children about them, and ſome few other of their great Baſſaes, and thoſe only in Chappels by themſelues built for that purpoſe. All the reſt of the Turks are buried in the field; ſome of the M better ſort in tombes of marble; but the reſt with tombe ſtones laied vpon them, or with two great ſtones, the one ſet vp at the head, and the other at the feet of euery graue, the greateſt part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Iſle of Marmora. They will not bury any man where another hath beene buried, accounting it impiety to digge vp another mans bones.

The Turks bury not in their churches, neither within the wals of their cities, but in the fields.

A bones. By reason whereof they couer al the best ground about the city with such white stones; which for the infinit number of them are thought sufficient to make another wall about the City. But now to stand no longer about the manner of the Turks burials, leauing this great Sultan to rest with his ancestors, let vs now prosecute the course of our history.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet *the third.*

- *Emperours of Germany* — *Rodolphus the second,* — 1577
- *Kings* —
  - *Of England* — *Queen Elizabeth,* — 1558. 44
  - *Of France* — *Henry the fourth,* — 1589
  - *Of Scotland* — *Iames the sixth, afterward King of England,* — 1567
- *Bishops of Rome* —
  - *Clement the VIII,* — 1592. 13
  - *Leo the XI,* — 1605. 26 dayes
  - *Paulus the V,* — 1605

Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens:
Maximus est superûm, nutu qui territat orbem
Hinc Achmete *tibi gloria tota manat.*
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia sceptra parauit,
Hic tibi nunc juveni maxima quæque dedit.
Non quod sis alijs melior, multumve beatus,
Sed quò sis alijs terror & ira Dei.
Quid turges igitur, fastuve superbis inani?
Sic te cum miseris numinis ira premat.
Pone modũ magnis, ni vis succumbere magnus:
Maxima quæque suo pondere pressa ruunt.
Nec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa
Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

The ſame in Engliſh:

Thy vertue doth not make thee great,
nor yet thy ſtoreof pelf;
Nor is it thyne own mighty arm
that doth exalt thy ſelf.
But God aboue, who with a beck
doth ſhake the world from hie;
From him all glory doth proceed
that doth belong to thee.
He gaue to thee, then but a child,
thine empire large and wide;
And giues to thee, now grown a man,
all worldly bliſſe beſide.
Not that thou better art, or bleſt
more than ſome others be;
But that to plague the world for ſin
he hath appointed thee.
Why doſt thou therfore ſwel with pride,
ſtil ſeeking after more?
Sith that there is for thee by God
vengeance laid vp in ſtore.
Vnto thy greatnes bounds prefix,
leſt thou be cruſht withall:
The greateſt things with their own weight
haue oft the greateſt fall.
Nor promiſe to thy ſelf, that thou
ſhalt long time liue and reign:
Thy Deſtinies do call thee hence,
and thruſt thee on amain.

ACHMAT.

THE LIFE OF *ACHMAT*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, EIGHTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

M*Ahomet* the late Sultan in the midſt of his exceſſiue pleaſures by vntimely death taken away, *Achmat* the elder of his two ſonnes yet liuing, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire, to preuent the vſuall and inſolent tumults of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all occaſions of diſcontentment; by the counſell of the great Baſſa's (before he took vpon him the gouernment) cauſed an exceeding great ſum of mony, namely two millions and an half, as a token of his bounty to be diſtributed amongſt them: the Spahi and Silictars his chief horſmen receiuing ther-
D of ten Crownes a man, with fiue aſpers a day more to encreaſe their pay: and the Ianizaries thirty crownes a man, and on aſper a day of ordinary pay: they of his court, eſpecially the chiefe officers, taſting of this his bounteous liberality alſo. With which ſo great a largeſſe all men well contented, he in a moſt rich and ſtately Chariot, ſo placed as that all men might ſee him, was in great maje- *Achmat crowned Emperour at Conſtantinople.*
ſtie carried thorow all the chiefe ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the people on euery ſide gazing vpon him, and ſtil as he paſſed by them, proſecuting him with their moſt ioiful and happy acclamations. Some wiſhing, that he being but young might (as another *Solyman*) beginne his reign with the conqueſt of Malta, as had the other with the conqueſt of the Rhodes: & other-
ſome as heartily praying, that with glorious and victorious conqueſts hee might be like vnto *Mahomet* the Great, whom he was then reported much to reſemble. In which ſo great & pub-
3 lique magnificence, he being about 15 years old, was with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities openly crowned, euery man wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happy reign. And albeit that no great fruit was for the preſent to be expected from ſo yong and tender a plant, yet neuertheleſſe by his authoritie and in his name many good orders were taken for the reliefe of his ſubiects, with moſt heauy grieuances generally oppreſſed, during the looſe and careles reign of his father. His grandmother alſo, a moſt proud, ambitious and imperious woman, & withall exceeding rich, who with great authority ouer-ruled all in the time of her ſonne *Mahomets* reign, he now remoued from the ſtate, as not fit for her to haue to do therein, and ſo depriued her of all her former power and command. The Perſian Embaſſador, whom his father in his diſpleaſure had cloſe ſhut vp, he ſet at liberty, and with him ſent the Baſſa of Aleppo to entreat of peace with the great Shaugh of Perſia, who not long before (as was reported) had
F recouered the great city of Tauris, and was then preparing himſelf for new conqueſts. Which report for the motion of peace with the Perſian diſcouered in his ſubiects their diuers opinions concerning himſelf; ſome condemning his patience, as not beſeeming the *Othoman* Emperors, vnto whom fury and rage had alwaies made them a way vnto their great and dreadfull

conqueſts, euen againſt the moſt puiſſant armies and ſtrongeſt townes and fortreſſes of their enemies: and ſome other to the contrary prayſing therein his wiſedome, in ſeeking by faire means (now in the beginning of his reigne) to diſ-arme his enemies when they might moſt hurt him; at his better opportunitie, in his ſetled eſtate, to oppreſſe them for euer. So the actions of Princes are like vnto ſtrange lights appearing by night in the ayre, which hold mens eyes buſied with the intentiue beholding of them, ſome thereof diuining well, and ſome others euill, according to the diuerſitie of the beholders conceits and humors.

The treaty of peace continued in Hungary.

The treaty for peace alſo in Hungary was notwithſtanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Baſſa of Buda ſtill continued, who (as he ſaid) by the new Sultan authoriſed, by letters incited the Gouernor of Strigonium to repaire vnto ſome ſuch conuenient place as wherein the matter might be ſafely concluded. Vpon which motion the Gouernor with the reſt of the Commiſſioners departing from Strigonium, the fourth of February came to *Collonitz* his Campe, from whence they were by the ſoldiers moſt brauely conducted along the banks of Danubius, vnto the ſhips which lay ready for them, to carry them downe the riuer to Peſth: during which time of their paſſage nothing was to bee ſeene or heard but fire and ſmoake, and the thundring of the great Artillery both from Peſth and Buda, the Chriſtians and the Turks both ſtriuing to excell each other in theſe their ſhewes of ioy and triumph. The Gouernour with the reſt of his company being happily arriued at Peſth, met there with a number of the better ſort of the Turks ſent thither by the Baſſa to meet him, and in his name to greet him: who with a thouſand honours againe receiued and ſaluted them. All ſhewes of kindneſſe, and ſignes of the happy ſucceſſe of the negotiation begun. And now the Chriſtians deſirous to excell the Turks, as well in courteſie as in valor, appointed a number of them the next day to goe to Buda, to inuite certaine of the chiefeſt and moſt honourable men amongſt the Turks, vnto a banquet at Peſth: Who willingly accepted of the offer, and ſo came ſix hundred of the better ſort of them ouer the Danubie to Peſth, where the feaſt was moſt ſumptuouſly and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten faire and rich pauilions ſet vp for the entertainment of them a little diſtant from Peſth, in a faire place, and fit for this purpoſe. In the firſt whereof were placed three very proud and ſtately tables. At the firſt of which tables, on the right hand, were ſet the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, with the two Baſſaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Prieſt, with a Mitre vpon his head, a long furred gowne vpon his back, and vnder that, a robe of moſt fine and exceeding rich ſilke. Vpon the left hand, at the ſame table were placed certain of the Turks Lords, and other great men. At the other two tables were ſet other of the beſt ſort of the Turks mingled with the Chriſtians: and ſo at all the other tables in like order were ſet a Chriſtian and a Turke, vntill that the ſix hundred Turks were placed, with as many Chriſtians among them: who by their good countenance and behauiour one of them to another, might haue ſeemed to haue been all of one & the ſame Beliefe, Nation, and Countrey. The Turks after the manner of their ſuperſtition, would not ſit downe before the ſetting of the Sunne, which being ſet, they with a thouſand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Archprieſt, ſet themſelues down at the tables in order as is aforeſaid, and there merrily repoſed themſelues vntill nine of the clocke at night. At which time the tables with great reuerence taken away, the Turks as men well contented, and full of ioy returned to Buda, the inſtruments of muſicke, trumpets, and Drummes, on euery ſide ſounding about them with much glee, and as it were witneſſing to heauen and earth the great contentment they had receiued. Yet for all this fair ſhew, nothing but deep diſſimulation mixt with foul treaſon: For a little before their departure, they of Peſth were aduertiſed, That the Turks in great number wel appointed, were come out from Buda to ſurpriſe Peſth during the time of the feaſt; beeing in hope that the Chriſtians all buſied in that action, had left the towne walls vnfurniſhed of defence. But they too wel acquainted with their trecheries, to put any truſt or confidence in their fair ſhewes, had as well prouided for the defence of the town, as for the magnificence of the feaſt abroad. By which meanes the Turkes diſappointed of their intended purpoſe, were in the attempting thereof repulſed, and ſo glad to return as they came, backe againe vnto Buda.

The Turks ſeek to ſurpriſe Peſth.

The next day after, the Emperours Commiſſioners complained vnto the Baſſa and the reſt of the Turks Commiſſioners, of this ſo trecherous dealing. Who excuſed themſelues as altogether

A together ignorant therof; disauowing the action for want of succes, which had it bin effected, they would to the vttermost most shamefully haue maintained. An ordinary course among the Great, with speech and countenance in shew to condemn that for want of effect, which in heart and mind they could for their own profit haue wished had bin performed.

Neuertheless the Turkes the next day (as if no such thing had bin meant) requested the Christian commissioners to come to Buda, as they had don to Pesth: but they, as wel by proof as by report, perceiuing the euil meaning of the Turks, excusing themselues returned to Strigonium, as loth any more to aduenture themselues into the power of their faithles enemies: yet left they *Geisberg* at Pesth, with Commission to continue the negotiation for peace with the Bassa of Buda: if he should find him therunto disposed, or any hope of bringing the trea-

B tie to good effect or issue.

Mahomet the late Sultan had a little before his death (as is declared) set at liberty County *Ysolan* (caried away prisoner to Constantinople after the taking of Alba-Regalis) and sent him with Letters of Credence to intreat of a peace to be made with the Emperor; with promise to yeeld himself againe prisoner, if he failed to obtain the same: for whom the French Embassador became pledge. He hauing now deliuered his letters of Credence vnto the Emperor, and commanded to say what he had further in charge; declared, That the great Sultan offered to deliuer vnto his Majesty the strong townes of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Canisia, in exchange of Transylvania and Valachia, wherto he laid claim; promising for his part to make a most sure & firm peace with the Emperor for time to come, and to giue him such assurance

C therof as should of him reasonably be demanded.

Count Ysolans message from the great Sultan to the Emperor.

The Bassa of Buda also amongst other the fair remonstrances of peace, had offered vnto the Emperors Commissioners to restore Canisia and Agria, for Pesth, Hatwan and Vacia, together with the remission of all such paiments and tributes as were by the Emperour due to the great Sultan for the kingdom of Hungary. All which fair shews and offers, though much vnreasonable, were nothing but windy words to delay the time, and subtil baits to deceiue the Christians: for the euent and issue which giueth life to all actions, with a form to them agreeable, hath by experience taught the Christians, that all the glorious and glozing proceedings of the Turks in this busines of the peace, so much wished and expected of the Christians, were but nets and snares wherwith to intangle them with the vain hope thereof, vntil that they in

D the mean time might fortifie their townes with new supply of men, munition, victuals, and whatsoeuer else was needful, the more easily afterward to anoy them at their pleasure, and so to laugh at their simplicitie and light beleefe. For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his son (yet by reason of his minoritie, vnder the tuition of his mother and other the great Bassa's) succeeding in his place, the Turkes aggrauated the conditions of the peace, and propounded them so farre from reason, as that any man might see them now to haue no more desire or regard of peace, after they had dispatched that for which they seemed before so desirous of it. Insomuch, that they sent a messenger in post from Constantinople to the Bassa of Buda, to forbid him vpon pain of his head, any further to continue the treaty of peace, but forthwith to renew the War. So this peace so much expected, and now of the people generally hol-

B den for as good as concluded, suddenly vanished into smoke; nothing remaining of that body, composed of so many wishes, more than a vain expectation, now dispersed with the winde of the Turkish trechery. And yet during the time of this negotiation of peace, sought for by the Turks both by often letters and messengers, many a solemn oath had passed both from the Sultan *Mahomet*, and from the Visier Bassa, for their faithfull and sincere dealing in the treaty therof; as, By the God of heauen and earth, By the Books of *Moses*, By the Psalmes of *Dauid*, and By the holy Euangelists: oathes much vsed of the Turkes, and reserued for their greatest solemnities, and strongest assurances of their leagues and promises. All which for al that, hauing serued but as baits and traines to beguile the simple and well meaning men, lay now neglected and vnregarded. Such is the faith and assurance which men haue from faith-

F lesse Infidels.

The treaty of peace thus broken off, it was forthwith by some bruited, That *Achmat* the great Sultan, vnder the conduct of the Visier Bassa his gouernor, was himself in person with a most huge army about to come into Hungary. Some others in the meane time reporting,

That

that he was letted ſo to do by reaſon of the Perſian Wars, whereunto hee was of neceſſitie to ſend the greateſt part of his forces; ſo that hee would but only ſend one of his great Baſſa's with the remainder of his ſo great an army againſt the Chriſtians into Hungary, being before ſworn neuer to return again to Conſtantinople, vntil he had brought the countries of Tranſilvania and Valachia, with the remainder of Hungary, vnder the great Sultans obeiſance, together with the country of Auſtria, and eſpecially the ſtrong city of Vienna, the end of the Turkiſh Emperors conqueſts. And that to this purpoſe the grand Seignior had in al places with great rigor leuied large ſums of money vpon his ſubiects for the maintenance of his ſo great an army. It was by others alſo reported, That onely the preparations for ſo great an Army ſhould be made this year, the Turks being reſolued to do much therwith the next year, and therfore willing to beſtow much, in hope with ſo great and puiſſant an Army as they were about to raiſe, to end the wars in Hungary, and not to return vntil they conquered all the reſt of that kingdom, in the rent reliques wherof the *Othoman* Emperors had ſtaid. So that all handicrafts men were ſet to worke both night and day, not onely to forge Weapons, to caſt great Ordnance, and to make pouder, but to prepare all other things neceſſarie alſo for ſo great an exployt.

All theſe great preparations were made for the ſeruice of the Viſier Baſſa for the War in Hungary, and of *Cicala Baſſa* in Perſia; wherof he was appointed Generall, hauing before preſumptuouſly promiſed, vtterly to ruinat the Perſians eſtate, and with ſo great a power euen to ſwallow him vp. And indeed theſe Eaſtern wars much troubled the Turks, news comming ſtil concerning the conqueſts of the Perſian vpon his territories; and that euen of late the Perſian king proſecuting his victories, had taken Babylon with all the country round about; and that diuers other towns and cities, more moued with fear, than with the faith wherewith they had bound themſelues vnto the Turks, now yeelded to the Perſian, as weary of the Turkes ſeruitude, and deſirous of their antient liberty. And yet for all that, the Turkes (as they are wiſe to diſſemble their loſſes, and to ſtrike a fear into their enemies) had giuen it out in Conſtantinople, That the Perſian king was neer vnto Babylon diſcomfited, all his army ouerthrowne, and he himſelfe taken priſoner. So that the Turkes forces before diſtracted, ſhould wholly joine together, to the vtter ruine and deſtruction of the Chriſtians in Hungary. And the more to confirm this euil newes, it was reported, That the Beglerbeg of Grecia had raiſed a great power to joine with the Viſier Baſſa his forces, to the intent to leaue nothing vnconquered in Hungary. For the better effecting wherof it was ſaid alſo, That the Viſier Baſſa had cauſed a great number of Veſſels loded with pouder and other warlike prouiſion, to be brought by water out of Egypt to Belgrade, to ruinate the eſtate of the Chriſtians. All which reports were by the Turks giuen out, to couer their own miſhaps, and to terrifie their enemies: as knowing right well, Warres to depend much vpon reports, and that a falſe bruit once beleeued, often worketh the effect of a thing indeed don. How ſoeuer it was, thoſe ſo dreadful reports might well haue ſerued to haue ſtirred vp the ſpirits of the Chriſtians, to haue prouided for their owne defence, and to haue ſtood vpon their gard. For he that faileth to prouide againſt the preparations of his enemy, well deſerueth either bondage or death, which ſoeuer ſhall befall him, for hauing by his negligence betrayed his owne abilitie and power to haue withſtood him.

The Turkes wiſely diſſemble their loſſes.

The great report of the Turks preparations and forces had now daſht all the talk of peace at Conſtantinople, and the hot fire of ambition had quite ſcorched the ſweet flours appearing vpon the ouerture of the late hope of the common repoſe; ſome perſuading the great Sultan, That he was able by his power at the ſame time both to ſubdue the Perſian King, and to confound the whole forces of the Chriſtian Emperor, hauing ſo many great kingdoms within his Empire, ſo many Armouries ſtored for his ſeruice, and ſuch ſtore of treaſure ready for his deſignes; promiſing vnto him moſt happy and eaſie ſucceſſe both in the one and the other expeditions, euen at one and the ſelfe ſame time: ſo that hee might vanquiſh the Perſian by *Cicala*, chiefe Commander of his Army in Perſia; and conquer the remainder of Hungarie, with the Countrres of Tranſylvania and Valachia, by the Viſier Baſſa Generall of his forces againſt the Chriſtians. It being (as they ſaid) a thing both honourable and profitable for a Prince, to beſtow both men and money, thereby to gaine men, honour, and Empire: ſo that

things

things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than those which with lesse charge were don at diuers times; for that things so don at once yeelded present profit, as being in our power, and recompencing the charge: the other in long time putting vs to great charge, and yeelding little or no profit at all. And indeed men stood in great fear of this the Turks yong Emperour, who was by nature fierce, hasty, vigilant, cruel, ambitious and proud, in his behauior and actions much resembling *Mahomet* the second, hee which took from the Christians so many kingdoms, towns, and cities, and among the rest, the Imperial city of Constantinople. He like a yong *Alexander* occupied himselfe in all the exercises of war, hated idlenes, his fathers greatest pleasure; he caused Arms to be made, cannos to bee cast, ships and gallies to be built, and took pleasure to discourse how the same were to be imploied against his enemies: so that it was greatly feared, that he being but a child in Constantinople, would proue a man grown in Christendom, in bringing the same vnder his power and obeisance. He spared no person nor means to satisfie his desire. So that strangers were to expect small curtesies at his hands, when as they saw him vse such bloudy cruelty against his nobles and domestick seruants, of whom soon after he was Emperour he put diuers to death, with one of the Bassa's also, who was Gouernor of Pesth when as our men won it. But as iustice and clemencie to good Princes are the surest tyes to keep their subjects fast bound vnto them in their obedience and duties; so are cruelty and rage the chiefest bridles wherwith the Turkish Emperors keep their subjects in awe and subjection vnto them, and themselues in their estate. *The disposition of Achmat.*

But leauing the Turks busied about their preparations for the accomplishment of their yong Emperors high designes, let vs return into Hungary, taking Transylvania in our way; the wofull miseries of which Country my mind abhorreth to think vpon, and my pen therof to write. This Prouince, somtimes much renowned for the great victories obtained against the Turks by the inhabitants therof, vnder the leading of their valiant Prince *Sigismund Bator* and others, and abounding with plenty of al things, was now not by any inuasion of the Turks, but by ciuill discord amongst themselues, and rebellion against the Emperour, now their Soueraign, so wasted and spoiled by the souldiers of all sorts, that many of the poor inhabitants for want of food fell down dead as they went in the streets and fields: miserable Wretches, alwaies sowing, but neuer reaping; alwaies labouring, but nothing profiting, the merciles and greedy souldier still spoyling and deuouring all. By long continuance of which daily outrages the fields at length lay now vntilled, the pastures vnstored and neglected, and all things els vnmannured and quite out of course. By means wherof the famin so increased, that the poor peasants of the country hauing eaten vp for great dainties, all the dogs, cats, mice and rats that they could get, fell to eating of dead horses, and the loathsom carrion of other hunger-starued beasts. It is reported also, That one man should eat another: and that at Hermanstat a woman hauing six children, did among them eat one another, vntill they were at length all six deuoured. And contrariwise, That two men did eat one another. Yea, theeues & malefactors hanged for their villanies, were by the poor and miserable hungry people cut down from the Gallows, and deuoured; the people generally liuing vpon nothing but the roots of Weeds, green herbs, and the leaues of trees. *The misery of Transylvania.* *An horrible famine.*

For remedy of which so extream miseries, it was on al parts agreed, that a general assembly of the States of the whole prouince should be holden at Dewa. Wherin it was accorded, that all hostility set apart, the Gentlemen of Transylvania hauing by their rebellion forfeited both their liues and lands, should be pardoned their liues, with three fourth parts of their lands reserued vnto them; and that for ready mony they might of the Emperour redeem the fourth part also. But concerning the moueables of such as were dead in the time of these troubles, and already confiscat vnto the Emperour, they should so remaine; and that they should pay their disms or tenth part of their wines and fruits vnto the Emperour. And further, That there should be no further exercise of religion permitted vnto them, but onely the Romish religion. And that the towns of Cronstadt and Clausenburg should within 3 weeks after, pay, one of them 20000 dollars, and the other 8000: And the Magistrats of those places should deliuer the keyes of their towns, with all their power, into the hands of the Emperours

rors Lieutenant: and that the Gentlemen of these Towns which would not be accounted in the number of the rebels, should for the safety of their persons take letters of pardon for their rebellion, of the General of the Army. This pacification gaue some little time of breathing vnto this poor distressed Country, which bared of all strength, and as it were vpon the graues brink, had now but euen the last gasp to giue; and the Countrey people began again to giue themselues vnto their wonted labours, in hope at length to reap the profit therof themselues.

Great troubles in Transylvania.

But alas all in vain: for why, the rauening souldiers inured to prey, after their wonted maner made hauock and spoil of all things, leauing nothing vnto the poor Country man but his labor for his pain, and time enough to bewail his manifold and remedilesse miseries. The chief causes wherof were the Nobility and Gentlemen themselues, who not liking to be gouerned, or rather (as they tooke it) oppressed by the Germans; and hauing not vpon any desire that they had of peace, but rather by necessity inforced, yeelded vnto the Pacification aforesayd, ceased not stil vnder-hand to incite the souldiers (ready enough of themselues to doe mischief) and in what they might to trouble the State, being gouerned by the Germans, whom they accounted as meer strangers. All which their doings *Basta* the Emperors Lieutenant perceiuing, caused three of the greatest of the Gentlemen of the country, and whom he most suspected to be the authors of these troubles, to be apprehended, and fast mured vp betwixt two strong walls in an old ruinous Monastery. Whither their friends afterward comming to visit them, & finding them starued to death, were therwith much abashed, as were also others their complices when they heard therof.

But leauing them to work themselues further troubles, let vs againe return to the Turkes affairs.

The Turks deal deceitfuly with the Christians.

Now was all the hope of peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks become desperat, the Turks making therof no more account, seeing they had according to their desire prouided Alba-Regalis, Agria, and Buda, of all things necessary. They had in four wagons put into Agria the pay due vnto their garrisons: so that their affairs being now in good estate, and their courage reuiued, they began to scoffe and jest at our incredulity, to beleeue that they euer had any purpose to conclude vpon any thing that was not agreeing with their profit, how far soeuer it were differing from their honor or faith. So that now these faithlesse men began again to renue their wonted incursions and pillages vpon the Christians, with all other kinds of hostility, and that in more cruel maner than euer before: and our Hussars on the other side well requited them with the like, beeing as well contented as they with such doings, their whole fortune depending vpon the points of their weapons, & euer ready to serue their prince for pay. Now it fortuned that fourscore of the Turks going forth to seek for prey, chanced to meet with certain of these Hussars, and finding themselues too weake to incounter with our men, and betaking themselues to flight, were certain of them taken prisoners, and so brought vnto the Generall; vnto whom they vpon examination confessed, That the Turks much maruelled at the simplicity and foolishnes of the Christians, to beleeue that they were desirous of peace, and not to haue discouered their manifest intentions to the contrary, tending onely to the pleasuring of themselues, and the annoying of them their enemies, to the strengthning of themselues, and destruction of the Christians: as by proof it appeared, so soon as their desires were accomplished. And that their yong Emperour was alwaies against this treaty of peace, what shew soeuer he made to the contrary, constrained therunto by the victories and conquests of the Persian King: all his wishes and desires aiming at no other end, than at the general ruin of all Christendom.

Our garisons seeing themselues thus charged by the Turks, took vp arms also, requiting them with the like outrages. They of Pappa and Vesprinium were the first that began these broils after the treaty of peace; who hauing joined their forces together, and making head toward Alba-Regalis, met with a number of Turks, driuing sheep and cattell thither; whom they surprised, and together with their cattel caried away prisoners. Which good hap was seconded with the liberty of 20 Christian prisoners from Buda: who one night seeing their Keepers oppressed with sleep and wine, cut their throats, and so happily escaped ouer the Riuer to Pesth.

Booties taken from the Turks.

Now

Now whilſt theſe troubles betwixt the Chriſtians and Turkes (after the treaty of peace broken of) thus began again in Hungary, the Turks, beſide the rebellion in Aſia, were togeather by the ears in the prouince of Boſna. *Zellaly* hauing by force joined with policie, driuen *Zeffer Baſſa* (as is before ſaid) out of Boſna, and poſſeſſed himſelfe of that prouince, thought himſelfe now ſure enough within the ſtrength of his gouernment, although he beeing by the great Sultan ſent for to Conſtantinople, refuſed to come, as knowing right well himſelfe to hold that ſo great a gouernment much againſt his will and pleaſure. But *Zeffer Baſſa* now ſupported with the authoritie of the great Sultan, and deſirous to be reuenged of the diſhonour and loſſe he had before receiued from *Zellaly* his enemy, with a great army ſuddenly entred into Boſna, and ſo comming vpon *Zellaly*, fearing as then no ſuch matter, ouerthrew him with all his power, and neuer left purſuing of him, til he had chaſed him out of the prouince, and ſo again recouered the gouernment therof vnto himſelf. But ſhort was the ioy which the Baſſa receiued of this ſo pleaſing a victory, for within a few daies after hee died; comforting himſelfe in this, That he died not vnreuenged. Of all which things the great Baſſa's of the court hauing vnderſtanding, and loth to loſe ſo great a ſoldier as was *Zellaly* (who as a man diſtreſſed was now making ſhift for himſelfe) or by vſing of him hardly, to deterre the other Aſian Rebels from comming in, and yet not willing to truſt him with the gouernment of ſo great a prouince as was Boſna: they to prouide for all euents appointed him to be gouernor of Temeſware; and *Begedes Baſſa* (before Gouernour there) to ſucceed *Zeffer Baſſa* in the gouernment of Boſna. Therby contenting all parties, to keepe their forces whole and entire againſt the Chriſtians.

Great troubles in Hungary.

But as the Turks were troubled with their affaires in Boſna, ſo the Chriſtians were no leſſe but rather more buſied with theirs both in Tranſylvania and Hungary. The Eſtates of Hungary had appointed a generall meeting at Poſſonium, wherein the Archduke *Matthias* was to ſit as Preſident, there to conſult of the means for the maintenance of this yeares wars againſt the Turks. But as the Archduke was about to haue entred into the city in the middeſt of his ſoldiers, ſuch a fire vpon the ſudden aroſe in the city as conſumed the greateſt part therof: an ill preſage of the action then in hand, and a wofull ſpectacle to behold; with the terror wherof al mens minds poſſeſſed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Archduke (which was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more neceſſary & concerning them than the other. Beſides that, the miſeries then to be ſeene in the other parts of Hungary yet holden by the Chriſtians, were both great and lamentable; for beſide the harms therin done by the Turks, the regiment of Colonel *Althem* had made ſuch ſpoil and hauock all ouer the country where it lay, that the towns and people in general ſo grieuouſly complained therof vnto the Emperor, that he mooued with their iuſt complaints, cauſed the authors of theſe ſo great outrages to be apprehended and brought priſoners to Vienna, where ſome of them were beheaded, and ſome others of them hanged. Beſides whom ſo condemned and executed, there were ſome other Captains and Lieutenants, of whom ſome denying the fact, and other ſome ſtanding vpon the iuſtifying of that they had done, as therunto by extream neceſſitie inforced, were for their further triall ſent priſoners vnto Prague, were they were committed to priſon into the Caſtle vntill their cauſes might be heard. Amongſt which Captaines and Lieutenants, and other great officers, was one *Genderot*, Colonel *Althems* Antient, who moſt wickedly a little before had ſlain *Nudercy*, a gentleman of good ſort, and his fellow companion in Arms. For which murther hee was committed priſoner into a very high and ſtrong tower within the Caſtle, (wherin County *Paradiſer* who ſold Caniſia vnto the Turks, lay ſometime priſoner) vntil his trial might within a few daies after bee made: the horror of which criminall place, together with the guilt of conſcience, ſo troubled and wounded the minde of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to ſaue his life was by making an eſcape, and ſo to auoid the ſtroke of Iuſtice. Which he happily brought to paſſe by the help of one of his Lacquies, who had found means to bring vnto him a little cord, wherby ſtraining himſelf out at a little window (by which it was thought almoſt impoſſible for any man to haue got out) he ſafely got down to the ground, and there hauing two good horſes ready for him, hee with his man fled amain, and ſo eſcaped, his Keepers drunk ouer night, being in the morning found yet ſleeping, without perceiuing any thing; whoſe drunkennes and fauor toward the priſoner had

Colonel Althem his regiment in mutiny.

had giuen him meanes to escape. The rest of the captains and lieutenants in prison at Prague were some of them beheaded, and some of them hanged, and the rest at the intercession of the Nobilitie of Austria, and of other great men pardoned; yet with condition, That they should pay the fines set vpon them, and serue their Emperor in his wars three moneths of their owne charge without pay: some few of the common souldiers, to the terrour of others had two of the fore fingers of their right hands cut off, and afterwards fast nailed vnto gibbets set vp by the high waies side.

The Regiment of Colonell Meysberg in mutiny

In like maner also the regiment of Colonel *Meysberg* rose in mutinie for their pay & came and incamped at Sneche, about a league from Vienna; threatning to destroy the countrey, and to kill the chiefe men therein, if they were not paied their pay. Which rebellious mutiny the Captains did what they might to appease; they besought them, but in vaine; they intreated them, but to no purpose; they promised them pay, but preuailed not; yea, the Colonell himselfe thrust himselfe into the midst of them, with most earnest prayers, and his hands cast vp, putting them in mind of their duty, and laying before them the danger of most assured death and dishonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their disloyaltie, whereunto their headstrong fury so disorderly led them. But they as men inraged, carried headlong with their fury, breathing nothing but threats and destruction, and by no praiers or persuasion to be moued, presently made choice of another Chiefetaine, vnder whose conduct and leading they resolued to rifle the suburbs of Vienna, and with the spoyle of them to pay themselues. Vpon which resolution they marched on, and so drew neere vnto the city: with which their so great and dangerous an insolencie the Gouernors of the city moued (the sufferance wherof, they accounted to be to themselues both dishonorable and harmfull) they on the other side resolued by plaine force to represse them, and by iust armes to chastise them, who were not otherwise to be reclaimed. But such be the miserable calamities of warre, where violent remedies must purge out of the body of the commonweale the good humors together with the bad, so to recouer the health thereof: which remedies, not but vpon necessity to be vsed, are so quicke and violent in their working, as that they afford not leisure to discerne the whole and sound from the sick and infected, to saue the one, and to spill the other; but that they must altogether run the selfe same way. For albeit that the whole regiment was in this mutinous action, and so all in like danger, yet were they not therof all alike guilty, many of them being euen against their wils and good liking carried away headlong, as with the violent course of an headie riuer.

Now the Captaines of the towne with their troupes and companies, strengthned with some other supply sent from other places, were to set forward against these rebellious mutiners, and to frustrate their designes: for the greater strengthning of whom, diuers of the burgesses of the towne were inforced to enter into this action also: amongst whom, there were two accounted very honest religious men, who by all meanes sought to excuse themselues from going, labouring both by liuely reasons, and by the Word of God, to proue, that they neither might nor ought of right to enter into armes against their Christian brethren, inforced with extremities, for want of their due pay, to forget their duty, and to do that beseemed them not. But what auaileth it to alleadge either reason or law amongst the clattering of armes; the noise whereof is so great, as that Reason and Law cannot there be heard. These two men seeing themselues inforced to goe, and much grieued in conscience to do that they were inioyned to do, and to help to shed the guiltlesse bloud of their innocent brethren (as they accounted them) entred both of them into a most strange and wofull resolution, which was to die themselues, rather than to imbrue their hands with the bloud of the guiltlesse: whereupon one of them hauing oftentimes called vpon the name of *Iesus*, with his owne sword thrust himselfe through the body, and so died: the other vpon the like resolution threw himselfe into the riuer, and so perished also: men worthy to be pitied for their conscience sake, but iustly to be condemned for their so weake and desperat a resolution. In fine, the rebellious mutiners seeing in what perill they were, being euen now ready to bee charged, and withall considering the weaknesse of their power in comparison of them that came against them, thought it best vpon the sight of so great a tempest to strike sail; and so changing their former determination, and laying downe their armes, craued pardon of the Archduke; who graciously granted it them, and so tooke them to his mercy; yet with condition, that they

A strange action of two of the citizens of Vienna.

should

ſhould again return vnto their gariſons, and deliuer into his hands the ring-leaders and chief authors of that mutiny to be puniſhed according to their deſerts, as afterwards they were: the ordinary end of ſuch inſolent and diſordered actions, which haue nothing aſſured vnto them but death, which (all things els failing) attendeth only vpon them.

But while the Chriſtians thus diuided were at variance among themſelues, the Turks were ready enough to take aduantage of ſuch their dangerous diſcord. And firſt of all *Zellaly* the old Rebell, but now gouernor of Temeſware, hauing in his crafty head plotted the taking of the city of Lippa by ſurpriſe, and to that purpoſe gathering together the greateſt power hee was able to make, in the euening ſet forward from Temeſwar, and ſo trauelling by night came to Lippa, vnto the walls wherof he planted ſcaling ladders, and at the ſame time laboured to haue forced the gates, in hope ſo to haue gained the town. Which was done with ſuch a terrible noiſe and outcry as was poſſible by the Turks to be made, after that they were once diſcouered, therby to haue diſmaied the Chriſtians within the town: Who wel acquainted with ſuch ſtratagems of their enemies, and now therwith awaked, came readily to the walls, and there ſo well defended themſelues and their towne, that the Turks being repulſed, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and hauing loſt a number of their men, with all ſpeed to retyre. Vpon whom the Chriſtians ſallying out, ſlew many of them in that their diſordered retreat, little differing from plaine flight, and tooke many more of them priſoners. Yea *Zellaly*, who not many hours before had thought to haue ſurpriſed Lippa, was now glad himſelfe to haue recouered the walls of Temeſwar.

Some of the Turks that were there taken priſoners, being examined, reported, That the army that was this year to come into Hungary was like to be very great; and that a part thereof was now come to Belgrade, expecting there the comming of the Tartars, who were together with them to enter into Hungary. And that by reaſon of the wars in Perſia, which deuoured almoſt all the ſoldiers in Conſtantinople, and yet could not be therewith ſatisfied; the great Sultan had commanded, That all ſuch as were able to bear armes, as well in Boſna, as in that part of Hungary which was ſubiect vnto him, and in the other prouinces therunto adioyning, ſhould be ready to join with his army in Hungary, for the furthering of his conqueſts there. And that the Perſian King proſecuting the courſe of his victory, had ouerthrown *Cicala Baſſa* with his Army, and taken his ſonne priſoner, almoſt ſlain all his troupes; and entred into confederacie with *Caracaſe* chiefe of the Aſian rebels, a man of great power, who had following of him a great number of valiant men, al reſolutely ſet down for the troubling of the great Sultans eſtate.

About the ſame time the gouernor of Caſſovia (a great and ſtrong town in the vpper part of Hungary) going forth with a good part of his Garriſon to appeaſe the ſouldiers lying about in the Countrey (but now vp in mutinie for their pay) and there ſpending ſome few days about this buſineſſe, in ſhewing them the danger of this their inſolencie, and perſuading of them by the euill ſucceſſe and end of ſuch like actions, to returne againe vnto their duties; and they againe on the contrary ſide, obſtinately vrging the payment of their pay, or elſe to haue leaue to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: And ſo the time paſſing, it fortuned that certain Turks then priſoners at Caſſovia, incouraged by the abſence of the Gouernor and of the garriſon ſouldiers, to attempt the gaining of their liberty, brake their irons, and ſlew their keepers, in hope ſo to haue eſcaped: but beeing in the doing therof diſcouered, and ſo againe ſurpriſed before they could do any further harme, and by torture examined, by what means they thought to haue eſcaped out of the City, the walls thereof being kept with continually Sentinels; they confeſſed, That their purpoſe was, the ſame night to haue ſet fire vpon diuers places of the city (ſo to haue drawn the people to the quenching therof) and at the ſame time to haue ſlain the Sentinels vpon the walls, and ſo to haue made their eſcape. For which their ſo miſchieuous a fact and purpoſe, they were ſome of them executed, and the reſt again committed to priſon, were more ſtreitly kept and lookt to than before.

A terrible fire in Caniſa.

Now as Caſſovia had by Gods prouidence thus eſcaped ſo great an intended miſchief, Caniſia at the ſame time alone felt the euil hap by the Turks intended both to Caſſovia & Lippa; for a ſouldier in garriſon in the citadel there, hauing through negligence or miſhap caſt

fire into the pouder prouided for the ſtore of the caſtle, the pouder taking fire, blew vp the citadel, the towers, the houſes & walls; and to be brief, made this poor place like another Rome burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the Chriſtian forces bin then neere the place, it had bin an eaſie matter to haue won the ſame; as wel for the ſmal reſiſtance that was therin to haue been found, in ſo great aſtoniſhment of the men, and deſtruction of the place. But ſuch accidents haue no certain hours limited to their beginnings, nor aſſurance of their comming; ſo that oftentimes they chance without any man to make vſe of them, and again fly away when greateſt preparation is made to obtain them.

The Turks of Buda ouerthrowne.

At the ſame time the Turks of Buda ſent two hundred of the ſoldiers of their garriſon to fetch in forrage a little from Peſth: Who as they were in the doing thereof too preſumptuous, ſo were they well puniſhed for their ſo great pride. For the Chriſtians in Peſth hauing diſcouered them in this action, ſallied out vpon them and charged them; againſt whom for a while they right valiantly defended themſelues, but oppreſſed with number, at length they were quite ouerthrowne, moſt of them being there ſlaine, and the reſt taken priſoners. Wherwith the Baſſa of Buda was ſo much offended, that in reuenge thereof hee in his rage threatned with fire and ſword to do what harm he could vnto the Chriſtians. But as the common prouerb ſaith, Halfe warned, halfe armed: and enemies threats bring this comfort with them, That in receiuing the threatned harms, we are in hope to be therof reuenged, as therefore before prouided.

Great troubles in Tranſiluania.

Vnto theſe woſull troubles of Hungary, proceeding as well from the inſolencies of the Chriſtian ſouldiers themſelues, as from the fury of the Turkes, who were their antient and mortall enemies; were joined the like or rather worſe calamities in Tranſylvania, extreame famine and want of all things ſore raging in both Countries: ſo that hardly hath any miſery or extremity been ſeen or heard of, euen in Countries by the iuſt and heauy iudgements of Almighty God appointed to vtter ruine and deſtruction, which were not in thoſe two countries to be found, and of many felt. For remedie wherof, *George Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant in Tranſylvania, had there done what hee might for the appeaſing of the tumults and troubles in that prouince, and how of late brought the ſame into ſome good tearms, as it was thought, and as is before declared. Howbeit that in proofe it fell out far otherwiſe, and that the more he therin laboured, the farther he was off from his intent and purpoſe. For the Nobility of that prouince, who were generally inclined vnto rebellion, and deteſting the Germanes, together with their gouernment, reiected the Decrees and orders which were agreed vpon in their late meeting together for the concluding of peace: inſomuch, that aſſiſted by the Turks, they had taken certaine Caſtles and ſtrong places in that prouince. And the better to ſupport their rebellion and inſolencie, they had appointed a certaine place to meet at, where the Turkes and they might confer together of the meanes which they intended for the effecting of their deſignes. Whereof *Baſta* hauing by ſecret means got vnderſtanding, to remedy this pretended miſchiefe, hee ſent away a great number of Haiduckes to lie in wait to ſurpriſe them vpon the way. Which men, who were skilfull in the paſſages of the country, failed not in this action, but lay cloſe in ambuſh, very conueniently for the ſurpriſing of their enemies. Who proceeding in their intended purpoſe, and thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which was intended againſt them, were ſuddenly, before they were aware, Turkes and Tranſylvanians all together ſurpriſed and ſlaine. Which exploit beeing performed, theſe Haiducks and other ſouldiers deſtitute of their pay, and inraged with fury, fell vpon the prouince, vſing therein all hoſtilitie, as if they had beene mortall enemies vnto it; puniſhing the guiltleſſe for the guilty, and ſeiſing vpon all mens goods in common, to pay them that which was by ſome few in priuat kept from them. All the whole prouince was ſubiect to the rage and fury of thoſe and other ſuch mercileſſe men of war, who without any remorſe, indifferently ſlew and maſſacred all that came in their way; but eſpecially the poore and weak innocent people, who called vpon the Almighty God for remedy and redreſſe of theſe euils they ſuſtained, and cried out vnto him for reuenge of their ſo great and cruel wrongs. The highways were euery where ſo ful of theeues, that no man could trauel from place to place, but that he was in great danger to be ſet vpon and ſpoiled. For the Haiducks being men that liue onely by prey and roaming vp and downe the Countrey, made good priſe and booty of whatſoeuer

came

came in their way, sparing neither Turks nor Christians: insomuch, that they hearing, how that the Zecklers with a good conuoy were bringing a number of waggons laden with victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other cattell to Claudianople, although they were of the same party, Beleefe, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to surprise them: against whom the Zecklers seeking to defend themselues, were by them cruelly massacred, and their waggons, with their Beeues and other Cattell, all carried quite away. But what should wee say? Hunger breaketh euen the stone wals, and forceth men vnto all extremities, and now the famine in that Prouince was such, as that the people were for the most part glad to liue by feeding vpon the roots of herbs and weeds, and such other vnwholesome things, whereof great mortalite afterward ensued amongst them: Which was the cause that *Horwat*, Captaine of these Haiduckes, being reproued for the outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more such like should afterward be done; answered, That it was not possible to keep souldiers in any order amidst the extremitie of famine; for that the belly was an inexorable vsurer, which tooke pity vpon nothing, but with great rage exacting that which it thought due for the nourishment of it selfe.

Amidst these troubles of Transyluania and Hungary, there were two of the Turks spies of Buda discouered and taken; who at Vienna had obserued all the actions and proceedings of the Christians, and to the vtmost of their power had informed themselues of their designes, as also of their preparations and forces to be raised and leuied for this yeres warres: of which two spyes, the one was empayled, and the other kept in close and streit prison, vntill that further matter might be drawne out from him.

The forces of the Christians were now beginning to gather themselues together and to make an head in Hungary; a rife report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field: whereof the Bassa of Buda vnderstanding, and desirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardnesse (whereof he doubted the effects) thought it best to betake himselfe to his old and cunning practise, for the treaty and concluding of a peace with the Christians, whereof he now made shew himselfe, together with the rest of the Turks, to be very desirous: so by putting the Christians in hope thereof, to make them the more remisse and negligent in their doings, and to gaine time of them, vntill that the Turks great army (then in preparing) might be brought downe into Hungary. To which purpose he in most friendly manner thus writ vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium.

The Bassa of Buda, to the Gouernor of Strigonium sendeth Greeting.

Letters of the Bassa of Buda to the gouernor of Strigonium.

WE know right well (noble Gouernour) that you are not ignorant, how that your brother the Gouernor of Strigonium before you, hath most earnestly embraced the negotiation of peace, in such sort, as that we cannot so much yeeld vnto our ordinary quarrels and dissentions, but that we must giue you to vnderstand the causes which haue crossed and hindered the concluding of so great a good the last year now passed. The first let came by reason of the time, chosen too late to bee imployed in that Treaty of peace, when as now both the Armies were already on foot, and euen in readinesse to joyn battell, and could not be then staied by that intreaty, nor sent back again without some exploit doing: Each part had resolued vpon their proper designes, and euen chosen their ground for battell, and were then hardly to bee turned from that whereupon they were before resolued. And albeit that during this last Winter the treaty for the peace was again begun, and that the men of warre on both sides in hope thereof, rested vnarmed and free from all hostility, (a most fit time to haue begun and ended this treaty of peace, which hath beene so much wished for of our soueraigne Emperour, desired of his subiects, and requested by those of your Emperours, with whom my dread Soueraigne would confirme and contract a firme and continuall peace) yet for all that, since the departure of the Gouernour from Strigonium, we see three months to haue been passed, without any Letters at all, or message by word of mouth brought vnto vs concerning this matter. So that we haue not any thing whereof to certifie our soueraigne Emperour. And forasmuch as the course of time hath brought these two contrary Armies euen vnto the point of battell, and that they are mar-

ching one of them to incounter with the other, and so to enter into the lists of honour; wee haue thought good before, to desire to know of you what we are to expect concerning the peace. We therfore request you, as our very good brother and friend, in what you may, to stay the comming of our armies into this Kingdom; and to attend to that which may produce the conclusion of this Treaty, being on our part most ready to lend both our ear and desire to whatsoeuer shall be iust and meet in this Treaty, and necessary for the Common good: beseeching you to beleeue vs in this businesse, and not to doubt of our good will, more affected to your good, than is yours to our welfare. Wherof we in good time aduertise you, for that our army which is now before Belgrade, being once arriued here, and marching in field, we canot possibly cause it to return without somthing doing, considering the great harm, which vnder the assurance of your faith giuen, we haue receiued from your people during the time of the truce, which they haue many waies violated. Which their euill dealing hath greatly insenced vs against your men in captiuitie with vs, and caused our soldiers to shew great rigor against their slaues. We therfore attend your answer, and the return of your brother; to the end we may together resolue according vnto equitie and reason, of that which shall be needfull to bee done for the common good and welfare.

Now for all this fair glosing, it was no hard matter to gheſſe at the Bassa's secret meaning: for how desirous soeuer he seemed to be of peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet neuertheleſſe most true it is, that during the time of all these faire shewes, the Turkes hauing assembled the garrison souldiers on all sides, had by night surprised the Castle of Simnin vpon the Christians, slaine part of the soldiers therein, carried away the rest prisoners, and most cruelly afterwards burnt the place: so manifesting by their foule deeds the euill meaning of their faire and deceitfull words.

But now leauing the Bassa for a while vnto his crafty deuices, and passing ouer many smal skirmishes which hapned in Hungary and Transylvania, as not beseeming the grauitie of an history; let vs now out of Europ look ouer into Asia, to see how the great Turks affairs there in the mean time went.

Ths rebellion in Asia was by the comming ouer of *Zellaly* and his followers for a time somwhat pacified, but not suppressed; that pestilent humor of disloyaltie hauing before infected the minds of so many, as that in short time after the Rebels were much stronger, and the Rebellion much more dangerous than before. For the appeasing and suppressing whereof, *Cicala Bassa* the old Renegate, and a man of great experience and seruice, was sent by the Graund Sultan as Generall, with a great and mighty Army into Asia; where hee needed not long to looke for his enemies, they being as ready as he, either to giue or to accept of battel: so that for men so on both sides resolued, it was no hard matter to bring them to the triall of a battel. Which they with like desire and equall minde joyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Bassa fighting for his honour, and the Rebell for his life: howbeit that at length, the Bassa after much bloud-shed and a great number on both sides slaine, being put to the worse, fled with his Army altogether disordered and in rout, hauing in that so dangerous a confusion of his people much ado to saue himselfe. With which so shamefull an ouerthrow giuen him by the Rebell, the Bassa was more ashamed than discouraged; who again repaired his Army, ioyning thereunto great and mighty supplies, and so strengthned, came now again the second time, to reuenge himselfe of the great dishonour which he had before receiued, and vtterly to suppresse the Rebels. Who now finding themselues too weake to incounter with so great and mighty a power, wisely betimes retyred, praying aid of the Persian King, who sent vnto them his owne sonne with a great Army of good and valiant souldiers. The which might haue giuen the Bassa cause enough to haue stayed his haste, and to haue beene well aduised, how he joined battell with such desperate and resolute enemies, and now backt with such strong supplies. But he being blinded with the fury of his former losse, and too much desirous to be thereof reuenged, with more hast than good speed came on, and joined battel with these his enemies, who were now in readinesse, and well prouided to receiue him. The two Armies were in number equall; but the Rebels of the two more resolute and carefull of themselues and of their welfare, as they which had reposed all their hope and confidence in their owne armes and valour; so that the battel was with great outcries and fury begun both on the one

Cicala Bassa ouerthrowne by the Asian Rebels.

one side and the other: in the beginning wherof the Turks right furiously charged the rebels, and seemed somewhat to preuaile vpon them; vntill that the Persian Kings son with certaine troups of his most braue horsmen charging them in the rereward, & some other of the rebels with like fury assailing them vpon their flanks, their whole army was so disordred, that *Cicala* doing what he could to put his men again in order, and so to haue restored the battel, nothing therin preuailed, but was glad together with the rest of his army, now all in rout, to betake himself to flight. In this battel were forty thousand men slain on both sides, whereof thirty thousand were of the Bassa's Army, and the rest of the Rebels; who by this so great a victorie gained no lesse honour and reputation, than had the Sultans Generall got contempt and disgrace.

Cicala againe ouerthrown.

The Persian King after this great discomfiture of the Turkes, continuing his conquests, took in the Countrey of Sirvan, (a matter of great importance) beeing now destitute of all reliefe, by the ouerthrow of *Cicala Bassa*; who had he preuailed against the Rebells, should haue marched thither against the Persian King, to haue stayed the course of his victories: who now victorious and out of fear, made head toward Arusta, a very great and strong towne, neer whereunto the riuer Tygris discharged it selfe into the great riuer of Euphrates; the which City he at last won, with all the places and countries thereunto adioyning; and hath since as a most happy and victorious Prince againe recouered from the Turkes, whatsoeuer they had since Sultan *Solymans* time by force of armes taken from the Persian Kings his predecessors, two or three strong places only excepted. Of which most notable Wars betwixt these two the most mighty Princes of the East, that is to say, the Great Turke and the Persian King, I can rather wish than hope to be better informed; and that not so much for curiosity, (although that the knowledge of such matters yeeld vnto such as bee desirous thereof great pleasure, with no lesse contentment) as for that they (though very farre off) in some sort much concern the good and quiet of the Christian Commonweale; the Persian wars beeing the only means whereby the fury of the great Turkish Sultan hath been, and yet is for a time auerted from the Christians in Europe, vpon the Persians in Asia; as it is greatly to be feared, that some one or other, if not more, of the Christian Princes neerest vnto him, shall to their great cost and harm feel, so soon as these two Mahometane Princes shall be at peace amongst themselues.

Achmat sick of the small pox.

But leaue we the Bassa a while to grieue at his ouerthrowes, and the Persian King to triumph of these victories, and see what the great Sultan himself in the mean time doth.

This yong Prince *Achmat* (now one of the greatest Monarchs in the world) had not many months reigned, but that he fel sick of the smal pox, wherwith he hauing a grosse & ful body, was so fouly tormented for a fortnights space, that oftentimes fainting, it was generally supposed he would therof haue died: Yea, diuers of the great Bassa's were in speech concerning his yonger brother to be taken out of the Seraglio to succeed him: which was thought would haue cost him his life, after that the Sultan his elder brother was again recouered. And no doubt it had, but that he was the onely Heir then left of the *Othoman* Family, if that his brother the Sultan should haue failed. But he againe recouering of his foul and childish disease, to shew vnto the Ianizaries and others who doubted thereof, that he was so recouered, most proudly mounted vpon a goodly horse sumptuously furnished, and in great state and magnificence rid ap and down thorow most of the chiefe streets of the Imperial city of Constantinople; the people (as their accustomed manner is) in euery place as he went rejoycing to see him, and prosecuting him with their most joyfull acclamations, wishing vnto him a long and happy reigne. Neither is it any maruell, seeing the almighty God hath euen in the faces and countenances of Princes ingrauen some resemblance of his owne, if they become respectiue and admirable in the eies and sight of the common people, who cannot but honor them with their voyces, whom God hath blessed with his power, and other his extraordinarie worldly blessings.

This yong prince so recouered of his sickness and hauing shewed himself to his subiects, began forthwith to giue himselfe (according to the heat of his youthfull spirit) immoderatly vnto the pleasures of the field, and other such violent exercises, being in their moderate vse wholsome, but in their violences much hurtfull; but especially vpon the new recouery of his late

late ſickneſſe, the grieſes whereof came in haſt, but were to leaue him at leiſure. Whereupon C two of his Baſſaes careſull of his health, were ſo bold, as out of their loue to reproue him for ſuch his violent and immoderate exerciſes (the day not being long enough for them) and by effectuall reaſons to diſſuade him from the ſame. But ſo far off was he from hearkening vnto their wholſome perſuaſions, as that to the contrary he therwith inraged, thruſt them both out of their places. So dangerous a thing it is, euen in zeale and loue to preſume to controll great Princes in their moſt vain pleaſures; others in the mean time not louing them at all, but only for their owne profit attending vpon their idle appetites, injoying the preferments due vnto their more faithfull and loyall ſubiects, and yet ſecretly in themſelues, ſmiling at the vanitie of ſuch as by whom they be ſo vnworthily honoured and promoted.

Good counſell taken in euill part by Sultan Achmat.

But as in the immoderate vſe of all things there is a ſatietie which breedeth a diſliking and H diſtaſte of them (pleaſures being not by any meanes more commended, than by their nouelties and ſeldome vſe) ſo this young Sultan *Achmat* hauing glutted himſelfe with his pleaſures, began now to caſt his eyes vpon his other more neceſſarie affaires of State, but eſpecially vpon his warres both with the Chriſtian Emperour and the Mahometane Perſian King. Now hee was not ignorant of the great valour and ſufficiencie of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, for the mannaging of his warres in Hungarie, wherein hee had of long time been exerciſed, and ſo therein beſt experienced. This old Captaine pleaſed him beſt, whom as an old, expert, and politicke Generall, hee reſolued to continue in his charge as Lieutenant Generall of his warres in Hungarie, and by the continuation of him in ſo great and honourable a place, to binde him to all loyall ſeruices in thoſe warres, euen to the vttermoſt of his power. This I Great Baſſa was then at Belgrade, vpon the frontier of his gouernment in doubtfull ſuſpence expecting the reſolution of his Prince concerning this buſineſſe, and yet in hope longing after a ſecond charge: Whoſe longing deſire *Achmat* quickly ſatisfied, by ſending vnto him both a commiſſion for the continuation of his charge and dignitie, and certaine honourable Preſents in token of his extraordinarie fauor towards him; which were a Generals Enſigne, with an Hungarian Mace of pure gold. Now whether theſe Preſents, joyned vnto the continuation of his charge, were welcome vnto him or not, ambitious minds (ſuch as was his) can eaſily tell: and hee to ſhew his contentment therewith, gaue thereof good teſtimonie by the publicke actions of joy, cauſing all the great Ordnance of the place in thundring wiſe to be oftentimes diſcharged, and the Trumpets and Drummes to be moſt joyfully K ſounded.

Haſſan Baſſa appointed lieutenant General of the Turks wars in Hungary.

In the meane time newes was brought to Conſtantinople, how that the Perſian King hauing muſtred his men, was in the field with aboue an hundred thouſand good ſouldiers, and that *Bagages Baſſa*, one of the great Rebels in Aſia, had confederated himſelfe with him, to the further troubling of the Turks eſtate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although he had before giuen order vnto *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa his Lieutenant in Hungary, for the beſieging and taking of Veradinum, a ſtrong City in the vpper Hungary; now by a meſſenger ſent in haſt, commanded the ſame Baſſa, all other buſineſſes ſet apart, with all the power that he could make, forthwith to returne to Conſtantinople, there with him and the reſt of the Baſſa's to conſult and reſolue vpon the moſt neceſſarie warre, and of the readieſt meanes for the continuing of the ſame. For L albeit that the Turks were moſt deſirous to haue warres with the Chriſtians, and ſo (if it were poſſible) to haue conquered the remainders of Hungary; yet the danger of the Perſian warres, and of the rebellion in Aſia daily more and more increaſing, ſuffered them not wholly to attend vnto the warres againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary, but drew them now into a doubtfull conſultation, which way firſt to turne their forces. But being come to Conſtantinople, the Grand Seigniour tooke the paines and did him the honour to come vnto his houſe; whither the Councell for the State being aſſembled, it was there moſt proudly reſolued vpon, euen forthwith at one and the ſelfe ſame time with equall forces to make warre both vpon the Chriſtian Emperour in Hungary, and the Perſian King in Aſia, accounting themſelues ſtrong enough to ſubdue and bring vnder foot both the one and the other, no power vpon M earth being in their proud conceit of themſelues able to encounter or withſtand theirs. So for the mannaging of theſe warres, and of their ſo proud a reſolution to be performed in ſo remote parts of the world, *Haſſan Baſſa* was continued in his charge, as Generall of the army

in

A in Hungary; and *Cicala Bassa* was appointed to haue the command of the army to be sent against the Persian: Two most expert Captains, being to fight against their heredetarie enemies; *Hassan* against the Christians, and *Cicala* against the Persians, by whom he had not long before bin euil vsed. An ordinary policy of the *Othoman* Emperors, not to commit the charge of their armies against the Christians, vnto Renegates; for feare lest they, touched with some remorse of conscience, might betray the same, or otherwise deale vnfaithfully in their charge: but still to imploy them against the Persians, of whom they haue no further knowledge, but as of their enemies in the field. But *Cicala Bassa* well acquainted both with the difficulty and the danger of the Persian war, (the scarres whereof he yet bare about with him) made shew as if he had been vnwilling to take vpon him the charge thereof; and so begun to excuse himB selfe, vntill that at length vpon promise made vnto him, for the furnishing of him with a sufficient army, and all things els necessary for so great a war, with a large and most honourable entertainment for himselfe, and all the Persian prisoners being also giuen vnto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honourable charge, whereof in his ambitious mind he was indeed most desirous. And so receiuing the Generals Ensigne, with the other marks and cognisances of his honour, causing the Drums to be strucken vp, and the Trumpets to bee joyfully sounded, he cheerfully prepared himselfe for that his so great an expedition; expecting but the comming of his sonne, who at the request of the Venetians was gon forth with a fleet of gallies to scoure the Leuant seas of the Pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the traffieke of the Venetian Merchants.

C Amiddest which the Turks so great designes, the Tartar Cham, bound for his pay to serue the Great Turke in his warres against the Christians; by his Embassadour excused himselfe vnto the Great Sultan, for that he could not himselfe in person come this yeare with his forces into Hungary, by reason that he was otherwise necessarily busied with the most vrgent affaires of his owne Estate: yet promising withall, in stead of himselfe, to send his sun with a good power of men. Now whereas many men maruell, why the Tartar Cham, being so great a Prince, and not much in danger vnto the Turke (being separated from him by the Blacke or Euxine sea) should be still so ready at the Turks call, to do him seruice in his warres: The causes whereof are diuers, and those not far to seeke. First, their neere affinitie (as both descended from the same beginning, by often marriages still confirmed: Then, D Their likenesse of manners and condition, no smal bonds of loue and friendship: And thirdly, For that the Turkish Empire for want of heires males of the *Othoman* Family, is assured, and as it were entailen vnto the Tartar Cham: But most of all, For the yearely pention and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiueth from the Turks; his rude and needie people being also euer ready, in hope of the spoyle, to follow him into those warres. But this his excuse for not comming himselfe this yeare into Hungary, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Hassan Bassa* resolued vpon his expedition for Hungary, made great preparation for the good successe of the warre there, gaue great hope thereof vnto the Great Sultan, and caused himselfe to be proclaimed Lieutenant Generall of all the Great Sultans Forces against the Christians: euery man affourding vnto these good hopes a thousand wiE shes for his health and welfare: but especially the Mahometane Priests assured him of their helpe, so that hee would not faile to do the vttermost of his endeauour against the Christians their enemies. For why, the Turks doe account him the best and most zealous man, which can do the Christians most harme. And so with these great acclamations of joy and honour, *Hassan* the great Bassa set forward with his army from Constantinople, towards Hungary.

The reasons why the Tartar Cham is so ready to serue the great Turk in his wars against the Christians.

The Christian Emperor ignorant of all these the Turks great preparations and haughty designes, sought by all meanes how to resist them, sparing nothing that might any way serue or stand him in stead to that purpose. Experience had assured him of the Popes readinesse in contributing to this action, what in his power was; hauing before receiued so many testimoF nies of his good wil. Which caused him now to dispatch also his brother *Maximilian* the archduke, a good and a deuout Prince, to him, with expresse charge in the Emperors name to yeeld all submission to his Holines, to moue him to relieue the wofull estate of his distressed affairs. *Maximilian* setting forward about this busines, arriued at Venice, where he was by that State right

Maximilian the Archduke sent Embassadour from the Emperour vnto the Pope, to craue his ayd against the Turke.

right honorably entertained. From Venice he trauelling toward Rome, and with a great Retinue approching the city, was there met by a great number of Noblemen with their Followers, ſent from the Pope; and ſo by them with great honour was brought into the Vatican Palace, to the intent that ſo he might the oftner and with more eaſe haue acceſſe vnto the Pope, who then lay there ſick of the gout. The next day he being brought vnto the Popes preſence, & after vſual reuerence don hauing audience giuen him, in the preſence of the cardinals he began to deliuer vnto him the cauſes of his comming, which (as he ſaid) were two: firſt, To put his Holineſſe in remembrance of the manifeſt peril and danger which hung ouer the heads of the Chriſtians in general, from the Turk, but eſpecially ouer them of Italy, being ſo neer the Turkiſh Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks therinto to enter, by the way of Caniſia the key of Stiria. And then in the Emperors behalfe to requeſt him to ſtretch forth his helping hand againſt this his mortal enemy; who was now drawing al his power together into one head, to deſtroy him: hauing certaine vnderſtanding of his great preparation made thorowout all his dominions, to thruſt him out of his, if in theſe extremities hee were not reliued by ſuch Princes as could not in the end themſelues auoid the laſt violence of theſe harms whereof he felt the firſt aſſaults. Which his Holineſſe conſidering in the zeal of his deuotion, and by the increaſing of the danger, he was in hope to find of it the like aſſiſtance in this his ſecond need, that he had before receiued in his former affairs; the pretious balme of his deuout charitie being of greater vertue than to ſerue but for one time, but being of ſufficient power to ſerue for all ages, and all times of neceſſity. And that therefore he beſought his Holineſſe, to apply the ſame vpon the preſent wound, ſeeing that without his help hee was more like to periſh than to liue. Whereunto the Pope anſwered, That his former actions alreadie paſſed ſpake enough for him in this action, to manifeſt his deuout meaning, ſo that it was needleſſe for him to vſe further words to expreſſe the ſame. That the great ſupplies both of men and money which he had ſent forth for the good of the Chriſtian commonweale, were the ſure teſtimonies of his carefulneſſe for the ſame. And albeit that theſe euill haps had ſo far preuailed in Hungary, yet that he for his part had neuertheleſſe ſtill done what hee might for the remedying of thoſe ſo great euils. And that now by the aduice of his honorable councellors there preſent, he had appointed an hundred and fifty thouſand crownes to be paid towards the maintenance of the Chriſtian army in Hungary this yeare; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperor in his wars againſt the Turks: whom God (as he ſaid) ſuffered to preuaile vpon the Chriſtians, not for any goodneſſe that was in them, but for the chaſtiſing of the wickedneſſe of the Chriſtians themſelues.

Which ſumme of an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns was afterward according to a decree made by the Pope and Cardinals, leuied and paid of the tenths of the clergy throughout all Italy. And ſo *Maximilian* the Archduke moſt magnificently entertained and feaſted by the Pope, and by him rewarded with foure thouſand crownes, hauing well diſpatched the buſineſſe he came for, returned againe vnto the Emperor his brother.

Valachia ſpoiled by the Tartars.

But as the Chriſtian Emperor was thus carefull about his prouiſions for the withſtanding of the Turks, they were not any whit behind him in augmenting of their forces for the inuading of him, And now the Tartars in great number being about to come vnto their aid into Hungary, being denied paſſage by the Polonians, had turned head towards Valachia, with a purpoſe by force and ſtrong hand to get that of theſe weake people, with the power of the ſtronger had embarred them of. And ſo preſuming vpon their number, they entred into the ſame Prouince, which they all ouer rifled and ſpoiled at their pleaſure. Where ſuch of the countrey people as could eſcape their fury, fled into the townes, leauing their goods behinde them vnto their mercileſſe rage, not with any thing to be ſatisfied. *Rodolph* the Vayuod himſelfe as a man with fury diſmaied, fled to Cronſtat to *George Baſta*: where he conſidering the danger he was now in, and that he was ſtill to expect the like ſo often as the Tartars were for the ſeruice of the Turke to come into Hungary; before *Baſta* tooke a new oath of alleagance vnto the Emperor, ſolemnely proteſting to die and liue in his ſeruice; neceſſity now inforcing him to acknowledge his duty, and to ſeeke for the remedy of his harmes, which he had before oftentimes moſt proudly reiected. Vpon which his ſo humble ſubmiſſion, *Baſta* receiued him and his countrey into his protection.

In

A In the meane time two traitours were brought to Claudinople, who hauing by wonderful craft ſurpriſed a ſtrong caſtle belonging vnto a certaine great Ladie a widow, neere vnto a burrough called Caraſebe, and rifled and ſacked the ſame, traiterouſly afterward ſold it vnto the Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperors ſubiects neer vnto the place, and the no leſſe aduantage of the Turks. Whereof the Haiducks hauing gotten vnderſtanding, and cunning in ſuch matters, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the Turks by the way as they were comming to haue taken poſſeſſion of the place: who ſeeing themſelues too weake to withſtand their enemies, & out of hope to ſaue themſelues by flight, were there as men diſmaied and appointed to be ſlaine, moſt of them by the Haiducks cut in pieces, and the reſt taken priſoners. The two traitors being according to their deſerts, for their ſhamefull treaſon moſt cruelly put to death, to the ter-
B ror of others.

The Turks ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

The Haiducks hauing no houſes but the fields, nor other trade but their armes (ſpoyled of the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by neceſſitie) are alwaies in readineſſe for ſeruice. In hope of profit, it is to them a pleaſure to paſſe ouer the mountaines of ice, to trauell thorow the ſtorms of thunder and lightning, to ſwim ouer the deep riuers, and to thruſt themſelues into a thouſand dangers; which as it is no commendable kinde of life, ſo is the practiſe of it vniuſt. For as in this, ſo in other their actions they ſpare neither friend nor foe, all that comes in their way being ſubiect and as it were appointed to their fury: but eſpecially when they want their pay, which affordeth vnto them a thouſand excuſes for the robbing and ſpoyling of all men without reſpect. With which maner of fury they were euen at this time inra-
C ged for want of their pay, in ſuch ſort, as that if their right hands ſpoiled the Turkes, their left hands robbed the Chriſtians: as vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day they took from the Turkes of Agria a number of beaſts and cattel, and rifled diuers villages of the Chriſtians. And not content with theſe outrages, meeting with an hundred or ſix ſcore waggons, laden with great ſtore of victuals going toward Alba-Iulia, conducted by the Zeclers, ſet vpon them, ſlew them that droue them, and carried away the Wagons with them. But theſe wrongs by Chriſtians don vnto Chriſtians, euen the mortal enemies of the Chriſtians, the Turks themſelues reuenged. For the Turks of Temeſwar hauing bin abroad toward Lippa, and found good ſtore of booty, meeting with theſe ſharks, were by them charged, not ſo much for that they were their enemies, or for the zeal of Chriſtianitie, or for deſire of honour, as for to get from them their
D prey and booty. But the Turkes being in number twice as many as they, and withall well acquainted with ſuch buſines, were not ſo eaſily ſpoiled; but knowing their own ſtrength, with their number oppreſſed their enemies, moſt of whom they ſlew, and tooke the reſt priſoners: God being as iuſt in his puniſhments, as he is in his works powerfull, puniſhing the Wicked by the weapons of others as wicked or rather worſe than they.

The Turks in the mean time while things thus paſſed, began again to fall to their old practiſe, for the ſoliciting of a peace. But ſuch phanſies were too ſtale and common, any more to deceiue the Chriſtians withall: howbeit they yet gaue ſome ear thereunto, to diſcouer in their policie the commodities and inconueniences of the peace by them in ſhew offred, with a thouſand proteſtations in their words, but far differing from their thoughts and deeds; who
E during the time of the parley, laboured in what they might to benefit themſelnes and to hurt vs. For euen in that ſame very time they fortified their Townes and Caſtles with men and victuals: but eſpecially the City of Buda, whereinto by a Conuoy of three thouſand Turks come from Belgrade, they put an exceeding quantitie of all ſorts of neceſſary prouiſion, ſufficient to ſerue the ſame for an whole yeare. Beſides that, it was certainly knowne by certaine Turks taken priſoners and brought to Poſſonium, That all this parley and treaty of peace was but of purpoſe feigned to put the Chriſtians in ſecuritie; for that the Baſſa of Buda, who was the chiefe publiſher of the ſame, had no ſuch Commiſſion from the great Sultan for the concluding of any peace in the abſence of the Viſier Baſſa; vnto whom the Graund Seigniour had giuen charge, not to make any peace with the Emperour, but vpon condition, That hee
F ſhould firſt deliuer vnto him the City of Strigonium; which if hee would not yeeld, that then he ſhould beſiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof, to refuſe all other treaty of peace, it being the only cauſe for which the Turkes deſired peace. Of all which their double dealing and crafty deſignes the Emperour vnderſtanding, and wholely

ly reſolued for war, preſently ſent County *Sultze* with commiſſion to Vienna, and appointed C
George Baſta Lieutenant General of his army into Hungary; aduiſing them carefully to looke vnto their charge, and not too much to truſt vnto the gloſing and flattering ſpeeches of the Turks.

Reouin ſurpri-ſed by the Hai-ducks.

The Haiducks in the mean time alwaies in armes, as hauing no other inheritance whereon to liue, ceaſed not ſtill to looke abroad to finde that which was neuer loſt. Now it fortuned them in roaming abroad toward Belgrade, to light vpon Reouin a ſtrong and fair Caſtle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turkes ſouldiers and other of their countrey people had their abode, together with the greateſt part of their ſubſtance. In the ſtrength of which caſtle the Turks truſting, and there lying in ſecurity, without further care of their ſafety, were vpon the ſudden before they were aware, by theſe aduenturous men ſurpriſed; who H
for haſt thruſting one another forward, at length caried the place, ſlew the greateſt part of the Turks, and taking the reſt priſoners, with a great and rich booty returned to Lippa. The like exploit they of the gariſon of Caniſia attempted vpon the caſtle and borough of Lambac; which they took and ſpoiled, and afterward ſet it on fire: the flame wherof ſerued for a ſignal vnto the troups of County *Serin*, which paſſing that way, and lighting vpon the Turkes ouerloded with the ſpoils they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and ſo recouered from them their booty.

Petrikia in danger to be betrayed to the Turkes.

About this time, certaine of the garriſon ſouldiers of Petrinia, hauing ſecretly conſpired with the Turks (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliuer vnto them that ſtrong Caſtle; and being about to haue betrayed the ſame by a Mine which they were in making vnI
der a ſtable neer vnto a ſtore-houſe wherein the pouder for the ſtore of the Caſtle lay; with a purpoſe by firing of the ſame, to haue giuen the Turks entrance by the ruines thereof, who lay cloſe hidden in a wood neer vnto the place; it fortuned this their wicked purpoſe to bee perceiued by certain offenders then kept priſoners in the ſtable neer vnto the mine. Who hauing diſcouered the Traitours whole purpoſe, and in feare to be burned or blowne vp by the fury of the Mine ſo neere vnto them, diſcouered it vnto the Gaoler, who made the Gouernour therewith acquainted; by whoſe commandement they were forthwith apprehended, and beeing conuicted of that their ſo foule and heinous a treaſon, were with exemplary puniſhment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made ſhew as if they had bin deſirous of peace, ſo ceaſed K
they not yet with great earneſtneſſe to ſolicit the ſame: ſo that the Emperour, although hee knew it to be a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for; yet leſt he ſhould ſeem careleſſe of the common quiet of his ſubiects and people, and to refuſe ſo great a good ſo oftentimes offered him, now once again appointed certain perſonages of great place and authority, to attend the propoſitions of peace to be on the Turks behalf propounded. Of which commiſſioners *Cæſar Gallen* Sherif of Strigonium, an Italian, and a man of great experience in matters of ſtate, was one. Whom the gouernor of Strigonium had of purpoſe ſent to Peſth, to conſider of ſome good means for the concluding of a peace, wherof he himſelf had laid the firſt foundation; and vnderſtood that the Turks demands and pretenſions not much diffred from thoſe which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the firſt was, That the Emperour L
ſhould for the time to come wel and truly pay vnto the great Sultan & his ſucceſſors, all ſuch tribute as he was wont to pay to the Turkiſh Sultans his predeceſſors, during the time of his leagues with them, and that without any demand to be therof made. The ſecond, That the Emperor ſhould alwaies haue his Embaſſador lieger at the great Sultans court, with honourable preſents, there to ſolicit the continuation of his loue and friendſhip toward the Emperor his maſter. The third, That the Emperor ſhould deliuer vnto the Turks all the towns and Caſtles which he had taken from them either by force or by ſurpriſe, during the time of this war, together with the countries of Tranſylvania and Valachia. Vpon which demands granted, they promiſed to ſend a meſſenger vnto the great Sultan, in their names intreating him to ſurrender Caniſia vnto the Emperor, but not Agria, which they ſaid they might in no wiſe M
deliuer, except they were thereunto by force of arms conſtrained.

Vnto which their ſo proud and vnreaſonable demands the Commiſſioners for the Emperor anſwered, That the Emperour long before this time had made peace with Sultan *Selymus* the

A the ſecond,and with Sultan *Amurath* the third,this Sultan *Achmat* his predeceſſors. An aſſured peace,ſworn vnto and confirmed by all the iuſt and ſolemn oathes that could haue beene by any man deſired: and for the more aſſurance thereof conceiued into writing, and with the moſt authentique ſeals of their Majeſties confirmed. Whereby both parties were moſt ſeuerely and ſtreitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing againſt the other, or to encroch the one of them vpon the other,during the time of ſuch their League. And if ſo bee that contrary to the tenor thereof, either part ſhould vndertake to ſurpriſe any place belonging to the other, and ſo become maſters thereof; that vpon the leaſt requeſt of the party ſo wronged,the places ſurpriſed ſhould be again forthwith reſtored, as vſurped vpon contrary to the publique faith,and the vſurpers to be ſeuerely for the ſame puniſhed. And yet that the
B Turkes notwithſtanding thruſting by heapes beyond the barres of this ſo ſtrong and holy a League,had violated and broken the ſame, by ſurpriſing a number of places both in the high and lower countries of Hungary,neither giuing eare vnto any ſpeech or requeſt that could bee made vnto them for reſtitution therof.

And yet not ſo contentented,had alſo taken a number of places from the Emperor in Sclavonia,between the riuers of Culp and Vnna: which places he had oftentimes by as iuſt right redemanded,as they were by vniuſt forces vſurped before the beginning of theſe wars. Demands eſteemed iuſt and reaſonable euen by the Turks themſelues, and yet for all that, altogether reiected by the great Sultans. Of which their ſo great injuſtice the Emperor had oftentimes moſt iuſtly complained, and ſo did euen at this day, at the feeling of ſuch his hurts
C and harmes. And that the Emperour hauing by ſo many perfidious dealings made proof of the vntruſtineſſe of the Grand Seigniour his predeceſſors, what aſſurance then can hee conceiue of his fidelitie? or vpon what foundation of faith can hee build the ſure building of peace,ſo much deſired of him? And yet if he might hope ſo much of the faith of another man, as he is aſſured of his owne iuſt meaning, differing much from that of the grand Seigniours, (which he knew to be neuer anſwerable vnto his) that he for his part could be well contented to embrace the peace; prouided alwaies, that he might haue Caniſia and Agria yeelded vnto him. Or that if they would needs ſtill hold thoſe places, that he might likewiſe in peace hold the places that he had before won in that war,the reaſons being on both ſides alike. And that as concerning Tranſylvania,he could not deliuer that without betraying his owne right,
D and the welfare of that prouince; hauing obtained the ſame as well by agreements and couenants between him and the ſon of the laſt Duke *Iohn*, as by the free and voluntary releaſment which *Sigiſmund Bathor* the laſt and immediat prince thereof,had not long before made vnto him. For the defence of which his rights,hee had ſpent many men and great ſummes of money, and all for the keeping of that prouince by force of arms, which by ſo good right belonged vnto him.

And that for Valachia, he could be content to yeeld ſome part of his right vnto that prouince, ſo that the Turkes ſhould ceaſe from thenceforth to demand of him any more tributes; or that he ſhould as of ordinary duty ſend his Embaſſadors with yearely preſents to the great Sultan,not being able without need to conſent vnto ſuch a needleſſe ſeruitude;ſeeing that all
E Princes ought to be at liberty,at their own choice to ſend their Embaſſadors, and not at another mans appointment.

Which anſwer of the Emperours Commiſſioners ſerued to no other purpoſe but for the Turks to laugh and ſport at, how iuſt and reaſonable ſoeuer they were;ſtill preſſing them to yeeld vnto their vnreaſonable demands, or elſe threatning to aduertiſe the great Sultan thereof,who by force would take that from them,to their further loſſe,which they refuſed to grant him by fair means,to their own good. And ſo the Treaty was for that time broken off without any thing concluded. Which cauſed the Gouernour of Strigonium to retyre himſelfe backe againe vnto his Charge: yet for all that,leauing *Cæſar Gallen* behind him,to entertaine it in ſo ſmall hope as was thereof yet left. Who afterwards ſeeing it almoſt deſperate, ma-
F king a great feaſt vnto certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda,and hauing in that merriment drawne from them a promiſe to liue as friends with them of the garriſon of Peſth,and of other places which lay neere vnto that Towne, he retyred himſelf afterwards vnto Strigonium alſo.

Shortly

The base cowardise of the Gouernour of Pesth.

Shortly after whose departure, *Iagenreuter* Gouernour of Pesth, notwithstanding the late promises of the Turks at Buda, for their liuing by him in peace & amity; and the assured promise of *Cæsar Gallen*, at his last departure, for the speedy furnishing of the town both with men and all things necessary for the defence thereof, which he ought with great assurance to haue expected; yet dismaied with the report of the comming of *Hassan Bassa* the Turkes Generall with his great army, and that by the streit commandement of the great Sultan, he was to begin his conquests in Hungary with the winning of Pesth; as a man afraid of his own shadow, thought good betime to prouide for himselfe: and vpon that resolution, hauing yet seen no enemy at all to force him, trussing vp his baggage, the fift of September forsooke the Towne, with fiue Companies of footmen and six Troupes of horsemen following him: a sufficient number to haue for a time defended the Towne, and endured a siege, especially in so strong a place, and so well prouided both of victuals and munition. All which, this cowardly Gouernour (but most vnworthy of that name) left together with his honour for a prey vnto his Enemies; hauing yet before his departure out of the Towne, caused the principal buildings thereof to be vndermined, and barrels of gun pouder to be layd vnder them, where they were shortly after all ouerthrown, and most part of the towne burnt. But being gone not past half a league from the place, he met with four hundred Haiducks, all well armed, whom the Gouernour of Strigonium had sent for the reliefe of Pesth, with a number of boats loded with corn, munition, and other necessaries of all sorts, for the better assurance of the place, and the performing of the promise before to the same end made by the Gouernor of Strigonium. Which Hungarian Haiducks meeting with these dismayed Cowards vpon the way, thought it not the best way to go any further, as thinking themselues not able to doe that with their so small a number, which the other durst not vndertake with their far greater: wherefore ioyning themselues with the other fearfull Fugitiues, they with them returned to Strigonium; leauing their Vessels and munition vnto their enemies, who immediately after seised vpon them.

The next day after, the mines hauing taken their effect, the Turks wondring to see so great and terrible a fire in Pesth, which stil more and more increased, there being none that went about to quench it, aduentured to come ouer the riuer from Buda, and to draw neer to the town now all on a light fire, which finding abandoned & forsaken by the Christians, they diligently quenched, and repaired the ruines of the wall, and so without any losse became Masters of the same.

Iagenreuter the cowardly late gouernor, with his fearful troups in the mean time comming to Strigonium, and by the Gouernor examined of the causes of his flight, & of the so shamefull leauing of his charge; and beeing able to alledge no other cause or reason, but the great bruit or report of the Visier Bassa's comming with his army to besiege the towne: was therefore committed to prison, and there reserued to be afterward iustly punished for his disloyaltie and cowardise.

The Bassa of Buda by the Gouernors cowardise thus possessed of Pesth, by letters excused himself to the gouernor of Strigonium for the taking therof, the treaty of peace being not as yet quite broken off: alledging for himself (as the truth was) that he had taken it as a place by the Christians vpon a vain fear forsaken and desperatly set on fire, without any such cause giuen them by him or any of the Turks. And further, offered vnto the gouernor, if he so pleased, to deal with him for the exchange of prisoners on both sides taken, offering to exchange one for another. And as for the concluding of the peace, so oftentimes intreated of, and euen yet in hand, that he for his part was wonderfull desirous it might be fully concluded and ended, before the arriuall of *Hassan* with his Army in Hungarie: for that he being once come, there would then be no time amidst the noise of so many weapons, and so many men of Warre, to talke of peace.

Hassan comes into Hungary.

Hassan the Visier Bassa was now for all that already entered into Hungary, drawing after after him a world of men, and was come towards Sexart. For the viewing of which army the Gouernor of Palantwar going forth with an hundred horsemen, by euill hap chanced before hee was aware, vpon the sudden to meet with fiue hundred Turkes, by the Bassa himselfe likewise sent forth to discouer the Countrey and the passages therof; by whom hee charged,

and

and with the multitude of his enemies oppreſſed, was himſelf taken priſoner, moſt of his men being in that conflict ſlaine, ſome few of them that were left aliue by ſpeedy flight hardly eſcaping. Which euill hap on the Chriſtians ſide, was forthwith recompenced with the better ſucceſſe of the County *Serin*, who falling vpon three hundred Turks neere vnto Sigeth, being in number ſcarce halfe ſo many as them, yet ſet vpon them with ſuch courage, that giuing them no leiſure to conſider of the weakeneſſe of his forces, they were by them ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But together with the time of the yeare, to come vnto the maine point of theſe preſent warres in Hungary: the Turks finding themſelues out of hope by any capitulations or treaties of peace, to regaine the ſtrong towne of Strigonium out of the hands of the Chriſtians, were now reſolued to employ the vttermoſt of their forces for the obtaining of the ſame; with a thouſand proteſtations, That if by force of armes and ſtrong hand they ſhould gaine the place, they would neuer more haue peace with the Chriſtians. At which their vain threats and ſpeeches, the Chriſtians before reſolutely ſet downe for the defending of the place by them ſo much deſired, and well acquainted with their great brags, could not but with ſcorne ſmile, as men nothing therewith diſmaied, nor ſo to be remoued. Neuertheleſſe the Baſſa conſtant in his reſolution for the regaining of Strigonium, with all his forces came the eighteenth day of September and laied ſiege vnto it. Now vnto this ſiege the Turks, in hope of ſpoyle and booty, came flocking from all places, as it had beene to ſome great Mart; and the fields in all the Country thereabout were couered and ſwarmed with armes, men, horſes, and tents. They encamped neere vnto *Charles* his hill, taking vp with their tents halfe a league of the Country round about: and at their firſt comming moſt brauely aduanced their Enſignes with their halfe Moones, the arms of their ſtil encreaſing Empire. Whom the beſieged in this action imitated, brauely aduancing their Enſignes vpon their walls, as did the Turks in the fields; and further brauing and prouoking them with a thouſand thundering ſhot, diſcharged out of the Towne amongſt them. All the wall round about the Towne gliſtered with armes and flames of fire, out of which the deadly bullets flew, carrying with them death and terrour into the middeſt of theſe new come enemies, for their welcome. The Turks neuertheleſſe came ſtill reſolutely on, and as men prodigall of their liues euen in the middeſt of ſo many dangers, began to make their approches. Vpon whom the Chriſtians with great courage ſallied forth, to diſturbe them in their works, and ſo for the ſpace of certaine houres hauing had with them an hot and ſharpe skirmiſh, without any great hurt receiued, retired againe into the towne, leauing vnto their enemies by that they had done, a good teſtimony of their valor and reſolution. The Turks for all that lodged themſelues, made their trenches, and ſo encamped before the mount of Saint *Thomas*, where by the placing of their cannon, they well declared their meaning for the battering of that fort.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turks.

The Chriſtians ſally forth vpon the Turks.

Againſt which their deſignes, *George Baſta*, Lieutenant General of the Imperial army, right reſolutely oppoſed himſelfe, hauing neere vnto Strigonium caſt vp a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed with men and great artillery, from which he greatly annoied the Turks with his great ordnance, and with the fury thereof enforced them to remoue farther off with their approches: his army vpon the riuer of Danubius in the meane time lying betwixt the Iſle of Strigonium, and the old towne of the Raſcians, to keep the enemy from entering either into the one place or the other.

The carefull endeuors of Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, for the preſeruation of Strigonium.

County *Sultze* Gouernour of the place alſo hauing taken a generall muſter of his men, and with comfortable and cheerefull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers, putting them in minde of their duty, and of the honourableneſſe of the action now in hand, as vndertaken for the maintenance of the Chriſtian Religion, for the ſeruice of the Emperour, and the ſafegard of their owne liues: perſuading them withall, not to put any truſt or confidence in the Turks faith, or faire promiſes, conſidering that their weapons were euen yet wet with the bloud of their Chriſtian brethren, moſt perfidiouſly by them of late maſſacred and ſlaine at the taking of Alba Regalis: encouraging them alſo with the goodneſſe of their cauſe, with the carefulneſſe of their friends abroad for their reliefe, with the regard of their owne valour, and cowardiſe of their barbarous enemies, whoſe onely hope and truſt was in their multitude: and withall comforting them, that holding out but ſome few moneths, the very elements themſelues

The comfortable ſpeech of County Sultze Gouernour of Strigonium, to his garriſon.

ſelues and the time of the yeare, would as it were fight for them, and affoord them aid, their enemies being not able with their great army, in the extremity of Winter weather, without their irreparable loſſes to hold the field. And that as for himſelfe, his honour together with his life, were ſo bound vnto his graue and ſepulchre, at the foot of the wals of that place, as that they could not be from the ſame ſeparated; hauing propoſed the glory of the preſeruation of that place, or elſe of an honourable death, as the end of all his actions, and conſummation of all his hopes. And that therefore he moſt earneſtly beſought them to follow his ſo honourable a purpoſe, in aſſiſting him in that action, ſo much concerning their liues and honour, and wholly depending of their courage and reſolution. And that for teſtimony of his earneſt deſire to the furthering of this ſeruice, he was willing to depart with a good part of his ſubſtance and treaſure, to be beſtowed vpon them, amiddeſt theſe the trophies of his honour; hauing commanded them to haue certaine moneths pay payed before hand vnto them, which was accordingly done.

A notable ſally of the Chriſtiãs out of the fort of S. Thomas.

Now the Turks hauing a purpoſe eaſily to begin the conqueſt of Strigonium by the taking of the ſtrong fort of Saint *Thomas*, came the foure and twentieth day of September to aſſault and batter the ſame: vpon whom fiue hundred horſemen, and two thouſand footmen ſallying out of the fort, cauſed them, after a ſharpe and bloudy conflict, and not without ſome loſſe on both ſides, to retyre backe againe, and to forſake the mount whereupon they were encamped. But in purſuing of them too farre, they fell into a great ambuſh, before by the Turkes for that purpoſe layed to entrap them; where betwixt them was fought a moſt ſharpe and bloudy fight; the Turks preſuming vpon their multitude, and the Chriſtians ſtanding vpon their valour and honour. Vntill that in fine, valour by number being oppreſſed, ſeuen hundred of the Turks being ſlaine, the Chriſtians were enforced to retire, hauing loſt about an hundred of their men, and amongſt them the valiant County *Caſimir* of Hohenloth, for whoſe dead body there was a notable fight betwixt the Chriſtians and the Tutks; not much vnlike vnto that which the Poet *Homer* deſcribeth, to haue been fought betwixt the Trojanes and the Greekes, for the body of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Chriſtians being ouercharged with the comming on of the whole army of the Turks, were glad (as I ſaid) to retire, and ſo to leaue the dead body of the County *Caſimir* in the power of their mercileſſe enemies; who as dogs which reuenge themſelues vpon the ſtones which are caſt at them, being not able to bite the hands of them that threw them, ſo did they vpon the body of this gentle Knight, by cutting off his noſe and eares, and afterwards his head. But within ſome few daies after, this body ſo disfigured was againe deliuered vnto the Chriſtians for a Turke of good account, who was about that time by them taken priſoner. At which time the Turks ſeemed to be very deſirous of peace, moſt earneſtly requeſting County *Fredericke* of Hohenloth (the ſlaine Counties brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their old practiſes, depending ſtill vpon vnreaſonable conditions, whereof the yeelding vp of Strigonium was one of the chiefeſt, as the place by them moſt deſired.

But if this ſiege of the Turks auailed them not againſt the place beſieged, yet was it profitable for them againſt another place by them not artempted, which was the ſtrong Towne of Hatwan, more ſubject vnto feare, without any danger, than was Strigonium vnto the bullets and battery of the Turks, with juſt cauſe of diſtruſt. For the ſouldiers which lay there in garriſon, terrified with the ſiege of Strigonium, and doubting leſt the Turks leauing that ſiege, ſhould come and beſiege them, truſſing vp their bag and baggage, the nineteenth of September abandoned the place, and carrying away with them the beſt of the great ordnance, left the reſt altogether with the place, and great ſtore of prouiſion, vnto the enemy, not in hope of any ſuch matter.

Hatwan moſt ſhamefully forſaken by the Chriſtians

The bruit of the ſiege of Strigonium had called thither all the forces of both parties in Hungary, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one ſide for the winning thereof, and on the other for the defence of the ſame. Amongſt others, the County of Tambier, Gouernour of Lippa, was about to haue gone thither with certaine of his troups to haue aided the Generall, for the preſeruation of the place. But in the meane time *Bethlem Habor*, chiefe of the rebels in Tranſyluania, aſſiſted by *Beckheres Baſſa* with foure thouſand Turks enterd into the Prouince, to haue made himſelfe maſter thereof vnder the protection of the Turke. Whereof the

County

County hauing got knowledge, reſolued to go and meet him, and to encounter him at the very firſt enterance of him into the Prouince. This old Rebell knowing that *George Baſta* was by the Emperours appointment gone out of the country with the beſt troups of his horſemen, the greateſt ſtrength of the Prouince, came on in great ſecurity, thinking of nothing but of victory, and of performing his intended exploit, without feare of any to let him: ſo that caſting no further perill, he was ſurpriſed by the County, before he was aware, and put to flight. Neither was the fight long betwxti men accuſtomed to vanquiſh, reſolutely ſet downe, and well armed, againſt men daſmaied, halfe naked, and ſurpriſed. In which conflict aboue a thouſand of them being ſlaine, and a thouſand of horſes of ſeruice taken, the reſt fled; amongſt whom *Bethlin* himſelfe with the Baſſa flying, were glad by ſwimming to ſaue themſelues amiddeſt a thouſand chances and dangers of their liues.

Bethlem Habor the Rebell ſurpriſed & ouerthrowne by the County Tambier.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar aduertiſed of this ouerthrow by one of them that was fled from the ſame, preſently he ſent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieue the vanquiſhed Turkes: Who by the way vnderſtanding of the generall ouerthrow of them whom hee was ſent forth to relieue, as alſo of the ſtrength of his enemies, and that hee was come too late to the relieſe of his friends, retired as faſt as he could with his men backe againe homeward toward Temeſwar. But being in their retreat diſcouered, and hotly purſued by theſe men imbrued with the bloud of their enemies, and yet breathing with victory, they were by them ouertaken euen almoſt at the gates of their City, and there (as men before ouercome with feare, and ouerwhelmed with deſpaire) cut in pieces, without any fight or reſiſtance by them made, beſeeming men of their ſort; the Lieutenant himſelfe being there ſlaine alſo.

Succors ſent to the rebels by the Baſſa or Temeſwar, defeated by the County Tambier.

After which exploits done, the County turning towards Iula, chanced to light vpon certaine companies of Turks loaded with booty, which they had got in roaming abroad into the Countrey thereabout, whom he purſued euen vnto the gates of the towne, which they found ſhut againſt them; for that they within the towne ſeeing the Chriſtians euen at the heeles of their companions, had ſhut their gates, neither durſt now open the ſame, for feare leſt the Chriſtians ſhould together with them enter the towne, and ſo become maſters thereof. Who ſo ſhut out by their owne friends, were there all by the Chriſtians ſlaine, euen in the ſight of their companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieue them. After which maſſacre done, the Chriſtians not yet ſo contented, burnt the ſuburbs of the towne, and ſo loaded with the ſpoiles of their enemies, departed. The County after ſo many honourable exploits in a ſmall time performed, returned to Lippa, where he arriued the 25 of September, and from thence afterward aduertiſing *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, of theſe his exploits don, cauſed ten of the Turks Enſignes, all ſtained with their owne bloud, to be preſented vnto him, as the ſure tokens of his good ſeruice done.

But to returne againe vnto the ſiege of Strigonium, the greateſt exploit by the Turks entended for this yeare, from which we haue from the occurrent of the ſame time a little ſtrayed. The Viſier Baſſa perceiuing by the valiant and reſolute defence of our men, how little hee preuailed in this ſiege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his diſhonour, thought it good once againe to prooue, if hee might by compoſition gaine that which hee was now almoſt out of hope by force to obtaine. And to that purpoſe cauſed a motion to be made vnto the beſieged, for a treaty to be had concerning a peace, and a day appointed for the ſame. Vnto which motion for peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all, of any peace to be concluded) eaſily yeelded, leſt they might bee thought obſtinately to haue rejected the ſame. Whereupon Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed, to meet together, to conferre of the matter. And ſo for the Emperour *Althem* himſelfe, with *Ferdinand Collonitz*, and *Fredericke* of Hohenlo, County of Rhene, were appointed neere vnto the Raſcian Towne to meet with the Turks Commiſſioners, to heare what they would ſay. Howbeit the Commiſſioners on both ſides beeing met at the place aforeſaid, all their conference was but vaine and to no purpoſe; the Turkes ſtill vrging the yeelding vp of Strigonium, and the Imperials as earneſtly refuſing the ſame. So that the treaty for peace being broken off, and the Commiſſioners departing, the ſiege was more cruelly by the Turks continued than before.

Now there were in the Turks army lying at the ſiege, certaine companies of Coſſackes, men for their pay indifferent to ſerue any Prince of what Religion ſoeuer. Which ſeruiceable men, in number 700, had agreed together the 28 of September, by night to forſake the Turks campe, and to come vnto the Chriſtians. Of which their purpoſe and deſigne the Viſier Baſſa hauing by ſome vntruſty amongſt them got knowledge, cauſed the footmen of theſe companies to be apprehended and ſlaine; the horſemen in the meane time making themſelues way ouer the bellies of ſuch as would haue ſtaied them, fled, and eſcaped, ſome of them to Komara, and ſome to Dotis. Threeſcore of theſe Caſſocks being by the Turks hardly purſued, aduentured to ſwim ouer Danubius, and ſo all naked came to *Collonitz*, by whom they were courteouſly entertained and apparelled. And within three daies after, two hundred horſemen moe of the ſame Coſſackes came to *Collonitz* alſo: who marching in good order vnto the head of the Chriſtian campe, were there ſworne vnto the Emperours ſeruice; and in token of their loyalty, there diſcharged their piſtols thrice. Which horſemen *Collonitz* diuided among the reſt of his troups, as hauing before time had good experience of the courage and good ſeruice of diuers ſuch others of their fellowes.

The Ianizaries in mutiny againſt the Viſier Baſſa.

By theſe fugitiue ſoldiers it was vnderſtood, that the Ianizaries in great number vp in mutiny againſt the Viſier Baſſa, would haue enforced him to haue raiſed the ſiege, and ſo to haue departed. The cauſe of their ſo great diſcontentment (as they pretended) was the manifeſt and aſſured danger of their liues, with little or no hope at all for the gaining of the place: They themſelues being ſtill expoſed to the dangers both of the ſiege and of the field, hauing the beſieged on head of them armed with an aſſured reſolution, and the Chriſtian army at their backes, of knowne valour and experience. Beſides that, the place it ſelfe was (as they ſaid) impregnable, being at all times to be relieued, by reaſon that it commanded ouer the Danuby, which might alwaies relieue it both with men and victuals. And that therefore after that they had ſatisfied their honour, by giuing an aſſault or two vnto the fort of Saint *Thomas*, they had reſolued to ariſe, and to be gone. And much about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of September, in the night time, was a moſt dreadfull fiery impreſſion ſeene in faſhion much like a Rainebow, of a fiery red colour, which beginning ouer Cockera, and riſing higher ouer Strigonium, at length vaniſhed away ouer the fort of Saint *Thomas*. The ſight whereof much troubled the beholders thereof, as well the Chriſtians as the Turkes: ſuch ſtrange meteors and apparitions being oftentimes the preſages of the ruine of them to whom they appeare.

In the meane time whileſt the Turks thus lay before Strigonium, at the ſiege of Saint *Thomas* fort, the Lord *Baſta*, Lieutenant Generall of the Emperours forces, to giue the Turks to vnderſtand, how that he was alwaies in readineſſe to attend vpon their doings, and to take hold of all ſuch opportunities as ſhould by them be offered, and ſo to keepe them in ſuſpence, came with ſeuen thouſand braue horſemen, and ſhewed himſelfe in the plaine field in order of battell; ſo, as it were, brauing the Turks euen vnto their owne trenches: where haning diſcharged their piſtols thrice, they returned as victorious, alwaies keeping themſelues in order, as men ready either to giue or to accept of battell. Howbeit the Turks for the preſent keeping themſelues cloſe within their trenches, mooued not; but afterwards being deſirous to counter-braue this the Chriſtians preſumption, the third day of October they came forth of their trenches, and gaue a ſecond aſſault to Saint *Thomas* fort, imploying the vttermoſt of their power in this action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their honour and of their ſafety to depend. But in aſſayling the fort they met with them as reſolutely ſet downe for the defence thereof, and for the maintenence of their honour, as were they for the winning of the ſame. So the aſſault was begun with great fury and aduenture, as was the other before: howbeit that it endured not long, for that the Turks fought rather for the diſcharge of their duty, and to haue ſome juſt cauſe to raiſe their ſiege, than for any hope they had to preuaile, or to carry the place. For it befell them according as they had expected, ſo that after that the fight had endured little more than halfe an houre, amiddeſt the tempeſts of armes and fury, in fine the Turks out of hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the ſiege, and retired, hauing in that conflict loſt fiue hundred of their beſt ſouldiers.

The fort of S. Thomas againe aſſaulted.

The Gouernour of Strigonium had in the city vnder his charge ſix thouſand Hiaduckes,

who

who attainted with treaſon and feare, all forſooke the place excepting fiue hundred, preferring their liues vnworthy the ſauing, before their duty, and the life and honour of their Generall. With which ſhamefull treaſon, and the reſolution of the great Baſſa for forcing of the place, the Germanes there left, ſeeing their Captaines diſmaied, gathered themſelues together, promiſing by their own valour, to ſupply what wanted by reaſon of the trechery of the others; offering themſelues to be ſworne againe vnto the ſeruice of the Emperour, and rather to die all in the place, than to yeeld it vp vnto the Turks, or to leaue it vnto their enemies: where by their generall conſent a ſolemne decree was made, that whoſoeuer hee were which ſhould ſpeake or once make mention of yeelding the Towne, ſhould forthwith therefore be hanged vpon a gibbet. The Turks although they had now in two aſſaults been twice repulſed, came yet forth once againe the fifth day of October, and aſſaulted Saint *Thomas* fort the third time: wherein they failed not to doe what they might, but were by the Chriſtians therein ſo receiued, that deſpairing of the winning thereof, they with great loſſe and ſhame retired. Which diſgrace cauſed them to returne to their old practiſes, for the taking of places by policy. For hauing in many places vndermined the walls, and filled them with gunpouder, they were in hope by that meanes to haue opened themſelues a way vnto their conqueſt. Of which their hope for all that, they were deceiued: for the Chriſtians hauing perceiued their meaning, did by countermining not only fruſtrate their endeauour, but carried away the pouder alſo, which they had before laied in the mines, reſeruing it to their owne further neceſſity and vſe. Wherefore the Turks ſeeing themſelues of thir hope deceiued, returned againe vnto their old practiſes, to come to a parly for peace. Of which their motion the Chriſtians nothing diſliked. But the Commiſſioners on both ſides being met together for that purpoſe, in a little Iſland beneath Strigonium, when as the Turkes had offered vnto the Chriſtians the City of Agria for Strgonium; or if ſo be that that exchange pleaſed them not, but that they would needs keepe the City of Strigonium ſtill, that then in conſideration of the peace, they ſhould deliuer vnto them the ſtrong Townes of Fileck, Saint Setſchin, Pallanke, and Nouigrade; both of which demands were very vnreaſonable: The Commiſſioners thereupon againe departed without concluding of any thing.

The fort of S. Thomas the third time aſſaulted.

Now the army of the Turkes was in it ſelfe diuerſly diuided with quite contrary deſires; the Viſier Baſſa with ſome other of the Commanders, ſtood ſtifly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to returne from thence with victory, or elſe there to end their daies: but the Ianizaries to the contrary, were as earneſt to be gone, and to raiſe the ſiege, deeming it impoſſible then to preuaile againſt a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well manned, and ſo eaſily to be ſtill relieued. With which their reſolution ſo contrary vnto his, the Baſſa enraged, and yet propoſing before his departure to proue the vttermoſt of his forces againſt the fort now already by him thrice before aſſaulted, the tenth of October gaue thereunto ſix great aſſaults, but with like ſucceſſe as before, finding there ſtill the ſame defendants, no whit diſcouraged, but armed with their accuſtomed reſolution. For the defendants encouraged by their moſt valiant commanders, with ſuch fury repulſed the Turks, that they were glad to giue ouer aſſault vpon aſſault, and with great loſſe of their men to retire. Their often retreats alſo being vnto them no leſſe hurtfull than were their aſſaults, the deadly bullets being out of their fort diſcharged vpon them like ſhowers of haile. So that the Baſſa now after ſo many aſſaults, out of all hope to gaine the fort, and ſtill preſſed by the Ianizaries for the raiſing of the ſiege, immediatly after roſe with his army, quitted his trenches, and retired with his campe neere vnto a caſtle, about a league diſtant from Strigonium. From whence the Turks the better to couer their diſhonour, and to hinder the Chriſtians from purſuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the field with a good part of their army, and ſhewed themſelues before the Raſcian Towne, and there skirmiſhed with the Chriſtian Haiduckes. Which manner of skirmiſhing for all that was more in ſhew, than in effect, neither party therein receiuing any great loſſe or hurt. In the meane time, the beſieged which were in Strigonium, hauing gotten certaine knowledge, that the enemy had already remoued his cannon and other prouiſion for the ſiege backe againe into Buda, in token of joy diſcharged all their great Ordnance out of the city and the fort; by the report thereof giuing knowledge vnto

The fort of S. Thomas ſix times in one day aſſaulted.

The ſiege of Strigonium giuen ouer by the Turks.

the other townes and castles of the Christians, of their deliuerance. Of which so common a joy euery one of them were partakers, as deliuered from some part of the feare which the siege of so great a city as was Strigonium, had brought vpon them. And so the siege of Strigonium, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turks giuen ouer the thirteenth of October: the Ianizaries insolently threatening to haue slaine the great Bassa their Generall, if he had there any longer staied.

Bassa pursueth the Turks army departing from the siege of Strigonium.

Bassa the Emperors Lieutenant in the meane time awaiting all opportunities, failed not to take hold of so fit an occasion, but with his horsemen following after the Turks army, slew of them a great number, and tooke some other of them prisoners. And afterward returning vnto their campe, found it void of men, but full of bullets, with certain pieces of great ordnance, which the Turks had left there, hauing not time to remoue the same to Buda. Vpon this rising of the Turks army the Commanders thereof were diuersly affected vnto the seruice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the siege. Such of them as lay in Hungary or neere thereunto, desiring still to hold the field, in hope of the spoile of the country: but they which dwelt farther off, especially such as were come out of Asia, desiring as much to be discharged, their horses being almost all dead with faintnesse and trauell, and themselues weary of the seruice.

Shortly after the rising of the Turks army from Strigonium, two fugitiues of the Turks most brauely mounted, came vnto *Bassa* the Emperors Lieutenant, and presenting him with a ring of great value, and a most faire Turkish Ensigne, told him, most part of the Turks army to lie then incamped in the country neere vnto Pesth; and the great Cham, a young Prince of about twenty yeares old to be come thither with a great power of Tartars, to aid the Bassa: And that the Turks by their comming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excursion for the spoiling of the country. All which shortly after was certainely knowne to be true, the plaine country of the vpper Hungary about Palanka, Setschin, and Villecampe, being by them, but especially of these new come Tartars, all spoiled and burnt. For remedy whereof *Sigefride Collonitz* opposing himselfe with his Hungarian horsemen, against these insolent forragers, so danted them, that ceasing further to spoile the country, they departed, carrying away with them such prisoners and spoile as they had there taken, and leauing behind them a strong garrison of three thousand good souldiers, for the repairing and keeping of Pesth, but a little before cowardly (as we said) by the Christians forsaken. But within some few daies after, *viz.* the foure and twentieth of October, the Visier Bassa by his letters written vnto County *Althem* Gouernour of Strigonium, made a mention for a treaty of peace to be had for the comfort of the distressed people of that spoiled country, solemnly protesting, most religiously on his part to keepe the same, if it should be once concluded: and yet in the meane time with fire and sword spoiling all the Countrey by the way as he departed out of Hungary.

New rebellion in Transyluania raised by Istiuan, syrnamed Botscay.

But now as this poore Country began to feele release by the departure of the great Bassa with his army out thereof, so the Country of Transyluania joyning thereunto, was at the same time as much with rebellion and discord distressed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebell, with his Bassa ouerthrowne and driuen out of Transyluania (as is aforesaid) the Lord *Belgiosa*, *Bassa* his Lieutenant in this prouince, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himself ready with his troups, to haue gon to aid the Lord *Bassa* his General, then incamped in the plains of Strigonium, to hinder the Turks designes for the taking of this Towne. But as he was about so to haue done, behold, euen at the same time when he least feared, a second Rebell there started vp far worse than the first, namely, the Lord *Istiuan* (otherwise surnamed *Botscay*, or more truely * *Potscay*) who accompanied with great troups of men of warre vnder the protection of the Turke, and stiling himselfe by the name of the Prince of Transyluania, entering that Prouince, miserably burnt and spoiled the same. For the repressing of which so sudden a rebellion, *Belgiosa* with a thousand horse, vnder the leading of *Rotkeuitz* and *Peter Lasla*, marched toward Veradin: and with his troupe comming to Ador, a country village about a league distant from Veradin, and meaning thither to assemble together his army, he sent to *Petsie* Gouernour of Veradin, to put him in minde of his duty, and to craue his aid. Which valiant captaine, alwaies prest and ready to do his Prince seruice, failed not now of his duty, but calling

He was in scorn called Potscay (which in the Bohemian language signifieth tarry, or stay) of the long delaies bee by way of disgrace had before endured in the emperors court.

together

A together six companies of footmen out of Romosa, and joyning vnto them foure companies out of Veradin, together with the Silesian horsemen of *Schuet-Kenhut* his Regiment) whom by reason of his sickenesse he was not able to lead) and with them the Haiduckes of County *Tambier*, came vnto the place of the rendezuous, bringing with him all warlike prouision in token of his fidelity. With this army *Belgiosa* marched against the Rebels, who as resolute men attended his comming: for why, *Botscay* knowing the Haiduckes of County *Tambier* secretly to fauour him and his rebellion more than they did *Belgiosa* and his just quarrels, stood in no feare of them, but assured himselfe of them as of his friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but euen at the first joyning of the battell, turned themselues to his part: with the going ouer of whom, the number of the Rebels was much encreased, and *Belgiosa* his po-
B wer both in force and courage much weakened, seeing themselues at once exposed both vnto the force of their enemies, and to the trechery of their fellowes, who now with conjoyned forces most fiercely assailed them: who finding themselues now on all sides inuironed with so great a multitude, and not able with so small a number as was left, to withstand the violence of their enemies, and the treason of their companions; after they had to the vttermost of their power performed all the parts of valiant and courageous men, were there almost all cut in pieces, and there buried in the field of their loyalty, honoured with their owne bloud, and altogether embrued with the bloud of their enemies. In this vnlucky and disloyall fight were diuers good and faithfull Captaines slaine: *Petsie* Gouernour of Veradin, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captaines, and grieuously wounded, were there taken prisoners. The Lieutenant
C of *Petsie* also, hauing retired himselfe with some of his troups into a place of good strength, there so valiantly defended themselues, that *Botscay* out of hope to ouercome them by force, to get them into his power promised them vpon his Oath, if they would yeeld themselues, to suffer them in safety to depart. But what trust or credit is to be giuen to him who hath before broken his faith and loyalty to his Prince, this Rebell well shewed by the death of these valiant and warlike men, who after that they had vpon his faith and promise yeelded themselues, were by his appointment cruelly slaine and cut in pieces. The Silesian horsmen were there also ouerthrowne and buried in the middest of their enemies: and as for *Belgiosa* himselfe, he strangely escaped out of the battell, and saued himselfe by flying to Veradin. The Victorious Rebell after the battell, in stead of praising God, sacrificed to the Diuell, by sending a great part of the Ensignes by him gained, to the Visier Bassa, with a thousand praises of his glory, for supporting him in his rebellion; and vaunting much of this his victory, gaue him withall to vnderstand, That he had slaine aboue 6000 of his enemies.

Belgiosa in a great battell ouerthrowne by Botscay the Rebell.

This victory gotten, together with the humble submission of *Botscay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth he should be stiled by the name of the Prince of Transyluania, with a further charge from him, to do the vttermost of his endeauour for the subduing vnto his obeysance the rest of Transyluania; promising plentifully to supply his wants both with men and mony, and out of hand to send him three thousand Tartars to his aid. And in-
3 deed this was a very great and bloudy battell, fought from the first breake of the day, vntill eleuen a clocke at noone: but whether so many were slaine there or no, it cannot certainely be told, for that diuers of them who were said to be slaine, and so accounted among the dead, had hid themselues in the wood thereby, and some others of them by some other meanes escaped death also. *Petsie* himselfe had with him when he was taken two Monkes, whom the souldiers in despight cut into many pieces, and carried him fast bound in chains to Derritza, to be there cured of the dangerous wounds by him in the battell receiued.

Botscay in his rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called prince of Transyluania.

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who being wounded, was taken prisoner with *Petsie*, hee was afterwards by *Botscay* appointed his Lieutenant Generall, and so by his commandement was publipuely proclaimed; as he which was desirous to take vpon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of such as were willing to professe the same: who forthwith made a generall proclamation, That all they which were desirous of the liberty of conscience, and to liue free from the superstitions of the Roman Church, should repaire vnto him as vnto their head and chiefetaine, ready to entertaine them, and to allow to euery one of them fiue Dollars a month for their pay. Vpon which Proclamation made, a great multitude of men vpon the sudden resorted vnto him; so that in a short time he had following of him ten thousand Haiduckes,

beside

beside a number of the other common rascall people; yea, almost all the gentlemen of the country repairing vnto him, bound themselues by oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take vp armes to fight against the Christian Emperor, so they would not submit themselues vnto the Turke, but only stand vpon the defence of their religion, and the liberty of conscience.

The Rebell *Botscay* thus wonderfully encreased in strength and number, beset almost all the passages of the country, and with the sword of rebellion in his hand, and his souldiers following him, commanded the cities still as he went to yeeld vnto him: but hearing that *Belgiosa* was after the late ouerthrow gone from Veradin to Cassouia, where his wife lay; and being come thither, to haue been by the citisens rejected, who would not only not receiue him into their city, but turned his wife also out of their city vnto him; he with a great army comming thither, tooke the City without resistance, the Citisens for the most part enclining vnto him. Of which City beeing possessed, hee forthwith changed both the Religion and ciuile gouernment thereof, slew part of such as were of the Romish Religion, and thrust the rest out of the City, with all the Church men, tooke the Bishop and the Emperours Treasuror prisoners, and so changed the whole gouernment of the Towne vpside downe. The onely man he stood in feare of, was *Belgiosa*, for whom he laid wait by all meanes hee could to haue taken him, with a purpose to haue vsed him most hardly, if hee had fallen into his hands.

The great city of Cassouia yeelded to the rebel Botscay.

These things thus done in Transyluania and in Hungary, the Visier Bassa being about to returne to Constantinople, to grace that little which he had done this yeare in Hungary, and to auoid the suspition of his euill succesſe in that Prouince, borrowed of *Botscay* the rest of the Ensignes, together with *Petsie* and other the noble Christian captiues which he had taken in the late battell with *Belgiosa*: which Ensignes and prisoners he confidently afterwards caused to be presented vnto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himselfe; and in recompence thereof, left three thousand Turks and Tartars with the Rebell, to aid him in his wars both in Transyluania and Hungary.

Bassa the Emperours Lieutenant in Hungary, and Gouernour of Transyluania, hearing of the stirres and troubles of late raised in both those Countries, by *Botscay* and his rebellious Followers, and hauing as he thought best, set all things in order againe at Strigonium, marched thence with his Army, being foureteene thousand strong, towards Cassouia, with a purpose to haue suppressed the rebellion in the vpper Hungary, before it should haue spred farther, to the endangering of the whole state of both those Countries, as afterward it did. Howbeit before he could come thither, the Rebels after the taking of Cassouia, being wonderfully encreased both in strength and number, had taken in most of the strong Townes and places in the vpper Hungary, the people almost generally now fauouring their quarrell, carrying with it the face of Religion, with the suppressing of the German gouernement, both things vnto them much pleasing. And now hearing that *Belgiosa* (a man of them most hated, beeing, as we said, shut out of Cassouia) was fled into the Castle of Zipze, they by Letters required of *Turson* Captaine of the Castle, to haue him deliuered vnto them, to be according to his deserts punished; promising withall, to doe *Turson* himselfe no harme, so that hee would take part with them in defence of their Religion, and of the liberty of conscience: which if hee should refuse to doe, yet that they would giue him free liberty to depart whither hee would, out of his Castle, and in safety to conduct him thither, so that he would forthwith resolue, what course hee would take. But if hee should of this his offer mislike also, then they threatened to spoyle his Countrey, to kill his people, to rase his Castle, and to make himselfe an example vnto others. Wherewith for all that hee nothing mooued, refused to deliuer vnto them *Belgiosa*, the man whom they so much desired, or yet to accept of any of their other offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt Cassouia and the Castle, and bringing certaine pieces of great Ordnance from Cassouia, in great number came and streightly besieged the Castle. With whose attempts the valiant Captaine nothing mooued, with his thundering shot out of the Castle so welcommed them, that hauing thereby receiued great harme, they thought it not their best course to stay any longer there with so great a power, but with the greatest

Bassa goeth with his army against the Rebels in the vpper Hungary.

Belgiosa in the castle of Zipze besieged by the Rebels.

part

A part thereof to go to Presburg, to reforme that city and ſome other places by the way; perſuading themſelues, That the Captaine of this caſtle ſo ſhut vp, and on euery ſide beſet with his enemies, would at length of himſelfe yeeld vp the caſtle.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the ſiege of this caſtle, certaine companies of them went to haue taken the ſpoile of a Religious houſe there by: but comming thither, and breaking open the doores, and ſearching euery ſecret corner of the houſe, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but ſo returned almoſt empty handed: for the Prieſts had for feare of them before carried away with them all the beſt of their goods and ſubſtance into the beſieged caſtle. And ſo likewiſe the rife report of their comming to Presburg flying abroad, almoſt all the Prieſts and Ieſuits in Presburg and the country thereabout, leauing their Churches
B and Colledges, fled with their ſubſtance to Vienna, ſcarcely accounting themſelues ſafe there, vntill that the garriſon of that ſtrong city was increaſed with a new ſupply of ſix hundred good ſouldiers.

And now the Rebels, their number ſtill more and more encreaſing, and hauing ſet all the vpper part of Hungary on a broyle, were beſieging diuers other caſtles and ſtrong places, yet holden for the Emperor; when as *Baſta* in the meane time, comming from the ſiege of Strigonium, came and with his army encamped about three miles from Filek. Of whoſe comming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retyring, he forthwith followed after them toward Budnoc; which caſtle they alſo left, and ſo neere vnto Ramoſambat, the place of their rendezuous, gathered together a great number, with an intent to haue giuen *Baſta* battell. Whereof *Baſta* ha-
C uing knowledge, to ſpare the effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud, by an Herauld ſent vnto them in friendly and courteous manner, aduiſed them to change their minds, and to returne againe vnto their former allegiance. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe in their former purpoſe, for the maintaining of their rebellion, and the giuing of him battel, he marching forward with his army, with great force charged certaine companies of the Rebels, appointed to keepe the paſſage of Filek; who at the firſt right valiantly receiued the charge, and defended the paſſage, vntill that at length with number oppreſſed, and aboue foure hundred of them ſlaine, they were put to the worſe, and enforced to flee; in which flight, amongſt others there taken priſoners, *Blaſe Nemet* their captain was taken alſo, whom *Baſta* cauſed to be hanged vp by the heels, with the Enſignes ſet vp about him which he had taken from the rebels in the late fight; and
D after he had for a time ſo hung, made him to be taken downe, and his head to be ſtrucke off from his ſhoulders. In this conflict fifty of *Baſta* his men were ſlaine alſo, and many moe hurt, and amongſt them *Collonitz*, hurt in his ſhoulder and his foot with a ſmall ſhot.

Baſta after this victory marching on with his army, by the way met with certaine other companies of the rebellious Haiducks as he was going to S. *Peters*, with whom he had many an hot skirmiſh for the ſpace of three daies together, being by them ſtill put to the worſe, inſomuch that hauing burnt many of his carriages, tents and other luggage, he was of nothing more carefull, than how well to get out of their hands. Neuertheleſſe ſeeing no other reme-
Baſta diſtreſſed by the Rebels.
dy, he with great courage not onely endured the often and fierce aſſaults of his enemies, ſtill
F more and more encreaſing vpon him, but the fourth day after ſo many vnfortunat skirmiſhes, (being the eight and twentieth of Nouember) putting his men in order of battell, right valiantly againe charged the Rebels: who by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the weather, it beeing then a very thicke miſt, being not able to perceiue where the enemies attempts were moſt to be feared, or what way to turne their owne forces; as men diſmaied, were eaſily by them ouer-
The Rebels by Baſta ouerthrowne.
throwne and put to flight: who ſo flying, *Baſta* with his ſouldiers fiercely purſuing, made of them a great ſlaughter: ſo that in the ſpace of leſſe than three houres, fifteen hundred of them were in this thicke and darke miſt ſlain, with ſome few alſo of *Baſta* his ſouldiers, and amongſt them *Fredericke* Earle of Solmes, and the County of Erbach wounded. Vpon the report of which ouerthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the ſiege of the caſtle of Zipze, in hope there at length to haue taken *Belgioſa*, forthwith roſe and retired themſelues to Leuſta. But *Baſta* after
H this victory remouing to Saint *Andrewes*, and hauing recouered that towne from the Rebels, and thereinto put a new garriſon, and ſo by this meanes ſomewhat daunted and repreſſed the inſolency of the Haiduckes in thoſe quarters, and being not well able longer to keepe the field with his army in ſo vnſeaſonable a time of the yeare, and ſo to maintaine warre as it were

both

both againſt his enemies, and the extremities of nature, ſought by letters to haue reclaimed them of Caſſouia againe vnto their obedience; offering vnto them pardon for all their offences paſt, ſo that they would now at laſt acknowledge their fault, and receiue into their towne a garriſon of the Emperors. To which purpoſe he writ alſo to them of Eperia; in hope that if he might ſo haue gained thoſe two ſtrong towns, to haue in them Wintered in ſafety with his army. But them of Coſſouia hauing in the city a ſtrang garriſon of ſix thouſand good ſouldiers, and out of feare to be by *Baſta* beſieged at that time of the yeare, and withall in hope (if need were) to be by *Botſcay* relieued, (who was then reported to be forty thouſand ſtrong) vtterly refuſed to hearken to *Baſta* his motion, for their reconciliation, or at all to ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the Emperour. Which cauſed him with his army to come neerer vnto the city, yet ſtill ſeeking rather by faire meanes to haue perſuaded the citiſens to haue returned vnto their loyalty, than by force to haue conſtrained them. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe, and by no perſuaſions to be remoued, but with their great ordnance in what they might to trouble his campe, he ſent before the County *Hohenloh* and *Rotnitz*, with part of his army to Eperia, to command them vpon their allegiance to receiue the Emperours ſouldiers into the city, and to relieue them with ſuch things as they were able: and within a few dayes after, *viz.* the fifth of December, followed himſelfe with the reſt of his army. But being come thither, after much talke had with the chiefe men of the City, it was at length, contrary to all mens expectation, agreed, That *Baſta* aſſuring them of the free exerciſe of their religion, of the good behauiour of the ſouldiers towards them, and to defend them from the injury and incurſions of their enemies, they ſhould open the gates vnto the Imperials, and relieue them with what they were able, and ſo as before to continue in their allegiance and obedience vnto the Emperour. Of all which things when *Baſta* had vpon his faith giuen, aſſured them, they opened their gates and receiued in the ſouldiers: vnto whom now almoſt dead and ſtarued with hunger) nothing could haue happened more lucky or welcome. Leuſta, Barbeld, Zebena, famous townes in thoſe places, following the example of Eperia, ſubmitted themſelues in like manner, and helped *Baſta* his ſouldiers with reliefe. Thither with great danger came vnto *Baſta*, *Sigefrid Collonitz*, a man of great power and authority in that part of Hungary, to confer with him about the appeaſing of theſe troubles: who afterward by his letters vnto the States and the reſt of the Nobility of Hungary, yea, and to *Botſcay* himſelfe, in vaine perſuading them to lay downe armes, and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience vnto the Emperour.

Eperia yeelded vnto Baſta.

There had been hitherto in the Imperiall campe great ſcarcity of victuals and of other neceſſaries, ſo that for want thereof, and for the extremitie of the cold, and other miſeries, it was greatly feared, leſt the campe ſhould haue been broken vp; to the irrepairable loſſe of his Imperiall Majeſty, as the ſtate of things then ſtood in Hungary. For the remedy whereof, thirty waggons loded with mony and cloath were ſent from Vienna, vnder the conduct of County *Solmes*, Colonell *Starenberg*, the Treaſurer, and others: vnto whom *Tanhuſar* joyned fifteene hundred Huſſars (Hungarian horſemen ſo called) to ſtrengthen the conuoy againſt the danger which was feared from the Haiducks which lay vpon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and ſeeking after booty in euery corner of the country. Which Huſſars being come with the reſt of the conuoy into a thick wood, about two miles from Filek, like enemies ſet vpon the waggoners, whom they ſhould haue conducted, and there made a great ſlaughter of ſuch as were about to reſiſt them; inſomuch that the County *Solmes* had much ado to ſaue himſelfe and to get out of their hands, leauing the waggons as a prey vnto the trecherous Huſſars; who now become maſters of them, draue them away to *Botſcay* the Rebels campe: *Tanhuſar* their Captaine in vaine purſuing after them (with ſuch of his Huſſars as more faithfull than the reſt, had no hand in that ſo foule a treachery) and recouering nothind but tenne waggons loaded with cloath, which the traitors had left behinde them, hauing taken the horſes out of them, and put them into the other waggons wherein the mony was, (which was reported to be 130000 florens) with the more ſpeed to bring them vnto *Botſcay*. Who hauing vpon the ſudden receiued ſo great a ſumme of mony, by him not looked for, forthwith diuided the ſame amongſt his ſouldiers, the more to encourage them in their rebellion againſt the Emperour.

The Huſſars traiterouſly ſpoyle them whom they ſhould haue conducted.

The

The newes of this so great a losse being quickly spred thorow all the Emperours campe, at the first filled the souldiers with griefe and disdaine against the trecherous Hussars, but afterwards with wrath and indignation against their own Commanders, as deeming it to hane bin nothing but a false report by them deuised and giuen out to deceiue them, and to feed them with a vaine hope. Which persuasion, though not true, had now so strongly possessed their minds, as that they were about all to haue risen vp in mutiny, and to haue forsaken the seruice, to the vtter perill of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Prouince, now vpon point to haue bin for euer lost. All which mischiefes *Basta* foreseeing, did first what he might with words and faire promises to haue appeased them; which not seruing, he with certaine thousands of duckats and waggons of cloth taken vp at Leusta and other townes there by, wisely contented them, in some good measure furnishing the old souldiers, before halfe naked, both with mony and apparell, the souldiers greatest contentments.

Basta wisely appeaseth his soldiers, ready to forsake his seruice.

Which mutiny so againe appeased, the Imperials shortly after surprising a castle not farre from Eperia, found therein a great many of Hungarian Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them prisoners, to learne of them what they might concerning the Rebels proceedings, and further designes. In the meane time the Haiducks on the other side besieged the castle of Sendra, which they after many assaults tooke, and put to the sword all the garrison souldiers therin; and departing thence, first rifled and after burnt the towne of Filek. They also took the castles of Boluar, Setschin, Dregell, Burac, Holloc, Blaueſtein, and the strong castle of Cabrageria, whither they of Hatwan not long before had carried their great ordnance at such time as they for feare of the Turks, then lying at the siege of Strigonium, had abandoned the place: all strong holds in the vpper Hungary. After the taking of which places, *Ferentius Radius*, and *Charles Istuan* (*Botscay* his neere kinsman) and the chiefe captains and ringleaders of the rebels, exacted contribution mony of the minerall townes (as they call them) belonging vnto the Emperor in the vpper Hungary; but especially of the city of Newsoll, enforcing them also to sweare to be in all things obedient to *Botscay*, and to take his part against the Imperials, threatning with fire and sword to infest such places as should refuse to do the like. And to the intent that they should not by *Collonitz* be incouraged or defended, who to that end was comming thither, the Rebels in great number went to meet him, and hauing belaied all the passages, enforced him to retire himselfe vnto his castle of Libentsia, where he lying in great danger with his wife then in child-bed, accompanied but with 50 German soldiers only, for that he durst not to trust his Hungarian Cossackes, now in heart altogether enclining vnto the Rebels, was glad in post to send to Vienna, most humbly requesting to haue a new supply of German soldiers sent vnto him for his reliefe, and the furtherance of the Emperors seruice, in that so dangerous a time and wauering estate of that country, being the best part of that the Emperor then held in Hungary.

Diuers places taken by the Haiduckes.

Collonetz prayeth aid from Vienna.

Now while *Basta* thus lay with his army at Eperia and in the country thereabout, he dayly receiued great harme from the Haiduckes, who were still houering about him, as Hawkes ouer their prey; his souldiers, by necessity enforced to fetch in wood, and other things necessary into the campe, being still most miserably slaine and cut in pieces; yea, they were so bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his campe, and to assayle the soldiers where they lay quartered in their trenches; as amongst other times, they did in the latter end of December to end the yeare withall: at which time they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copell* and *Pettinger*, two Captaines of Austria, with their companies lay, they slew the said *Copell*, with almost all his souldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his tent, *Collonitz* himselfe being at the same time in great danger, and hardly by them beset also; vntill that encouraging his men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captaine and valiant souldier, he by true valour enforced them at length to retire backe againe into the woods, from whence they came, hauing in this conflict slaine foureteene of them with his owne hand.

Copel and Pettinger slaine by the Haiduckes.

About this time was a spy taken in the Imperiall campe, one of *Botscay* his chiefe men, discouered by one comming from Cassouia to Eperia which knew him: who by *Basta* his commandement apprehended, vnd vpon torture examined, and confessing what he had done, was for his good seruice hanged and afterward quartered, to the terrour of others attempting the like.

A spie taken.

The

The Turks this yeare were not much fortunat in their warres: *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa and their Generall againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary hauing in vaine (as is before declared) beſieged Strigonium, and with all his forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala Baſſa* their other Generall againſt the Perſians in the Eaſt being with all his great power by the Perſian King ouerthrowne and put to fight, and the city of Babylon now called Bagdat taken: as it was firſt at Prague the two and twentieth of October reported by the Secretary of the Vayuod of Valachia, ſent thither by an Embaſſador from his Maſter vnto the Emperour, and afterward confirmed by an Embaſſador ſent from the Perſian King himſelfe vnto the Emperor; who hauing audience, told his Majeſty, how that the King his Maſter was not ignorant of the great and difficult warre by him now for many yeares maintained againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, with whom although he for his part might haue liued in peace & amity, yet that mooued with the zeale which one Prince ought to haue to the reliefe of another, he had taken vp armes againſt him, ſo to auert ſome part of that heauy war from his Majeſty euen vpon himſelfe: and that he had already obtained many great and notable victories & conqueſts againſt him: and recouered a great territory, wrongfully before taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſors by the Turkiſh Sultans: and that now he was of nothing more deſirous, than to joine in a perpetual league and amity with his Majeſty, that ſo in a moſt ſtrong confederation combined together, they might neuer afterward be diſſeuered, or euer make peace with the Sultan, without one anothers knowledge and conſent. And further, That for his part he was minded neuer to giue ouer the warre ſo happily by him begun, vntill he had driuen him euen into his Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, ſo that his Majeſty ſhould on his part do the like, by continuing of his preſent wars; it being not poſſible for the Turke to hold out againſt them both, and the only means to abate his greatneſſe, and to aſſure them in their eſtates: requeſting him withall, to ſend backe with him ſome graue man his Embaſſador, with ſufficient authority and inſtructions to conferre about theſe matters with him; that ſo knowing and vnderſtanding one anothers minde, the league and confederation betwixt them might the more eaſily and commodiouſly be made and concluded.

The euill ſucceſſe of Cicala Baſſa againſt the Perſians.

Neither were the Turks buſied with theſe forreine warres only, againſt theſe ſo great and mighty Princes, in places ſo remote and farre off, but vnto theſe were joyned their owne inteſtine and ciuill warres and troubles alſo; the Rebels being yet vp in the leſſer Aſia, and the Baſſa's of Aleppo and Damaſco, two of the moſt famous cities in Siria, and both of them men of great place and command, of late vp in armes one of them againſt the other: inſomuch, that they had brought the matter to be tried by the ſword in the plaine field, where the Baſſa of Aleppo in a great and bloudy battell ouercome, and flying vnto his own city, was by the Baſſa of Damaſco purſued thither, and ſo ſtreitly by him beſieged with an army of thirty thouſand men, that in fine he was glad to reconcile himſelfe vnto him, and to make his peace, by yeelding vnto him whatſoeuer the other Baſſa his enemy pleaſed to demand of him; as being thereunto driuen by the extremity of famine, which then reigned in the city; as alſo for that he had loſt a great number of his men, whom he had ſent ſecretly out of the city to ſeeke for victuals, being all ſlaine by the Baſſa of Damaſco his ſouldiers. With which ſo great matters the Baſſaes of the Court (who had the mannaging of the State vnder the young Sultan) were much troubled, he himſelfe (as was fitteſt for his yeres) in the meane time delighting himſelf with the pleaſures of the Court, and much rejoycing at the birth of his firſt begotten ſon, who was about that time borne.

Sultan Achmat his firſt ſonne borne.

1605 The reuolution of time had now thus brought this yeare to an end, the troubles of Hungary and Tranſyluania yet ſtill more and more ſo encreaſing, as if that thoſe moſt miſerable countries had by the juſt and heauy judgements of God beene now appointed vnto their laſt and vtter ruine and deſtruction: the cauſes of their ſo great miſeries proceeding not ſo much from the Turks their enemies, as from the naturall inhabitants themſelues; who in minds diuided both in religion and affection, ſome of them continuing in their allegiance vnto the Emperor, and otherſome following the Enſignes of the Rebell *Botſcay*, did both vnto themſelues and to their country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many yeres before. Of which ſo dangerous a diſſention, and of the harmes thereof inſuing, *Belioioſa* left by *Baſta* as his Lieutenant, was reported to haue beene the firſt and chiefe authour: For whereas the yeare

before

before the Bishops and other Clergy men, in an assembly of them at Possonium, had without the knowledge of the Nobilitie and States of Hungary, published a Decree by them there made, for the burning or perpetual banishing of all such as were of the Reformed Religion in Hungary: and that the States of that kingdome vnderstanding thereof, and solemnly protesting against the same, vnder the Scale of the Lord Palatine had publiquely affirmed, with just Arms to defend themselues, if they should for their Religion be called into question or troubled: and had again repeated the same their protestation at Galset. Yet *Belioiosa* neuertheles in the meane time by cunning seising vpon the reformed churches at Cassovia, would not suffer the Citisens of the Reformed Religion there, to haue any Sermons in their owne priuat houses, or so much as to reade on the holy Bible. Neither any whit mooued with the former protestations of the Nobilitie and States, had taken vnto himselfe all the lands and goods of them of their Religion in Cassovia, not suffering them to bury the bodies of their dead within the city, neere vnto the Monasteries. And requesting to haue borrowed of *Botscay* certaine thousands of crownes, and thereof by him denied, caused his souldiers to ransacke two of his Castles, and to spoyle him of all the wealth and treasure he therein had. For which indignities and injuries *Botscay* inraged, caused open proclamation to be made, That hee would giue vnto euery Haiducke that would serue him, four Crownes a moneth pay, with all the booty that they could get. Whereupon six thousand Haiduckes which then serued vnder *Belioiosa*, forthwith reuolted vnto *Botscay*, their number increasing daily. But after that vnto this extraordinary pay, *Pallas Lippa* his Lieutenant had also joined the protection of the Reformed Religion, it is wonderfull to say, how the Haiducks by heaps resorted vnto him, and how the people in all parts of Hungary generally fauoured him and his quarrell; beeing in all places whereas he came, ready to join hands with him against the Imperials. The Turkes and Tartars also, both with men and mony furthering him in all his doings, whose help he refused not. Whereof proceeded all the aforesaid miseries both in Hungary and Transylvania, with many other worse than they, which together with the beginning of this year tooke their beginning and encrease also. Vnto which so great troubles stil more and more encreasing, *Basta* not able by force to giue remedy, sought by lenitie and faire persuasions to haue eased the same: by Letters oftentimes aduising euen *Botscay* the chiefe Rebell himselfe, to change his minde, to lay downe armes, to dis-band his forces, and to persuade with the rest of his seditious followers, to submit themselues vnto the Emperour, and to return againe vnto their wonted obedience. Whereunto he at length answered, That if the gouernment of all Transylvania might be left vnto himselfe alone: If a naturall Hungarian borne might bee still chosen Lieutenant Generall in Hungary: if none but such as were Hungarians borne, should haue the gouernement and commaund of all the garrisons in Hungary: if the Wallon and French souldiers might be shut out of Hungarie: If the naturall Hungarians borne might from thenceforth be regarded and prouided of their pay: If it might bee lawfull for euery man to haue the free exercise of his Religion: If the authors of these troubles might be deliuered vnto the Hungarians to be punished: If the Emperour himselfe in person should come and be present at the Parliament at Presbourg: If the Germane garrison souldiers should still keepe themselues within the places wherunto they were appointed, without making of any incursions into the towns or villages neer vnto them, or hurting of the poor countrey men; he could then be content to come to such a good agreement for peace. With which offer he sent two of the Rebels his followers vnto *Basta*; who not liking thereof, returned them backe again without concluding of any thing.

The causes of Botscay his rebellion.

But while things were thus in talke, some of the Haiducks in the meane time, with a number of Tartars joined vnto them, in seeking after booty surprised Gokara a towne ouer against Strigonium: where hauing slain certain Germanes who had the keeping of the place, and rifled the town, as they were about to haue set it on fire, by the comming ouer of the gouernor of Strigonium with his garrison, they were inforced to forsake the place, and again to retire. This losse receiued at Gokara was again by our men requited by the taking of Palantwar, a good fortresse of the Turks, after a long and cruel fight taken by Captain *Bathian* (Commander of the Imperiall troupes on this side the riuer of Danubius) whereinto a number of the Turks being retyred, were there together with the garrison soldiers all slain, and among them diuers men of great account, who but some few daies before were come thither. Which fortresse

Gokara surprised by the Haiducks.

Palantwar taken by the Imperials.

treſſe the Captain cauſed to be forthwith raſed, becauſe it ſhould no more ſtand the Turks in ſtead for the annoying of the Chriſtians.

Vacia ſhamefully betrayed to the Turks.

The Turks about this time had a purpoſe to beſiege Vacia, a city not farre from Vicegrade on the other ſide of Danubius, a place which ſtill did them great harme, and ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead. The garriſon of which place was part Germans, and part Hungarians, as the reſt of all the garriſons in the Imperiall towns of Hungary were. Of which the Turks purpoſe for the ſiege, the trecherous Haiducks there in garriſon hauing got vnderſtanding, conſpired to deliuer vnto them the place; and yet not ſo contented, to ioyne thereunto a treaſon more bloudy and treacherous than was the betraying of the towne: for finding themſelues by far too ſtrong for the Germanes in garriſon in the towne with them, they fell vpon them, fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew moſt part of them, the reſt ſauing themſelues by ſpeedy flight to Strigonium: and ſo afterward, according to their former pretended treaſon, deliuered the towne to the Turks, joining with them and the Tartars, and directing them for the more eaſie ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and the countrey thereabout.

The taking of this City of Vacia had in ſhort time called together great numbers of the Turks and Tartars out of all places of the Realme; who together with the Haiducks made a great and puiſſant army, to the terror of the Chriſtians, not then able to hold the field againſt them, and the encouraging of the Turks, thus holpen euen by the Chriſtians themſelues, to the deſtroying of one another. With this army they turned from Vacia to Gokara, with a purpoſe from thence to haue paſſed ouer the Danubius vpon the yce, and to haue ſurpriſed Strigonium. Which exploit they had once before attempted againſt the baſe towne, being then by the Chriſtians repulſed and beaten backe with their great and ſmall ſhot out of the town, as now they were againe. Howbeit that ſeeing the number of their enemies daily more and more to increaſe, they in Strigonium ſtood more in doubt of a ſecond ſiege, than they had done of the firſt; whereof we haue before ſpoken.

The report of theſe ſo great troubles, and of the generall reuolt of the diſcontented Haiducks in Hungarie, much troubled and grieued the Chriſtian Emperor: Who both in reſpect of his honour, and of the ſafety of his eſtate, raiſed what power he might out of his prouinces thereabout, and leuied great ſummes of money from his ſubiects, taking a ducket vpon euery houſe in Auſtria, being then in great feare of theſe miſeries and miſchiefes ſo faſt ſpreading, and ſtill more and more increaſing and approaching that way. Vnto whoſe forces already on foot, had the aid promiſed from the King of Spaine, the Pope, the Princes of Italy and Germanie, with ſix thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſe out of Bohemia, bin in time joyned, they might haue made a ſufficient army vnder the conduct of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant, to haue repreſſed both the attempts of the enemy, and the inſolencie of the rebellious Haiduckes. All or moſt part of which aid this yeare failing, and *Baſta* with his ſmall forces much weakened with wants and the extremitie of Winter, and not able to keep the field, the enemies ſtill increaſing both in number and in ſtrength, and without feare of any to encounter them, at their pleaſure roaming vp and downe, began now to draw neere vnto Vicegrade (a good and ſtrong towne of Hungarie ſtanding vpon the ſide of Danubius, about the mid way betwixt Buda & Strigonium) with a purpoſe to haue beſieged the ſame. Of whoſe comming the Germans there in garriſon hearing, and warned by the trechery of the Haiducks of Vacia, what to feare from the Haiducks in garriſon with them in Vicegrade, betime retyred themſelues out of the towne into the Caſtle. In which doing they were well aduiſed, being otherwiſe like enough to haue run the ſame fortune that the Germanes their fellowes before had done at Vacia. For the Turks with the rebellious Haiducks were no ſooner come thither, but that the Haiducks in the towne, without more ado, opened the gates of the towne vnto them, as vnto their friends, directing them in beſt ſort they could both for the beſieging and winning of the caſtle. Which while the Turks hardly beſieged, and the Germans therein notably defended, *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, together with *Begedes Baſſa*, to perſuade them to yeeld vp the Caſtle, writ vnto them in this ſort.

Vicegrade yeelded vnto the Turks.

Right worthy and valiant friends, it is not to you vnknowne, the Caſtle of Vicegrade of right to belong vnto our moſt mighty and dread Souereigne, the great Sultan. And therefore ſeeing that it is reaſon that euery man ſhould haue that which of right belongeth vnto him; Wee aduertiſe and requeſt

queſt you to yeeld vp the ſame Caſtle vnto our moſt mighty Emperour, and the honorable Lord Stephen Botſcay, *Prince of Hungary; and with all your ſubſtance to depart thence. Promiſing you vpon our faith and honor, to ſuffer you quietly and in ſafety, with your wiues and children, bag and baggage, to depart thence, and to prouide you ſufficient ſhipping for the carrying away of your things to Strigonium. And if it ſhall pleaſe you to take part with vs, we promiſe you the ſame pay from our Emperor, that you had from your owne; and the ſame kind entertainment which the Wallons haue before had with vs. But if that you vpon an obſtinat reſolution ſhall refuſe this our friendly motion and grace offered vnto you, blame vs not if we ſhall by ſtrong hand and force of arms ſeek to obtaine our right. In kindneſſe we offer you our friendſhip, and ſo with ſpeed expect your anſwer.*

B But the Germanes hearkning not vnto theſe letters, as men reſolued, valiantly ſtood vpon the defence of themſelues, and of the place, vntill that by extream neceſſity forced therunto, they yeelded the ſame by compoſition.

Baſta in the mean time with his forces much diminiſhed lying at Eperia, and in the country thereabout, ſeeing the general reuolt of the Haiducks, of late the Emperors chief ſtrength in Hungary, and *Botſcay* the Rebels ſtrength daily to increaſe more and more, with no poſſibilitie for himſelfe with ſo ſmall forces as he then had, to repreſſe the Rebels inſolencie, or to remedie theſe ſo far ſpreading euils, but for want of greater ſtrength he muſt lie ſtil as it were a man beſieged; was therwith exceedingly grieued, and as it were almoſt ouerwhelmed with C the heauy burthen of ſo many great miſeries at once beſetting him. To threaten without power he knew to be but folly; and to ſpeake faire, to be but vaine. Neuertheleſſe hauing procured from the Emperour a generall pardon for all ſuch as hauing taken part with the Rebels, were willing to return again to their allegiance: hee to aſſure all them whom it might concern, of the Emperours gratious fauour, and to put them all out of feare, cauſed Letters of generall pardon to be publiſhed, for all men to take knowledge of: The purport whereof was this:

Baſta's proclamation for appeaſing the rebellion in Hungary.

We George Baſta, *County of Huſt and Marmar, Lord of Sult, Knight, Counſellor to his Imperiall Maieſty, Gouernor of the realm of Tranſylvania, and Lieutenant of the Chriſtian Armies of the Em-*
D *perour; To all Faithfull, loue and greeting. Whereas in this ſo troubleſome a ſtate of things, ſome as well of the Nobilitie as others in theſe vpper parts of Hungary, partly of their owne accord, and partly for feare, haue reuolted from his Imperiall Maieſty, and taken part with the traiterous Haiduckes in their rebellion, to the great preiudice of the Emperor his ſeruice, and the ſtaining of their faith: We in the name of his Imperiall and royall Maieſty, whom we know to be greatly inclined, and ready to pardon his ſubiects euen of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemencie, haue by vertue of the full power and authoritie by his ſaid Imperiall Maieſty granted vnto vs, giuen free grace and pardon to all them which haue withdrawn themſelues from his obeiſance, or forſaken the ſame, of what order, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they bee: whom we will receiue into our protection as void of all crime: and requeſt them, as much as in vs is poſ-*
E *ſible, to make their profit of this grace, and to returne vnto their former duty and obeiſance, vnder all aſſurance of impunitie for their forepaſſed faults, and without any ſearch or inquiry to be of the ſame hereafter made, as well for matters of Religion as of State: aſſuring them of their liues, goods, fortunes, dignities, franchiſes, priuiledges, and immunities whatſoeuer; as is more at large declared by his Maieſties Letters patents which remain with vs. And if any letted either with their vrgent affairs, or with ſickneſs, canot repair vnto vs within the day in the ſame Letters patents nominated, we will accept of their iuſt excuſes. But if any contrary to our hope, ſhall vpon any indurat mind, or obſtinat contumacie, faile to re-*
F *pent, and to make their appearance before vs within the day limited, we denounce them to be Rebels, ſubiect vnto the pain of Rebellion, and ſtained with the note of infamy; pronouncing their liues, their goods and dignities, to be confiſcat and devolved vnto the Emperors coffers: for which they ſhall by vs, the Chieftains and Captaines of his armies, with all rigor and extremitie be proſecuted. Proteſting before the Maieſtie of God, before the Maieſtie of the Emperor, and before all Chriſtendome, vs not to be in any ſort culpable of the euills, calamities, and miſeries, which ſhall enſue of the wars and diſaſters which ſuch their rebellion ſhall cauſe; but to be therefrom exempt and acquitted, the only authors of theſe diſorders hauing deſerued theſe imprecations and calamities: vpon the heads of whom we iuſtly from henceforth lay*

them, as vpon the miserable authors therof; by their wickednesse hauing refused so great grace from the Emperor and vs; vnto all men made known by these presents.

This proclamation solemnly by *Basta* published, with the sound of many drums and trumpets, the sixteenth of Ianuary, and ten daies libertie giuen for such as would to come in and again submit themselues; diuers gentlemen of the country neer vnto Eperia, where *Basta* with his army lay, for fear of being spoiled came in, and accepted of the grace offered: other of the Seditious dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the same. Insomuch that the Rebels in number daily increasing, and the rebellion farther and farther spreading, *Botscay* was was now grown so strong, that he dismissed from him most part of the Turkes, whose seruice he had in all these troubles hitherto vsed, reseruing yet certain Ianizaries, whom he mingled with the garrison of Haiducks which he had put into Cassovia.

Pallas Lippa beheaded.

Pallas Lippa, before by *Botscay* taken prisoner, and vpon his reuolt from the Emperour, by *Botscay* made his Lieutenant General, and a great man amongst the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a most fortunat and happy man. But in the middest of such his happinesse, and the greatnes of his command, he was by the malice of some, enuying at his estate, accused to *Botscay*, as if he had had a purpose to haue made him away; and deliuering the strong city of Cassovia vnto *Basta*, to haue gon ouer again vnto the Emperour, and to haue followed his Ensignes. Vpon which suspition he was by *Botscay's* commandement beheaded, with fiue other men more of good place, suspected to haue bin partakers in the conspiracie with *Lippa*. In whose treasure, after he was executed, was found an hundred thousand Hungarian ducats, with seuen hundred chains of gold; all which he had scraped together in that short time wherin he had bin *Botscay's* Lieutenant amongst the rebels. With which money *Botscay* in his rebellion confirmed, became more furious and obstinat than before; not admitting any talk with *Basta* concerning peace, but vpon such vnreasonable conditions as best stood with his own good liking.

Now long and tedious it were to prosecute euery particular exploit, with the diuers woful euents thereof during this so great and dangerous a rebellion in Hungary; which how heauy soeuer they were for the poore Christians there dwelling to endure, as tending all to the ruin and destruction both of themselues and of their countrey (sometime one of the most flourishing kingdomes thorowout all Christendome, but now become as it were a large Theatre for all the World to behold most wofull tragedies and bloudy massacres acted in) yet for all that, vnto some nothing is pleasing, but what is written of the greatest actions; as of great and bloudy battels, of the conquests of whole Kingdomes, and the ruine of most mighty and famous Princes; all other things else beeing vnto them tedious. In some part to ease them of such wearinesse, and to please their appetites, I will briefly passe ouer, and euen lightly touch such things as for the most part of this year passed in this troublesome Countrey; not staying but vpon matters of greatest weight and importance.

The Haiduckes still proceeding in their rebellion, in the beginning of February besieged the castle of Sacmar, a place very fit for their purpose. Which Castle the souldiers there in garrison doubting to be able to hold against them, being not past threescore sound men left in it, and destitute also of their necessarie prouision, couenanting to haue their liues spared, at length yeelded vnto them. But in going thence, meeting with certaine other companies of Haiducks neer vnto Tokay, they were by them most part of them slaine, some few of them by speedy flight escaping. The same Haiducks which had taken Sacmar, immediatly after attempted to haue surprised the town and castle of Tocay also: but the Gouernor of the place in good time aduertised of their intent and purpose, caused the ice wherewith the Riuer was hard frozen, to be broken forty paces ouer neer vnto the castle, and the same to be lightly couered ouer with straw. Whither the Haiducks comming by night, and finding the ice on the other side the riuer, whereunto they first came, strong enough to beare them; by heapes thrusting one another forward to haue scaled the castle, the ice breaking vnder them, they there together by heapes most miserably perished; many of the rest which escaped that danger, being with shot out of the castle slain also. In this castle was no great store of victuals: wherof *Basta* vnderstanding, with his army marched from Eperia toward Bodac, a town holden by the

Sacmar yeelds to the Haiduks

Rebels,

A Rebels, in hope with the ſpoile thereof to haue relieued Tokay. But the Rebels hearing of his comming, hauing themſelues burnt the town, had got themſelues with that they had, into the Caſtle, and from thence with their great Ordnance ſo welcommed *Baſta* at his comming, that diſappointed of his purpoſe, and hauing loſt ſome of his men, he was glad with all ſpeed (not hauing ſtayed aboue foure houres) to returne again to Eperia: certain of the nobility of that country, which tooke part with the Rebels, being reported, in his abſence to haue made a road towards Eperia, to the endangering of that City. In which his returne towards Eperia, the troups of County *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting vpon 500 Haiducks in a countrey village, ſet the ſame on fire, and therein burnt moſt of the ſaid Rebels, and ſlew the reſt of them that remained, in ſeeking by flight to haue ſaued themſelues.

B In the mean time one of the great men among the Turks came to Caſſouia, bringing with him a great ſum of money, which being diuided amongſt the Rebels there, much confirmed them, both in their rebellion, and deuotion toward the Turks; which rebellion they ſpared not for any coſt by all meanes to maintaine, as more preuailing thereby, than by the greateſt forces they could vſe for the conquering of Hungary.

Baſta his ſoldiers in mutiny

But *Baſta* was no ſooner with his army returned againe to Eperia, but that the ſouldiers generally exclaiming, and calling vpon him for their pay, were about in a mutinie to haue forſaken him: for the appeaſing of which tumult, he was glad preſently to make what ſhift he could for money, wherewith hee in ſome meaſure gaue them contentment, and ſo with much ado, agreed with them for ſix weeks ſeruice longer, thereby deliuering the citiſens of Eperia from
C a great feare, wherein they were, for being ſpoyled by thoſe mutinous ſoldiers, of whom they ſtood in no leſſe doubt than they did of their enemies.

And now the ſeditious Haiducks after their wonted manner ſtill roaming vp and down the vpper part of Hungarie, the ſecond day of March, about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning came to Neuſoll, a Faire in that countrey, and there by many reaſons perſuading the citiſens to reuolt, and to take part with them, had parley with them till it was full twelue of the clock; but drawing ſtil neerer and neerer to the town. Inſomuch that *Turbelius* gouernor of the place, perceiuing a yeelding inclination in the citiſens, and doubting without their help to be able to defend ſo great a city againſt the Haiducks, with ſo weak a garriſon as he then had therein, he with his Coſſacks, for his more ſafety retyred himſelf into the caſtle. Which don, the Hai-
D ducks forthwith breaking into the City with ſix companies, ſummoned the caſtle, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto them. Of whom *Turbelius* ſlew diuers with ſhot out of the caſtle: and the ſame day in the euening couragiouſly ſallying out of the caſtle, with certaine companies of Harquebuſiers, draue the Haiducks againe out of the city: which he afterward better fortified againſt their like attempts. And the next day vnderſtanding by a countreyman, That certain companies of Haiducks and Turks together, were comming to Turtzo, a town not far off, carrying with them a great number of cattel, women and children, which they had got out of the country villages and towns therabout: he preſently ſent forth his lieutenant againſt them, with his Coſſacks (a deſperat kind of horſmen) who meeting with theſe Haiducks and Turks, ſlew of them about 150, and recouered from them all the captiues, the cattell, with 200 hor-
E ſes, and a mule loaded with 4000 Hungarian duckats.

Fileck yeelded to the Haiducks

Now had Filek (a moſt beautiful caſtle, and as it were the key of that part of the vpper Hungary, which the Chriſtian Emperor yet held againſt the Turks) for certain months bin hardly beſieged by the Haiducks: which although it was ſo well ſtored with victuals, and other neceſſary prouiſion, as that it might haue holden out three months longer ſiege, yet the ſoldiers there in garriſon for want of water were enforced now at length to yeeld the ſame. For the keeping of which caſtle *Redeius Ferentiſius*, captain of the Haiducks which had won it, placed therein a garriſon, part Haiducks, part Turks: as not daring to truſt either of them alone; the Haiducks for feare of their trecherie; nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be deſirous of the place, for the commodious ſcituation thereof, as giuing them a way to enter farther into
F the territories of the Chriſtians: which *Redeius*, though a Rebell, would not yet in any ſort grant them.

This Caſtle of Filek ſo (as is beforeſaid) beſieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in

vain fought to haue relieued; all the waies being so beset and as it were fortified with infinite numbers of the Turks, Tartars, and Rebels, as that there was no comming vnto it; and most of his own soldiers being Haiducks also, to whom he durst not wel trust, for fear of being betrayed by them. Concerning which matters he shortly after writing to a certaine nobleman, after he had shewed vnto him, That he desired nothing more of the Emperor than to be discharged of his seruice, he thus breaketh forth:

A letter of Collonitz touching the troubls in Hungary.

I cannot (saith he) *performe any more faithfull seruice vnto the Emperor: for being attended vpon by very traitors, I am inforced to hasard euen myne honest reputation. I would willingly serue with German horsmen, and I could also wish three thousand Cossacks, and two thousand Polonian Hussars to bee again raised, who would do notable seruice in pursuing the enemy: but euery moneth they must needs haue their wages payd them. The number of the enemy increaseth daily, and their strength still more and more; so that things canot be in worse state than now they are. All deuices are directed to the hurt of the Emperor, neither is there any place quiet. What courage I am of, which haue lost all my wealth and substance, is easie for any man to iudge: all which for all that, I could conceal and dissemble, so that I might faithfully and according to my desire serue the Emperor; which for all that is not possible for me to do, without a sufficient strength of German soldiers. But this of all doth most comfort me, that I know I haue done my duty, for otherwise this mischiefe had spred farther. Many were in hope I would rather haue reuolted from the Emperor, than haue lost my goods: and some there were which doubted not to say so of me. The enemies are now in my dukedom of Cleve, and there make spoil of all. Setchin, Iarmeta, Tregla, Palanka, Samoschin, Blavenstein, Ravenstein, Vacia, Regiomont, Dillena, Pugantsa, Tabra, Libetna, Sitna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Disgiora, Zatnar, Calo, Scharospotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, and almost all Transiluania are now subiect to the rebels. So that what will ensue therof, except they speedily be confronted, euery man may right easily iudge.*

Now if *Collonitz*, one of the greatest and best commanders of the Emperors forces against the Turks in Hungary, was thus beset and spoiled of his substance by the rebels, as he in these his letters complaineth, and as indeed he was, hauing at one time receiued so great harm from them as was valued to an hundred thousand ducats; and not daring to trust his owne Hungarian soldiers, whose hearts he knew to be with the rebels: In what state may the rest of the people of that distressed prouince be thought to haue bin, being at the same time exposed to the same rebels as a prey and spoil, and their country laid open for the Turkes and Tartars to forrage at their pleasure.

But in briefe to run along with the Haiducks: four thousand of them attempting to haue surprised Wiglase, were so from thence repulsed, as that many of them being there slain, thirtie fiue wagons were scarse sufficient to carry the rest of the wounded ouer the mountaines, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence they brake into *Tursons* country, where hauing rifled all the townes and villages, they commanded all the States of the country, within three daies after to submit themselues to *Botscay*; & to swear vnto him fealty; or otherwise to expect all extremities: who with fear dismaied, promised to submit themselues vnto *Redetus*, *Botscay's* Lieutenant.

Embassadours sent to Botscay

Now for remedie of these euils, *Napragius* and *Forgatius*, two graue Counsellors, were dispatched in the Emperours name to entreat of peace with *Botscay*. Who the seuen and twentieth day of March departing from Eperia, with fourscore harquebusiers towards Cassovia; before they came thither sent before them an herauld to aduertise *Botscay* of their comming. Which messenger so soon as he was come into Cassovia, the Turks so streightly kept, as that no man might speake with him but *Botscay* himselfe, and not he also, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the Turkes. Who at his first meeting with him told him, That if the Embassadors from whom he came were sent from the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, they should be right welcome vnto him, and haue audience: but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatius* and *Ciaccius* before them, sent from *Botscay*, they should then spare their labours and come no farther, for that all matters had with him beene often enough talked vpon: it being now more than time, that things so often consulted vpon, should bee no more talked

A talked of, but indeed performed. Which messenger returning vnto the Embassadours, told them what *Botscay* had said, and that the Haiducks had in Cassovia built a bulwark of a wonderful height, beset the gates with strong gards, and so filled the trenches with souldiers, that a man could hardly enter into the City; howbeit that euery man might safely come and goe thither about his trade and busines. He told them also, That *Botscay's* lieutenant had called together all the gouernors of the places therabouts, and aduised them for the space of fourteen daies to beware of the excursions of the Haiducks; and in the mean time for their more safety, to bring their wiues and children, with such other things as they made most reckoning of, into the city; for that he could not as yet (as he said) represse the vnruly and headstrong Haiducks, being yet in their rage and fury, as the maner of the discontented multitude is. Of the
B which Haiducks, some going forth toward Neuhuse, and bringing home a great booty of cattel, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmanstorf*, pursuing them with their horsmen, ouerthrowne, and all the booty again recouered.

Botscay about this time, *viz.* the 29 of March, summoned all the Nobilitie and States of Hungary, vnto an assembly to be holden at Serentium the 17 day of Aprill: writing to them to this effect:

Botsca's letters to the States of Hungary.

You know (said hee) *right worthy and valiant men, into what extreame miseries our poore afflicted*
Country (all the antient priuiledges and immunities therof being contemned and trodden vnder foot) is
by this comming in of strangers brought: whose insolencie is grown so far, that we cannot only not quietly
C *possesse our own goods, but so much as enioy the liberty of our own consciences. For which cause the Nobilitie of the whole kingdom being the last year sent in embassy, and as it were foreseeing what was to come; the assembly of the Empire being ended, openly protested before the whole Imperial Diet, and by their letters oftentimes declared, That they should at length be of necessitie inforced to take vpon themselues the defence of their priuiledges and of their religion. By which their protestation for all that, they so little preuailed, that forthwith after, such an intollerable Edict was by the Emperours owne commandement published, as had exposed vs all and euery one of vs vnto most certain death, had we not prouided for our selues betime. All which things are vnto you all most certainly known, both by the vnlawfull acts themselues, and the whole proceeding of the Prouost generall. All which things considered, you met together at Galest, and from thence again openly signified vnto the aforesaid Prouost General (vnto whom his Imperiall Maiestie had committed the shedding of our bloud, the abolishing of our priuiledges and religion,*
D *viz. the execution of this cruell Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that busines, you would put in execution what you had before openly protested in the generall Assembly of the whole Empire at Presburg. But what answer you receiued from him, forasmuch as it is not vnto any of you vnknowne, it is not needfull here to rehearse. Wherfore when as he going about the execution of the aforesaid Edict, did in forcible maner with certain pieces of great ordnance impugn the army of his Imperiall Maiesty, both his and our dread Lord and Soueraign, and by force took from vs some of our castles, and besieged some other; we found no other remedie against these so great euills, but that which God himselfe euen then shewed to vs, which was, by force of arms to defend our selues so far as we might. In which our purpose, seeing the grace of God, and the good successe which we haue hitherto had, will vs to continue, although we haue suffered no little harm from the Germans and Haiducks (which for all that, is for the recouery of the libertie of our countrey patiently to be born) to the intent that we vnited with other our brethren thorow Hungary, may the better withstand our enemies, and fight against them, it is most necessarie we should meet together, and all matters set apart, enter into consultation how hereafter to resist our enemies, and set our Country in peace and quietnesse. Wherfore seeing that we haue determined to hold an assembly at Serents, the*
seuenteenth day of Aprill, wee by these Presents doe warne and charge you all, there at the aforesayd
17 day of Aprill to make your personall appearance, to ioyn in amitie with vs, and after Gods name called
vpon, to consult and conclude vpon such things as may be both acceptable and pleasing vnto God, and most
profitable and necessarie for the good of our afflicted country in generall. But if there shall be any which
vpon a presumptuous and careless contempt, shall not at the time appointed come, nor seem to regard such
F *things as so much concern the Common good and welfare of their native Countrey; let them assuredly know, both themselues to be therfore to be accounted for enemies vnto their country, and their goods also so to be disposed of, as shall vnto the Nobilitie and States then and there assembled, be thought meet and conuenient.*

Much

A great tumult and fire in Constantinople.

Much about this time a great tumult was raiſed amongſt the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court at Conſtantinople, at which time a great fire aroſe alſo in the city (as oft times the like hath before done through the Ianizaries inſolencie, who in ſuch confuſion of mens minds vſe to make their own gains) wherin many both men and women periſhed, with aboue fiue hundred ſhops and ware-houſes full of rich merchandiſe, moſt part wherof belonged to the Iews, of whom almoſt two hundred are ſaid to be there burnt. The deformitie and ſpoile made by which fire in the city remaining long after to be ſeen. Theſe troubles much feared the yong Sultan; who firſt therewith halfe diſmaied, and ſeeing the like to ariſe in Pera alſo on the other ſide of the hauen, about a mile from the Seraglio, could not but thinke that the ſoldiers were about ſome dangerous treaſon. Which ſuſpition two meſſengers newly come from *Cicala Baſſa* encreaſed; who earneſtly by them deſired new ſupplies to be forthwith ſent vnto him: proteſting, That foraſmuch as he had not long before in a great battel loſt a number of his men, if he were not with new ſupplies ſpeedily relieued, he muſt of force retyre, and leaue all to the Perſian. Howbeit the fire quenched, and the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers with the ſpoil they had gotten by others loſſes ſatisfied, the tumult was without much adoe again quieted.

The Emperours ſoldiers in mutinie.

Now beſides the aforeſaid troubles from the rebels in Tranſylvania and the vpper Hungary, that nothing might be wanting vnto the miſeries of thoſe ſo miſerable countries, the Emperours ſouldiers which ſerued vnder *Baſta*, hauing of long from day to day in vain expected their pay, and ſeeing neither their pay nor other reliefe to come vnto them, roſe vp in mutiny, and ſo in great rage brake into *Baſta* the Generals lodging, where hauing heaped vpon him many vnworthy and deſpightfull reproches, with their pieces bent againſt him, and taking the ſpoil of many cariages loden with very rich commodities, they departed from him, and ſo marching thorow the country toward Presburg, by the way vſed ſuch inſolencie and cruelty, by rifling and ſpoiling whatſoeuer came to hand, as that they ſeemed vnto the people as they went, worſe and more inhumane than the very Turks and Tartars themſelues: where amongſt other prey by them taken, which was very great, they carried away with them toward Preſburg aboue ten thouſand oxen and two thouſand horſes; threatning as they went, to burn the ſuburbs of the city ſo ſoone as they came thither, if they were not forthwith paid their pay. Whereupon many of the Citiſens for feare forſooke their dwellings and remooued vnto Vienna.

Newſoll taken by the Haiduks.

But the rebels on the other ſide (as is before declared) hauing in vaine attempted Newſol, being forthwith driuen out of it again; aſſembling themſelues in great number came now again and beſieged it, and the 16 of April took it, to the great and incomparable loſſe of the citiſens. Other of their fellowes in other places hauing but the day before taken Cibinium, Portfeld, Schemnitſe, with ſome other places alſo.

Thus while the Haiducks at their pleaſure on the one ſide ſpoil the vpper part of Hungary, and the Emperors ſoldiers on the other ſide for want of pay doe therein no leſſe harme than they, as enemies rifling and ranſacking euery corner of the Countrey as they went; the poore husbandmen dwelling here and there, diſperſed abroad in the country, for feare leauing their homely dwellings with ſuch things as they had, fled ſome of them into Polonia, other ſome into the mountains, where many of them periſhed with hunger: the poor husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his land, neither the ſhepheard to feed his flock, all places beeing filled with miſerie, mourning, and heauineſſe; the Turkes and Tartars, the common enemies of the Chriſtians, beeing not the cauſers thereof, but euen the Chriſtians themſelues, one of them euen with greedineſſe ſeeking the ruine and deſtruction of another: as it commonly happens in kingdoms and ſtates diuided.

Neither did theſe ſo great troubles, the ground of ſo many miſeries, containe themſelues within the bounds of Hungary only, but brake out into other countries and prouinces thereunto adjoining alſo; but eſpecially into Moravia, into which Countrey the Haiduckes breaking, miſerably ſpoyled the ſame, by force took certaine townes, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them euen the very little children, taken from their heauy parents, to be ſold afterwards vnto the Turks: a miſerable kinde of merchandiſe, and of all Chriſtians to be

A he deteſted. For remedy of which miſchiefs, by ſufferance ſtil more and more increaſing, *Lichtenſtein* gouernor of the country hauing raiſed all the power he was able to make, went againſt them, and with much ado draue them out of the Countrey, with fire and ſword now by them moſt grieuouſly ſpoyled. They for all that carrying away with them a great part of the wealth of that Country, with foure thouſand captiues, all by them appointed vnto the Turks ſlauery.

About this time alſo *Baſta* lying at Presbourg, and vnderſtanding that fourteen thouſand Turks and Tartars being come to S. *Georges*, ſix thouſand of them were gone ouer the Danubius, about a mile beneath Presburg, to the end that whilſt they were making a rode into Auſtria, the reſt in the mean time might proue their forces vpon Presburg; with his horſemen
B followed after them himſelf, to cut off ſuch ſtragling companies of them as otherwiſe might haue don great harm abroad in the country: leauing behind him in Presburg but three hundred Wallon horſmen, with certain companies of footmen for the keeping of the city: which three hundred horſmen beiug very good and expert ſoldiers, and deſirous to be doing ſomething, by night made a road out of the city toward S. *Georges*, where the reſt of the Haiducks and Turkes in great ſecuritie lay: vpon whom theſe reſolute men vpon the ſudden falling, brought a great fear vpon the whole camp; and hauing ſlain of them aboue fiue hundred before the reſt could arm themſelues, returned with a great victory, though but with ſmal prey; carrying with them ſome few horſes of ſeruice to Presburg: where by that they had done, it was reaſonably thought, that had they bin but a thouſand ſtrong, they had diſcomfited the e-
C nemies whole camp.

In the mean time they of the gariſon of Comora vnderſtanding that *Begedes Baſſa* was determined with a notable conuoy to go from Buda with ſeuenteen wagons loded with money and other things of great value, to *Botſcay* the Rebel, and the Tartar Cham his ſon, who with certain thouſands of Tartars was come to Solnoc, to the aid of *Botſcay* and the rebels: they in hope of ſo great a booty lay in wait for him vpon the way whereby he muſt needs paſſe, and at his comming ſet vpon him and ſlew a number of his men; amongſt whom it fortuned the Baſſa himſelf to be ſlain, ſhot in the breſt with a ſmal ſhot whileſt hee was mounting vp his horſe: whoſe dead body the Turkes about him hauing taken vp, and therewith about to flie, were there ſome of them ſlaine, and ſome of them taken priſoners, the reſt by ſpeedy flight e-
D ſcaping. Here were alſo all the aforeſaid wagons taken, with an exceeding rich bootie. All which the garriſon ſoldiers, well worthy therof, carried away with them to Comora, together with the Baſſa's head, ſtruck from his body with his own ſcimiter: which ſcimiter, with the Baſſa's rich coat, *Pogranus* Gouernor of Comora afterward ſent as a preſent to the Emperour at Prague. This Baſſa whilſt he liued was a moſt crafty and ſubtil man, the chiefe plotter and author of all the late troubles in Hungary; hauing before put all Tranſylvania into moſt dangerous ſtirs and tumults, and greatly confirmed *Botſcay* in his rebellion. He ſpake the Hungarian language naturally, and was therin very eloquent, which ſerued him to great purpoſe both for the raiſing and maintaining of the rebellion both in Tranſilvania and in Hungary. Which ſo dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in good hope of ſome good end to bee
E made of theſe ciuil wars, more dangerous vnto the ſtate of both theſe afflicted countries, than were the great and puiſſant armies of the Turks; which were almoſt euery year in the heart of one or other of them to be ſeen.

Begedes Baſſa ſlain.

Now was the rebellion grown ſo great in Hungary, and the rebels ſo ſtrong, that euen the very name of the Germans was become vnto the Hungarians both odious and contemptible: inſomuch that *Baſta* offering to haue put new ſupplies of German ſouldiers into the City of Tyrna, then in danger of the Haiducks; the Gouernours of the place not onely refuſed to re-
F ceiue them, but alſo to let them haue any thing of them for their ready money; ſaying, That they had citiſens ynow in the city to defend the ſame againſt their enemies; and that therfore as they needed not the helpe of the Germanes, ſo they would haue nothing to do with them.
G And yet as ſoon as *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his lieutenant, was with his army come thither, they without more ado opened vnto him the gates of the city, and receiuing him in, were about to haue ſlain all the Germans there dwelling amongſt them, being wel neere a third part of the inhabitants; & had ſo done, but that ſome wiſer than the reſt, conſidering that the Germans hauing

there

there long dwelt, were by often mariages joined in affinitie with the Hungarians, and the Hungarians with them, otherwise perſuaded them, leſt in ſo doing they might ſeeme to bee cruell againſt their owne bloud. And ſo the matter being referred to *Redeius* himſelfe, it was by him (by the counſel of one of the greateſt men of the Turks) ordered, That the Germans ſhould be ſpared their liues, ſo that from thenceforth they ſhould no more vſe the Germane, but the Hungarian apparel and attyre; only the German attyre being taken away for the Germans themſelues. G

The Rebels proceedings in Hungary.

But to proceed with theſe troubles according to the courſe of the time and of the yeare, about the foure and twentieth day of May, the Turks and Tartars joyning their forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteen countrey Villages about the lake of Neuiſdier, and as many more in other places alſo towards Newſtat; leauing behinde them moſt lamentable remembrances and teſtimonies of their barbarous and inhumane crueltie, hauing put moſt of the women and children to the ſword, and impaled diuers vpon ſtakes, carrying the men away with them as Captiues, and the beaſts and cattell as a prey; and ſo leauing the country as they went almoſt deſolate, ſcarſe any being therein left to bewail the miſeries thereof. And about the end of this ſame moneth the Rebels ſurpriſed Simega, Grotta, and Coppernacum, and a little while after Gintium: all which places they rifled and ſpoiled, as they did alſo Hogengoa, a great towne of the Lord *Lichtenſteins*; and Niderſprunga a towne of *Collonitzes*, which they firſt rifled, and afterwards burnt: and with the terrour of this their dealing enforced all the Countrey thereabout both farre and neere to yeeld vnto them: onely Altſoll and Cremnicz, who continued in their loyaltie, and ſtanding faſt for the Emperour, did the Rebels very much harme. H I

About the beginning of Iune, certaine companies of Turks and Haiducks mingled together, came againe as they had before done, to Presburg. Of whoſe comming the Gouernour of the City hauing aduertiſement, with three troupes of Wallon horſemen, and certain companies of harquebuſiers, breaking out of the city, cauſed them forthwith to retyre. Which the Wallon horſemen ſeeing, to preuent them in their retreit, fetching a compaſſe about, met with them when they thought themſelues paſt al danger, nnd falling vpon them, ſlew of them fiue hundred, and draue the reſt into Danubius: ſo that of all thoſe Turks and Haiducks none eſcaped but only fourteen, amongſt whom three Turks and one fugitiue Citiſen of Presburg were found, whom together with a great ſpoil the garriſon ſoldiers carried backe with them into the city. K

At the ſelfe ſame time the Citiſens of Veſprinium fauouring the proceedings of the Haiducks, roſe themſelues in rebellion alſo, and taking the Captaine of the Caſtle, together with his Lieutenant and the keyes of the Caſtle, cauſed them to be carried to *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant; yeelding themſelues into his protection. Of which reuolt of the city the Turks tooke exceeding pleaſure, and forthwith ſent newes thereof vnto the Sultan, wiſhing him to haſt the comming of his Army; for that the paſſages were now layd open vnto his further conqueſts. And further aduiſing him, ſtill more and more to encourage *Botſcay* in his rebellion.

And now was Hungary too little, or elſe too bare, to contain and ſatisfie the ſtil increaſing Rebels; who in great number breaking into Stiria (as they had before done on the other ſide of Hungary into Moravia) did therin great harm, waſting and ſpoiling al before them as they went: inſomuch that County *Serin*, the lord *Nadaſti*, and *Budian*, all right worthy men, & ſuch as hertofore had don great things againſt the Turks, for the Chriſtian commonweale, ſeeing themſelues and all that they had in danger to be ſpoiled, being not able to withſtand the Rebels, nor hauing any other ſtay wheron to reſt, ſubmitted themſelues vnto *Botſcay*, as did many other noblemen of that country alſo. Out of Stiria the rebels made head into Auſtria, and there roming vp and down the country, did like harm. L

Thus was the ſtate of Auſtria and Hungary at this time moſt miſerable: which for that it is ſo wel ſet down in certain letters by a graue and vnderſtanding citiſen of Vienna, who was himſelfe an eye witneſſe of moſt part therof, as that it cannot well be better expreſſed; I haue thought it good to refer the report therof vnto the letters themſelues. M

All

A

All Austria (saith he) *is full of misery and calamitie. From out of the Castle and Bulwarks here at Vienna, a man may sometimes at once behold fifteene Townes and villages all on fire in the Countrey hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and Turkes, and partly by our owne mutinous souldiers. Odenburg is yet besieged, and the Haiduckes haue forraged the Countrey as farre as Hinberg: whom had not the Regiment of* Collonitz *repressed, these our suburbs of Vienna had now beene taken, ransacked, and burnt. Newstat is on euery side besieged by the Enemy: all the Villages about Vienna, as far as Dresskirc are with fire destroyed. They of Newstat went about to haue cut off some part of the Enemies Forces, but with euill successe, hauing lost aboue fifty of their owne men. Brunna and Entzendorfe are also with fire consumed. The Wallons lie incamped at Miedling, most miserably spoiling the Countrey peo-*
B *ple of all that they had. The Haiduckes hauing by night surprised the great towne of Altenbourg, and from thence carrying a great prey, haue burnt it. The Castle had endured the like fortune, had not an hundred Harquebusiers that were by chance come thither, holpen to defend it. Six thousand of the Enemies lie about Wisselbourg, but whether the Wallons will attempt any thing against them or no, is greatly doubted. Presbourg is also in great danger; for the Garrison souldiers there doe threaten the cruell spoyle of the Citisens, with all extremities, if by a certaine day they receiue not their pay. Who if they shall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the Haiduckes will forthwith succeed them in their places. These men indeed doe pretend Religion; but what lours they be thereof, the late example of a Minister by them most cruelly tormented, not farre from Cobbelsdorffe, doth manifestly shew. The report is, That the Vayuod of Valachia doth fauor neither part: into which prouince a great number of Tartars are*
C *come in the aid of* Botscay. *All the Market places and streets here in this City, lie full of poore fugitiue creatures of all sexes and ages, a most miserable sight to behold. Our owne mutinous souldiers beset all the wayes to the City, and exclude vs from all manner of victuall; and not to vse many words, in cruelty and hostilitie almost exceed the very enemies. The Hungarian Rebels, who of late forraged Austria, haue carried away with them aboue eight thousand head of Cattell, which together with the prisoners by them taken, they haue sent into Turkey. The little boyes and children, which cannot by reason of their tender years go, they carry along with them vpon horses; whose pittiful mourning and lamentation might moue euen the very stones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit mooued. Yea many of these poore soules are here and there by the way found dashed against the ground with their braines beaten out. And these Rebels in their behauiour shew such cruelty, as whereat the very Turkes themselues were amased. All things abaut Isenstad are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of Newhuse, besieged by thirtie thousand of their Enemies, haue hitherto played the men, and of late repulsed the second assault, with much slaughter of their enemies. They say, That two thousand Tartars, as many Rebels, and thirteen thousand Turkes, are to be yet expected to come vnto the camp at Newhuse: who if they shall chance to come, it can scarce be that they of Newhuse can long well hold out against them; especially being not well appointed of necessarie prouision. The report is, That hauing taken Newhuse, they will remoue to Strigonium. It is also said, twelue thousand Turkes to haue now passed ouer the bridge at Essec; and great supplies both of men and money to come to* Botscay, *who lieth incamped about Eperia, and is said to haue made a couenant with the great Sultan, That what place soeuer either of them should first take, he should hold the same wholly vnto himselfe.* Tanhuser, *who of late was Gouernor of Fileck, is now (as the common report goeth) of counsell with* Botscay. Germenchius *hath put in three moneths victuall into Hust in Transylvania. God in his mercy behold our poore afflicted and distressed Countrey.*

A letter shewing the miserable troubles of Hungarie and Austria.

Thus far he. Whereby the Reader (as I suppose) may easily gather the miserable estate of both the countries of Hungary and Austria; the Christians themselues being the chief authors therof.

The rebellious Haiduckes had hitherto most streightly besieged the city of Odenbourg, hauing assaulted it in fiue sundry places at once. Vpon whom *Trautmanstorffe*, who was Generall of the garrison there, causing part of his horsemen to sally forth, skirmished with them from eleuen of the clocke in the forenoon, vntill two of the clocke in the afternoon, at which time the Haiducks beginning to preuaile, the Gouernor with the rest of his horsmen, certain

Ensignes

enſignes of footmen, with ſome of the citiſens, with three field peeces vpon the ſudden brea- king out of the gate, diſcomfited the Haiduckes, put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, hauing taken from them twelue enſignes, with many priſoners, whom he carried with him into the city. Of which ouerthrow the Haiduckes deſirous to be reuenged, with their renewed forces ſhortly after returned againe vnto the city, burnt the ſuburbs of the ſame, and ſpoyled the villages thereabout. But whileſt they thus lay about Odenburg, *Baſta* but with a ſmall power drawing neere vnto them, they preſently roſe, and paſſing ouer the riuer Dranus carried away with them two thouſand heads of Cattell, with a great number of Chriſtian captiues.

The Turks being not to learne to make vſe of the diſcord of the Chriſtians among themſelues, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botſcay*, to deliuer Caſſouia wholly into their hands. Of which ſtrong city, being the beſt that the Chriſtians now held in the vpper Hungary, the Turkes were moſt deſirous, both for the commodious ſcituation thereof, and alſo for that they deemed themſelues partly thereof already poſſeſſed, ſome good part of the garriſon therein being Turkes, as well Ianizaries as others. The full poſſeſſion of which ſtrong City the better to obtaine from *Botſcay*, and to get it into their owne hands, they ſent vnto him three waggons loaded with mony and other rich commodities for a Preſent, and to ſupply his wants, by a good conuoy of foure hundred Haiducks and ſome Turks joyned vnto them. Which Haiducks as they were by the way to Caſſovia, to paſſe by Tocay a ſtrong town holden by the Chriſtians, gaue ſecret knowledge vnto the Gouernour of the place, of their comming that way; and that if he would receiue them into the towne, and ſo into his protection, they would with ſome ſmall helpe from him, deliuer into his hands that ſo rich a booty, and ſo continue with him as his faithfull and truſty ſouldiers. Of whoſe offer the Gouernor well aſſured, forthwith ſent out foure hundred of the ſouldiers of his garriſon to meet them; who joyning with the aforeſaid Haiduckes which came with the Conuoy, ſet vpon the Turkes which came with them, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne, and ſo with the rich booty were by the Gouernour receiued into the Towne, and by him courteouſly welcommed and entertained. Where they had not long lien, but that after their woonted manner looking abroad into the Countrey, they chanced to meet with certain Companies of *Botſcay* his men; with whom they encountering, and hauing ſlaine of them neere about fiue hundred, tooke from them ſeuen Waggons loded with good prouiſion, and thirty horſes, beſides much other rich ſpoile.

A great booty taken by the Chriſtians.

But the Rebels, notwithſtanding theſe and other ſuch like loſſes, increaſing both in number and ſtrength, ſtill more and more in all places preuailed, but eſpecially in the vpper part of Hungary, the townes there one after another daily reuolting vnto them; as amongſt the reſt the ſtrong towne of Totiſa did: whereinto the Rebels entering, ſent from thence part of the great Ordnance, together with *Relinger* a Germane Captaine Gouernour of the Towne, and certaine other Germane ſouldiers there taken, vnto *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant, then lying with a great army of thirty thouſand Hungarian Rebels and Turkes, at the ſiege of the ſtrong towne and Caſtle of Newhuſe. Which as it had oftentimes by him been fiercely aſſaulted, ſo was it by the ſouldiers therein moſt notably defended; proteſting neuer to yeeld the ſame, but to hold it out euen to the laſt man therein to bee left aliue. Which cauſed *Redeius* for the encouraging of his ſouldiers (who had now lien there certaine moneths at the ſiege thereof) to promiſe vnto them the whole ſpoile of the towne, and of all that therin was. And yet for all that, oftentimes kept backe the Turkes from aſſaulting the ſame, for feare leſt if they ſhould by force haue taken it, they would by force alſo haue holden it vnto themſelues, as a place for them moſt commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the vpper part of Hungary. Which hee, although one of the greateſt Rebels, was yet loth to haue it fall into their hands; and yet himſelf, with the Haiducks the Hungarian Rebels, afterward, *viz.* the 25 of Iuly, gaue thereunto a moſt furious aſſault; inſomuch that hauing aduanced ten of their Enſignes to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope euen preſently to haue taken it, but yet were by the reſolute valour of the defendants notably repulſed, and inforced againe to retyre, leauing behind them aboue ſeuen hundred of their moſt forward men

Totiſa yeelded to the Turks.

dead

dead in the trenches. Vnto which siege the Bassa of Agria came also afterward with three thousand horsemen and a number of Ianizaries; so that the besieged, partly with mines, partly with shot and often assaults distressed, were so wasted and wounded, that there were scarcely two hundred whole and sound men left in the whole garrison: beside that, both victuals and pouder begun now to grow scarce also, so that they were brought vnto such extremity, as that well they could not be in worse case: and yet armed with a constant resolution, they seemed not to be any thing therewith danted or discouraged, but still valiantly held it out.

The Rebels in the Isle of Shut submit themselues againe vnto the Emperour.

The Hungarians dwelling in the Isle of Shut in the riuer of Danubium, hauing before submitted themselues vnto the Rebels, did with their helpe much trouble the passages vnto the towne of Rab and Comara, and the City of Strigonium; vnto whom certaine messengers were sent on the Emperours behalfe to persuade with them to forsake the Rebels and to returne againe vnto their antient obedience. Who so well vsed the matter with them, that taking a truce for eight daies, they in the meane time sent fiue of the chiefe men amongst them by ship to Presburg, offering vnto the Gouernour there, That if they might be secured of their goods and safety, and that the Haiduckes that were with them might be entertained in pay, they would be ready againe to take the oath of allegiance and faithfulnesse to serue him as became his loyall subjects and valiant souldiers: and for the assurance thereof, to leaue their wiues and children as pledges at Presburg. Which their offer was vnto the Gouernour very acceptable and welcome, who yeelding vnto their request, in friendly sort dismissed them. But they being returned home, and hauing declared vnto the rest of their fellowes what they had done; it was by generall consent agreed, that foure thousand of them should joyne themselues vnto the Emperours power vnder the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who to be knowne from others, wore in their crests certaine speciall feathers; their wiues and children being carried to Presburg as pledges of their faith: but this agreement by them made with the Gouernour of Presburg being once knowne, the rest of the Rebels in the Countrey thereabout together assembled with the Turks, inuaded the Isle, in hope vpon the sudden to haue surprised them: but deceiued of their expectation, were by the inhabitants of the Isle, and by the helpe of certaine Germane troupes ouerthrowne and put to flight, and three thousand of them there slaine.

About the beginning of Iuly certaine Commissioners were sent on the Emperours behalfe
D to Cossouia, to intreat with *Botscay* concerning a pacification to be made, who being by him there honourably entertained, and hauing with him staied almost a whole moneth, were at length the nine and twentieth of the same moneth againe dismissed. Now the articles, which *Botscay* propounded vnto these Commissinners to be considered of for the making of a peace, and which for the most part were agreed vpon in the peace afterward concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour, were these.

Articles by Botscay propounded vnto the Emperous commissioners for the appeasing of the tumults in the vpper Hungary.

First, That it should be lawfull for all such as would, to haue the free exercise of the reformed religion. For although (as he said) he was not ignorant that there was an antient decree amongst the Hungarians, whereby all that professed not the Catholicke Religion, or that reuolted from the same were to be burnt, and that he desired not to haue that article repealed;
E yet that his request was, That the Emperour hauing regard vnto the troubles of the present time, would promise and assure, That from thenceforth no man should be troubled for his Religion, or called in question for his conscience and Beliefe. Besides that, he requested to haue the Principality of Transyluania during his life; yet with this condition, That after his death it should againe returne vnto the Emperour, so that the Emperour in his absence should appoint a naturall Hungarian to gouerne the same, as also to haue the chiefe gouernment in Hungary. That there should no more Bishops sit in counsell but one, and that he, if it should be so thought meet, should beare the office of the Chancelour. That the liberty and priueledges of that Kingdome should be kept whole and inuiolate. That it should be lawfull for him only to make choice of the chiefe Palatine of the Kingdome. That goods confiscated
F for any offence committed, should not be dispersed or sold, but giuen to men of disert. That all offenders against the State from thenceforth should be judged by the Counsell of Hungary. That none should be preferred to Bishoprickes in Hungary, but such as were of the noble Hungarian bloud. That all injuries heretofore don should be absoltely pardoned, forgiuen

and forgotten. All which things if they might be granted, he promiſed to labor to the vttermoſt of his power, vpon the beſt conditions he might to procure a peace betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperor. Laſt of all he requeſted, That the charters of peace containing theſe articles thus agreed vpon, might be ſubſcribed and confirmed by the Biſhop of Rome, the Emperor, the King of Polonia, and all the Imperiall Kingdomes and Prouinces.

The great Sultan loth that Botſcay ſhould come to a peace with the Emperour.

The Turkiſh Sultan vnderſtanding of this treaty of peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botſcay*, by a meſſenger ſent in haſte to *Botſcay*, ſought by great offers and promiſes to hinder the ſame; putting him withall in remembrance, that a little before this treaty made, he had not onely by words but by letters alſo ſubſcribed with his owne hand, promiſed vnto *Botſcay* his Embaſſadors ſent to Conſtantinople, That hee would bring to paſſe, that *Botſcay* rewarded with ſuch priuiledges as King *Iohn* in former time enjoyed, ſhould in ſhort time be proclaimed and crowned King of Hungary, and that to that purpoſe he was euen now ready to ſend a ſcepter and a crowne, the ornaments of a King, to Alba Regalis. But for the preſent, he by theſe meſſengers ſent vnto *Botſcay* two goodly horſes, with furniture of gold, gliſtering with pretious ſtones. He ſent him alſo a rich ſcimiter, a paire of golden ſpurs, and a long horſmans coat garniſhed with gold and pretious ſtones of great price; perſuading him valiantly to perſiſt in his former courſe and purpoſe. Which he failed not to doe: for immediatly after, he with a gallant traine went from Caſſouia into Tranſyluania, there to take of the Nobility of that Prouince the oath of their fidelity vnto him; accounting no paines or labor great, which he tooke to turne the people from their obedience vnto the Emperor, and to ſtrengthen himſelfe. At which time he alſo ſent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with ſome others into Polonia, to renew the confederation which was ſometime betwixt the Polonians and the Hungarians: who being admitted vnto the Kings preſence, and audience giuen him, firſt declared the cauſes of the diſcord and ciuill war that then was in Hungary, which he imputed chiefly vnto the oppreſſion of Religion, the free exerciſe thereof being forbidden them; and to the inſolency of the Germans, who there at their pleaſure commanded ouer them. Vpon which two points he ſtood much, labouring with many words to perſuade the King thereof: and afterwards requeſting him of his gratious goodneſſe, and of the care which he, together with other Chriſtian Princes, had for the common quiet of the Chriſtian common-weale in generall, and eſpecially of thoſe two diſtreſſed countries, lying as it were euen in the enemies mouth, to enter into conſultation how the ſame euils might be remedied, and thoſe ſo great troubles again appeaſed, and to the effecting of ſo good a worke to put to his helping hand. Whereunto the King anſwered, That the friendſhip wherein *Botſcay* offered to joine with him being but the renuing of the antient amity betwixt the countries of Polonia and Hungary, to be vnto him pleaſing; howbeit, he could not for all that (as he ſaid) well like of *Botſcay* his reuolt from that houſe and family, whereunto he was himſelfe ſo neere joyned in affinity; promiſing yet neuertheleſſe, That he would propound the matter vnto his Nobility, to be further conſidered of: which when he had indeed done, it was by common conſent agreed, That no aid ſhould be giuen out of Polonia vnto *Botſcay* or the Rebels; and that whoſoeuer ſhould from thence affoord him any aid, ſhould therefore loſe his head. With which anſwer the Embaſſadours returned to *Botſcay* much diſcontented, being now with a great power againe returned out of Tranſyluania to Caſſouia.

The Lord Ruſſworme beheaded.

About this time the Lord *Ruſſworm* (ſometimes Generall of the Emperours army againſt the Turks in Hungary, a man of great note and valor, and of whom we haue before much ſpoken) at Prague falling into words, and from words to blowes, with *Francis* Count *Beliojoſa* his brother, and their men taking their parts on both ſides, it fortuned the ſaid *Francis*, the Earles brother, being grieuouſly wounded, to be there ſlaine; *Beliojoſa* himſelfe being alſo in fiue places dangerouſly hurt: who ſo hardly proſecuted the death of his brother againſt the Lord *Ruſſworm*, that within a while after, hee was therefore by the Emperour condemned, and at Prague beheaded, and diuers of his men hanged, with ſuch weapons hanging at their heeles, as wherewith they had ſlaine the ſaid *Francis* the Earles brother.

Now was the time of the yeare come, when as the Turks great armies were wont to bee ſeene euen in the heart of Hungary: howbeit, ſuch were their troubles in Aſia, both with the Perſian, and their owne Rebels, that they were not at leiſure now to ſend ſuch great forces as

A as they had before vſed, into Hungary: neither could the Chriſtian Emperour on the other
ſide now raiſe ſuch a power as he had in former times don to oppoſe againſt them, and to hin-
der their proceedings. The Hungarians themſelues (his greateſt ſtrength in thoſe wars) were
now generally reuolted from him, and for moſt part followed the Enſignes of the Rebell
Botſcay. The Princes wont to ſend him aid both out of Italy and out of Germany, now affoor-
ded him little or none at all: and his mercenary ſouldiers for want of pay were now almoſt
euery where vp in mutiny ready to forſake his ſeruice, and to pay themſelues with the ſpoyle
of his Countries euen to the gates of Vienna. So that had not the Turks beene ſo buſied in
the Eaſt, but at leiſure to haue turned their whole power into Hungary, as oftentimes they
had before done, it is hardly to be imagined, what ſhould haue letted them to haue ouer-run
B not onely that which remained of Hungary, but euen all Auſtria, with ſome good part of
Germany alſo; the Emperours preparations being then ſo ſmall, and his forces ſo weake, as
that they were not able to hold the field againſt his owne rebellious ſubjects, much leſſe a-
gainſt ſo puiſſant and dreadfull an enemy. But God which with his word hath ſet bounds vnto
the raging ſea, beyond which it cannot paſſe, and by whoſe power Kings do reigne and Princes
beare rule, had by other meanes auerted the greateſt part of the Turks forces Eaſtwards: ſo
that *Serdar Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat* his Lieutenant Generall for his wars againſt the Chriſtians,
came this yeare but with a right ſmall army (in compariſon of thoſe which the Turkiſh Sul-
tans were wont to ſend) into Hungary. Howbeit, with ſuch forces as hee brought, and with
ſuch ſupplies of the Rebels in Hungary as came vnto him, hee being growne fifty thouſand
C ſtrong, and out of feare of the Emperours forces, came the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt
to Strigonium, and with his army (part Turks, part Tartars, and part diſloyall Chriſtians) en- *Strigonium be-*
camped in the ſelfeſame place where the Turks army had but the yeare before lodged; hauing *ſieged by the*
brought with him forty great pieces of battery, with all things elſe neceſſary for the ſiege. *Turks.*
Neither were the Turks ſooner encamped, but that the Tartars which came with them to the
ſiege (after their wonted manner) more deſirous of prey and booty, than of honor and victory,
paſſing ouer the riuer of Gran into the territory of the Chriſtians, there ſpoiled and burnt all
before them as they went.

The Turks in the meane time to depriue the beſieged of all reliefe to be ſent vnto them *The Turkes*
down the riuer of Danubius, made a great bridge of boats ouer the riuer, well fortified at both *make a bridge*
D ends thereof on each ſide the riuer with a ſtrong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, ſo that *ouer the riuer*
nothing could that way paſſe to or from the beſieged city. Which things much diſmaied *of Danubius.*
them in the city, ſeeing no preparation to be made on the other ſide for their defence or re-
liefe: yea, *Baſta* himſelfe, Generall of ſuch ſmall forces as the Emperour had then, ſeeing the
enemy ſo ſtrong, and himſelfe ſo weake, began greatly to doubt of the euent of this ſiege: and
yet neuertheleſſe reſolutely ſet downe to employ both his valour and his wiſedome for the
ſafegard of the place, he, during the time of the ſiege failed not to the vttermoſt of his power
to ſhew the effects both of the one and of the other.

And now the Turks aſſiſted with the Hungarian Rebels, had performed an exploit vpon the *The Iſle of Stri-*
Iſle of Strigonium, aſwell to take the ſame from the Imperials, as for the ſpoile and pillage *gonium ſpoyled*
thereof. The inhabitants there had ſtill remained faithfull vnto the ſeruice of the Emperor, *by the Hai-*
E whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes ſought both by force and by perſuaſion to haue *ducks.*
remoued from this their loyalty and juſt deuoire. Within this Iſle were 200 Haiducks, retur-
ned againe to the Emperors ſeruice, who were joyned vnto the Iſlanders, for the better defence
both of them and of the Iſland. But the Rebels knowing well the paſſages and entrances into
the Iſle, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſame, and in it theſe poore Haiducks, whom they cut
all in pieces: which loſſe cauſed *Baſta* to reſolue to ſend the Wallons he had in his army into
the Iſle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Iſland vnderſtanding, made requeſt vnto
the Generall, That he would not in any wiſe ſo doe, for that they greatly feared leſt the Wal-
lons, being men altogether giuen to the ſpoile, not finding the Rebels to prey vpon, ſhould
F after their wonted manner pray vpon them, the Emperours faithfull ſubjects. At whoſe in-
ſtance the former purpoſe for the ſending of the Wallons beeing changed, *Collonitz* him-
ſelfe was appointed vnto that ſeruice; with whom *Mounſieur de Laual*, a noble young
Gentleman of France (who but a few dayes before was newly come vnto the campe for

the honourable desire hee had to see seruice, and to serue himselfe, with his troupe of horsemen whom he had brought with him out of France) went ouer into the Island also. Whereinto when as the Rebels shortly after againe entered, they were by *Collonitz* ouerthrowne and driuen out of the Isle, two hundred and fifty of them being slaine, and aboue fifty moe of them taken prisoners. In which conflict the noble young Gentleman *Mounsieur Laual*, so brauely behaued himselfe, as that he gained vnto himselfe much honour and renowne, euery mans mouth being full of his prayses, and wondering to see so great courage in so young yeares, he being then scarce nineteene yeares old. With which losse the Rebels rather enraged than discouraged, shortly after returned againe, in great number and better resolued; where betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Island, was fought a more sharpe and bloudy fight than was the former; yet so, as that the Rebels were enforced againe with losse to retyre. In which so hot and bloudy a skirmish, *Mounsieur Laual*, hauing most valiantly borne himselfe against the enemy, and done enough for his honour, but not so contented, but carryed away with the heat of youth, and the desire of glory, and not otherwise to be persuaded, but still aduenturously pressing on the retiring enemy, was there with a small shot slaine; all they which knew him much lamenting his vntimely death. But the Rebels not so discouraged, but still in one place or other inuading the Island, and threatening the Islanders with all extremities, except they would take part with them; what by force, what by persuasion, so much preuailed with them, that the most part of them reuolting from the Emperour, vpon the sudden set vpon the Count of Rhene, beeing then in the Island, and hauing slaine three hundred of his men, grieuously wounded himselfe also. For the speedy appeasing of which multitude, *Basta* sent ouer into the Island certaine companies of Ratzians and Wallons, who not regarding that the Islanders were dayly damnified by the Rebels, most miserably spoyled them of whatsoeuer the Rebels had yet left them.

The Haiduckes ouerthrowne by Collonitz.

S. Thomas Fort battered and assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks encamped before Strigonium, first planted their battery against the strong fort, standing aloft vpon S. *Thomas* hill: for that from thence they should haue receiued infinit harme, if they should before the winning thereof haue attempted to haue woon the City; it standing on their backes, and all the plaine betwixt the hill and the city wherein they were to plant their battery being subiect vnto it. Which fort, though very strong, they with continuall battery by the space of almost three weekes, hauing with infinit charge, and the losse of a number of their men, made faultable, the foure and twentieth day of September mounted the hill to assault the same. Vnto which assault they went vp the hill so thicke one thrusting another forward, that the hill seemed now to be nothing but a mount or heape of armed men, scarce any part of it being to be seene, it was so couered with them. Vpon whom so swarming vp, the Christians in the fort, hauing reposed all the hope of their welfare in their valour, and resolued thereby to die or liue, couragiously discharged their murthring shot both great and small, scarce any of their deadly bullets falling in vaine. Howbeit the Turks, resolutely set downe for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without respect of death or danger, came still desperatly on, vntill that they were come to the push of pike, and so to handy blowes euen in the very breaches, which the long fury of the Turks cannon had made very faultable. Fiue houres this furious assault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Christians with inuincible courage and resolution endured, many braue and valiant men falling on both sides: and thrice the Turks repulsed, were enforced to retire, but were still by their commanders brought on againe. The losse was to both sides common, many worthy men there ending their daies, worthy of eternall fame. The Christians fell dead vpon the Turks slaine by their valor, and the Turks vpon the Christians slaine by their multitude. But what should we say? The Turks by numbers died, but not their force, that being by their great numbers still maintained euen in despight of death, and alwaies liuing in their great multitude, yet left aliue. Which was not so with the defendants, but euen quite contrary; who could not lose one onely man, without diminishing of their forces, and means of resistance: so that they still lost without hope of safegard, and yet could not be in safety, without continuing of their so great losses. But he that still fighteth only for to saue his life, without hope of killing of his enemy, being too mighty for him to ouercome, must needs at last die ouercome, if it were but

A with very wearineſſe. So in the end of this long and furious aſſault, nine hundred of the Chriſtians being ſlaine, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chiefetaine, and his Lieutenant mortally wounded, and nothing now more left but a few ſore hurt men, and the dead wals for the Turks to ouercome, they entered the place, ſlew thoſe few whom they found yet breathing, made booty of their death, bloud, and armes; and by the infinite price of their owne bloud, gained that place which had now no more bloud or life left in it. From whence they carried certaine great pieces, to helpe to batter the city withall, and to vanquiſh them, for whoſe defence they were but a little before appointed.

S. Thomas fort woon by the Turks.

The Turks hauing thus gained S. *Thomas* fort, euen as they were yet embrued with bloud, and prickt forward with fury, forthwith planted thirty great pieces of battery againſt the B baſe towne of Strigonium, ſtanding low by the ſide of Danubius, and commonly called the Water-towne; which they with all their force and fury moſt terribly battered. This baſe towne was inuironed with a palliſado of wood, to defend it againſt all ſudden ſurpriſes, as almoſt all the townes of Hungary are: Whereunto the confuſed multitude of the Turks carried a number of bruſh faggots, ſtuffed with gunpouder and brimſtone, which being ſet on fire, preſently ſet fire vpon the palliſado alſo, and burnt it downe to the ground, making away for the Turks to come euen to the wals of the city; which they with their great ordnance both night and day inceſſantly moſt terribly battered, vntil that by the fury of the cannon they had therein made a faire and large faultable breach. A great ſhame for our men to ſuffer the ſame ſo to be made, and not againe repaired: whereas the Turks before in the ſame place, had made C it good againſt the great army of the Archduke *Matthias*, being neuer to be driuen and forced out of it by the Chriſtians valour, vntill they were therein ſlaine; and to be now by our men through their cowardiſe not to be able to be made good. For why, it was euen the ſame place of battell, the ſame men, the ſame armes, and the ſame forme of fight, but not the ſame courages. The Turks can very well learne of vs that which is for them profitable, and make vſe thereof to their owne aduantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to ſerue vs againſt them, and ſo profit our ſelues by their example. Beſides that, the confidence they haue in their multitude carrieth them vnto ſuch aduantages, as from which the deſpaire of being ſeconded and relieued keepeth vs: whoſe boldneſſe alſo firmely grounded vpon a reſolution to die, paſſeth our reſolution far, in fighting only to ſaue their liues.

The baſe towne of Strigonium battered.

D The breach ſo made, the Turks in good order, ſtaied vpon a firme reſolution, came brauely marching on, one of them thruſting another, and as it were ſtriuing among themſelues who ſhould haue the honour to giue the firſt charge, their haughtineſſe of minde animating of them to ſeeke for honour euen where perils were rifeſt; ſo to haue the honor to die amongſt the moſt forward and valiant men of war, rather than to liue among cowards of no reputation or valor. During the heat of which their ſo great and firme a reſolution, they regarded not the ſhowers of deadly bullets falling amongſt them as thicke as haile, as too weake to dant their haughty courages; but thruſting one another amiddeſt ſo great dangers, came vnto the breach, there to try the matter hand to hand with our men. The Ianizaries were the men eſ- E pecially appointed to this ſeruice, and had taken the ſame vpon them; who with their great muskets on their reſts cruelly gauled our men, expoſed to the danger of their deadly ſhot vpon the brinke as it were of their own graues. The great Baſſa himſelfe was there preſent at the aſſault, encouraging his ſouldiers with ſpeeches full of terrour and of comfort, as he ſaw occaſion for either to be vſed; wherewith he ſtirred vp their valor as is a ſhip with a faire or rough gale of wind. Death it ſelfe could not ouercome theſe miſcreants, their number ſtill repairing in a moment what death had taken away in an houre: whereas our men ſlew others but to be ſlaine themſelues; and fought not, but to become ſacrifices vnto death themſelues, and not by their reſiſtance to carry away the victory againſt inexorable deſtiny. The fight was great and terrible, and the bullets ſtill flew, few of them falling in vaine amongſt ſuch a multitude and preaſe of men. They of the high towne, who themſelues expected the like danger where- F in their companions now floated betwixt life and death, ſtood aboue looking on, not daring to giue them aide, or to remooue out of their ſtrength, but reſerning themſelues with all their forces for the ſole ſafegard of themſelues and of their owne defence. Howbeit all this while the enemies forces ſtill encreaſed, and the Chriſtians diminiſhed; for death could not

The baſe towne aſſaulted.

A terrible aſſault.

weaken theirs, whereas it ſtill deſtroyed ours, who failed but in number, not in valour, and gaue place but vnto the force of death, and not vnto the force of men. All the deadly blowes appointed to be giuen for the defence of a breach, had been by our men giuen; all the armes neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe had been employed, all reſiſtance that could be deſired had been made, and all the duties of valiant and worthy men performed; ſo that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour. But in all ſuch actions there are two things neceſſary, the one for the helping of the other, for the correſpondency of their power; which both joyned in one body, may doe all things, but being diuided, can neither of them doe any thing againſt him which is poſſeſſed of both.

The baſe towne of Strigonium woon by the Turks.

In fine, after foure attempts in this aſſault, moſt of the Chriſtian defendants being ſlaine, the Turks forced the reſt, and gained the breach, treading vnder-foot the dead bodies both of the Turks and of the Chriſtians, to get into the City. This place thus woon, and thoſe that were left, put to the ſword, and the towne rifled; the Turks yet in breath, and all embrued in bloud, gaue an attempt vnto the high Towne, in ſome hope euen at that time in ſo great a confuſion of the defendants to haue carried the ſame alſo. Howbeit, the defendants beholding their weapons yet dropping with the bloud of their friends and companions, and ready to ſhead theirs alſo, for the preſent notably repulſed them. Who ſo diſappointed of their purpoſe, and deſiring to gaine the place with the leaſt loſſe they might, reſolued to take the ſame by vndermining of it, repoſing more truſt in the ſpade and the mattocke, than in their ſwords and harquebuſies; beeing by experience of their former ſieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by battery and aſſault to obtaine the ſame. This trauell in the mynes tooke ſucceſſe according to their deſire: for within a few dayes the mynes (with much labour) beeing brought to perfection, and fire put vnto them, they fayled not to worke their effect, but with great violence blew vp the walls, their rampiers, men, and munition, altogether, caſting forth ſuch ſmoakes and flames, as wherewith a number of the defendants were ſmothered and burnt. Which breaches ſo made, and the defences of the City blowne vp, in ſuch ſort, that the Chriſtians lay open to the enemies deadly ſhot, beeing not able any more to ſhew themſelues without danger of their liues, the Turks in order forthwith came to aſſault and force the ſame. Which the Captaines of the Chriſtians beholding, prepared themſelues to withſtand them, and to that purpoſe would haue giuen order vnto their ſouldiers for the defence both of the breach and of the walls, whom they found ſuch as *Eumenes* at his greateſt need found his, not willing in any wiſe to fight, and in the moſt aſſured perill of death, without courage, either to vanquiſh their enemies, or defend themſelues,; in ſuch ſort, that not one of them would put themſelues in order, ſhew themſelues vpon the breach, or come neere the walls. Lazie cowards, chuſing rather to attend an aſſured death in their cowardiſe and want of courage, than to aduenture their liues into the danger of armes; well deſeruing to endure the ſame with diſhonour, ſeeing that they refuſed by honourable reſiſtance to preſerue their liues. The Captaines for all that by faire ſpeeches and by threats ceaſed not to ſtirre them vp; praying, exhorting, and ſometime with death theatening them, if they thus refnſed to doe their duty, and with their naked ſwords in their hands would haue enforced them to the breach. Bnt all in vaine; their dead courages beeing not to be reuiued or ſtirred vp in their ſo great a feare of death: Which much diſmaied the Captaines, ſeeing their liues and honour, together with the place (through this tumult and cowardiſe of their ſouldiers) to be in extreame perill. During which time the Turks comming on, had without any great reſiſtance gained the foot of the breach: whom the ſouldiers now ſeeing ſo neere vnto them, and out of hope to be relieued, and deſtitute of courage alſo, in ſtead of truſting vnto their armes and valour, betooke themſelues vnto the refuge of their ſhame and cowardiſe. For compaſſing in the Count *Dampierre*, Gouernour of the place, they would by reaſons haue perſuaded him to haue yeelded, and by threats haue feared him from further reſiſting of the enemy. Their fury emboldened them, proceeding not from their valour, but from their feare; ſtorming againſt their Generall for not beeing a coward, as they themſelues were; trembling for feare of their enemies, and inſulting againſt him. They had but one man of him to fight againſt, which made them furious and hardy: hardy with cowardiſe againſt one,

The vpper towne of Strigonium in vain by the Turks aſſaulted.

Strigonium vndermined.

not

not daring to hold vp their weapons against their enemies being many. Howbeit the Count in the middle of these feares enraged, continued firme in his resolution, his courage encreasing in this storme of mutiny, wishing rather to die by the hands of his owne souldiers, in the performing of his duty, than to be saued by the Turks in the bottome of his dishonour. Which his so braue a resolution caused him euen in the middest of these furious and tumultuous companies, to put them in minde of their duties, and to persuade with them: That the perill they so much feared, was greater through their owne feare, than indeed it was: that onely their fearefull apprehension made the danger, and not the action that was by them to be performed; seeing that it was impossible for the enemy to ouercome them, if they would but resolutely stand vpon their valour to resist him. That all things resting but in opinion, were by themselues to be subdued, if they had but the desire to ouercome them, and yet of power to ouerthrow them, if they would yeeld to their dishonour. That therefore they should propound vnto themselues the honor and the shame that was to ensue vnto them, by the different deportment of themselues in this action, how much the deformity of the one differed from the beauty of the other, and aspire vnto the honour which their enemies had sometimes got in the same place, and in the very same action wherein they were now, for hauing with lesse appearance of their safety ouercome the like danger, wherein their holding out had made them victorious with honour, without any great fight at all. That it should be an eternall infamy vnto them, that the Turks should surmount them in their resolution, in an action wherein they ought to shew themselues most valorous; and by their cowardise become subject vnto them, whom at other times they had accounted vnworthy to be compared with them in valour. That they should lay their hands vpon their hearts, and remember their estate and faith; bound vnto the first by their honour, and to the second by their duty. That they were men of Warre, liuing by their pay, which bound them to the seruice of him from whom they receiued it, euen vnto death; hauing before obliged their liues vnto their pay: and that they were Christian subjects, bound to keepe their promise giuen by oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of these things, they depriued themselues of the pay promised to them which performed their seruice; and losing their renowne in this world for their cowardise, and in the World to come for breaking their faith. That therefore they should continue constant in the performance of their duty, resoluing with themselues rather to endure an honourable death, vnto which belonged the recompence of an eternall fame for their valour and fidelity; than to prolong a miserable life with perpetuall infamy for their cowardise: whereof for all that, they could no more assure themselues by the yeelding vp of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turks were oft times euen as cruell vpon them that yeelded, as those that resisted; keeping no faith with the Christians, but as best stood with their profit and their pleasure. And that therefore for his part he was resolued, rather to die with honour in the place, than to be beholden to his enemies for an infamous and miserbale life. And that therefore he besought them to follow him in this last action of their deuoire, which carried with it all the trophies of their precedent actions, wherein they had oftentimes assisted him in many actions of lesse worth, and of much greater perill.

The braue resolution of Count Dampierre Gouernor of Strigonium.

This discourse grounded vpon so good reasons, and proceeding for so great valour, might haue preuailed with any other generous mindes, except with these degenerate souldiers, who by their cowardise had hardened themselues against all the points of honour which might any way moone them; in such sort that they stood as fast in their base cowardise as did their Generall in his valorous and constant resolution. They stood with their hands behinde them, without any weapons in them, as was their minds without any courage at all: and as men appointed to be scrificed vpon the altar of death, attending without mooving, but the hands of them that should sacrifice them. Great and shameless cowardise, not daring by resistance to withstand the violence of their enemies, for feare of hindering them in their desires, being indeed such as had vowed their death to satisfie their owne fury. Meane while some of these souldiers seeing their speeches to be but vaine, and not able to mooue their Gouernour to satisfie their desire, conceiued the same their requests, with the reasons thereof, into writing, which they sent vnto him. Which the Gouernour hauing read, in their sight tore the letters

Most shamefull cowardise.

ters

ters in pieces, and trode the same vnder his feet; rejecting as well their demands by letters, as he had done their requests by words. In briefe, hauing forgotten nothing of the duty of a worthy Generall, and valiant Captaine, joyned now thereunto the office of a simple souldier, going himselfe vnto the breach, with some few to defend the same. But the more the Count stood vpon this his so great resolution, the more these cowardly and mutinous villaines proceeded in their base obstinacy, in so much that they fell from prayers, to fury and rage, threatening to deliuer him their Gouernour, together with the place, vnto the Enemy, to saue their liues, if he himselfe would not by treaty saue them from the imminent perils. If these base cowards were before deafe vnto the just remonstrances of their Gouernour, which might haue preserued them from death and infamy, he was also as deafe as they, to conceiue their requests, or to be mooued with their threats; knowing that he had more reason on his side, by constant valour to withstand the wicked and shamefull resolution of his soldiers, than they had with dishonour to enforce him, or to offer him violence, to their eternall shame and infamy.

In the meane time these obstinate and enraged cowards proceeded from words to deeds, and from requests to violence, as did oft times the disloyall souldiers of Rome, in slaying the good Emperors. For they in cruell manner without reuerence, by force layed hands vpon the Gouernor, put him in prison, and afterwards crauing parley, fell to treaty with the great Bassa about the deliuery vp of the place. Wherewith the Bassa well contented, sent in vnto them *Haly Bassa*, to conclude the matter. Where after some little talke, it was agreed, That they should deliuer vp the place (which was not indeed theirs to dispose of) and that the Bassa should therefore promise and suffer them with bag and baggage in safety to depart whither they would, with their ensignes frilled vp, and fire in their matches; leauing behinde them their great ordnance, with all their other munition and warlike prouision. Which only composition by the perfidious souldiers made in the absence and indurance of their Generall, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongst a thousand others like before by them broken: whether it were in respect of the easie conquest of the city, (being one of the chiefe and principall places of all Hungary) or for that they being ouer-joyed with the gaining of that which they had so long desired, and now so little hoped for, they forgat their wonted cruelty and breach of faith, is doubted.

The conditions wherupon Strigonium was deliuered to the Turks.

This city thus yeelded the third of October, and the Turks forgetting their wonted cruelty, according to their faith and promise before giuen, in safety conducted these cowardly souldiers within a league of Comora, helping them by the way to carry their sicke and wounded men, together with their fardles, which the Turks oft times carried vpon their own shoulders. These cowards which thus went out, with their Gouernor sent out also with them, were in number a thousand whole and sound men, fitted whilst they were in the city, with all things necessary for their honour, and defence of the place: but themselues destitute and void of all honour and courage. A thousand, which all together were not worth their Gouernor alone, seeing that in him alone there remained more valour than in all that whole multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forsake the place, but by the leaue of the Turks there remained still; the rest which would not, hauing leaue in safety to depart whither they would.

Thus this famous City of Strigonium, one of the strongest bulwarkes of Christendome against the Turks, which the Christians had now holden by the space of ten yeares and one moneth, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfelt* won from the Turks, when as it had long time before beene in the Turks possession, woon from the Christians by Sultan *Solyman*, now againe (as is before said) fell into the power of the Turks, with threescore and ten peeces of great ordnance, and a wonderfull deale of other warlike prouision.

Base cowardise worthily punished.

These base and cowardly Souldiers, together with the Count their Gouernour, being come to Comora, were justly despoyled both of their honour and of their armes, and sent backe againe to Presburg, where cursed and detested of all the World, and especially of the Hungarians themselues (who although they were reuolted from their alleageance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much detest their so shamefull and notable cowardise) were there the chiefe of them committed to prison; where after they had for a cer-

a certaine time lien, and being brought to iudgement, and conuicted of treason, in deliuering vp the city of Strigonium vnto the Turks, & in so doing to haue greatly damnified the Christian commonweale, they were therefore condemned, and according to the quality of their offences, diuersly in this manner executed. Captain *Leonard Fredericke Schleker* had his iudgement, first to haue his right hand cut off, and his tongue drawne out behinde in his necke, and both of them nailed to the gallowes, and afterwards to bee hanged; howbeit through the intercession of many of his friends he was not hanged but beheaded. *Iohn Michael Scorer*, *Iohn Hopfi*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Casper Lielharter*, all Captaines, were adiudged to haue their right hands first cut off and nailed to the gallowes, and afterward hanged, but through the intercession of County *Mansfield*, they were hanged, and their hands not cut off. *Iohn Lautenberger* was condemned to bee quartered aliue; but was at the intercession of County *Mansfield*, first beheaded and afterward quartred. *Iohn Discoff* with eleuen other were only hanged. *Laurence Marshall* was enioyned to serue two yeares against the Turks as a common souldier, without pay; but through the intercession of County *Mansfield* had one yeare pardoned him. *Ieremy Strelin*, with diuers other, which were either fled, or else remained still in Strigonium, were iudged, their names to be set vpon the gallows, and being afterwards caught, some of them to be quartred, and other some their hands to be cut off, and nailed vpon the gallows, and afterward hanged. And thus these disloyall captains, by shunning of an honourable death in defence of Strigonium, and performing of their duty; by neglecting the same, procured vnto themselues a most shamefull death, attended vpon with perpetuall infamy and dishonour.

But as the losse of this strong place was vnto the Christians heauy and grieuous, so was it to the Turks no lesse pleasing and ioyfull; it being the place they had of long aboue al others desired, and whereat they had euer since the losse thereof, with their great armies in Hungary, for the space of ten yeares still aimed. Howbeit this their ioy endured not long, their prosperitie beeing too hot to hold out without some cooling blast of aduerse fortune. For the same report of Fame, which with the right hand presented vnto the Great Sultan at Constantinople, the pleasing newes of the winning of Strigonium in Hungary; euen with the left hand deliuered likewise vnto him the melancholie report of the ouerthrow of his great armies in Asia, with the losse of Damasco the greatest city of Syria. For, to begin with the greatest first: The King of Persia, inuaded by *Cicala Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat* his great Lieutenant in Asia; and hearing that the Bassa of Caramania had expresse charge, with all speed to come vnto him with a great supply of souldiers to be taken vp in Caramania and the countries thereabout: he then hauing a puissant army on foot, before prepared for all euents, presently set forward against *Cicala*: whom he comming vpon before he was ready to fight, by his vnexpected comming, and sudden charge, ouerthrew his army, and tooke from him all his great Ordnance. *Cicala* himselfe with three hundred souldiers, with much ado escaping and retyring himselfe to Adena; which city the Persian King, pursuing *Cicala*, shortly after streitly besieged. With which vnluckie newes Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ vnto the Bassa of Trebezond, with all speed to send aid vnto *Cicala*: who taking vnto him some other of the Turks Commanders, with a great army set forward on his journey. Of whose comming *Cicala* hearing, the better to direct the Bassa in his proceeding, caused himselfe with ten of his souldiers whom he best trusted, secretly by night to be let downe ouer the wals of the city. And so comming to the Bassa, together with him kept on his way to joyne battell with the King as neere vnto the city as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the City, that so soone as they should perceiue the battell to be ioyned, they should forthwith sally out vpon the backs of the Persians, and so by holding them with a doubtfull battell, to further the victorie. All which the Persian King, hearing of the Bassaes comming, wisely doubting, and not willing to forsake the siege, diuided his army, and leauing one part thereof to continue the siege, went himselfe with the other to meet the Bassa. Wherein hee vsed such expedition and speed, that with all his power falling vpon him before he could put his men in order, or range his battell, he made of the Turks (now confusedly and without all order fighting more for the safegard of their liues, than for any hope they had of victory) such an exceeding great slaughter, that few of them escaped, but were there almost all slaine. *Cicala* himselfe but with two or three moe, hauing much ado by getting into a little boat, and so by passing ouer the riuer, to

Cicala Bassa with his army ouerthrowne by the Persian King.

The Bassa of Trapezond discomfited.

escape

eſcape the danger. After which victory ſo eaſily gained, the King returning againe to the ſiege, after many ſharpe and great aſſaults thereunto giuen, and many men on both ſides loſt, had the ſame at length yeelded vnto his mercy.

Now with this news of the loſſe of his armies, and of the victories of the Perſian King, Sultan *Achmat* enraged, cauſed *Cicala Baſſa* his houſe at Conſtantinople, ful of treaſure & wealth, to be rifled; after the manner of the world, deeming of the doings of him ſo great a Captaine, according to the euent and euill ſucceſſe thereof, though not in his power to haue been remedied: neuertheleſſe ſhortly after, he cauſed great ſummes of mony to be deliuered out of his treaſures, and new forces raiſed for the renewing of the warre againſt the Perſian King. Vnto which ſeruice (now become vnto the Turks dreadfull) when as many of the Ianizaries were to be appointed, they after t heir proud and inſolent manner, all ariſing vp in mutiny, ſaid flatly, That they would not ſtirre one foot out of Conſtantinople, except they were both before hand payed, and aſſured alſo to haue their wages encreaſed: complaining grieuouſly withall, of the Baſſa of Damaſco, the Great Sultan his high Treaſurer, that he conuerting the Sultans treaſures to his owne vſe, did not pay the ſouldiers their wages due. For the appeaſing of which mutiny and tumult, the Sultan cauſed the ſame Baſſa to be apprehended and his head ſtrucken off, and ſo with the price of his bloud againe appeaſed them.

The Ianizaries mutiny.

But leauing the Perſian King triumphing in his victories, and the Great Sultan grieuing at his loſſes, let vs turne aſide into Siria, to ſee the troubles the Turks had euen among themſelues, to the weakening of their State, and the encreaſing of the Great Sultans cares & griefe. The two Baſſa's of Damaſco and Aleppo had (as is before declared) been at great diſcord and variance betwixt themſelues, and the Baſſa of Aleppo in field ouerthrowne, and in his city beſieged, glad to make peace with the other Baſſa, by yeelding vnto all ſuch things as it pleaſed him to demand. Which two Baſſa's for all that being diuerſly affected vnto the Sate, long agreed not, he of Damaſco continuing faithful in his allegiance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of Aleppo ſecretly inclining vnto Rebellion. Which the Baſſa of Damaſco perceiuing, and joyning vnto him the Baſſa's of Tripolis and Gazare, with their vnited forces went againſt the Baſſa of Aleppo, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpoſe to haue beſieged the Baſſa of Aleppo his enemy, in his city. But he betimes aduertiſed of this his deſigne, and not vnprouided for his comming, quickely called together his Forces, and had in very ſhort time raiſed an army of thirty thouſand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding them willing to follow him whitherſoeuer he would lead them, marched directly towards his enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyned battell with them, which was fought with ſuch fury and hideous noiſe, as if it had been two thunder-claps oppoſing each other in one cloud, ſtriuing of themſelues, which ſhould burſt out firſt, being like people, like armes, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued ſharpe and furious, the number of the one ſide counteruailing the valour of the other, and the others valor ballancing the others great number: howbeit in the end the lone Baſſa ouercame the other three, and the ſmaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained ſole victors of the field. Now the victorious Baſſa, as wiſe to vſe the victory, as hee was valiant to obtaine the ſame, ſo eagerly purſued them, that without giuing them leaue to breathe, hee beſieged Tripolis, the Baſſa whereof at his comming abandoned the ſame, and carrying with him all his treaſure, fled into Cyprus; which made the taking of the place vnto the victorious Baſſa eaſie, who rifled and ranſacked the ſame: and not content with this conqueſt, forthwith beſieged the great and ſtrong city of Damaſco, reſolued to die in the plaines thereof, or to become victorious within the walls of the ſame. During which ſiege, the Baſſa of Tripolis had out of the prouinces and countries of the Turks thereabouts, raiſed another great army, and was comming to raiſe the ſiege, and to reſcue the City. Whereof the Baſſa of Aleppo hearing, roſe with the greateſt part of his army, and meeting with him, gaue him battell, and therein the ſecond time ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune ſo diſmaied the minds of the beſieged, that deſpairing of all ſuccour and reliefe, they by conſent of their Gouernor fell to parly with the enemies, and ſo vpon certaine capitulations yeelded vnto him the place. Whereinto the Baſſa entering, found therein great treaſure, raiſed of the Turks tributes, whereupon he ſeiſed, and by the meanes thereof reſolued to make himſelfe Maſter of all Syria, the chiefe

The Baſſaes of Damaſco, Tripolis, and Gazare, ouerthrown by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

Damaſco taken & rifled by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

city

A city whereof he had now in his owne power: whereunto he gaue free acceſſe and traffique vnto all the Merchants of Perſia and of the Indies.

Now in the time of this his proſperity, newes was brought him, That the Beglerbeg of Natolia had ſent his Lieutenant with a great Army againſt him; who knowing that diligence was the ſpirit of conqueſt, and that to conquer was to little purpoſe, without a vigilant care for the preſeruation thereof, reſted not vpon his former good fortune, but marched directly towards his enemies. Wherein his ſucceſſe was anſwerable to his deſigne, for within the ſpace of two dayes hee had taken all the paſſages which might giue way vnto his enemies to diſtreſſe him: and in the ſtreights of the mountaines, whereby the enemy was to paſſe, layed a great ambuſh of two thouſand harquebuſiers and three thouſand horſe, who,
B the enemies being paſſed, and hee charging them a head, ſet vpon them in the rereward, and brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that hauing made a great fight, in fine, they hauing loſt a number of men, were glad to fly, and to leaue the Victory vnto the Baſſa. And to the encreaſing of his good happes, hee intercepted a Ship, caſt by weather vpon that Coaſt, laded with great treaſure, bound from Alexandria to Conſtantinople with the tributes of Ægypt, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the Perſian King aduertiſed, ſought to joyne with him in amity, highly commending all his valiant acts, and ſending vnto him honourable Preſents; to wit, a Piſtoll, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all ſet with pretious ſtones, eſteemed to bee worth fifty thouſand Crownes. This flame of rebellion ſpread abroad out of Syria, into Caramania, and ſo farther and farther into the leſſer Aſia.
C Which was the cauſe that the Great Sultan ſent with all ſpeed vnto the Viſier Baſſa, then in Hungary; commanding him, now that Strigonium was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of peace, hee ſhould now vpon reaſonable conditions conclude the ſame, to the end that his affaires on this ſide of his Empire beeing ſet in quiet and ſecurity, hee might forthwith after turne his Forces againſt the Perſians and the Rebels in Aſia.

The Beglerbeg of Natolia his Lieutenant with his Army diſcomfited by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

But after all theſe great troubles, to returne againe into Hungary. The Rebels there had of long beſieged the ſtrong Towne of Newhuſe, as is before declared: which being hitherto valiantly defended by the German garriſon therein, was now brought to ſuch extremity, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to be longer defended, the garriſon ſouldiers therein being with often aſſaults for the moſt part ſlaine, and the reſt of them that were left, grieuouſly wounded. Of which ſtrong Towne (beeing as it were the Key of that ſide of the Countrey) the Turkes which together with the Rebels beſieged the ſame, were for the commodious ſcituation thereof very deſirous: and the Rebels thereunto as vnwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly euer bee againe from them recouered. For which cauſe *Illiſhaſcius* one of the Captaines of the Hungarian Rebels then at the ſiege thereof, perceiuing it could not be long kept, to the intent that the Turks ſhould not by force obtaine the ſame, by Letters requeſted of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his enemy, That the Towne might be deliuered vnto *Humanoius*, another Captaine of the Hungarian Rebels, leſt the Turks ſhould by force obtaine the ſame: aſſuring him vpon the perill
E of his owne life, and the confiſcation of all his goods to the Emperour, that vpon a reconciliation and peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the Hungarians his ſubjects, hee ſhould againe deliuer the ſame Towne and Fortreſſe into his poſſeſſion. Whereupon by commandement of the Archduke and of *Baſta*, the Towne was yeelded vp the ſeuenteenth day of the Moneth of October, vnto the aforeſaid *Humanoius*, and the Hungarians only receiued into the towne; yet with this condition, That the Germane ſouldiers which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the ſiege, might ſtill ſtay in the towne in pay, and keepe watch and ward together with the reſt of the Hungarians, *Humanoius* hauing command ouer them all.

Newhuſe yeelded vnto the Hungarian Rebels.

Wherefore the Turks ſeeing themſelues diſappointed of their purpoſe, for the obtaining
F of this ſtrong Towne, riſing by night, and not a little diſcontented with the Hungarians, marched towards Strigonium, at the ſiege whereof the Viſier Baſſa lay. Howbeit within a few dayes after, the Hungarians not liking to haue the Germanes in garriſon with them, turned them with their Captaine *Strenius* out of the Towne, and yet ſafely conducted them to Comara.

At

At the ſame time they of Altenſoll, another ſtrong towne of the vpper Hungary, not farre from Neuhuſe, hauing bin long beſieged by the Rebels, and driuen for want of victuall to eat their horſes for the ſpace of fiue weeks; and hauing now eaten them all but ſeuen, and nothing elſe left, yeelded themſelues together with their towne to the Rebels: as did alſo they of Wiglas, Shemnitz, and Cremnits.

In the meane time *Botſcay* with a very great army of his Hungarian Rebels, came to Tyirna, a ſtrong towne about ſixteene miles diſtant from Vienna, attended vpon with a guard of an hundred tall ſouldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew: a little before whoſe comming, *Humanoius*, vnto whom Neuhuſe was a little before yeelded, had ſummoned Presburg, requiring the ſame to be yeelded vnto him. Which thing *Botſcoy*, being now come, by Letters likewiſe required of the Citiſens, threatning otherwiſe moſt ſtreightly to beſiege them. Whereupon *Schonberg* Gouernour of Presburg, doubting of the faithfulneſſe of the Citiſens, being almoſt all Hungarians, retired himſelfe with a good part of his ſouldiers into the Caſtle; with proteſtation, to ſpend his life and all that he had for the keeping and defence thereof. With whoſe conſtancy the Citiſens mooued, continued firme in their allegiance vnto the Emperour. Which *Botſcay* perceiuing, and that the City was not to be got by threats, forthwith remooued and went to Peſth, where he was moſt honourably receiued by the Viſier Baſſa, and by him preſented with a crowne of curious workemanſhip, and threeſcore thouſand duckats, with fiue and twenty moſt goodly horſes: and there hauing receiued from him full power to entreat of peace, and to conclude the ſame with the Imperials, with *Haly Baſſa* and certaine other of the chiefe of the Turks joyned in Commiſſion with him, againe departed and went to Kyrpa, vnto an aſſembly of the Hungarians there to be holden: whither but a little before *Sigiſmund Forgatt* was come with the Emperors reſolution, concerning the negotiation of peace; when as in the meane time other Commiſſioners from the Emperour were come to Comara about the treaty of peace with the Turks, they themſelues ſo requiring. Howbeit *Collonitz* at the ſame time by letters writ vnto the Archduke, aduiſing him that this treaty of peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels: but that if it were poſſible, an attonement ſhould be firſt made with the Rebels, and afterward a peace concluded with the Turks; the common good of the common-weale ſo requiring: for that he perceiued the Turks indeed not to be deſirous of peace at all, but only to go about, by keeping the Chriſtians at variance among themſelues, and in ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare, to do them harme, and themſelues good; which was afterward found to be ſo indeed.

A treaty of peace.

The Perſian King had ſome moneths before ſent three Embaſſadours vnto his Imperiall Majeſty, who being come at diuers times one after another, were all with peculiar letters diſmiſſed from Prague the 29 of Nouember. Vnto the firſt of which Embaſſadours Letters were giuen, of this purport.

The Emperors Letters vnto the Perſian King.

Zinel Chan Beg *whom your Majeſty hath ſent Embaſſadour vnto vs, we haue willingly ſeene and receiued, and giuen him audience, in declaring of ſuch things as he had from you in charge. It is vnto vs both acceptable and pleaſing, that your Majeſty hath regard, ſo friendly to ſalute vs, and ſo carefully to ſeeke to joyne in amity and friendſhip with vs, whereby your Majeſty much bindeth vs vnto the like deſire of mutuall loue and friendſhip; and that we againe on our parts ſhould be ready to performe ſuch things as may be vnto your Majeſty pleaſing: and that we ſhould wiſh for nothing more, than that our friendſhip ſhould dayly more and more be confirmed, and for the common good of vs both, for many yeares preſerued: wherein we for our parts will not be wanting. Whereas your Majeſty with great courage hath vndertaken, and with ſo happy ſucceſſe of victories continued your warres againſt the Turke, whereof you had ſo juſt cauſe, we from our hearts in your behalfe rejoyce as all other Chriſtians worthily doe: and we our ſelues are thereby much animated valiantly and conſtantly to proceed in our warres, which we now ſo many yeares haue made with the ſame enemy, nothing doubting but that God the reuenger of wrong will ſo proſper the honourable endeauours of your Majeſty, as that you ſhall not onely recouer ſuch things as haue beene wrongfully taken from you, but alſo weaken and deſtroy the power of that perfidious enemy. Which that it may the better bee brought to paſſe, wee alſo renew our warres, raiſe greater forces, and by our Embaſſadours and Letters exhort and incite the greateſt Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to extend their power againſt this our common enemy: and*

thereby

thereby to giue fitter opportunitie and occasion vnto your Maiesty for the better proceeding of your affairs in Asia. The course of our notable victories which wee haue in few yeares past obtained against the Turkes, the tumults and troubles which the Turks haue by secret deuices raised in Hungary, haue somewhat hindred: howbeit we hope by Gods permission, that all things shall shortly be again restored to their former estate, so that we may wholly without let turn our selues with our power against the Turkes. Yet in the mean time we haue thus much preuailed with the King of Spaine, as that hee hath already set forth a fleet vnto the borders of his territories, to distract his forces, the prosperous successe of which Fleet we daily expect. We haue also mooued the Pope, that he should also giue aid in this common Cause, and excite other Princes also to do the like; which he with great endeauor doth. But concerning such things as shall hereafter happen, we shall by Letters and Embassadors certifie your Maiesty as occasion shall require: as at this present we had appointed to send vnto you the Baron of Dohna, a famous and noble gentleman, who (all things being ready for his iourney) suddenly died. And would now haue sent another, had not the vnexpected change of the affairs of the Muscouits otherwise dissuaded vs, we hauing no other way but that at this time to send into Persia. For concerning this great Prince which is now reported to reign there, what his minde is, or how he standeth affected, we haue as yet no experience. In the mean time wee so desire a perpetuall and firme friendship betweene vs and your Maiesty, with a certain secure and free commerce, that if your Maiesty (which we wish) shall extend your victories vnto the sea, your subiects may haue free accesse and traffique vnto all our Kingdomes and Dominions. We also thanke your Maiesty, that you so kindely entertaine the Christians into your Kingdomes, and grant vnto them to haue the free exercise of their Religion. As also for that you haue sent your Embassadours vnto the King of France, although without wished successe: whereby we easily gather your Maiesties great care and circumspection euery way. As concerning them whom your Maiesty hath sent vnto vs, they haue diligently and faithfully performed their duty, so that they haue deserued praise and fauour both here and in Persia: whom we much commend vnto your Maiesty, to whom in all things we offer our greatest loue and affection.

Vnto the second Embassador were also giuen Letters from the Emperor, to this effect.

Whilest we were yet busied in the dispatch of Zinel Chan Beg, *your former Embassador, in the mean time* Methi Culi Beg *another Embassador of yours came vnto vs, whom we haue curteously entertained, and graciously heard. By whose speech, as also by your Maiesties letters, wee haue with exceeding great pleasure vnderstood both your friendly greeting of vs, as also of the happy successe of your affaires against the Turks since the departure of your former Embassador, together with your kinde affection toward the Christians in those parts. One of the seruants also of our Embassadour which died by the way, hath reported vnto vs, how curteously our said Embassador was by your Maiesty receiued; and how you haue shewed your selfe affected against the common Enemy: which was vnto vs a thing both acceptable and pleasing. Vnto both which your embasses the more solemnly to answer, we had appointed again to send an honorable embassage vnto your Maiesty, had not these lets and impediments hapned, which in our Letters giuen vnto your former Embassador are declared. But so soon and as often as may be, we will indeauor either by letters or Embassadors, more at large to manifest our loue and affection toward you. Wherefore we greatly desire that your Maiesty may continue in perfect amitie with vs, and valiantly proceed in subduing of the common enemy; we on our part being ready to perform all things wherby we may testifie vnto you the desire we haue for the preseruation of our mutual loue and friendship, as also of our endeauors in our wars against him. God almighty long preserue your Maiesty in health, and make you still victorious against the common enemy.*

Vnto the third Embassador were likewise Letters giuen from the Emperor, of this purport.

Whereas Ius Bassi Hassan Beg, *your Maiesties Embassadour vnto the French King, came this way, at the same time that other two of your Embassadors were heere present with vs; wee receiued him with*

the same curteſie wherwith we receiued them, making ſtay of him vntill they might all three be together diſmiſſed. And for that his Embaſſage was vndertaken for the furtherance of the common good, though it wanted the wiſhed ſucceſſe, yet we haue thought it good to giue thanks vnto your Maieſtie, and in moſt friendly maner to greet you by this your ſaid Embaſſador, whom we highly commend to you, for that for the time he here ſtaid in our court, he ſo behaued himſelfe, as that he well deſerued both our and your Maieſties fauor, wherof we wiſh him to be partaker. Almighty God bleſſe your Maieſtie with all felicitie, and long to his good pleaſure preſerue the ſame.

Theſe Embaſſadors with theſe letters thus diſmiſſed, one of them went into Polonia, and there declared vnto the King the great loue and affection of the Perſian King toward him, offering vnto him all loue and kindneſſe: firſt requeſting him, That he would join with his Majeſtie in all friendſhip and brotherly loue: and then, That he would take vp armes againſt the Turks their common enemy: promiſing on his maſters behalfe, That he ſhould not lay down arms vntill that the enemy were vtterly brought to nought and deſtroied, ſo that the Chriſtian princes would on the other ſide likewiſe impugn him. This was a ſtrange meſſage, and not before heard of in Polonia, where for all that the meſſenger was curteouſly and bountifully entertained, and afterwards with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requeſted, was ſo honorably diſmiſſed.

The Turks and Hungarian Rebels by the Imperials ouerthrowne.

But leauing theſe Embaſſadors vnto their long journey, to return again into Hungary. A great number of the Turkes and Hungarian Rebels meeting together at Hidweg, had a purpoſe ſecretly to haue ſurpriſed and oppreſſed the Imperial ſoldiers in their camp. Of which their purpoſe they in good time aduertiſed, and therfore keeping ſtrong Watch and ward, ſo receiued the Turks and Rebels at their comming, contrary to their expectation, as that after a ſmall fight they cauſed them to fly: whom the Imperials ſo hotly purſued towards Caniſia, that they ſlew of them aboue a thouſand, tooke about two hundred more of them priſoners, with fifteen hundred horſes which they caried away with them: and ſo hauing left ſufficient gariſons on that ſide of the countrey towards Caniſia, returned themſelues towards Vienna. In the mean time the Emperors Commiſſioners being met together at Comora, about the treaty of peace with the Turks and the Hungarians, the ſixt of December receiuing letters from the Baſſa of Buda, certaine of them the next day after went by water down the riuer of Danubius to Buda: where they being honorably receiued, and hauing with the Baſſa much and long talke concerning a peace, found little difficultie therin, but that the Turks ſaid they could therof determine nothing, without the preſence and conſent of the Hungarians. With which anſwer they ful of hope returned backe again to Comora, as did alſo *Sigiſmund Forgat*, with the like hope of peace from *Botſcay*. At which time *Botſcay* beeing about to depart from the aſſembly at Kirpay, back again to Caſſovia, gaue power to *Illiſhaſcius* for the furtherance of the treaty for peace. Who hauing receiued letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke *Matthias*, about the end of December, together with his wife went to Vienna: who being admitted vnto the Archdukes preſence, and hauing had an houre and a halfes talk with him, and euery day after conferred with the Counſellors from eight a clock to twelue, at the length compoſed all difficulties and differences touching the treaty of peace, excepting fiue Articles onely concerning Religion; the free exerciſe whereof the Hungarians in any wiſe required. So that now men began to conceiue ſome good hope of a peace to be in time concluded.

1606

The Haiduckes do great harme in the vpper Hungarie.

This year thus ending with the beginning of the treaty for peace, the next year began with the wonted troubles of war, the rebellious Haiducks doing great harm in the vpper Hungary, tyranniſing after their wonted maner vpon men of all ſorts and conditions. Where aſſaulting diuers cities, and being valiantly repulſed, they were conſtrained to retyre by the Polonian Coſſacks defending the ſame: yet did they neuertheleſſe no little harm vnto the Country inhabitants. Wherof complaint being made to the King of Polonia, he by his Embaſſador ſent to *Botſcay* at Caſſovia, obtained, that thoſe ſpoiling Haiducks ſhould be called back again out of thoſe parts.

Now had *Illiſhaſcius* the negotiator for the treaty of peace to bee made with the Rebels, ſo well

well dealt in that matter, as that the same in the later end of Ianuarie should haue been published at Vienna, but that certaine of the chiefe of the Clergy could not be brought to consent, that the free exercise of Religion should indifferently be granted to all the people in generall, but vnto the Nobilitie onely. Whereupon *Illishascius* with the rest of the Commissioners for the Hungarians, with great discontentment being about to return home again without any thing at all concluded, the Deputies for the Emperor seeing that it could not otherwise be brought to passe, at length agreed (although neuer so much contrary to the good liking of the Clergy-men) to satisfie the Hungarians in this their request, and that the free exercise as well of the Reformed as of the Romish Religion, should bee permitted to all men thorowout all Hungary, in such sort as they had before beene in the time of the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the free libertie of Religion, Letters were deliuered vnto *Illishascius*; all the other points concerning the peace beeing put off vntill the next assembly of the chiefe States of Hungary, shortly after to be holden at the city of Presburg. *The free exercise of religion granted to the Hungarians.*

About the beginning of March, the Spahi at Constantinople had requested of the Visier Bassa, That it might bee lawfull for themselues to take vp their woonted Pension of the Farmers and husbandmen here and there in the Countrey. Which although it were vnto them by the Visier Bassa denied, (who had commaundement from the great Sultan, within a few daies after to giue euery one of them his present pay in ready money) yet they not so contented, but going out of the city, presumptuously presumed to trouble the countrey men, and to do the Farmers great harm. For which their insolencie the great Sultan (the chiefe Captaines and leaders of them being again returned into the City) caused them some to bee beheaded, some to be hanged, and other some to be bound in chains and drowned: whereby no small fear was struck into the rest of the common souldiers. But the rebellion in Asia stil increasing, and the rebels there secretly both fauouring and furthering the proceedings of the Persian King, the Sultan forthwith sent for the Visier Bassa, who the last yeare had serued in Hungary, to go into Asia to represse the Rebels there, and also to withstand the proceedings of the Persian King: committing in the mean time the managing of the war in Hungary vnto his Lieutenant.

The treaty of peace both with the Turkes and the Rebels was yet in hand; whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the garrison souldiers of Rab had good proofe: for the eighteenth day of March, being the day at their request appointed for the treatie, and wheron the Commissioners on both parts there meeting together, should haue furthered the negotiation of the peace, not past fifty of the Turkes comming to the gate of the towne, required to be let in, as if they had come for that purpose. Whom our men nothing suspecting, were about to receiue them into the town: when as a Sentinel without the town (it beeing a thicke mist) perceiued three thousand more of the Turks lurking there by: and forthwith giuing an alarm to those of the town, bewraied the enemies treachery; who therupon retyred, they of the town discharging their great ordnance after them.

The next moneth about the beginning of Aprill certain messengers came from Eperia (a City seated in the vpper Hungary, yet holden for the Emperour) to Vienna, declaring the most miserable state of that city: which although the way therunto being three or four weeks before opened, it had receiued some good store of victuals, yet now (as they said) was so on euery side beset by the Rebels, as that no prouision at all could more therunto come: hoping by that means to bring to passe, that the citizens pinched with hunger and want of things necessarie, should at length yeeld themselues together with the city into their power. By which means they but a little before had obtained the strong town of Tokay; wherin the famin was so great, that the soldiers had not only eaten their shooes and leather jerkins, but had now also killed two boyes to eat, and some others of them had cast lots amongst themselues, which should be kild for the other to eat. By which extremitie *Ruber* the Gouernor of the place was inforced to yeeld. Vnto whom *Botscay*, who then lay at Cassouia, is said to haue offred a great summe of mony, with many other good things, to haue taken his part: all which he most constantly refused, protesting, euen vnto death to continue faithfull in his obedience to the Emperour. *Tokay taken by the Rebels.*

About the ſame time *Illiſhaſchius*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthering of the peace in Hungarie, writ letters from Caſſouia vnto a certaine great man at Vienna; whereby he declared, that *Botſcay* without the conſent of the Eſtates of Hungarie could of himſelfe determine nothing concerning the concluſion of the peace: who had oft times told him to his face, that rather than they would againe ſubmit themſelues to a forreine Gouernour, they would for euer put themſelues vnder the Turks protection: and yet promiſed by the ſame lettters, that although he had got vnto himſelfe great diſpleaſure thereby with the Haiduckes, he would not for all that ceaſe by all meanes to draw the States of the country in their next aſſembly vnto his part, ſo that that which was before concluded at Vienna concerning Religion, ſhould not againe be reuerſed: for many of them (as he ſaid) were afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promiſed vnto the States concerning the exerciſe of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet bee perſuaded to put themſelues from vnder the Turks protection, vntill they ſaw themſelues ſufficiently ſecured, both for the liberty of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient priuiledges. And that they could not, nor would not endure a forreine Gouernour to rule ouer them, with whom they could not talke; nor yet ſuffer Clergy men to haue any voyces in their ciuill affaires. And therefore (he ſaid) he thought it very neceſſarie that the Emperour ſhould not doubt in this point to gratifie the Hungarians. And that Tranſyluania, whereupon hee had been hitherto inforced to beſtow ſo great coſt for the keeping thereof, being now left vnto *Botſcay*, he ſhould appoint ſuch a Gouernour ouer Hungarie as the States of that countrey ſhould require. For that there was no hope of any peace to be made with the Turks, except *Botſcay* and the States of Hungarie ſhould vndertake the treaty thereof; ſeeing that they but only ſeeking for a peace in ſhew, were oftentimes diſcouered but to ſeeke for their owne aduantages and profits.

Illiſhaſchius reprochfully vſed by the Hungarians.

But concerning *Illiſhaſchius* himſelfe, the Hungarian Rebels ſeeing him ſo much to labour about the concluding of a peace, in ſcorne called him by the by-name of *Cripeliſhacius*, as hee that too much inclined vnto the Germanes: which by-name he tooke in ſo ill part, as that he departed ſtreight to Eperia, with a purpoſe not to haue been preſent at the next aſſembly of the States: but being again pacified, and by *Botſcay* called back, he made ſuch a notable ſpeech vnto the States in their next aſſembly, that all men now began both to hope and wiſh more for peace than they had before done.

In the meane time, the Turks in great number being gathered together to Belgrade, expected the end of this treaty for peace, and letters from the great Sultan to *Botſcay* were intercepted alſo: whereby he aduiſed him to proceed in his purpoſe, and ioyning with his powers, to ſeize vpon Auſtria, Bohemia, and Morauia; for that he could not be contented with Hungary and Tranſyluania, and leaue the reſt of the Prouinces vnto *Botſcay* as his inheritance.

The Tartars about this time were about ſo make a road into Polonia; but when as they with their oft incurſions had not a little troubled the Haiduckes alſo in the vpper Hungary, they reſolued amongſt themſelues to ioyne their forces together, and to fight as well againſt the Turks as the Tartars, and from thenceforth neither to truſt the one nor the other.

Hereupon, when as the Turks in great number came to aſſault Lippa, a towne of the Haiduckes, they forſaking the towne, fortified the Caſtle with certaine companies of armed men, and afterwards beſtowed many others here and there in caues and cellers in the towne, and layed great ſtore of gunpouder in the ſtreets. Vnto which towne the Turks comming, and finding the gates open, and none to reſiſt them, haſted to haue taken the Caſtle. But in the meane time, the pouder which the Haiduckes had layed taking fire, blew vp a number of them, and they which lay hid in the caues and cellers forthwith breaking out, ſlew of them whomſoeuer they met, and ſo made of the Turks a great ſlaughter, and againe cleered the towne.

The Eſtates of Auſtria conſidering the great harmes they had in theſe late troubles receiued, as well from the Hungarian Rebels, as from the Emperors mutinous ſouldiers; and by experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to reſt vpon other mens protection,

being

being vnto them ſtrangers; reſolued now in a general aſſembly of the Eſtates by them about this time holden, to take vpon themſelues the defence of their Countrey againſt ſuch ſudden incurſions and tumults of the mutinous ſoldiers, and no more to rely vpon forrein protection, ſtill to ſeek when they had moſt need thereof. Wherefore to aſſure themſelues in their own ſtrength, they with a general conſent agreed to haue alwaies in readines two thouſand horſemen and eight thouſand footmen to be maintained at the common charge; fifty of the country peaſants ſtil finding of one of the ſaid ſouldiers.

And much about this time, *viz.* the third of Iune, *Illiſhaſcius* a great man among the rebels, and yet the greateſt furtherer of the peace, (as appeared by his doings, and by that wee haue before of him written) hauing before obtained letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke, came now again with his wife alſo to Vienna; there more at large to conferre vpon the Articles for a peace to be concluded, with ſuch as were on the Emperors behalfe for that purpoſe deputed. Where comming to confer and talke about that matter, he was ſo croſſed by *Nicolas* then Biſhop of Vienna, who hitherto had been preſent in counſell together with the reſt of the Commiſſioners (a great enemy vnto the peace, in reſpect of the article concerning the liberty of the Reformed Religion) he was, I ſay, by him ſo croſſed, as that there was no hope of any thing to be for the common quiet concluded, ſo long as he was there preſent. For the which cauſe he, on both ſides and of all men deſirous of the peace diſliked, was in the Archdukes name willed no more to come into the Councel, for diſturbing of the peace. In which negotiation for concluding of the peace, *Illiſhaſcius* had taken ſuch pains in trauelling to and fro, betwixt the Archduke then lying at Vienna, and *Botſcay* with the States of Hungary then lying at Caſſovia, and ſo debated the matter on both ſides, that all things beeing as good as agreed vpon, for a full concluſion of all matters, he himſelfe, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebaſtian Tockel*, *Staniſlaus Turſon*, and others, with two hundred horſe, and thirty two wagons, in all four hundred perſons, the ſeuenth of September came to Vienna, with fifty Huſſars following them. Shortly after whoſe comming, the treaty for peace was earneſtly begun, with often meſſengers paſſing to and fro betwixt Vienna and Caſſovia, to *Botſcay* lying then very dangerouſly ſick, vntil that all the articles of the peace were neere about the 14 day of September fully on both parts agreed vpon: moſt difference ariſing about the Article for the free exerciſe of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might haue the free exerciſe of Religion; yet the Hungarians recalling that general word Religion, to a particularitie, would needs haue it ſet down, that men might haue the free exerciſe of thoſe Religions which are at this day called the Lutheran, Calvinian, and Romiſh religion. Neither would they conclude any peace, til they were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied. Which peace ſo concluded, the next day after, the Deputies for the Hungarians ſent an Embaſſador to the Viſier Baſſa at Buda, to certifie him of all their proceedings, and to requeſt him not as yet to attempt any thing for the diſturbing of the peace. Now the Articles of the peace were as followeth.

Peace between the Emperour and the diſcontented Hungarians.

Articles of Peace agreed vpon betwixt the Emperor and his diſcontented ſubiects in the vpper Hungary.

1 *THat from thenceforth it ſhould be lawfull for euery man thorowout the kingdome of Hungary to haue the free vſe of his Religion, and to beleeue what he would.*

2 *That if the Hungarians ſo thought good, they might chuſe a Palatine for their Gouernour; and that in the meantime the Archduke* Matthias *ſhould no more vſe the title of a Gouernor, but of a Vice-Roy.*

3 *That the Crown of Hungary ſhould ſtill be left in the Emperors keeping.*

4 *That the Biſhops that were nobly deſcended in Hungary, and had lands of their owne, ſhould from thenceforth be admitted into the Councell, but the other Biſhops not ſo to be receiued.*

5 *That* Botſcay *for himſelfe and his heirs male ſhould for euer hold Tranſylvania.*

6 *That the ſame country of Tranſylvania ſhould be ſtill ſubiect to the kingdom of Hungary.*

7 *That for his arms he ſhould bear three royall Crownes, and three open Helmets.*

8 *That he should no more afterward stile himselfe Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdome of Hungary.*

9 *That they should pay the Haiducks their wages which had levied them.*

10 *That the harms don on both sides should for euer be forgotten.*

11 *That Bohemia, Moravia, Lausnisium, and Austria, should not only with their Letters and seales confirm the articles, but also swear at Vienna, to keep the same so far as should concern them.*

12 *That the Hungarians should likewise send some to Vienna, who in their behalfe should with their Letters, Seals and Oaths, confirm and ratifie these articles.*

13 *That the assembly of the States of Hungary should be referred vntill a more conuenient time for them.*

14 *That all these things being don, this agreement should be publiquely confirmed and inrolled in the Records of the kingdom of Hungary.*

15 *That it should be lawfull for the Hungarians by their Embassadors to inuite the Princes of the Empire to the approuing and confirming of these Articles.*

Which fifteen articles were on the Emperors part subscribed by *Trausam, Mollart, Sigifred, Pruner, Lichtenstein*, and *Kreuberge*: and on the Hungarians part, by *Illishascius, Peter Erkod, George Turso, Sigismund Forgat*, and others.

The twentieth of September following, the Embassadors for *Botscay* and the Hungarians being admitted vnto the presence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him pardon for the forepassed rebellion, and all that was therein don. Vnto whom securitie for the same was afterward giuen by the prouinces; therby also to assure them that they should not be therfore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before don, the title of the prince of Transylvania was left vnto *Botscay* for term of his life. Who feeling his sicknes daily to increase, would oftentimes say, That he could willingly die, so that it would please God before his death to giue him leaue to excuse himselfe of his rebellion before the whole Roman Empire. And so about the end of September, all the aforesaid Embassadours for the Hungarians and *Botscay*, being assembled into the castle of Vienna, together with the Emperors Councel, and certain other Noblemen of the prouinces belonging to the Emperor, receiued euery one of them the articles of the peace, copied out and fair written in parchment. Which don they returned to their own dwellings: but *Illishascius* went from thence to Newhuse, to bee present at the peace to be afterwards made with the Turks also: from whence he afterwards writ letters vnto the Visier Bassa, to request him, not as yet to attempt any thing against the Emperors prouinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commissioners, which were shortly to come to him.

A great fire at Constantinople.

But in the mean time whilst this peace was thus in concluding, certain Tartars at Constantinople, in their insolencie set fire vpon a certaine Iewes house: whereof arose such a terrible flame, as burnt not only many houses, but a great number of Iewes themselues also; the harm there don being esteemed at forty hundred thousand duckats. In which tumult and noise of the people running to and fro and quenching of the fire, the great Sultan hauing a fall from his horse, was therof for a while sicke.

The Turks of Canisia also hauing conspired with the Captain of the lesser Comora, came to haue surprised the same. But the garrison souldiers there hauing before had a suspition of it, suffered so many of the Turkes as they knew they were able to ouercome, to enter: and so shutting the gates of the city, kild them euery mothers son, the rest which were without returning again to Canisia.

Peace thus as is aforesaid concluded with the Hungarians, *George Turson, Nicolas Istuan, Iohn Mollart, Althem*, with some others the Emperors Commissioners for a peace to bee made with the Turks, went to Comara; *Sigifrid Collonitz* and *Budin* following them with the army: for as yet they durst not altogether trust the Turks, for intercepting them by the way. Which Commissioners caried with them *Solyman* Bassa of Buda, who had now bin seuen yeares kept prisoner in the castle of Vienna; and *Aly Bassa*; both brauely apparelled in blew silk; six wagons following them, wherin were caried certaine presents for the great Sultan, to wit, a most curious clock, certain fair pieces of plate, an hundred thousand duckats, and diuers other things of great value.

But

But whilſt they there ſtaid, expecting to hear from the Viſier Baſſa then at Buda, a ſudden inſolent accident fel out, like enough againe to haue broken off the peace already made with the Hungarians, as alſo to haue vtterly cut off the treaty of peace to be had with the Turkes, and to haue ſet them altogether by the ears again. For albeit that the firſt article of the peace made with the Hungarians was, That euery man ſhould haue the free exerciſe of his religion; yet the eighth of October, about three a clock in the afternoon, when as a certaine Hungarian Lutheran preacher was in the pulpit preaching to the people in a church in the ſuburbes of Comora, *Buchem* and *Knevie* two captaines comming from dinner with certaine of their ſeruants more than halfe drunk, with their ſwords drawn ran into the church and draue the Preacher out thence; vpon whom captain *Buchems* trumpetter alſo diſcharged a piſtol, and raiſed ſuch a tumult in the church, that diuers children were troden to death vnder foot, and the reſt put in great fear of their liues.

Which inſolent fact ſo mooued the Hungarians, that *Turſon* and *Budian* there preſent with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, ready to haue gon about the treaty for peace, would needs the next day haue departed from Comora, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Collonitz* intreated to ſtay. *Buchem* and *Knevie* the two Captaines were bound to their appearance for anſwering of the matter, and the trumpeter with irons on his heels was clapt in priſon. But the news hereof being carried to Neuhuſel, and as the manner of report is, by fame made far greater than it was, as, That 150 perſons was ſlain in the Church, there aroſe ſuch a tumult among the Hungarians there, as that *Illiſhaſcius* with the reſt of the captains had much adoe to quiet and appeaſe the ſame: who joining with the Turks of Strigonium and the Haiducks of the Iſland, had determined now by night to haue inuaded Comora, where the outrage was committed; had not *Pogrania* the elder (a man of great grauitie) comming from thence, declared to *Illiſhaſcius* and the reſt of the captains all the matter as it was don; vpon whoſe relation the whole tumult was again appeaſed. But foraſmuch as the two aforeſaid captains bound to their appearance, were by night fled to Vienna, the Hungarians were very erneſt to haue them ſeuerely puniſhed, as breakers of the firſt article of the peace concerning Religion. *Botſcay* in the mean time beheaded *Catayus* his Chancellor, who had gon about to poiſon him, in hope after his death to haue bin Prince of Tranſylvania himſelf; placing *Iohn Ianuſy* in his ſtead, and giuing him *Catay* his lands.

Botſcay cauſeth his Chancellor to be beheaded.

Peace now made with the Hungarians as is aforeſaid, and Commiſſioners appointed for a treaty of peace to be had with the Turks alſo (wherunto the Viſier Baſſa, then lying at Buda, was as forward as any, beeing ſo commaunded from the great Sultan his maſter) there wanted but a place commodious for the ſaid Commiſſioners, without ſuſpition of danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Whereupon *Cæſar Gallen*, a man of great experience in ſuch matters, with ſome other captains, were appointed to find out a fit place for them to meet in: who hauing viewed many, at length made choice of one within half a league of Comora, ſo fit for that purpoſe, as if Nature had therfore prouided it. The great riuer of Danubius beeing there diuided into three parts, made therin three Iſlands, al compaſſed round with the arms therof; into which Iſlands the Commiſſioners for the Emperor, for the Turk, and for the Hungarians might come without let one of another, to intreat of their affairs, and ſo in little boats prepared for that purpoſe, paſſe ouer one to another as their occaſions required. Into which ſo commodious a place, the Deputies for the Emperour the 25 of October, conducted by the horſemen of *Mansfelt*, *Hohenlo* and *Bonchimin*, came. After whom followed *Illiſhaſcius* and the other deputies for the Hungarians, aſſiſted with the nobility of Hungary, al attending the comming of the great Sultans Commiſſioners; who likewiſe immediatly after came, being brought vp the riuer in 24 braue ſhips wel appointed.

Theſe Commiſſioners being thus apart arriued in the Iſlands, began firſt to conſult by themſelues euery one, of their ſeueral affairs and buſineſſes; and afterwards many times meeting together, with much grauitie conſulted and conferred of the beſt waies and meanes for the making of a good and aſſured peace for the appeaſing of theſe wars: which euery one of them, and all together, to that end employing the vttermoſt of their indeauours, at laſt the nineteenth of November it was betwixt all the three parties fully agreed vpon and concluded, and hoſtages on all parts giuen one to another, with oathes and promiſes ſolemnly on all

Peace between the Emperour and the grand Sultan.

sides giuen and receiued for the inuiolate keeping and obseruing of the same. The Articles C follow.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Great Sultan and the German Emperor.

First, That the Emperor and the great Sultan, in all their Letters, Dispatches, Instruments, and Embassages, should not stile themselues by any other names or additions, but by the names of Welbeloued father and son; to wit, the Emperor calling the great Sultan his Son; and the great Sultan the Emperor (in respect of his years) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they should take vpon them the name and quality of Emperor, and not of King, respectiuely one of them to another.

That those two Emperors should take order, that the realme of Hungary and the Archdukedome of Austria might be in rest, peace, and tranquilitie, and altogether deliuered and assured from all incursions, oppressions, and outrages of the men of war on both parties.

That it should be lawfull for the King of Spain, if he so thought good, to enter into this treaty of peace, without the opposition or let of one or other of these Emperors in any sort.

That the Tartars, and all other people vsually wont to come in arms into Hungary, should be compriſed within this treaty of the peace, so to be disarmed of all power, by their means to do harm within the realme of Hungary, and they there assured from their violences and robberies.

That euery one, both on the one part and on the other, should forbear from making incursions and pillages, and enterprises of war, and from all acts of hostility one against another; and yet euery one neuertheless to haue power to pursue theeues and robbers, and such others seeking after booty, to the disturbing of the peace, and injuring of the Commonweale. Wherof euery man should haue power to giue knowledge, to the intent by common force to suppresse them, and to cause them to recompence the wrongs and harmes by them done.

That all places, castles, towns, and forts should remain without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, surprise, or treason; and so likewise the goods, families, and cattell of the countrymen which were of their territories and jurisdiction; Botscay *still holding all that was lately to him granted by the Treaty of Vienna.* K

That all prisoners taken in the wars should be set at liberty, but especially such as had beene taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they sought to haue defended. And the other prisoners to bee deliuered by exchange and ransome, as should bee most expedient and easie for both parties.

That all controuersies happing as well on this side as beyond the riuer of Danubius, should be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the gouernor of Rab, of the Bassa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclavonia, and of the Gouernors of other places: and that if they should chance to be of such important weight and consequence, as that they could not by these magistrats be determined and composed; that they should in that case be reserued to be decided by their Imperial Maiesties; and that it should bee lawfull both for the one party and for the other, to repair and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which L *might preiudice either the one part or the other.*

That Amurath *the Visier Bassa should send his messengers with presents to the Archduke* Mathias; *and that the Emperor should dispatch an Embassador toward the great Sultan with* 200000 *Duckets: And that the great Sultan likewise should send his Embassador to Prague with great and rich presents to the Emperor.*

That this peace should begin in the year 1607, *and continue for the space of twenty years; and that one of the Emperors should send vnto the other euery three years their Embassadors with honorable and rich presents, according to the pleasure and power of their Maiesties.*

That all the Emperors successors, as also those of the kingdome of Hungary, should bee comprehended within the agreement of peace; together with all their kindred, allyes, and confederats, as likewise those of M *the great Sultans also.*

That the Christians should again haue the city of Vacia deliuered to them, which they should at their pleasure keepe and fortifie: and that Strigonium, with all the Villages therto belonging, should remaine

vnto

A *vnto the Great Sultan; yet ſo as that no man ſhould be with any new tribute oppreſſed; and that ſuch as had before beene free from paying of tribute, ſhould ſtill keep the ſame priuiledges.*

And that the Turks ſhould not exact their tribute by the point of their ſwords, but by the way of Iuſtice, which they ſhould commit vnto the diſcretion of the Iudges and Receiuers, to that end appointed, that ſo it might be payed without oppreſſing of the people, except haply they which ſhould pay it, vpon preſumption ſhould deny it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which caſe it ſhould be lawfull both for the one ſide and the other, to vſe ſuch meanes as ſhould ſeeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

These are the Articles of this peace, which God turne to the glory of his Name, and the
B benefit of the Christian Commonweale; and for which all the townes of Hungary made great ioy and triumph, which they declared by the thundring of their Cannons, which they in great number discharged, with many other solemnities and triumphs. The Commissioners themselues in token of their conceiued ioy, magnificently feasted one another also: which the Turks first began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commissioners great Presents also: for the Bassa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turſon*, *Iſtuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæſar Gallen*, and *Eleſchin*, braue and couragious horses most gallantly furnished; and to the rest exceeding rich garments and tapestrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feast, the troupe of *Mansfield* had by many sallies and vollies of shot giuen great pleasure vnto the Turks as they sate at the table; *Alla Baſſa* to de-
C clare the contentment and pleasure he had therein receiued, sent to the captaine of this troup two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requesting in stead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certain captiue by the Turks then kept prisoner; whom the Bassa caused freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall sent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the souldiers; which for all that *Mansfeld* refused, sending them backe againe vnto the Bassa. After which actions of ioy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleased.

These things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Bassa of Buda forthwith sent his Embassadors to Constantinople, certifying the great Sultan of the peace now made with the Christians: who thereof conceiuing great ioy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great
D magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and spent the next day with great sport and pleasure, purposing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the suppressing of his Rebels in Asia, and the subduing of the Persian King.

The Haiduckes begin new stirs in Hungary.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers stirs and tumults were neuertheleſſe by the Haiduckes in diuers places of the vpper Hungary still raised: insomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the County of Bocotsie were through their insolences inforced to ioyne battell with them, wherein a number were on both sides slaine, and three countrey villages burnt: so that it should seeme, no peace can be so well and indifferently made, but that some will be
E still troubling and impugning the same.

Botſcay calleth an assembly of the States of Hungary.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botſcay* calling together an assembly of the Estates of Hungary, propounded to them to be considered of, first, That the last reuolt, almost generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the stirres and troubles thereby raised, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their Religion, and the maintenance of their antient liberty: Then, That whereas they by their generall good liking had made choice of him for their prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and consent; and that euen now at this present he was by their consent ready to depart from the Castles and free Cities in the vpper Hungary; and had now sent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the sending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee
F should from thence forth relinquish the title of a Prince, or not. And that forasmuch as no warre could bee made without great harme doing, that he would therefore for the auoiding of further troubles about such matters, that a Decree should be made, That all such wrongs and iniuries should bee forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man should still hold all such

goods

goods, whether they were moueable or immoueable, during the time of this late warre. He wished them also in the next generall assembly of the States, with all their power and endeauor, to vrge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Heretiques, with al other Articles contrary to their Religion: and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine, as had in former time bin vsed: neither in this next generall assembly of the Estates to neglect any thing which might seeme to concerne their priuiledges and liberty. And that therefore they should be carefull to send thither wise and powerfull men, such as should not easily be ouercome with the clamors and outcries of the contrary part. At length he wished them to consider of this also, how a true and sincere confederation might bee made betwixt Hungary and Transyluania, so that a safe and quiet traffique and commerce might in both places be vsed.

Botscay dieth at Cossouia.

These things thus done, *Botscay* his sickneſſe still more and more increasing vpon him, so at length preuailed, that it made an end of him, to the great sorrow and griefe of all the people in generall, who had him in great honour and regard. He died at Cossouia the 30 of December, in the yeare 1606. He was honourably descended, and a man of great spirit, ambitious, wise, and politique, a great louer of his countrey, but an extreme enemy vnto the Germanes, and their gouernment in Hungary.

A little before his death, he earnestly perswaded *Iohn Ianusie* his Chancellor to continue in his alleagance to the Emperor, and not to raise new stirres, or so much as in him was, not to suffer any to be raised. Neuertheleſſe, such his wholesome counsell not regarded, there were some who immediatly after his death were about to haue raised new forces, for to haue seised vpon Transyluania, and so to haue stirred vp new troubles. For preuenting whereof, *Matthias* the Archduke forthwith sent a messenger vnto the States of the vpper Hungary; aduising them, That the great harmes and miseries considered which that part of Hungary had of late felt and endured, almost to the vtter ruine and destruction thereof (which proceeded not so much from the warres with the Turks, as from their owne ciuill tumults and seditions) they should from thenceforth giue themselues to quietneſſe and peace, and not again insolently to prescribe vnto the Emperor what to do, or how he was to dispose of the countrey of Transyluania, assuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter winke at such their rebellious plots and deuices, but forthwith turne all his power and forces to the vtter destruction and rooting out of such rebellious and seditious persons, the disturbers of the common peace and quiet. By which the Archdukes warning, some, otherwise ready enough to haue raised new stirres and troubles, were not therein so forward as otherwise haply they would haue bin, but kept themselues quiet.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much maruelled, that the Christian Emperour would thus make peace with the great Sultan (as is aforesaid) he being then so much troubled with wars, both against his owne Rebels, and the Persian King, in Asia, most part of his forces being turned that way; so that a fitter time, or of more aduantage, could not haue been wished for the Emperor to haue done great matters against him in, and not only to haue holden his owne (which he did not) in Hungary, but to haue recouered some good part of his losses there before receiued also. And indeed true it is, that the time then well serued for both: but what auaileth opportunitie without power? And had the Hungarians (the greatest strength the Emperor hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that so great a kingdome) been at quiet and at his command, and he himselfe a Prince which had rested vpon his owne strength and power, euer at his pleasure to haue been raised, and as need should require supplied, without depending vpon his friends and allyes, then haply it might haue bin in him accounted a great ouersight, to haue omitted and ouerslipped so faire an opportunitie. But the Hungarians being then not only reuolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himselfe with his own power not able to hold the field against them, or well to maintaine a defensiue warre; and his friends and allyes, his wonted and greatest staies, then at his greatest need failing of him also, what should he in such a case do but as he did? to accept of a reasonable peace whilest he might haue it; especially against such an enemy, as whose whole power being turned against him, might haue easily endangered his whole estate. For it is not reasonably to be thought, how the Emperour should

of

of himselfe, without the great aid of the other Christian princes, his friends and allies, be able to withstand the huge and dreadfull power of the *Othoman* Emperour: as (without ominous presage be it spoken) it is to be feared it will too true appeare, whensoeuer his wars and troubles in the East being ended, he shall againe turne his forces this way towards the West.

Now *Botscay* was no sooner dead, but that some others of the Nobilitie both of Hungary and Transyluania (haply no lesse ambitious than was he) began by diuers means to seek after and to aspire to that principalitie. Of whom, though some other with the weakenesse of their owne meanes or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke deterred, ceased further to seeke after it: yet were there some others, who better supported, and nothing afraid of the Archdukes great words, laboured vnder hand to haue obtained it. For the crossing of whom, and the auoiding of further troubles to be raised by these ambitious competitors, certain of the Nobilitie of Transyluania gathered together at Claudianople the twelfth of February, made choice of *Sigismund Rogotsie* for their Gouernor and their Prince of Transyluania, and the more to assure him of their loue and affection towards him, bound themselues vnto him by the oath of their alleagance solemnely taken in the chiefe Church there. And afterward sent messengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna, to certifie him what they had done, and to excuse themselues thereof: who comming to Presburg the twelfth of March, there openly protested this election of *Ragotsie* for their Prince to haue been made, not for that they were about to rebell, or to reuolt from the Emperour, whom they would alwaies acknowledge for their Souereigne Lord; but for that their necessitie so required, many of the Nobilitie both of Transyluania and of Hungary gaping after this Principalitie, and going about, for the obtaining thereof, to raise new stirres and troubles. Howbeit, the same *Ragotsie* afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, besides the Emperors displeasure, to hold the same Principalitie, of his own accord about a yeare after, gaue the same vp againe, and got himselfe out of the way to Sarentum: who was no sooner gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to haue stept into his place: vnto whom the States of Transyluania sent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he should not seeke by force to intrude himselfe into the Principalitie, but quietly to come vnto the election, and not to bring with him aboue a thousand horsemen, and fiue hundred foot. 1607

Neuhusse again deliuered vnto the Emperour.

About this time the strong towne of Neuhusse (otherwise called Neuheusel) the last yeare so hardly won by the Hungarian Rebels, was againe deliuered to *Sigefrid Collonitz* for the Emperor; who shortly after comming to Vienna, brought news of a great number of the Turks to haue risen vp in rebellion at Belgrade, to haue rifled the town, and to haue burnt another town, called Alischria, downe to the ground, and so with a great prey to be gone ouer to the Rebels: and also *Redeius*, *Botscay* his Lieutenant, in going to take possession of certain lands giuen him by *Botscay*, to haue been by his owne tenants, lying in wait for him vpon a streit passage, slaine.

The Ianizaries in mutinie against the Bassa of Buda.

Amongst the articles of the peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutuall sending of Presents one of them vnto another: With which Presents, when as the Embassadour, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the same to Constantinople, from day to day deferred to set forward, the Turks and Tartars began to doubt, or else seemed to doubt of the good meaning of the Christians, for the obseruing of the aforesaid peace; and thereupon began againe not onely to roame abroad into the territories of the Christians, but also caused the pledges left at Buda for the obseruing of the peace, to bee hardly handled and clapt fast in prison: whom when as the Bassa of Buda shortly after suffered again a little to walke abroad, the proud Ianizaries were therewith so much offended, that rising in a tumult, they had almost slaine the Bassa with stones, heaping vpon him many reproachfull words, and vnto his face calling him traitor and betrayer of his Prince and countrey, one of which pledges they grieuously wounded also. Which their insolencie the Bassa in some sort to chastise, and to deterre them from doing the like againe, caused certaine of them the night following to be secretly taken, and being found, to bee so cast into the riuer of Danubius. And yet shortly after, they purposing to make a road vpon the Christians, to colour such harmes as they should therein doe, and to lay all the blame

blame therof vpon the Christians, and to excuse themselues, they procured the Bassa to write vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done vnto the Turkes by the Christians, when as there was no such thing at all. The effect of which letters were, That whereas it was in the articles of peace set down and agreed, that both parties should abstain from roads and excursions of each others countries; yet that the Christians for all that, had aboue an hundred times since the conclusion of the peace, made roads into diuers territories of the Turkes, and slaine many of them; especially them about Leoven and Setschin, who (as they said) had slain diuers Turkish merchants of Pesth, and tooke from them great sums of money; as they had also taken from them of Potsen an hundred and twenty horses, with diuers other cattell. Besides that, there were (as he said) four Turks more by the Christians slain neer vnto Canisia, and twenty eight more taken prisoners. And that in the mid way betwixt Hatwan and Buda, fiue and twenty Turks more were slaine, and their horses with all that they had beside caried away. Which things for that they tended to the breach of the peace, he could not (as he said) but aduertise his Highnesse of, for that he thought the Christian Captains vpon the borders of their territories to be men that hated peace, and to seeke by their excursions, as heretofore they had done, so now likewise, to disturbe this good worke begun, and by all sinister meanes to increase their own priuat profit. And that therefore seeing that he and the Turkes on their part, wished not to attempt or goe about any thing contrary to the Articles of the peace, that in like maner the Christians should also containe themselues within their owne bounds, and with all speed by Letters to giue him to vnderstand, whether they purposed to keep the peace or not.

The Grand Sultans proceedings against the Rebels in Asia.

The great Sultan (as is afore said) hauing made peace with the Christian Emperour, and now purposing to turne all his forces against his Rebels in Asia, and the Persian King (as wee haue oftentimes said) and desirous first to appease those his troubles at home, before hee had further to do with the Persian, he sent a messenger vnto the Bassa of Aleppo, to lay down arms and to deliuer vp his charge vnto another, to whom hee had appointed the same: promising, that if he would shew himselfe obedient vnto this his command, he would not onely pardon him all that was past, but receiue him into his grace and fauor also. Whereunto the Bassa answered, That he had neuer taken vp arms against his Maiestie, but to be reuenged of the Bassa's of Tripolis and Damasco his sworne enemies; who once taken out of the way, he would not only yeeld himselfe vnto his Maiestie, but deliuer also the tribute sent him from Caire and Alexandria, by him before intercepted; and if hee so pleased to imploy him, to bring great forces in his seruice against the Persian King. With which answer the Sultan not contented, shortly after sent the Visier Bassa with a great Army against the Rebels into Asia. Who by his wisedom and discretion, more than by force of arms, hauing appeased the rebels in the lesser Asia, and receiued certaine of the chiefest of them into his fauor; with an Army of an hundred and thirty thousand men marched directly toward Aleppo in Syria. Of whose comming the Bassa hauing intelligence, with an army of forty thousand men, most of them harquebusiers, went against him, and in a place of aduantage not past two miles from the city valiantly encountred him, and in three notable battels one after another withstood his whole forces. But making himselfe ready to haue incountred him the fourth time, and vnderstanding of great aid comming to the Visier from the Bassa's of Damasco and Tripolis, he with speed retyred: and returning into the City, hauing trussed vp his treasure, with such things as he made most reckoning of, fled into the mountains toward Persia, with the greatest part of his army yet left stil following him. After which vnfortunat battel, the Visier Bassa with his army comming vnto the city, at length by force tooke the same; and there to the terrour of the inhabitants, put to the sword all the garrison souldiers which the Bassa had left there.

But the Bassa purposing with new forces to haue encountred the Visier, finding himselfe together with his better fortune, vtterly forsaken by many of his former friends and Companions, thought it best at length to take his refuge vnto the mercy of the great Sultan. And so resolued, by Letters requested the Visier Bassa to write in his behalfe to the Sultan; and so if it were possible to procure his peace. Which the Visier hauing easily obtained, hee was by Letters from the great Sultan sent for to Constantinople; with assured promise, that hee should

ſhould be employed in ſeruice againſt the Perſian King. Vpon receipt of which letters, the Baſſa with an hundred horſe ſet forward; and comming to Conſtantinople, there in the preſence of many other of the Baſſaes humbled himſelfe vnto the Sultan; who not onely kept his promiſe with him in pardoning of him; but alſo in regard of the antient family whereof he was diſcended, as alſo of his great valour and faire conditions, receiued him againe into his fauour, and cauſed all the goods taken from him in Syria, to be againe vnto him reſtored.

Now in the meane time the Great Sultan had by the meanes of the great Cham of Tartarie ſought to make peace with the Perſian King; but all in vaine: for that he demanded the City of Tauris, with all the prouinces before taken from him by the Perſians, to be againe vnto him reſtored: which the Perſian King vtterly denied, foraſmuch as he had now by force of Armes recouered the ſame, and which in former time belonged vnto his anceſtours. At which time the ſaid Perſian King, the more to entangle the Turke, writ vnto the King of Spaine, for the turning of his forces alſo againſt the Turke their common enemy; the Letters being to this effect: That though they were in Religion diuided, yet that in power and in common hatred againſt the *Othoman* Empire they were conjoyned: and that hee conſidering the greatneſſe of his power and armes, whereby hee was become his neighbour in the Eaſt, he could not but moſt entirely loue and fauour him: and that therefore hee had commanded all his Prouinces, as well in India as in other places thereabouts, that they ſhould ſhew vnto his ſubjects all manner of courteſie, and to demand of them no tribute. And that he hauing by force racouered the fortreſſe of Aden, which *Solyman* the Turkiſh Sultan had ſometime by treaſon ſurpriſed, he had appointed the ſame vnto the ſeruice of the Spaniſh Gouernour dwelling in Goa. And that his pleaſure was, That all the Chriſtians dwelling in his Kingdome ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty and priuiledges which his owne faithfull ſubjects had. And beſides declared, that he had now for ſeuen yeares ſpace made continuall warres againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, who by treaſon had taken from him the ſtrong Towne of Chiamon, for the recouery whereof he had now diuers times ouerthrowne his Armies. But foraſmuch as he was determined to make no end of this warre, vntill he had driuen the Sultan out of thoſe parts of the Eaſt, and recouered the ſeat of *Iſmael* and *Iuchel*, his anceſtours in Babylon and Caire, he therefore requeſted him, being a King of ſo great power, to joyne in league with him, and to ſend his dreadfull fleet into the Perſian gulfe; promiſing that by ſuch meanes the *Othoman* power driuen out, he could eaſily make himſelfe Lord of Syria and of Ægypt. Laſt of all, he reckoneth vp the Preſents he ſent him; to wit, the Images of *Iſmael*, *Iuchel*, and of *Ionas*, together with his owne, caſt in gold, and ſet with moſt rich pretious ſtones and pearles; a Perſian writing table, garniſhed with faire pretious ſtones, foure dogs by nature wonderfully ſpotted with red, yellow, and blew ſpots, two peeces of Arras adorned with moſt pretious ſtones and pearle, wherein the worthy acts of him that great *Tamberlane* were liuely to be ſeene: foure hunters hornes very ſmooth and richly garniſhed: twelue moſt gallant plumes of feathers of diuers colours: ſix drinking glaſſes which could not be broken, and couchbeds ſo cunningly made, as that they were like vnto chaires, hauing wrought in them the antient wars betwixt *Aſcanius* and *Chiuſa* King of the Medes.

The States of Hungary about to depart from Presburg, by the perſuaſion of the Archbiſhop there ſtaied

Now the Emperour, for the better appeaſing of all former troubles, and the preuenting of new, and the better aſſurance of the State, had about the middeſt of Auguſt called an aſſembly of the States of Hungary to Presburg; whither they being come, and hauing long in vaine expected the comming of *Matthias* the Archduke, by the Emperour appointed to haue beene Preſident in that aſſembly, were in the beginning of September about to haue returned home, but that requeſted by the Archduke to ſtay yet fifteen daies longer, they were contented ſo to do; but yet vpon condition, That if the Archduke then came not, they ſhould not be bound to ſtay any longer: For why, they by Letters certified of the attempts of the Tartars (who had requeſted to haue a place in the borders of Hungary, appointed them to dwell in) were deſirous in any wiſe to haue that aſſembly of Parliament put off to a further time, that ſo they might the better betime preuent and meet with ſuch the Tartars deſignes, whom they were loth to haue for their bad and troubleſome neighbours. And now the Turks in the

meane time, in hope that the peace betwixt them and the Christians would not long hold, were come to Buda in such multitude, that the houses in the towne being not able to hold them, they were glad to set vp tents for them to lie in within the city: for that the Bassa would not suffer them to set vp any tents abroad in the fields, lest the Christians should suspect them to be about the raising of an army, and so disturbe the peace.

But the States of Hungary hauing staied full 15 daies, as the Archbishop had requested, and the Archduke not comming, made a solemne protestation before the Chapter of the Cathedrall church at Presburg, that they departed from Presburg, and so returned home, not vpon any discontentment or contumacy, but for want of things necessary, and other their vrgent occasions (hauing about seuen weekes expected the Archdukes comming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet that if it should please the Emperor by solemne summons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be ready vpon such summons giuen, to returne againe to Presburg, and there to consult of all such things, as should be for the good and welfare of the Common-weale: so that nothing were propounded contrary to the articles they the yeare before agreed vpon at Vienna, which they would haue in all points kept whole and inuiolate: so that if any man should goe about or attempt any thing in disposing and ordring of the publike affaires contrary to that agreement, they would not in any wise ratifie the same, although it were by the Emperor himselfe allowed: which their protestation they requested to haue registred, and sealed with the Chapters Seale, and so not hauing done any thing at all for which they came, againe returned.

After whose departure from Presburg, the Haiduckes (men vsed to liue by their swords, and not by their labour) of all others most discontented with this generall peace, began now to raise new stirres and tumults, and dayly to grow stronger and stronger, craving aid of the Turks and Tartars, and not of the other Hungarians their countrymen, now againe returned to their wonted allegiance vnto the Christian Emperour: a number of which Haiduckes flocking to Buda, the Bassa there with some other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders, entered into consultation what to doe with these so fit instruments for the troubling of the Christians, and the disturbing of the peace. To entertaine them he durst not, and to cast them off he was loth; but yet purposing to vse them and to set them a worke as occasion should serue, he to prepare an enterance thereunto, by Letters threatened them of Comara, that except they better kept the capitulations and articles of the late peace, they should shortly heare of new matters. But in the meane time Letters were sent from the great Sultan to the Bassa of Buda, with charge, that although the Christians were reported to encrease their strength, he should yet keep himself within his bounds, and to attempt nothing against them, except they should proceed to manifest force: in which case he should not faile by all lawfull meanes to reuenge himselfe. Which the Sultans mind once made know, the Turks again departed from Buda, most part of the great ordnance that they brought with them being carried backe againe to Sigeth.

The Bassa of Buda forbiddeth to make warres vpon the Christians.

But the States of Hungary, beeing returned home from Presburg, and againe assembled, the foureteenth day of October, by their generall consent, decreed, That Tokay should againe be joyned vnto their jurisdiction; and that the great ordnance throughout all the free cities should be remoued and carried home vnto the places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayuod of Transyluania should be admonished not to seperate Transyluania from Hungary: that the Bassa of Buda should be warned for to keepe his Turks within their owne bounds: and that the Nobility of Hungary should betime be admonished with all their force to represse the Haiduckes, and all other their enemies. Howbeit the Haiduckes proceeding in their insolent outrages more than before, tooke certaine forts, and with fire and sword spoyled many places of the Countrey, causing the people to sweare to be friends to them and the Turks, and enemies vnto the Germanes and Wallons: and demanding of *Humanoius* the Crowne wherewith *Botscay* had sometime beene rewarded from the Grand Seigniour, had a purpose to haue crowned him, or some other for their King: who for all that, by a messenger sent word vnto them, that he would not at their hands accept that dignity, but faithfully continue in his allegiance toward the Emperour. But

when

when the States of the vpper Hungary were about to haue gone against these seditious and rebellious people to haue surprised them; they were from so doing deterred by the Bassa of Agria, threatening with his Turks and Tartars to take their parts if they should once take vp armes against them.

About the same time six hundred Haiducks going to the castle of Saint *Andrew*, and comming thither, could not be let in by the garrison souldiers, as they had desired; and perceiuing them to make no reckoning of their seruice, could no longer hold, but openly professed themselues to become the great Sultans seruants: who from thence marching to Budnoc, tooke it by force, and ransacked it: and so still seeking after booty, ran out towards Tockay, where by the way they were in a streit by *Humanoius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and almost all slaine; who afterward sent two of the Turks ensignes, taken from them, to Vienna, and to the terrour of others, empailed some of them vpon stakes, being brought prisoners to Cassouia. For which vnfortunat expedition, some other of the Haiduckes lighting vpon two of the captains, who by chance had escaped out of *Humanoius* his hands, put them both to death for the euill leading of their fellowes, hanging vp the one, and with their swords hewing the other all to peeces. Now by the report of some of the prisoners there taken, it was known this new rebellion of the Haiducks to haue bin raised by the procurement of the Bassaes of Buda and Agria, who by their messengers had promised vnto them all helpe. Which report to haue been true, the euent did shortly after confirme, for the 27 day of Nouember almost 15000 of these Haiducks hauing before receiued from the great Sultan 300000 duckats for pay, came and most streightly besieged Filek, a strong castle, the Turks sending them great ordnance from Agria; vnto whom these Haiducks had promised to deliuer all such places as they should win. Howbeit, the euent of this siege answered not to their desire: for *Thomas Bosnias*, Captaine of Filek, with his garrison all of Germane souldiers, so valiantly repulsed them, and the extremity of the Winter weather so distressed them, that they were glad to raise their siege, and be gone.

Six hundred Haiducks intercepted by Humanoius.

Now much about the same time, *viz.* about the beginning of Nouember, a great fire arose at Constantinople, wherein almost fiue hundred shops of wares with many other faire buildings were burnt, so that the harme there by fire done was esteemed to amount to aboue two millions of gold.

A great fire at Constantinople.

At the same time that the assembly of the States of Hungary should haue been holden at Presburg (as is before declared) the Emperor had appointed also another assembly of the nobility and States of Austria to be holden at Vienna; where after they were assembled, certain articles were vnto them on the Emperors behalfe propounded for them in that assembly then to consider of: as first, that for the keeping of the frontiers of Austria in quiet, the contribution by them granted amongst themselues the last yeare, should this yeare following be doubled. Then, That if it should fortune the enemy to attempt any thing of new against that Prouince, that in stead of the horses and money which they were woont to send vnto the warres, they should for the space of twelue moneths, or of the greatest part thereof, as occasion should require, of their owne costs maintaine ten companies of German footmen, euery company being three hundred strong; and as many troupes of Germane horsemen, euery troupe consisting of an hundred horse. And, that if for the better defence of the borders of Austria there should happily need a greater strength, the same should be raised in no other sort than was vsed in Hungary, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it should continue peace, these charges should be conuerted to the payment of the souldiers wages: And that the States & other subjects of that Prouince should so much as might be, be eased from the trouble of sending either of horse or foot for the defence of the frontiers. Thirdly, That Commissioners should be maintained this yeare also to attend the army, and certaine skilfull Captaines appointed for the chusing of a fit Generall for the army. That diligent regard and care should be had for the prouision of corne and victuals for the vse of the people in generall, as well in the time of peace as of warre. And that forasmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common weale, to haue the frontiers of the country toward Canisia diligently viewed, for feare of the Turks great garrison there still lying, that therefore certaine good and expert souldiers, which knew those places well, should be chosen, who toge-

ther with the Deputies of the Emperour, Hungarians, and Stirians, riding about these confines should forthwith consider what were best to be done for the safety thereof. In briefe, seeing that of the safety of Rab, the welfare of the city of Vienna and of the forts thereabouts depended, that for the repairing of the fortifications thereof, and the better strengthening of the same, the summe of foure thousand florins should be appointed: and for the defence of the frontiers of Austria from the incursion of the Turks garrison of Canisia, fiue thousand: and for the furthering of the buildings at Nustorfe, fiue thousand moe should be paied: and that those who hitherto had beene slacke in paying of their contribution mony, should forthwith be enforced to pay the same. And also that it might be considered of, how that too much inhauncing of the value of monies might be restrained: that good orders might be kept; all the country cleared from the roberies of the souldiers, stragling here and there vp and downe the same: that the counterfeit Hungarian and Polonian mony should be prohibited, as not currant: that good order might be taken for the staying of the Plague, which then began in many places in Austria.

Concerning which Articles, when as the States there assembled complained, all that country to be with the long wars against the Turke, the incursions of the Rebels, and the outrages of the mutinous souldiers, already almost exhausted, and miserably bared of mony; no resolution could then, according as the necessity required, be made, but was vnto a further time deferred, and the assembly broken vp.

1608 *A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at Ratisbone.*

The Emperour at the same time appointed a Diet of the Empire to be holden at Ratisbone: wherin he hauing appointed *Ferdinand* Archduke of Austria, to be chiefe in his place, he with a notable traine of seuen hundred horse, and a gallant guard of footmen, came thither the eight and twentieth of Nouember, and was there by the citisens honourably receiued. Vnto which assembly, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were in great number come, at length the twelfth of Ianuary Diuine seruice being done in the Cathedrall Church, *Ferdinand* the Archduke, with his Courtiers, the Emperours Counsellors, and other the Princes deputies being there present, taking horse before the Church, with a great company of the Nobility and Princes deputies following of him, went to the Court; the citisens in their armes standing on both sides: where *Godfrey Ortelius* the Emperours Secretary hauing in a notable Oration set forth the Emperours loue and affection towards the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire; and why, the Emperour K himselfe could not be present at this assembly, as willingly he would haue been; he propounded in his name fiue Articles for them in this their assembly to be especially considered of. First, how the Empire might hereafter be preserued and defended against the violence of the Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement stirred vp in Hungary, to the endangering of the whole Empire; especially seeing that the Turks themselues (with whom the peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than sufficiently declared what trust or credit was to be giuen vnto them: and seeing that it is most manifest, them therein to haue sought for nothing else, than that hauing made or rather counterfeited a peace with the Christians for a time, for the suppressing of the Rebels, and the repressing of the inuasion of the Persians, they might after such victory against them obtained, come L better prouided, and stronger to ouercome the Christians. Which was easie to be seene: for that whilest they were yet intreating of peace, they had taken Strigonium, and hauing concluded peace, they ceased not as yet with their counsell and aid to helpe the Rebels in their rebellious tumults: which was manifestly to be perceiued by the Haiduckes themselues, who were not ashamed openly to professe themselues to be the great Sultans seruants, to require Cities and Fortresses to be yeelded vnto the Sultan, and to conspire against the very name of the Germanes. For the speedy remedy of which mischiefe, the Emperour had thought good, that consideration of this point should so bee had, as that the Princes should either consent vnto a certaine standing and perpetuall contribution, whereby a sufficient strength might alwaies bee ready, wherewith to withstand the enemies attempts: or M else that for certaine yeares twenty thousand footmeen and foure thousand horse might there be still in readinesse, to be maintained at the common charges of the Empire; which the Emperour (need so requiring) might vse against the common enemy. Or that if this

were

A were heauy or troubleſome vnto the States of the Empire, yet at leaſt they ſhould conſent yearely to contribute ſuch money as might ſuffice for the ſuſtayning of ſuch a power. Another poynt of this concluſion, was about the correcting and reforming of the adminiſtration of Iuſtice in the Imperiall Chamber. For ſeeing that in the former aſſemblies and meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reaſon of certaine hinderances and impediments which then fell out, and that without the due adminiſtration and execution of Iuſtice no Empire could long ſtand or flouriſh, no more than the World could without the Sunne; his Imperiall Majeſty therefore would not haue the deliberation of this ſo neceſſary a point to be put off or referred vnto any other aſſembly, but to bee done and concluded in this preſent aſſembly. The third point to be conſidered of, was the warre which
B hath beene now ſo many yeares made in the Low-Countries, and the inconueniencie thereof redounding vnto the Empire. For whereas in the treaty of peace in the Low-Countries, (at which treaty both hee and the whole Empire ought to haue beene there preſent) for the better concluding and ending of the ſame, hee had heard the confederate Princes to be now acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as hee ſaid) forbeare, but that (ſeeing the Low-Countries to be a member and free of the Empire, and by the antient Records of the Empire, and of the Emperours, and by many other proofes it appeareth, the Gouernours of the Low-Countries to haue beene vaſſals of the Empire) he ſhould by Letters which were written vnto the King of Spaine, the Archduke *Albertus*, and the States of
C the confederate Prouinces, admoniſh them, That they ſhould not proceed to doe or determine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or prejudice of the Emperour, of the Empire, and of the houſe of Auſtria. And foraſmuch as that warre in the Low-Countries had hitherto done no ſmall harme vnto the Empire, if happily it could not be agreed vpon betweene the parties, and that it ſhould happen the ſame warre to be any longer continued, or rather againe renewed, it ſhould then bee conſidered vpon, how the Empire might be ſatisfied for the great harme it had vntill this preſent thereby receiued, and how it might be from the like harme hereafter kept and preſerued. The fourth point in this conſultation, which was to be conſidered of, concerned the coyne. For whereas it is manifeſt, that the value of the mony to bee dayly more and more inhaunſed and rayſed, and that thereby not onely the Magiſtrates in the publique receipt, but the ſubjects alſo in ge-
D nerall receiued great and manifeſt harme, foraſmuch as the price of ſuch neceſſary things which wee muſt in this life haue ordinary vſe of, muſt of neceſſity be ſtill more and more encreaſed, according to the value of the money, the Emperour thought good with mature deliberation to remedy this miſchiefe in this preſent aſſembly of the Empire. The fifth and laſt point which was to be conſidered vpon, was the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire, for the giuing vnto euery man that which of due belongeth vnto him: the perfecting of which Matriculer, the Emperour would haue in this aſſembly to be amongſt them conſidered of.

Which articles thus propounded, there fell a great contouerſie amongſt the Deputies of the Princes concerning the manner of their proceedings in theſe matters: as whether they ſhould conſider of theſe articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, or otherwiſe. And when as many thought it beſt firſt to conſider of the article, for the reformation of Iuſtice, being the ſecond article propounded to be conſidered of, and afterwards to come vnto the reſt of the articles to be afterward conſulted of: when as the two and twentieth day of Ianuary they came againe to Counſell, a writing was by the Emperours command read vnto them, whereby it was ſignified vnto the States of the Empire; the rebellious tumults by *Botſcay* and ſome others raiſed in Hungary to be yet by the Haiduckes continued, the Sultan himſelfe ſending of them rewards, and furniſhing them with ordnance and other things neceſſary for the warres, by the Gouernour of Agria, and the Baſſa of Buda, threatening all extremities vnto them which ſhould go about to reſiſt them; and then augmenting the danger which thereby might enſue vnto the Empire, and eſpecially vnto the Germane name, ſeeing that it was manifeſt thoſe rebellious Haiducks to haue eſpecially conſpired the deſtruction of the Germanes, and to haue confirmed that their league, by drinking of an health: It was requeſted, that leauing off theſe contentions, for the manner of their proceeding, they

would turne their conſultations vnto the firſt article, and reſolue how remedy might in time bee giuen vnto this miſchiefe, and how aid might be ſent vnto the Emperour againſt his enemies.

The Deputies for the States of the Empire, in the aſſembly at Ratisbone, at variãce among themſelues.

But when as in their often meetings, nothing could be concluded, by reaſon of the diuers and different opinions betwixt the Proteſtants and Catholickes, *Ferdinand* the Archduke againe calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperiall cities, cauſed it by Letters to be declared vnto them, How that the Emperour not without his great griefe and ſorrow had heard, That for certaine diſſention among them they could not yet come to conſult of the articles propounded in that aſſembly, to be by them conſidered of, but to his great griefe to be from day to day protracted: and that therefore he requeſted them, That either they themſelues would quietly end thoſe diſſentions amongſt themſelues, or elſe ſend their differences conceiued in writing vnto the Emperour to be decided, and ſo to come at length effectually to conſult of the propounded articles. And indeed the Deputies aforeſaid had in writing before exhibited their mindes concerning that point, for the manner of their proceeding, vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*. But foraſmuch as that writing was according to the manner of the Catholickes and the Proteſtants, of two different ſorts; the former thinking it meet to conſult of the aforeſaid article in ſuch order as they were propounded; and firſt of all, to conſider of the contribution to be giuen againſt the Turks, and other enemies in Hungary; but the other labouring, firſt for the reformation of Iuſtice, and the confirmation of the peace of Religion: and afterward to prouide for aid againſt the forreine enemies, that ſo remedy might firſt be prouided for inward, then for outward griefes; eſpecially ſeeing that they had no expreſſe commandement firſt to determine of the contribution. Vnto whom the Archduke by writing againe anſwered, That he had receiued no other inſtruction from the Emperour, than that he ſhould conſult of the aforeſaid articles, with the Deputies there preſent, in ſuch order as they were propounded: Neither that it was conuenient, that the firſt article concerning contribution being neglected, they ſhould proceed vnto the ſecond, ſeeing that the enemies might eaſily, by the delay of putting off the ſame in effect, take occaſion in the meane time to do the Chriſtians great harme. Beſides that, that he had ſufficiently proteſted, That conſultation concerning the reformation of Iuſtice ſhould in this preſent aſſembly bee had alſo; neither that it was the Emperours minde to haue it deferred vnto any other aſſembly. Whereunto he exhorted the Proteſtants, That they ſhould forthwith endeauour by their Letters vnto the Electors and Princes, and other their ſuperiours, to obtaine leaue, that they might firſt determine ſome certainty about the firſt article concerning contribution; that ſo giuing way to the opinion of the other party, they might inſtantly prepare themſelues for the making of the contribution. Howbeit, this his perſuaſion preuailed nothing, by reaſon of their diſcord and diſſention about the order of their conſultation; the one part ſtill labouring for the contribution to be firſt agreed vpon, and the other part holding as hard for the reformation of Iuſtice, ſo that *Ferdinand* the Archduke out of hope of concluding any thing that good was, not in vaine to ſpend his coſt and time any longer, the fifth of May diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and returned home, as did all the reſt of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one article that was propounded being ſo much as once reaſoned of, but all left vndecided: ſo ſmall care was there of the common good, either for the raiſing of money for the withſtanding of the Turks and Rebels, or for the reformation of Iuſtice; the neceſſity of both, either on the one ſide or the other, ſo hardly vrged, and yet in concluſion be neither reſpected or regarded.

The Diet broke off, and nothing concluded.

Matthias the Archduke commeth to Preſburg.

Whileſt the Diet to no purpoſe (as is aforeſaid) was by the Archduke *Ferdinand* holden at Ratisbone, *Matthias* the Archduke with a great traine following of him, came in the meane time to Presburg, where he was with much joy and triumph receiued; the garriſon ſouldiers in order ſtanding on both ſides the way as he went vnto the Caſtle: *Napragius* the Biſhop of Rab, with an eloquent Oration welcomming of him, in the preſence of certaine of the Hungarian Nobility, who had gone out as far as Hainburg to meet him, and now alſo honourably welcommed him, much rejoycing at his comming. The next day the Archbiſhop and Cardinall of Strigonium with a notable traine of Hungarian Gentlemen came to Presburg:

A Presburg: who forthwith receiued into the Caſtle, and hauing ſaluted the Archduke, conferred with him of many things in this aſſembly to be conferred of. In the meane time *Illiſhaſchius* (that noble Hungarian of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) arriued there alſo with twelue coaches, ninety harquebuſiers, and forty Hungarian horſemen going before him, and three hundred Haiducks which had attended vpon him, being at the gate diſmiſſed. So the chiefe of the Hungarian States being come, the conſultation was begun the three and twentieth day of Ianuary: where when as the Archduke had propounded vnto the Hungarian Nobility, what things they were eſpecially to conſider of; it was by them anſwered, The Haiducks before their comming out, to haue determined, not one whit to depart from the articles the yeare before propounded and agreed of at Vienna; nor to admit any limitation
B at all of them: ſo that for the appeaſing of the tumults of the Haiduckes, there was no need of any new conſultation, but onely to confirme ſuch things as was then and there conſulted and agreed vpon. From which their reſolution when as the Hungarians were not to be remoued, and being grieued with the ſcoffing at of certaine of the Clergy (thereupon refuſing in any wiſe to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinall in the caſtle) were about againe to depart; making a ſolemne proteſtation, themſelues to be guiltleſſe of ſuch harmes as ſhould thereof afterwards enſue; it was at length on all parts agreed vpon, That the whole matter ſhould be committed vnto ten choſen out of the Hungarian Counſellors, and ten moe of the Counſellors of Auſtria, to be conſulted and determined of. By whom being met all together the eight and twentieth of Ianuary in the houſe of *Illiſhaſchius*, it was
C concluded, That ſeeing that peace and quietneſſe in thoſe countries of Hungary and Auſtria could not otherwiſe be made, that thoſe articles and conditions, concerning which no agreement could the yeare before be made in the treaty at Vienna, being quite left off and neglected, the reſt of the articles which were there agreed vpon, ſhould be ſtill entirely obſerued and kept: and that it ſhould be lawfull for euery man to haue the free exerciſe of his Religion. Which thing the Commiſſioners of Auſtria by a ſpeciall writing there confirmed vnto the Hungarians. Whereby they declared themſelues after long and mature deliberation, to haue perceiued not onely by the true relation and report of the Hungarians, but alſo by their owne experience, vnto how great inconueniences the whole Kingdome of Hungary hath of long beene expoſed, as well for the warres it hath had with the common enemy of the Chriſtians, as for diuers the ciuile tumults and ſeditions therein; and that therefore they not
D willing that ſuch harmes ſhould in thoſe countries againe encreaſe and grow, to the infinite effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, after the articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna, ſaw no other better remedy for theſe ſo great inconueniences, than that all parties ſhould ſtill hold themſelues contented with the ſame articles of Pacification concluded and agreed vpon in the ſaid aſſembly at Vienna. And that therefore they had decreed, thoſe articles to be ſincerely and inuiolately kept: and promiſed vnto the States of Hungary, to giue their aid for the defence of theſe articles, againſt all their enemies, being ready to giue good reaſon thereof before God, the Church, the Emperour *Rodolph*, the Archduke *Matthias*, and his other brethren, and all the Houſe of Auſtria, as the neceſſity of thoſe Countries ſhould ſeeme to
E require: hoping alſo that the States of Hungary would reſt themſelues likewiſe in that Pacification of Vienna, and the aſſurance thereof, in all points obſeruing the ſame; and that they would alwaies giue their ready helpe and aid vnto the Countries of Auſtria, againſt their enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed vpon and determined, Letters of Confederation were in the name of *Matthias* the Archduke, and of all as well the Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall States of Hungary and Auſtria, to this purpoſe written, That whereas for the appeaſing and ſuppreſſing of the tumults and ſeditions which the Haiducks by the inſtigation of the Turks had of late not doubted to raiſe, for the concluding of peace with the Great Sultan; they were met together at Presburg, and therein altogether buſied,
F to deuiſe how the Kingdome of Hungary, with the Countries adjoyning, might from deſtruction be deliuered, the Chriſtian Religion preſerued, and from waſting and ſpoyling, whereunto they had hitherto beene expoſed, ſaued: Vpon mature deliberation, had as well in the name of them that were preſent, as of them that were abſent, made ſuch a Confederation and League; That if hereafter it ſhould fortune any detriment of Warre to be by any

Commiſſioners appointed for the appeaſing of the new troubles in Hungary.

Letters of Confederation betwixt the States of Auſtria and Hungary, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna.

any man made or done vnto the Hungarians, or the countries thereabout, for the aforesaid article of Pacification, which they had determined religiously to keep, that they would forthwith with their vnited forces come to aid their confederat brethren, and together with them to liue or die.

With these letters signed and sealed with the hand of the Archduke, and of the Noblemen there present, the first of February, *Illishaschius* with *George Turson*, were sent vnto the tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their messages to be sent vnto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to craue their aid) to dissuade them from such their purpose, and to persuade them to quietnesse; threatening them withall, That if they would not hearken to such honest conditions, they should altogether, and at once, be set vpon and oppressed by the whole power of the States.

The Assembly at Presburg thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to Vienna, and forthwith calling together the States of Enseric, declared vnto them all that was done in the Assembly at Presburg. And for as much as that assembly was chiefely to that end appointed, That the Kingdome of Hungary should not altogether be pluckt away from the Empire; and that after the reuolt thereof, the greatest harme to be done by the incursions and spoyling of the enemies, would lie vpon the countries of Austria; he aduised them so to looke vnto themselues, and carefully to prouinde for the Common-weale, as that hauing mony alwaies in readinesse to maintaine an army, they might with all conuenient speed go to meet with the Haiducks, if haply they would not conforme themselues vnto the Articles of Pacification, but againe raise new broiles; that so they might defend and preserue their Country from their outrages.

The Prince of Valachia dieth; whose widow notably preserueth the Country for her son.

About the begining of this Spring, when as *Ierome* Prince of Valachia was dead, leauing behind him a sonne but thirteene yeares old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the gouernment, vnder Tutors, vnto the succession of his heritage. Which thing the Valachians being by no meanes willing to endure, and bearing themselues vpon the helpe of the Turks, went about to make choice of another in stead of their Prince of late dead. For which cause, the Princesse widow by letters certified *Polloscie* her sonne in law, of this outrage and injury of her subjects: and hauing obtained of him a great summe of mony, and therewith raised an army of ten thousand good souldiers, went forth against the Valachians, and in open field ouercame them in so bloudy and terrible a battell, that hauing slaine fiue thousand of the Valachians and Turks, she had ouer them a notable victory, and by that means preserued the principality of that country for her son.

The Duke of Florence in vaine requested by the Turks to spare their gallies.

The Great Duke of Florence had hitherto done great harme with his fleet vnto the Turks in the Mediterranean sea: for which cause a messenger about this time comming vnto him in the Great Sultans name, promised him great matters, if he would from thenceforth forbeare to hurt and pursue the Turks Gallies. Which his request serued the Turks to no other purpose, but as it were to put oyle vnto the fire. For the Duke afterward caused new Gallies to be made, and his fleet encreased, and therewith did more harme than formerly he had done.

The Haiduckes refuse to admit of the Pacification made at Vienna.

Now although that after the ending of the Assembly at Presburg, *Illishaschius* and *George Turson* had deliuered vnto the Haiduckes the Articles of the Pacification, and commanded them from thenceforth to keepe themselues quiet; yet for all that, could they not yet be persuaded to hearken vnto such their counsell: for that they being men still accustomed to the wars, and liuing by their swords, could not endure to fall to Husbandry, and such other labours. For which cause they of the country about Gymeric, writ vnto them which dwelt in the country about Nusol, letters to this effect: That forasmuch as they being diuers times certified of the miserable estate of their neighbours, had refused to come to aid them, they should yet now remember how necessary a thing it were, with their conjoyned minds and forces to helpe one another; for that the Haiduckes hauing now passed the riuer of Teise, were broken into that Prouince, and were run as far as Budnoc: neither were they minded so to stay, but to rob and spoile all the country before them, if they were not with speed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few daies before, they had receiued thirty thousand Hungarian Duckats from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with

horses

horſes and other gifts to be diuided among their leaders and captaines; and moreouer, dayly expected aid from the Tartars, who in great number lay about Belgrade. Wherefore ſeeing it could not be expreſſed, what great harme and loſſe was by the Haiducks done, as well vnto the Noblemen themſelues, as to the common country-men; that they ſhould therefore thereof giue their neighbours to vnderſtand, and with all ſpeed to take vp armes againſt the ſame rebellious Haiducks.

Not long after, about the later end of March, Proclamation was made by the commandement of *Matthias* the Archduke, throughout all Auſtria, That euery man ſhould prouide himſelfe to take vp armes. The cauſe whereof men diuerſly ſuſpected: howbeit that vnto this Proclamation was this reaſon joyned, That the Archduke was determined himſelfe to go about the 14 of Aprill into Morauia, and there to gather together all his power, as well Hungarians, as Auſtrians and Haiducks, for the war he was to take in hand. There were alſo Letters in the Archdukes name ſent vnto the Vaſſals of Auſtria, to giue them to vnderſtand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of peace, and defence of theſe countries, had of late beene decreed at Presburg; and that all the States of Enſeric had approoued the report thereof receiued from their Deputies, and ſo promiſed their helpe and aid vnto the Archduke, as if that he himſelfe would take in hand any expedition, they would joyne themſelues vnto him, and together with him to liue or die: yet that there were ſome, which being more deſirous of war than peace, did not only not reſt vpon the former pacification, but gathered an army alſo in the borders of Morauia, with a purpoſe to make an inroad as well into Morauia, as into Auſtria it ſelfe. For which cauſe the States of Morauia were alſo enforced, for defence of themſelues to raiſe an army, and to craue helpe from their neighbors. And that therefore ſeeing the Archduke, mindefull of his promiſe for the common defence of the country, was reſolued to beſtow his life and all his fortunes, and in his owne perſon to vndertake an expedition into thoſe places from whence the greateſt danger was to be feared to fall vpon thoſe countries; neceſſity then required, that the States themſelues alſo ſhould ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their behalfe, but euery one of them together with their ſeruants forthwith to joyne themſelues vnto the Archduke, and to the vttermoſt of their power to endeauor themſelues to deliuer them and theirs from death and deſtruction. That God, in whoſe name this expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the louers of peace, might ſo in ſhort time make an end of all tumults, and grant vnto thoſe countries wiſhed peace and quietneſſe. And that therefore they were to be admoniſhed, That according to the tenor of the Decree made at Presburg, they with ſuch a number of horſe and foot as they could vpon the ſudden raiſe at a day to be ſhortly after vnto them named, ſhould joyne themſelues vnto the Archduke, and not to ſuffer any thing to let them in ſo doing. So that if haply any chance or ſickeneſſe ſhould happen vnto their Generall, yet notwithſtanding that they ſhould ſend their power vnder the leading of ſome other man, ſeeing that the Archduke himſelfe ſpared not to aduenture his life and fortunes, and (if God ſhould ſee it ſo good) account it a great gaine euen to loſe the ſame, ſo that thereby he might do his country good.

The Archduke Matthias prepareth himſelfe for his expedition into Morauia.

About the beginning of Aprill, the Cardinall returning from Prague to Vienna, brought with him the Emperors anſwer and reſolution, *viz.* That he did ratifie and confirme all things that were done and concluded with the Hungarians and Turks; but that his will was, That the confederation made betwixt the States of Hungary and Auſtria at Presburg, ſhould be void and of none effect. Which the Archduke proteſting that he could by no means like of, or ſuffer to be don, he the 15 of Aprill afterwards with a great number of the Peers, Nobility, and Counſellors, and a multitude of good ſouldiers, going out of Vienna towards the monaſtery of Neoburg, ſet forward vpon his journy, carrying with him eight and twenty pieces of ordnance, there expecting his ſouldiers in all places leuied: by publike Letters proteſting, That no man ſhould from his army receiue any harme; or if that by chance any harme were done vnto any man by his army, aſſuring his ſubjects it ſhould be againe vnto them reſtored and recompenſed.

But the rumor of this expedition being brought into Bohemia, the Nobility of ths country began to aſſemble themſelues the fifteenth day of Aprill; whither when as many of the Deputies of the other Countries were aſſembled alſo, it being decreed, That the Nobility of

of the faithfull States there preſent, ſhould with all ſpeed returne home, and ſo prouide themſelues and their ſubjects of neceſſary armes; that, need ſo requiring, they ſhould therewith be able to defend themſelues and their countrey, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed. Beſides that, the Emperor himſelfe carefull for all euents, cauſed many both horſe and foot, to be brought to Prague, and be diuerſly bilited in the Citiſens houſes: and furthermore, the eighteenth of Aprill, by letters directed vnto certaine Princes of the Empire, and to certaine Earles alſo, citiſens, and other vaſſals of the Kingdome of Bohemia, warned them with all ſpeed to ſend aid vnto him at Prague. G

The Archduke Matthias with an army commeth to Zname in Morania.

But *Matthias* the Archduke in the meane time marching forward with an army of twenty thouſand horſe and foot, the foure and twentieth day of Aprill came to Zname, a city of Morauia; and was there, by the States of Morauia (who the day before were come thither alſo with foure hundred horſe) honourably receiued and brought into the City. From thence ſending out letters into the territories of Bohemia, and to the city of Prague, he requeſted, That they would ſend out of euery place two deputies for them, vnto the aſſembly to be holden at Zaſlauia, the fourth day of May: promiſing withall, That hee himſelfe there being preſent, would yeeld vnto their deputies a reaſon of his doings, as alſo what he meant to do hereafter. Beſides that, he by letters ſent vnto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cauſe why he was enforced to make this expedition: and withall ſending vnto them a copy of the agreement made at Vienna, the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1606, by the common conſent of the Archdukes; in moſt friendly manner requeſted them, That they would not intermeddle in this buſineſſe, but rather with their counſell and aid to further the ſame. H I

But the three and twentieth day of Aprill, the Emperor ſent the Popes Embaſſadors, with the Embaſſadors of diuers other Princes and States, then lying at Prague with ſundry of the Bohemian Miniſters, in Embaſſage to the Archduke *Matthias*, ſtill lying at Zname: whom the Cardinal the next day after followed alſo, to make ſome good pacification, if it were poſſible, with the Archduke. But the Emperor in the meane time calling vnto him the counſellors of the old and new towne of Prague (contrary to his wonted manner) moſt courteouſly with his owne hand receiued them, and giuing them thanks for the faithfull duties by them hitherto performed; requeſted them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelity and loyalty alſo: moſt liberally promiſing vnto them all kindneſſe, with the reſtitution of the priuiledges concerning the ſhutting of the gates of the city: which liberty they had before loſt in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a generall muſter was taken, not only in the city of Prague, and the townes thereabouts, but alſo throughout all the Kingdome of Bohemia, and three hundred musketiers appointed for the gard and keeping of the caſtle, vnder the command of Count *Solmes*, who had commiſſion for the raiſing of other ſouldiers alſo. K

The Tartar Cham dieth.

At the very ſame time it was from Conſtantinople certainely reported, the Tartar Cham to haue died, and the Turkiſh Sultan hauing receiued newes thereof, to haue diſmiſſed his ſonne, whom he hitherto had detained as a pledge, and with diuers ſhips and gallies, to haue cauſed him to be tranſported ouer the Blacke Sea, vnto the borders of Tartary, there to take poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome. It was alſo then reported, certaine of the ſeditious Turks making of a road, to haue ſurpriſed Smirna, a rich city of Aſia, and to haue forraged all the country about it farre and neere, and comming vnto Magneſia, a chiefe city of that Country, to haue had ten thouſand crownes by the inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to ſpare the Country thereabouts. The Perſian King alſo at the ſame time notably to proceed in his warres, and to do the Turks great harme, the Turks and Tartars ſeeking in vaine to withſtand him. L

In the meane time Embaſſadours comming vnto Prague from the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, part of them the ninth of May, went vnto the Archduke *Matthias* to Zaſlauia, who ſtill lay there encamped with an army of fiue and twenty thouſand men: of whom they requeſted a truce for the ſpace of eight daies, for the making of a Pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this buſineſſe, eaſily obtained the ſame, eſpecially ſeeing that thoſe Princes Electors, being joyned and bound vnto the Empe- M

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rour in a double confederation, as well for their Electorship, as in respect of the Kingdome of Bohemia, could not, as they said, otherwise do, but sent present aid vnto the Emperor his necessity so requiring; to which end they had now in readinesse certaine thousands of souldiers in the frontiers of their countries, to be forthwith sent vnto him: The other part of these Embassadors in the meane time staying with the Emperor, where after the German manner they were all prouided of good cheere and wine.

Matthias the Archduke marcheth towards Prague.

About the seuenteenth of May *Matthias* the Archduke with eighteene thousand men rose and marched towards Prague, *Collonits* with the rest of his army following him. And although that the Archduke had seuerely commanded his souldiers to abstaine from robbing, spoyling and, burning of the Country, and had diuers times seuerely punished some offenders therein, by hanging of some, and heading of others, yet could he by no meanes so restraine them, and keepe them in, but that some of them would sometimes be straggling abroad, and doing harme, especially the Hungarians, who were still running out euen as far as the Emperors campe, and the new city of Prague. Whom for all that, the Emperours souldiers (being then twenty thousand strong) would not meddle withall, being so commanded by the Emperour. Howbeit some of these straglers going too farre abroad into the country, were by the countrymen cut off and slaine.

The three and twentieth day of May an assembly of the States of Bohemia was called at Prague, the Emperour himselfe being there present; *Adam Waldsteine* carrying the drawne sword before him. In which assembly the Nobility and States of the country with one consent promised to spend their goods and liues in the Emperours quarrell; yet in the meane time requested these things following to be granted and confirmed vnto them: *viz.* That Religion according to the confession of Bohemia and Augusta should inuiolately be kept, and that they which professed the one, should not therefore scoffe or despise the other. That Bohemians only should be preferred to Archbishopricks, Abbotships, and other spirituall preferments. That the Archbishop should not meddle with ciuill and politicall affaires. That Ecclesiasticall offices should be permitted vnto the Protestant Ministers, as in former time, the Catholicks in the mean time holding what they had. That the Pontificall dispensation in causes of Matrimony, according to the Decree of the assembly holden in the yeare 1602, should be abrogated and taken away. That it should not be lawfull for Priests and other Ecclesiasticall persons to buy lands or territories, without the expresse consent of all the three States, but to hold themselues contented with their tythes and other their reuenues. That it should be lawfull for all men in their own ground and territories to build Churches for Religion, on both sides. That Protestants and Patrons of the Vniuersity of Prague should be joyned to the Consistory, as they were in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. That one should be chosen for Burgraue in this assembly. That chiefe politicall offices should not be left void aboue a month. That vnto these politicall offices men of both religions should be admitted: so that if the Burgraue were a Catholike, the chiefe judge should be a Protestant. That euery man should enjoy his right, and that no Decree should be published against the same: neither that they which were of the Order of Knights should be rashly sued, or bound to any arrest. That one of the Bohemians should alwaies be chosen into the secret Counsell, and made acquainted with the Bohemian affaires. That euery man might haue accesse vnto the Emperor, and not all things to be done by his Counsellors. That it should be declared to all men, what was to be vnderstood by the crime of treason. That a difference should be made betwixt offences: and that no man should for any light offence, together with his goods, lose his life and reputation. That the suits of widows, orphans, and others also, should with expedition be dispatched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the father should not be bound to pay the sons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the son himselfe. That in politicall offices men should not be too much grieued with too heauy exactions. That men sued should not be summoned but in good tearms, and that such as were in any reputation be bound to any arrest, without the hearing of their cause, and much lesse to be imprisoned. That the sword vpon frowardnesse or madnesse taken out of the Church of Thine certaine yeres before, should be againe set in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded mens causes, should be contented with such fees as were by common Decres appointed them.

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And last of all to conclude, they in any wise requested the Emperour, that it would please him to ease the Nobility and States of Bohemia of these griefes, before they were compelled to answer vnto such things as were to be propounded vnto them on his behalfe. Who easily granted vnto most of these articles, those which concerned Religion only excepted; so that the Senators of the old towne of Prague obtained the desired sword to be againe forthwith set in the wonted place. But as for the businesse of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred vnto the next assembly to be holden at the feast of Saint *Michael*.

About the end of May the Archduke *Matthias* his Embassadors hauing receiued safe conduct from the Emperor and the Nobility of the kingdome of Bohemia, came to Prague: and being admitted into the councell of the Nobility, *Charles* Count *Tseratin* to whom that charge was giuen, hauing in the Archdukes name first saluted the Nobility, caused what he and the rest had in charge, to be before them out of a long writing in the Bohemian tongue read: which done, when as, the Nobility so requiring, they were put aside, and almost an houre after were called againe, they receiued answer, That the points of the Embassage by them propounded, were greater and of more weight than that sufficient deliberation could thereof in so short a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobility thought meet, that Commissioners on both sides meeting together in the open field neere vnto Debritse should there consult of these articles, and by the consent of the Emperor and Archduke to do what they might to end the matter. Vnto which answer the Archdukes Embassadors consenting, the ninth of Iune returned againe vnto the campe. The Emperours Embassadors within two daies after with forty coaches and an hundred horse following them vnto the place appointed: who oftentimes going to and fro, at length so wrought the matter on both sides, that the businesse quietly and friendly ended, they were againe made friends.

The articles of which pacification and agreement betwixt the Emperor and the Archduke were the seuenteenth day of Iune in the castle of Prague openly read in the Bohemian tongue, *Lichtenstein*, *Kintskie*, and other Chiefetaines the Archdukes Embassadours, being there present, in order thus:

The Articles of pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Archduke Matthias.

That the Emperour refused not, but that the Crowne of Hungary should be deliuered into the Archduke *Matthias* his hands: and to yeeld vnto him the Kingdome of Hungary, and to remit vnto his subjects the oath of their allegiance before giuen vnto him, so that the Nobility and States of Hungary should chuse no other King but the Archduke. That in the next Dyet of the Empire, he should propound vnto the States of the Empire to be considered of, what contribution they ought to make vnto the Archduke for the defence of their frontiers, if happely longer warre were to be made with the Turke. That hee should cause the Writings which concerned that Kingdome of Hungary, within the space of two months to be deliuered vnto the Archduke. That he should likewise also surrender vp the Archdukedome of Austria, by himselfe hitherto possessed, vnto the Archduke: yet so, as that the Archduke should take vpon himselfe all the Emperours debt as well in Hungary as in Austria, and within a yeare should cause sufficient Recognizance or Caution sealed with his owne hand, to be deliuered vnto the Creditors. That he should cause all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the vpper Austria, as the neather, within the same time to be deliuered vnto him, together with a Copy of the Priuiledges therein, vntill that deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred vnto him also. That the Nobility and States of Bohemia should in the Emperours name ratifie and confirme the Treaty held at Vienna, for the making of the peace betwixt the Emperour, the Turks, and the Hungarians. That they also should not refuse at the Emperours request, to promise vnto the Archduke a certaine succession into the Kingdome of Bohemia; but yet with condition, so that if it should happen the Emperour to die without heires male, before the death of the Archduke his brother: but if he should haue heires male lawfully begotten and vnder age: that in that case he should onely haue the rule and gouernment of the Kingdome of Bohemia, yet with certaine Bohemian Counsellors joyned vnto him. That the Archduke should by Writing confirme vnto the Nobility and States of Bohemia, That he should after the vsuall manner and fashion demand the Kingdome of Bohemia, being void of a King. That he should take the vsuall oath of a King, and alwaies haue like regard of all their priuiledges, as the other Kings

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his predeceſſours had. That the States of Bohemia ſhould not gainesay, but that the Archduke might hereafter vſe the title of the deſigned King of Hungary. That the adminiſtration of the Marquiſet of Morauia ſhould be granted vnto the Archduke *Matthias* and his heires, together with the title of a Marqueſſe, till that after the death of the Emperor this Prouince was againe to reuert vnto him which was to enioy the kingdome of Bohemia. But if it ſhould happen the Archduke to die before the Emperour, the States of Bohemia ſhould not refuſe, but that this Prouince ſeparate apart, might (as ſhould ſeem good) chuſe vnto it ſelf a Patron and Defendor, vnto the death of the Emperour. That the Biſhopricke of Almits, hitherto in temporalities ſubiect to the King of Bohemia, ſhould from thenceforth acknowledge the Archduke *Matthias* to be the Gouernour thereof, leſt there ſhould be a confuſion of ſuites in Morauia; the Biſhop in the meane time hauing regard to his owne priuiledges. That the Emperor at the requeſt of the Archduke ſhould maintain the priuiledges of them of Sileſia, and of the States of the cities, and augment them alſo with new priuiledges, being reaſonable and conuenient. That for the defence of the borders againſt the Turks, the Nobility and States of Bohemia ſhould not contribute more than hitherto they were wont; yet ſauing to the Archduke power and abilitie in the generall meetings and aſſemblies of the Kingdome to intreat thereof, as the Emperor had hitherto had. That the titles of all the Prouinces which the Emperor did now ſurrender vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, ſhould be ſtill vnto him reſerued. That the Archduke *Matthias* ſhould vtterly renounce the County of Tirali, and ſurrender his part therof vnto the Emperor. That in the meetings and aſſemblies to come, the Archduke ſhould by all means endeauour, that the Emperour ſhould receiue a reaſonable yearely contribution out of thoſe Prouinces which he now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, ſhould generally be forgiuen and pardoned, all and euery the perſons on both parties, onely *Verkauious* excepted, concerning whom, as alſo concerning his debt, the Nobility of Morauia had vndertaken in their next Aſſembly to take order. And that armes ſhould on both ſides be laid apart.

The Crowne of Hungary deliuered vnto the Archduke Mathias.

Which Articles thus agreed vpon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crowne of Hungarie, with the Ornaments thereto belonging, ſuch as are King *Stephen* his Sword, the golden Apple, with the Croſſe of the Kingdome vpon it, two paire of rich ſhooes, a very antient Robe, with a Royall Scepter, were by the Emperours chiefe Lieutenant carried into the campe, and there in a broad and open field deliuered vnto the Archduke *Matthias*: who with his army in order raunged, and ſixteene thouſand horſe and foot diuided into three battalions, after he had receiued theſe Royall ornaments, commanded three great vollies of ſhot to be diſcharged, and afterwards royally feaſted the Emperours Embaſſadour. Which pacification thus made, many out of the Archdukes camp, but eſpecially the Hungarians, went into the City of Prague, there to buy things neceſſary; and many came alſo out of the City to ſee the Archdukes camp. But in the mean time certaine inſolent ſoldiers hauing by night broken vp certaine ſhops of the Iewes, and carried out of them much rich wares, were the cauſe of great ſtirres and tumults in the City; inſomuch, that diuers of the ſouldiers were therefore caſt into priſon.

The firſt of Iuly King *Matthias* riſing with his army, departed from before Prague, taking his way with his chiefe Councellors towards Lintze, and diuiding his army into three parts, that ſo they might the more eaſilier paſſe through thoſe countries home. After the riſing of which army, a certaine noble Bohemian and a good ſouldier, called *Cottouits*, vnto whom the Hungarians and Haiduckes had in this expedition done great harme, with ſix hundred harquebuſiers and a number of countreymen went forth to a place called Partouitſe; where hauing cut off the paſſage, and cut downe trees croſſe the waies, that none might that way conueniently paſſe, hee with ſuch fury in a place of aduantage charged the Hungarians, comming that way, that hauing ſlaine about nine hundred of them, ſome others were alſo carried away priſoners, with a great booty of horſes, waggons, and other goods. With which deed the Hungarians grieued, trod downe the corne as they went, and began to ſet fire on the villages and houſes in the Countrey thereabouts. But the newes thereof being brought vnto the King, hee forthwith by *Herbenſtein*, Generall of the horſemen, commanded the Hungarians and Haiducks not onely to deſiſt from this their inſolencie,

but themselues also, vpon a great penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raised.

King Matthias roially receiued at Vienna.

In the mean time the comming of King *Matthias* being reported at Vienna, great preparation was there made for receiuing of him, and bringing of him into the city according to his royal dignitie: who the 14 of Iuly towards night beeing come thither, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, and 3000 horse, the Archbishop of Hungary, who with Count *Trautsamius* and many other of the Emperors counsellors and seruants went out of the city to meet him, and there amidst eight ensignes of German soldiers, and 1500 horsemen, as it were set in order of battel, receiued him with a long and eloquent oration; as did afterward *Trautsamius*, in the name of the States of Austria; the Emperors Counsellors also honorably welcomming him. Which done, mounting again to horse, the King with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, stayed vntil two troups of the horsmen of Vienna, in number about 400, were all entered into the city; and afterwards 1500 of *Bucheims* horsemen and the aforesaid eight ensignes of the Germans going before, and the Emperours Counsellors following them, the King himselfe with the Archduke his brother and all his train set forward; and passing ouer the bridge, wheron three triumphal arches were most sumptuously erected, he was by 3000 Citisens of Vienna, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundring of the great ordnance & vollies of small shot most magnificently receiued, diuers other triumphs and sports, to manifest the joy of the people, being there made also, which for breuities sake we passe ouer. But being gon a little further, he was by the Senators of Vienna on horseback receiued vnder a rich canopy, born vp by six of the antientest of the said Senators, and so brought to Saint *Stephens* Church: whither he was no sooner come, but that lighting from his horse, he was there receiued by the whole Clergy, and vnder a canopie brought into the Church; where after Seruice don, he was with like triumph and magnificence, through diuers other triumphall arches, brought to the Castle, the great ordnance on all sides still thundring off from thence, and from the walls and bulwarks of the town.

Troubls in Austria about religion.

But these triumphs and solemnities ended, shortly after when as they began to consult about such things as concerned the good gouernment of the kingdome of Hungary, and crowning of the King, and that the Protestant States of Austria in many places began to exercise their Religion according to the manner of the Confession of Augusta, and that the Ministers began openly to preach in the Churches there, *Leopold* the Archduke and Bishop of Passavia comming to Vienna, with *Melinus* the Popes Nuntio (but a little before come to Prague) with Cardinal *Forgatsius* and the Bishop of Vienna, with earnest and importunate soliciting of the King, obtained from him a commandement, That that exercise of religion should bee again abrogated, the Churches shut, and publique preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new stirs and troubles in Austria. For the Protestant States forthwith calling a Councel among themselues, by generall consent refused by oath of loyaltie and allegiance to binde themselues vnto the new King, vntill they had of him obtained the libertie for the free exercise of their religion; and combining themselues together, resolued euen with the losse of their liues and goods to maintain the free preaching of the Word, and exercise of their Religion according to the Confession of Augusta: and to that end commanded all their subiects and tenants to be ready in arms, that need so requiring, euery thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth might be prest to come forth vnto the wars. But hauing sent a supplication to the King, wherunto 280 of the nobilitie had set their hands, and receiuing no answer, but that they should desist from their purpose, and without delay to make their appearance to take their oath of allegiance to the King; they forthwith the 14 of September going to Horne, by Letters sent vnto the rest of the Roman Catholique States, protested themselues to be cleare, before God and the whole world, of all the euils and mischiefs that were afterward to insue, if those States not regarding the appeasing and ending of those troubles, or the safety of them their countrymen, should take their oath of allegiance vnto the King. And so forthwith raising an army, lest vpon the sudden they should be at Horn oppressed, they began by all means to prouide for their affairs. But the report therof comming to the States of Bohemia & Moravia their neighbors, they were by them giuen to vnderstand, That they would become Intercessors for them vnto the King, and yet not to be wanting vnto them at their need, as occasion should require.

In

In the mean time letters were brought from Constantinople to Vienna; declaring King *Matthias* his Embassadors hauing audience with the great Sultan, to haue in an eloquent Oration on the Kings behalfe promised, religiously to keep the peace of late made betweene them. And afterwards in the Kings name to haue offered his presents vnto the Sultan, and he in the presence of his chiefe Bassa's to haue receiued them. But when he came to request the gouernment of Transylvania, he would in no wise therunto consent, but gaue the same to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandment vnto the Bassa of Buda for the establishing of him in this principalitie.

About the beginning of October, the Counties of Trautsame and Furstenburg were from King *Matthias* sent vnto the Protestant States at Horne; and shortly after them *Maximilian* the Archduke followed also. Who although they with most glorious promises sought to appease them, and by all means to draw them to take the oath of allegiance; yet could they no whit preuail with them, without granting the free exercise of their Religion. But the sixt of October, the Catholique States not expecting the consent of the Protestant States, at Vienna swore fealty vnto *Matthias* the new king of Hungary; the great ordnance in the mean time thundring off, with drums and trumpets in euery place of the City sounding, and the rest of the day being with great feasting, triumph, and solemnitie spent.

King *Matthias* hauing thus at Vienna receiued the oath of allegiance of the Catholiques, shortly after departing thence, the 22 of October comming to Presburg, was there by the nobility of Hungary receiued and brought into the city with 10000 soldiers. Whiest Estates afterward, *viz.* the 6 of Nouember, offered in writing vnto the King certaine articles, whereof they desired to be by him assured: most of which articles were drawne out of the pacification made at Vienna the 23 of August, *Anno* 1606; the chiefe effect wherof was this, That the free exercise of Religion should be permitted vnto all men in all the cities and towns of Hungary, not so much as that city to be excepted wherein the king should be resident. That no German captain should be suffered in any the strong forts of Hungary, but that the strong townes of Rab, Comora, Vivaria, and others, should be committed vnto the gouernment of naturall Hungarians born: That the crown of Hungary should stil be kept in Hungary, and committed to the keeping of Temporall men. That first and before all other things a Count Palatine should be choosen. That the king himself should alwaies reside in Hungarie; or if not, that the Palatine in his absence should haue ful power, with the Counsellors of estate of Hungary, to determine and conclude of all things; and that the King should therewith hold himselfe contented. That no publique office should be bestowed vpon any, but vpon such natural Hungarians as had of their country wel deserued; nor permitted to any for mony. That no Iesuites should be suffered in the kingdom; neither that Ecclesiastical men should be so much fauoured as formerly they had bin. That officers should not be bound to giue account of the administration of their offices, but before the Treasurers of Presburg, being natural Hungarians born. That from henceforth mony should not be carried out of the kingdom, as hitherto it had bin. That the Palatine being dead, the king should within a year keep another; the chiefe Iustice in the mean time after the old maner supplying his room.

Troubles in Austria about matters of religion.

The Protestant States of Austria had but a little before sent their Embassadors vnto the Nobilitie and States of Hungary then gathered together at Presburg; with request, That forasmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtaine of the king the free exercise of their religion, as wel within their cities as without, and that very necessitie had driuen them by force of arms to seek for the same, that they would by sending of them men, afford them such ayd as was vnto them due by the former pacification made at Vienna *An.* 1606. Which troubles of Austria the Nobilitie and States of Hungary desiring to haue appeased, sent *George Turson* and some others with letters of intercession in their behalfe vnto the Archduke *Maximilian*: which when they had deliuered vnto him, they receiued from him this answer, That K. *Matthias* neuer thought to disturb the common quiet of that country, or to attempt any thing against the priuiledges therof, granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* of happy memory; but to grant vnto the cities the liberty of Religion, he could by no meanes, partly in respect of conscience, partly for the danger that might therof insue from the Pope and the king of Spaine; and yet neuertheles he would promise to suffer and tolerate the free exercise of religion without the city, and in the bestowing of publique offices to haue no respect of Religion: yet with this

this condition, That they ſhould lay down armes, ſubmit themſelues vnto the King, acknowledge their fault, and craue pardon for the ſame; for that in ſo doing, the States ſhould haply preuail more than by force of arms.

With which anſwer, ſeeing no better could be got, the Hungarian Embaſſadors going to the States of Auſtria, began by diuers reaſons earneſtly to perſuade them to ſubmit themſelues vnto the King. If the Hungarians ſhould (as they ſaid) giue aid vnto them of Auſtria, they ſhould in ſo doing, in ſtead of helping them but do them more harm; for that the Hungarian power could not be brought into Auſtria but to the vtter deſtruction thereof. That the league betwixt the Hungarians and them of Auſtria was a general league, and concerned as well the Catholiques as the Proteſtants. That the Chriſtian religion was neuer with the ſword planted or defended; Chriſt himſelfe ſaying, Them to be happy which therfore ſuffer perſecution; and commanding *Peter* to put vp his ſword into his ſcabberd. That it was an eaſie matter for euery man to raiſe ſtirs and tumults, but again to appeaſe them was farre more difficult. That by the taking vp of arms the free exerciſe of Religion could not bee furthered or prouided for, it being rather dangerous, leſt the contrary part preuailing it ſhould be vtterly ſuppreſſed. That by this means Hungary it ſelfe ſhould be expoſed to many dangers, for that not only new ſtirs might vpon this occaſion by the ſubiects thereof bee raiſed, but other forrein Princes alſo take vp arms againſt it alſo; the Emperor by force of arms ſeeking for his right, and the Turkiſh Sultan by a new inuaſion going about to bring the ſame vnder his ſubiection. And telling them further, That the Archduke had promiſed to take good order for all things, ſo that they would lay downe armes: and that the clemencie and bounty of theſe Princes being known, they were not to doubt but that they would perform their promiſe: and that the Hungarians could not now doe or attempt any thing againſt the King: but that if it ſhould happen theſe two Archdukes being dead without heirs male, the gouernment of theſe two prouinces ſhould come vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*, that then they ſhould haue more cauſe to help them of Auſtria againſt him. Moravia they ſaid to be a free country, and yet the King to haue giuen therunto no more aſſurance for the liberty of religion, more than his bare promiſe. Wherfore ſeeing that both the fortune and chance of war was doubtful, and was not without great expence to be maintained; that they were of opinion, it to be beſt for the Proteſtant States of Auſtria to lay downe armes, and by way of requeſt to ſolicit their cauſe with the King.

Illiſhaſcius is choſen palatine of Hungary.

Mathias crowned King of Hungary.

In the mean time, the griefs wherof the Hungarians complained being taken away, and all controuerſies happily ended, *Illiſhaſcius* was by a general conſent choſen to be Palatine, and *Matthias* the 14 of November openly proclaimed King of Hungary, and the 19 of the ſame month in S. *Martins* church at Presburg in this maner crowned: firſt, the Royal Crowne was in a ſtately chariot caried out of the caſtle vnto the church, with a great number of the counſellors and Nobilitie of Hungary attending the ſame; in which Chariot were alſo caried ten enſignes, with the arms of the kingdom in them frilled vp; four of the Hungarian counſellors taking it out of the chariot, in a little cheſt couered with cloath of gold, and ſo carying it into the Chancel of the church. After which *Matthias*, together with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, followed on horſeback, both attyred in Hungarian apparel; and ſo going into the Chancel, there ſtayed about halfe an houre, vntill that hee was by two Biſhops brought forth vnto the Altar; before whom ten of the Hungarian Nobilitie caried the tenne aforeſaid Enſignes: after whom followed the Palatine with the Crowne, *Endeodius* with the royall Scepter, *Forgatſie* with the Apple of the kingdom, *Turſo* with King *Stephens* ſword, *Tſechius* carying the Pax, as they call it, *Budian* the Croſſe; the Cardinal *Forgatſie* ſaying Maſſe, with diuers Biſhops and Prelats helping of him: by whom the King was at the beginning of Seruice annointed with oile: where, while the Epiſtle and Goſpel were in reading, the Cardinal ſet the crown vpon the Kings head; all the people crying out, *Long liue* Matthias *the King of Hungarie*. But the King with the crown vpon his head, taking a drawn ſword out of *Sigifred Collonitz* the Marſhals hand, thrice brandiſhed it acroſſe ouer the Clergy mens heads, and receiued the Sacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Maſſe being ended, he by an highway couered with cloath, going in his royal robes from S. *Martins* church, vnto the bare-foot friers church, as he went, cauſed mony to be caſt abroad among the people. In which church after the firſt Chapter of the Goſpel of S. *Iohn* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the king with the Crowne

A crown yet on his head, and in his ſtately robes, went out of the city at S. *Michaels* gate, where on horſeback he was brought vnto an high ſtage couered with cloath, wheron hee was ſworne vnto the Hungarians as their King, and they vnto him as his ſubiects. And afterwards thrice mounting vp to horſe vpon a little hil made for that purpoſe, and ſo downe againe, and thrice brandiſhing his ſword acroſſe, he returned back again into the caſtle; where he and *Maximilian* the Archduke, Cardinal *Forgatſie* the Popes Nuntio, and the Palatine ſate down at one table; the reſt of the Hungarian Nobilitie, to the number of 70, ſitting down at ſix other tables, and ſo dining with great mirth; the Haiduks and common ſort of people being there bountifully feaſted alſo. Where many of them in ſcrambling for the money that was caſt abroad, and in taking vp of the cloath from the ſcaffold, hauing their hands and fingers cut off, & ſo lamed,
B caried from thence the woful remembrance of what was there then don.

The ſolemnitie of this coronation thus paſt, King *Matthias* thought it good for him yet for a time to ſtay at Presburg, vntil the new building in the caſtle was ended, which the nobility of Hungarie had appointed for the keeping of the Crown of Hungary, to the intent that hee himſelfe might ſee the ſame, with other the royall ornaments put thereinto, and ſealed vp with his own ſeal: he in the meanwhile labouring to appeaſe great contentions, and to place fit men again in the great offices of the commonweale; for that the Hungarians would by no means ſuffer the Germans to enioy any of the ſame: for which cauſe many of the chiefe officers, men of great authoritie, were diſplaced; and among them *Sigifrid Collonitz*, a man who had much deſerued of the kingdom of Hungary. Howbeit ſhortly after, he by the counſel of
C *Maximilian* the Archduke, was by the Hungarians themſelues, repenting them of that they had done, not only reſtored vnto his former offices, but had by them (and that not without his iuſt deſert) euen greater preferments offered him alſo: ſo mutable a thing the iudgment of the Common people is. But *Illiſhaſcius* now Palatine of Hungary, the 28 of Nouember talking with king *Matthias* at large, earneſtly intreated him in the behalfe of the proteſtant States of Auſtria; eſpecially for that the other Proteſtant States of Hungary ſeemed now in their behalfe to be much mooued alſo; and the Moravian Embaſſadors openly at the ſame time proteſting, That their States could in no wiſe forſake them their friends the States of Auſtria, if their need ſo required. And albeit that both the Elector of Saxony and other Princes of the Empire, were become earneſt interceſſors alſo vnto the King for them; yet the Popes Nuntio
D ſo hardly withſtood them, as nothing could as then be granted.

About the beginning of December the king returning again from Presburg to Vienna, the Proteſtant States of Auſtria about the 16 of December ſent *Erneſtus* the free Baron of Landau, *Maximilian Polheim*, *Sebaſtian Grobner*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram Sitſendorff*, and *Chriſtopher Buchner*, their Embaſſadors vnto the King, to know what they ſhould truſt to. Who the 27 of December receiued anſwer, That they ſhould hold themſelues contented with ſuch anſwer as they had before receiued, and to ſubmit themſelues to the kings pleaſure; or els to doe what they themſelues thought good. With which anſwer they returning, the States forthwith began to leuy new forces, perſuading the ſoldiers, that mindful of their oaths they ſhould truly ſerue whitherſoeuer and againſt whom ſoeuer they were ſent.

1609. *The States of Auſtria in arms about religion.*

E And now a great army of the Proteſtant States of Auſtria lay in the villages about Crembſa and Spaine, ſo that thoſe two towns were thought to bee in great danger of them. For the ſtrengthning of which places, *Bucheime* was by the King ſent thither with 1500 horſe, & certain pieces of great ordnance: and an edict withall publiſhed the 10 of Ianuary, charging the States to be preſent at Vienna the 21 day of the ſame moneth, to take their oath of allegiance to the king. Howbeit they moſt ſtifly ſtil refuſed ſo to do, or to remit any thing of that they had before required. Inſomuch that *Maximilian* the Archduke, who hitherto had not a little labored in this cauſe, was quite out of hope to bring them to any conformitie, or to make any good end therof. In the mean time certaine of *Bucheims* horſemen on the kings part, being a-
F bout to haue taken vp a place, ſuch as they thought conuenient for them to lodge in, had like to haue bin diſappointed of the ſame by the horſemen of *Gerrane* on the States ſide. About which matter *Bucheim* comming forth with 7 troups of horſmen, and *Gerrane* but with three, and three companies of foot, there was betwixt them an hot skirmiſh for the time, fought the thirteenth day of Ianuary, in which an hundred of *Bucheims* horſemen were ſlaine, but of *Gerrane* his men not ſo many, they hauing the aduantage of the ground, and ſo therewith in

the skirmish holpen,both for the defence of themselues, and the annoying of their enemies. C
Wherof the King hauing knowledge,and therwith much mooued,beside the aforesaid Edict, caused another to be proclaimed at Vienna, against such souldiers as serued the protestants; proscribing them all,and denouncing them Rebels,except before the 21 day of Ianuarie,they laying down armes,departed out of the protestants Campe. Howbeit the Protestant States were so far from dismissing their forces,as that they with new supplies strengthned the same; and hauing taken an hil not far from Hallenbynne,and from thence discharging three tyre of 20 pieces of great ordnance,strook a great fear and terror into the minds of the kings soldiers within the town.

About this time also the States of Moravia (that nothing might on their part bee wanting for the making of an attonement betwixt the king and the Protestant States of Austria) sent H
some of their Embassadors vnto those States at Horn,and other some vnto the King at Vienna;who hauing accesse vnto the King,declared vnto him, The States of Moravia, from whom they came,to be earnestly importuned by the protestant States of Austria,to send them ayd, according to the agreement made with them the year before. And told him moreouer, That this maner of his proceeding tended not vnto peace and quietnes, but rather vnto the trouble and destruction both of the kingdome and of all the prouinces to him belonging. All that errour,the ground of those troubles,they said to depend vpon a corrupt interpretation or misconstruing of words, rather than of the matter it selfe; so that by men desirous of peace, it might easily be composed and ended. And that therfore their request vnto his Majesty was, That he hauing regard not only vnto the good and welfare of his prouinces and subiects, but I
euen of himselfe and of his honour also, would of his clemencie and goodnesse vouchsafe to giue remedy vnto the present danger, and auert the miserable calamities now hanging ouer them,and euen ready to fall vpon their heads. The protestant States they said to bee content to put the controuersie to be decided and composed by certain graue & wise men,to be chosen arbitrators on both parts; yet with this condition, That for 14 daies space no hostilitie should on either side be vsed. That the inhabitants both aboue and beneath Amisum should be comprised within this truce. That such as were kept in durance for religion should bee set at libertie: and that all highwaies and passages should be from all ambushes and other dangers cleared. Vnto which their requests the king condescending,gaue leaue vnto the States of Moravia,vpon the most equall conditions they could deuise,to compose and end all differen- K
ces:who so laboured in this businesse betwixt the King and the protestant States of Austria, that at length,*viz.* the twelfth of March,a pacification was made betweene them: *Leopold* the Archduke,*Melinus* the Popes Nuntio,the Bishop of Vienna, and other great men of the contrary religion and faction,seeking in vain to hinder the same. The chief articles and points in the Pacification were these:That the Nobility in their castles and towns,as also in their houses in the city,should for themselues and their people haue the free exercise of their religion. That the free exercise of preaching might be vsed in three Churches,at Iersdore,Trihelsuincel,and Horn. That the other Churches shut vp might again be opened by three of the Romish and three of the Reformed religion,and the free exercise of Religion in them vsed. That Counsellors and other publique officers should from thenceforth indifferently be chosen of L
men of both religions; but such Offices as were hereditarie should so still remain. That the election of Magistrates and other publique Officers in towns and cities, should from thenceforth be made by the Magistrates and Citisens themselues,and not to be nominated from the Court,as hitherto they had beene. That no Church should bee hereafter shut against either part,but their own Churches to be left vnto them both,quietly to vse. That the townesmen and Citisens in their townes and Cities should from thenceforth haue power to make choice of their ministers and preachers; and that for them it should be lawfull to visit the sicke, and to administer vnto them the Lords supper. That the oath of Allegiance should be taken of them of the Reformed religion, in like maner as it had beene before taken of them of the Romish,but yet not with the same ceremonies of the Romish church;all vnitie and confederati- M
on with them to be had, to be taken away. That all grudging hatred and quarrell should bee on both sides forgiuen,and for euer forgotten. *Wolfgang* of Hoffkirch, *Voltsogius*, and others, remoued and put from their offices for not taking the oth of allegiance,being again receiued into fauor and restored to their places. That it might be lawful for the towns and cities aboue

The troubles in Austria pacified.

Amisum,

A Amisum, to haue the free exercise of the Reformed religion in their suburbs and hospitals.

It was not long after this pacification made, but that king *Mathias* the 17 of May, going to Lintze with 300 horse, was there with eight troups of horsmen & fifteen companies of foot, by the States sent forth to meet him, most honorably receiued, and by three triumphal arches brought into the city: where he receiued of the States of the religion the oath of obedience; which with much ioy, triumph, and feasting performed, he the 27 of the same moneth againe returned to Vienna. The aforesaid States of Austria in the mean time with great zeal continuing the free exercise of their Religion at Horn, a great multitude of people daily resorting vnto the sermons there made: they of the Romish religion much grieuing and fretting therat. The King himselfe also being come to Vienna, put diuers of the Romish Catholiques out of
B their offices, placing others of the Reformed religion in their rooms, to the great discontentment of many.

About this time the Bassa of Agria, notwithstanding the peace, had for the sum of twenty thousand crowns before hand payd, secretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to haue the strong town of Filek in the vpper Hungary deliuered vnto him. Which the traitor had intended (as he himself confessed) to haue performed, by setting of the house wherin he himself dwelt, by night on fire: vnto the quenching wherof the garison soldiers resorting, his purpose was in the mean time to haue secretly let in the Turks, and so to haue deliuered the town into their hands. But this his so wicked a purpose in good time discouered, and by him confessed, he was therfore, as he had wel deserued, aliue cut into four pieces; a iust reward for his so
C foul intended treason. The Bassa of Buda also, contrary to the treaty of peace, about the same time went about to haue exacted the oath of allegiance of aboue 400 country villages of the Christians, being not comprised within the foresaid treaty. But as the Turks for their part were secretly plotting how to incroch vpon the Christians, and to do them harm; so the Haiducks on the other side in great numbers gathered together in the vpper Hungary, began here and there to molest and trouble the Turks, vntil they were by their superiors commanded to desist from so doing, for disturbing of the peace.

Now about this time also *Illishascius* the County Palatine of Hungary died at Vienna; A man much beloued of the Hungarians his countrymen, and now by them no lesse lamented for. Whose dead body was with great honor afterward conueyed from Vienna, vnto his owne
D territorie in Hungary, and there with all funeral pomp buried with his Ancestors. In whose stead *George Turson* was afterward by the general consent of 150 of the Hungarian Nobilitie chosen County Palatine of Hungary, and so with the vniuersal and solemn acclamations of the people saluted.

Illishascius dieth.

And now the troubles for religion were scarcely wel ended in Austria (as is aforesaid) but that the like, or rather worse, began forthwith euen for the same quarrel to arise in Bohemia; the Hussites (as they call them) most earnestly importuning the Emperor for the free exercise of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certaine grieuances done to their religion: and the Roman Catholiques euen at the same time leauing nothing vnattempted, that might serue to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour and others sitting at the
E helm of the gouernment of estate; and so to frustrat whatsoeuer the Emperor had in the general assembly of the States the last year granted vnto them of the Religion, for the free exercise and aduancement therof. The composing of which controuersie (tending vnto the rending in sunder of the whole kingdom) when as the Emperor had referred vnto certain of his chiefe Counsellors, and they altogether fauoring the Roman Catholiques, would giue them of the Religion no certain answer wheron to rest; they therwith much discontented, as out of hope to by them relieued, and in great fear to be by their aduersaries, as enemies vnto the state oppressed, layd their heads together, and after good deliberation taken, What were best for them to doe, both for the safety of themselues, their wiues, children, and Religion; they by a generall consent, of themselues appointed the fourth of May to hold a generall meeting of
F them of the Religion in the new Court at Prague, there to consult of all matters concerning the businesse of Religion. And yet in the mean time openly in parliament protesting, by the mouth of *Wentceslaus Bodovitsius* a Baron of Bohemia, them to haue appointed this Assembly for the Emperors good, and for the common quiet of the whole realme; as also for the better informing

New Troubles for religion in Bohemia.

informing of the Emperor of all matters, and to prouide that the Emperor and the kingdom might not through the means and perſuaſions of thoſe his euill Counſellors be brought into extream peril and danger. Immediatly after, the States of the Religion with all ſpeed diſpatched their Embaſſadors vnto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Saxonie, and the Duke of Brunſwick, to requeſt them, by their interceſſion to become mediators for them vnto the Emperor, for the obtaining of the free exerciſe of their religion, which in all points agreed with the Confeſſion of Auguſta, and which long before was exhibited vnto *Maximilian* the Emperor, and by him allowed. Now in the mean time theſe the States of the Religion were by ſome for theſe their proceedings commended; but by other ſome not onely blamed, but alſo accuſed of rebellion againſt the Emperor and the State. But the matter beeing declared vnto the Emperour, he complaining vnto himſelfe of the inconſiderateneſſe of his Counſellors; to maintain his authoritie, cauſed the Parliament then in hand to be prorogued: and to ſeem of himſelf to grant that which he could not wel withſtand, commanded by a Decree, that ſame very day to be appointed for the concluding of that article of Religion, on which the States themſelues had appointed their aſſembly to be holden in the new Court at Prague. Notwithſtanding which Decree, many troubleſome ſpirits publiquely ſet forth other their conceits in writing, to far other purpoſe; grieuouſly therin reprehending the ſtates of the Religion, for that of themſelues they had appointed a day for their aſſembly into the new Court at Prague: which (as they ſaid) was nothing elſe, but in a rebellious maner to riſe againſt the Lawes of the kingdome, and the authoritie of their lawfull Prince; and therefore aduiſed them to forbear from making any ſuch aſſembly as was by them appointed. Hereof aroſe great troubles euen vnder the Emperors noſe, in Prague the chief city of Bohemia; they of the Religion not daring to truſt the Roman Catholiques, neither they them: beeing ſtill ready vpon euery falſe report or vain ſurmiſe to go together by the ears; vntill that the Emperor for the ſtaying of theſe troubles, and for the auoiding of further danger, was glad to cauſe it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at Prague, That his Imperiall Maieſtie hauing receiued and vnderſtood the Apologie of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict publiſhed againſt them but a few daies before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithfull and welbeloued Subiects; and as of them, vnto whom the right of the kingdom and the Kings oath belonged, as wel as to all the other ſtates of the kingdome. And that hee alſo had thoſe the ſame States excuſed, in that they for the good of his Majeſty & of the whole kingdom had appointed their Aſſembly in the new court at Prague; and that therefore he denounced them in ſo doing, not to haue don any thing contrary vnto his Majeſty. And that he appointed the 25 day of May for the generall aſſembly of Parliament to be holden in the Caſtle of Prague, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the reforming of other the publique grieuances of the Commonweal. Yet with this prouiſo, That the ſaid States ſhould ſafely and quietly come vnto the parliament, without entertaining of any forrein ſoldiers: as that his Majeſtie ſhould alſo, not by himſelfe nor any other, for pay entertaine any, or ſuffer any forreine ſouldiers to come into the kingdome. Which the Emperors Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion hauing made their publique prayers, and ſung certain hymnes and pſalmes vnto the glory of God, for the good ſucceſſe of their buſines, left the new court at Prague, and returned euery man home to their own houſes, to make themſelues ready to come vnto the Parliament, to be holden at the appointed day.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour ſtill delaying the matter, the States of the Religion weary of ſuch long delayes, and in doubt to be therewith deluded, as hauing not receiued from the Emperour any ſuch anſwer as whereon they might reſt; the third of Iune offered vnto the Emperour a ſhort Writing concerning their griefe and further purpoſe, to this effect. They had (as they ſaid) expected, and well hoped, That regard beeing had not onely of ſo many requeſts of ſo great and moſt noble Princes, made in their behalfe, but euen of the Emperour his promiſe alſo, made vnto them, both in the generall Aſſembly of the States the laſt yeare, and in the late precept of the Emperours alſo, they ſhould at length haue receiued ſuch anſwer vnto their petition, concerning the free exerciſe of their Religion, as wheron they might haue ſafely reſted. Which for that it had not bin

yet

A yet don, they referred the doing therof vnto God and further time; imputing the blame ther-
of not vnto his Imperial Maiesty, but vnto the vnquiet and troublesome natures of some as
well the Ecclesiastical as Temporall magistrats and persons. But forasmuch as they meant
no longer to be deluded by their enemies, much lesse to be defrauded of his Maiesties Royal
promise, which was now vnto the world known; they had thought good to offer and present
vnto his Maiesty a writing conceiued in the Bohemian tongue, according vnto which they
desired to be secured concerning the free exercise of their Religion: most humbly requesting
his Maiesty to accept of the same, and at length to satisfie their requests. Which if it might
not be granted (the Emperours Maiesty hauing more respect vnto the troublesome Clergie
men, and some other his euill affected Counsellors, than to the faithfull States and subiects of
B his kingdome) that then they would rest themselues vpon the Decree made in the Assembly
holden in the year 1608, and vpon the last Edict of his Maiesty: yet with this solemn prote-
station, That seeing they had by certain information vnderstood, much warlike preparation,
especially in Bavaria, to be made, and diuers consultations in many places to be held against
the States of the Religion (his Imperial Maiesty and other his faithful counsellors knowing
nothing therof) which might tend vnto the ruin and destruction both of his Maiesty and of
the whole kingdom; they themselues would take vpon them the defence thereof, & do their
indeauor, that furnished with men and armes, they might to the vtmost of their power defend
him their Soueraign, together with themselues and the whole kingdome, against the inuasion
of their forrein enemies.

C In the mean time while these things were thus in doing, an Embassadour came from the
Duke of Saxonie to Prague, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of
them the free exercise of their Religion. The Embassadors of the States of Silesia forthwith
following of them also: who also requested of the Emperor, to haue the liberty for the free ex-
ercise of their Religion by him confirmed vnto them; promising their most ready help & aid
vnto the States of Bohemia, if need should so require. But the States of Bohemia hauing in
vain from day to day expected answer from the Emperour, turning themselues vnto their for-
mer resolution for the defence of themselues and of their Religion; forthwith raised a great
number both of horse and foot; who with their well known Captains and commanders they
brought euen vnto the city of Prague. Howbeit at length, *viz.* the eleuenth day of Iuly, the
D Saxon Embassadours earnestly soliciting their cause, and vrging their request, according to
their desire receiued answer from the Emperour, by letters from his Maiesty written to this
effect.

The Emperors letters for the free exercise of Religion in Bohemia.

He gaue all men (as he said) to vnderstand, and by these his Letters witnessed to eternall
memory, That after that all the free States of his kingdome of Bohemia, which in the recei-
uing of the Lords Supper participate the body and bloud of our Lord Christ Iesus vnder
both kinds, his faithfull subiects, had in the Assembly holden in the Castle at Prague, in the
year 1608, in all humilitie requested, That it might be lawfull for them to hold, and freely
to exercise their Religion according to the Confession of Augusta (as some call it) exhibi-
ted vnto his father *Maximilian* the Emperour, of most happy memory, and by him to the sayd
E States allowed: and that he then and at that time, by reason of other most weighty busines,
for which that assembly was then called, and such as could suffer no procrastination or delay,
had thought it good to defer the allowing and ratifying of this their petition, vnto this pre-
sent assembly of Parliament: and that the same States now again assembled, incessantly re-
newing this their former petition, and hauing therunto ioyned also the request and interces-
sion of certain noble personages, had requested to be therein satisfied: and that hee and his
Counsellors would consult, how prouision might be made for his subiects in the kingdome
of Bohemia, as wel communicating vnder both kinds as vnder one; now at length to haue ef-
fected the same. Wherefore seeing that his will and desire was, in these and future times
peace and quietnesse might for the increasing of the Kingdome, be preserued and kept a-
F mongst his subiects of all the three Estates of the kingdom of Bohemia, communicating as
well vnder the one as vnder both kinds: That both parties might freely and without any im-
pediment or let, haue the free exercise of their Religion, whereby they were both in hope to
obtain euerlasting saluation. And to the intent that accomplishment and satisfaction might
in

in all points be made, as well according to the breaking vp of the Assembly of Parliament in G
the yeare, 1608, as to the performance of his own precept, of late published (whereby he hath
acknowledged, and euen acknowledgeth, those same Estates communicating vnder both
kinds, and subscribing to this confession, for his faithfull and loyall subiects, vnto whom the
rights and immunities of the kingdome of Bohemia belonged) he by the common consent of
the Councellors, and other Magistrates of the Kingdome, did determine, That his subiects
communicating both vnder one and both kinds, should friendly and peaceably liue together,
without wronging or reuiling of one another; and that vpon the paine and penalty in the law
set downe, to bee inflicted vpon them that should otherwise do. And moreouer, seeing that
they which communicated but vnder one kinde, enioyed the free exercise of their Religion
in all points throughout the kingdome of Bohemia, that he gaue leaue and commanded, that H
they also which communicated vnder both kindes, *viz.* all the States of the Religion, with
all such as embraced the Confession of Bohemia, sometime exhibited to *Maximilian* the
Emperour his father, in the Parliament holden in the yeare 1575, and now againe to him-
selfe presented, should euery where and in all places of the Kingdome, haue the free exer-
cise of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to retaine the same, vntill a
generall vnion of Religion, and an ending of all dissention and controuersies might be made.
Moreouer, That he did grant vnto the States of the Religion this fauour, That they should
haue the lower Consistorie at Prague, with power to conforme the same according to their
owne Confession. That they might lawfully make their Priests, as well in the Bohemian as
Germane Tongue, and set them ouer their Churches, without any let of the Archbishop I
of Prague. That hee did also restore vnto them the Vniuersitie of Prague, which for many
yeares agoe belonged vnto the States of the Religion vnder both kindes: giuing them power
againe to open the same, to furnish it with graue and learned men of their owne Confession,
to beautifie it with good Lawes, and to appoint certaine of their owne companie and profes-
sion for Gouernours and defendors as well of the Consistorie as of the Vniuersitie: whom so
by the states appointed and chosen, he without any stay or delay, or other instruction or infor-
mation than they should from the States receiue, would confirme in that their office, and pro-
nounce them for the lawfull Defendors: yet so, as that if he being letted by other great busi-
nesse, cannot performe the same within the space of fourteen days, they shall neuertheles con-
tinue Defendors, and as well enioy the charge of the Office committed vnto them, as if they K
had been therein by him confirmed: and that one or other of their number being dead, it
shall be lawfull for the States to chuse other in their places. And if that beside the Churches
which they now hold, they would build other moe, or erect more schooles for the instructing
of the youth, it shall bee lawfull for them freely and without any let so to doe, as well in the
Cities as in the Countrey Townes and villages. And forasmuch as in some of the Cities of
the Kingdome of Bohemia, men of both Religions did dwell together, he therefore did will
and command, That for the preseruation of peace and quietnesse, either part freely exerci-
sing their Religion, and obeying their Priests, should by no means either hurt or trouble them
on the other part; and much lesse to hinder them to bury their dead in their Churches or
Churchyards, with the ringing or tolling of their Bels, or goe about to turne any man from his L
Religion, of what state or condition soeuer he be, whether hee dwell in the City or in the
Countrey Towne or village; or by force to draw them to their opinion, or to take their part.
For that he onely respected that peace and quietnesse might bee kept, and that mutuall loue
might still grow amongst all the three States: Vnto which end and purpose, that he for him-
selfe and his heires, the King of Bohemia his Successors, in the faith and word of a King, did
grant and promise vnto the States of the Religion, vnto whom this common peace of Religi-
on (as they call it) belongs, as to a principall member of the Empire, all these things to be for
euer inuiolably kept (the ecclesiastical and temporall persons whatsoeuer resisting) so that no
contrary precept or Edict, should either by himself, or any other his heirs or successors be pub-
lished against the States of the religion, or being published by any, should be accounted effe-
ctuall and strong, especially seeing that he by these letters, pronounces all the Edicts hitherto
published against these the states of the religion, to be void, frustrate, and of none effect. Nei-
ther would that any thing of those which were don by the States of the Religion whilst they M

sought

A sought for the confirmation of this article concerning Religion should for euer be laid vnto their charge, or by any man by way of reproch obiected vnto them. And that therefore hee streitly charged and commanded all Magistrats, and such as bare rule in Bohemia, that they should to the vtmost of their power protect & defend al the three States, together with them of the Religion, and neither themselues to trouble them, nor suffer them to be by any others for the exercise of their Religion molested or troubled: for that hee and other the Kings of Bohemia his successors, would most seuerely chastise all such as should offend against these his Maiesties letters (which to be for euer remembred, he would cause to be inrolled in the publique Records of Parliament) whether such offenders were ecclesiastical or lay men, to be sharply punished as troublers of the common peace.

B This was the sum of his Majesties letter, which he caused to bee publiquely set vp in the castle of Prague the 13 of Iuly, that it might be to all men knowne, this article of Religion, which was the first of the articles in this parliament to be concluded and agreed vpon according to the mind of the States of the Religion; and so their requests to be in all points satisfied. Who forthwith therupon the fifteenth of Iuly caused the first publique sermon according to the confession of Augusta, to be preached in the German tongue in a church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before bin shut vp. At which time they also sent vnto the Elector of Saxonie, to send vnto them certain learned men, for the setting vp of the Vniuersitie, and the gouerning of the Consistory at Prague. And yet for all this, the Embassadors for the States of Silesia earnestly labouring with the Emperor for the liberty of Reli-
C gion to be granted to the said States and the rest of the inhabitants of the prouince, the states of Bohemia refused in any wise to dismisse their soldiers whom they had mustred neere vnto Roggenson, vntil the Silesians were of their request in that point satisfied: offring also to the Emperor a large label of the said States griefs.

Now it may be some hauing read so much as is before written concerning these late troubles about the free exercise of the Reformed Religion, but especially in Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, and Silesia, may deeme the same both tedious and beside our purpose. Vnto whom indeed it is not written; but rather vnto such as who together with my selfe (the Warres betwixt the Christians and the Turks ended, and the peace concluded as is aforesaid) desire to know in what state those frontier Countries stand; which being the greatest bulwarks of that
D side of Christendome, and the chiefe territories of the House of Austria, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwise broken off) most subiect vnto the fury of the puissant enemy, as neerest vnto him, and so like soonest to feel his great force and power, which prefineth vnto it selfe neither bounds nor measure, whilst there is any thing farther to be had. Against whom the Christian Emperor had no forces of his owne to oppose, more than such as he could raise out of the reliques of Hungary, and the aforesaid frontier Countries; all together but weake helpes against so puissant an enemy, as neuer commeth into the field but with a world of men following him. But yet much weaker, being as now of late they were, euery one of them a-part diuided in themselues about matters of Religion, the incredible maladies of the Christian Estates and Commonweales. The heauy and lamentable effect whereof too much of
E late appeared in the losse of Strigonium, won by the Turks with a farre lesse army than euer the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was wont to come into Hungary: and yet the Christian Emperor by reason of the reuolt of the Hungarians, vpon a discontentment about the exercise of their Religion, not able of himselfe to relieue the distressed city of Strigonium, or yet to take the field with an army of any strength, for defence of the rest of his cities or territories. So weak are euen the greatest princes, their subiects being amongst themselues diuided in minds.

But to stray further: The Turks Embassador in the mean time with a notable traine of an hundred and fifty Turks comming from Vienna the one and twentieth of September, and there hauing saluted and with great gifts presented the King, set forward towards Prague,
F where he was by the citizens and certain noblemen of the Emperors counsel, the 12 of October honourably receiued, and the nineteenth of the same month admitted vnto the Emperors presence, first presented to him from the great Sultan his master a rich Tent of diuers colors, most curiously wrought with faire Orient Pearle of great value; and then foure couragious horses,

horſes, all furniſhed with moſt rich and ſumptuous furniture. Hee preſented vnto him alſo G
certain Turkiſh weapons ſet and garniſhed with pretious ſtones ; and a princely Turks Robe
ſuch as they vſe at their mariages, gliſtring with gold and pretious ſtones, with diuers other
rare things of leſſe value. Together with which he deliuered vnto him the great Sultans let-
ters ; and withall deſired the confirmation of the peace before made for twenty yeares, to bee
now again renewed.

Vnto which Embaſſadour letters were afterwards deliuered from the Emperour, together
with certain other rich preſents to be by him preſented vnto the great Sultan : *viz.* certaine
Caroches lined within with Damaske, and couered without with black veluet ; ſix faire and
gallant horſes moſt richly furniſhed ; a Clocke of wonderfull workmanſhip ; two fair Deskes
to write vpon of Ebonie : with diuers other like Preſents of no ſmall price. Who ſo H
charged with preſents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking an-
ſwered, was afterward in the beginning of Ianuary, with a train
of 200 horſe from Prague honourably
diſmiſſed.

HERE

HERE FOLLOWETH A CONTINVATION OF THIS PRESENT HISTORY (CONTAINING THOSE OCCVRRENTS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO THE TVRKISH EMPIRE SINCE THE YEARE OF OVR LORD, 1609, TO THE YEAR 1917, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Sergeant at Armes.*

THe Turkiſh Emperour, hauing beene freed ſome yeares from the care of wars in Hungary, in regard that he had concluded a truce for twenty yeares with the Emperor *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his forces againſt his Rebels in Aſia, and the Sophy of Perſia, where he had no good ſucceſſe this yeare. For the Perſians hauing formerly extended their Monarchy far into the Turkiſh Empire, and defeated *Cicala Baſſa* and others in diuers battels; now they entered into the Prouince of Babylon, with a deſigne to ioyne it to Perſia. *Achmat* to ſtay the courſe of their proſperity, ſends a mighty army thither, vnder the command of *Naſſut Baſſa*: but his fortune was no better than thoſe that went before him. The Perſians came to meet him, gaue him battell, defeated him, and ſlew 20000 of his men. Theſe mournfull newes comming to Court, did much diſtemper the Sultans minde; he could not endure it ſhould be ſaid, that the Perſians had defeated his mighty armies thrice in open battell; and much leſſe that it ſhould be ſo, and that he ſhould ſeiſe vpon his countries: wherefore to repaire this loſſe, he leuies new forces to be commanded by *Combolat Baſſa* of Aleppo, who had bin the moſt powerfull Rebel in Aſia, and was newly reconciled and brought into fauor with the grand Seignior. This man came to the Port to receiue the Sultans commandements, and and to paſſe his army into Aſia: but whether hauing ſome ſuſpition, that he had intelligence with the Perſians, or that ſuch as enuied his greatneſſe, had giuen ſome bad impreſſion of his loyalty to the Sultan; within ſome few daies after his arriuall, *Achmat* cauſed him to be ſlain by his Capigi. Whereby we may well obſerue, that he that is a Rebell to his Prince, which hath ſo violently oppreſt his ſubjects, and ſet his countries on fire by ſedition, the which he hath bin forced to quench with the bloud of innocents, cannot but end his daies violently and miſerably, ſeeing that God reuengeth the bloud of innocents vpon the guilty.

1610

The Perſians enter into the Prouince of Babylon.

The Turke defeated.

The Perſian ſeeing what aduantage he had gotten of the Turke, laboured by the bruit of his victories, to draw the Chriſtian Princes vnto his party, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had ſo happily begun. For the effecting whereof he ſent his Embaſſadors to the Emperor being at Prague, to perſuade him to breake the peace with the Turke, and to ioine with him. The Embaſſadors arriued at Prague this yeare with rich and rare Preſents: firſt a croſſe of gold inricht with many pretious ſtones; amongſt which there was one piece of amber, whereon was ſeene the figure of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her young babe in her armes; the which was ſo artificially grauen, as it might be thought the worke of nature: a Topas of exceeding greatneſſe, giuen to the King of Perſia by an Indian King: two kniues of damaske, with hafts of jaſper, and their ſheaths couered with diamonds: a certaine kind of Indian wood of moſt excellent vertue, moſt ſouereigne to cure the paines of the breſt, and to purge the ſtomacke: the gall of a pellican excellent to cure the pluriſie, appoplexie, and feuer: two topazes the one white, and the other violet; this laſt was ſo big, as it was capable to make a cup: an Amathiſt as big as a hens egge; a Perſian bow inlaid with the veines of a camell,

Preſents ſent to the Emperor by the Perſian.

camell, and a rough diamond exceeding great; a white ſtone of the colour of water, which was a preſeruatiue againſt the plague, being hung about ones necke; three orientall pearles exceeding big; three rich eſcarbuncles, and three maruellous faire diamonds; and withall this, a ſerpents horne, much eſteemed for the rare vertues. All theſe Preſents were very well accepted, and the Embaſſadors much honoured. But what apparance was there for the Emperor, who had ſo great differences with his brother *Matthias* King of Hungary, who ſaw the greateſt part of his ſubjects rebelled againſt him, his prouinces in diuiſion, Tranſyluania in combuſtion by the conſpiracy which had bin diſcouered againſt *Battori*, and finally a generall diſorder ouer all, to breake the peace with the Turke, (who was at his dore, retained only with this bar) and to allie himſelfe with the Perſian ſo far from his countries, from whom he could draw no ſuccors, but only that he might keep the *Othoman* buſie in Aſia? Thus the Embaſſadors returned, carrying home nothing but good words.

His affairs will not ſuffer him to joyne with the Perſian.

The troubles which hapned in Bohemia, made him ſee of what importance it was to entertaine peace with the Turke: for if he had broken it by the Perſians perſuaſion, hee had giuen his enemy an aſſured meanes to ruine him: for the Archduke *Leopold* intred into Bohemia with an army of 9000 foot, and 3000 horſe; he ſurpriſed petty Prague, attempted the old towne, and ſeeking to force it, he ſlew many which made reſiſtance. *Matthias* King of Hungary aduertiſed of this diſorder, parts from Auſtria with a powerfull army, and aduanceth ſpeedily towards Bohemia. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias* army and *Leopolds* had met neer vnto Prague, it had been the loſſe and ouerthrow of the one, and the deſolation nnd ruine of the country. The Emperor foreſeeing this danger, cauſed 300000 florens to be deliuered to *Romeo*, *Leopolds* Lieutenant, for the paiment of his army, and ſo ſent him out of Bohemia. This diuiſion betwixt the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, grew by the practiſes of ſome of the Emperors Counſell, who being deligated judges to compound the differences of the Bohemians of diuers religions, in ſtead of labouring to reconcile and vnite thoſe people, for the good of the publike, they made themſelues partiſans to the one to oppreſſe the other, and therby they drew the Princes into a dangerous diuiſion, for the ſupport of parties. And moreouer, the Archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, practiſed to depriue *Matthias* King of Hungary of the ſucceſſion which he pretended of Bohemia; leſt that being maſter, he ſhould take reuenge vpon their partiſans for the troubles wherewith they had formerly afflicted the country. Such was the eſtate of affaires in Germany, giuing the Turke a faire opportunity, if he ſhould haue embraced ſo rich an occaſion, to make his profit of their combuſtions. But the confirmation of the truce, and the affaires of his houſe kept him in Thrace.

Let vs ſee how the Turke ſpeeds at ſea; where he hath the Knights of Malta, the Sicilians, and Neapolitanes, and the Florentines, vigilant and valiant enemies to annoy him, and croſſe his deſignes. The laſt yeare, which was 1609, the Chriſtians had no good ſucceſſe, loſſe fell particularly vpon the Knights of Malta: for he that fights often can hardly vanquiſh alwaies. The gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chiualier Guidoti*, an Italian, had made two voyages to ſea very fortunatly, and brought to Malta 300 Turkiſh ſlaues. The encouragement of this good ſucceſſe engaged many Knights to diuers enterpriſes. They armed certain gallions, and made a fleet of ten good ſhips of war, as vnfortunat in their courſes as the gallion of the Order had before beene ſucceſſefull: for meeting with the Turks fleet in the ſeas of Cyprus, they were ſet vpon, and moſt of them ſlaine or made ſlaues. The Knight *Freſſinet* was ſlaine, and the red gallion wherein he commanded, taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole daies fight. *Ambuſon* otherwiſe called *Fueillade* another Knight, was made a ſlaue, and his gallion taken: the Knight *Ouges* run the ſame fortune, with the loſſe of a gallion. *Freſſinet* hauing brought a pinnace with him to attend his ſhip, after ſome fight neere vnto the gallion, it eſcaped by night. In this voiage vnfortunat for them of Malta, the gallion of the Order would needs ſeeke ſome better aduenture: the Knights of *Baillou* and Rhodes did accompany him either of them with a ſmall gallion. He ſet vpon the carauan of the Turks fleet, neer the Iſland of the Rhodes, his ſucceſſefull beginning of this combat made him hope for victory, and the number of the enemies veſſels for a rich booty: for there were among the reſt two great gallions of the Sultans; theſe are ſhips which belong to the Great Seigniors women, loden commonly with great riches: but 20 gallies of Rhodes ſeeing this fight, came out of their port to ſuccor them, and by the fauour of a faire wind, drew them into ſafety.

The gallions of Malta defeated by the Turks.

At

At Malta the bruit was, That the Turks army consisting of fourscore gallies, should go and besiege the Isle of Goza, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon the Great Master had resolued to fortifie the Castle of the Island, with a good counterscarfe, which he caused to be made, sending thither two hundred souldiers, and thirty Knights for supply, all braue souldiers, who might haue made a great resistance, if the Turks had attempted it: but the enemies fleet passed on and gaue them time to rest.

But this yeare 1610, *Vignaucourt* the Great Master of Malta, sent the fiue gallies of the Order into Barbary, towards the Port Farino, memorable, for that it was the hauen where S. *Lewis* the French King ended the nauigation of his daies, and at his returne from Ierusalem and Palestine, went to receiue in Heauen the glorious palmes of his holy actions. The gallies of Biserta had accustomed to fetch palmes there in that season (which was in the Spring time) whom the gallies of Malta had a designe to surprise. But the contrary winds, and the tempestuous seas ouerthrew that enterprise; yet their voiage was not altogether vnprofitable; for returning towards Malta, being within the channell, which diuides the Island from that of Sicily, they encountered with a great gallion of Tunes, armed by a Turke called *Carousinan*, being in view of the gallies of Malta: The Rayse (who commanded) assured his company, and smiling, promised to free them from their enemies. Being so transported with vanity, as he spake confidently, that he would not feare twenty of the gallies of Malta: but this his pride was soone abated with his ruine; for the fiue gallies came close vnder him, and plied him so furiously with their cannon, as they sunke him. The gally wherein *Verdella* an Italian Knight commanded, had like to haue beene lost, for being grapled with the gallion, if the diligence of *Verdille* had not speedily retired it. The Turks after the losse of their vessell, began to swim away, but they were all made slaues to serue in the gallies of Malta, who this yeare had no other fruits of their generous enterprises.

The course of the Duke of Tuscany his Gallies.

The gallies of *Cosmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuskany, parted from Ligorne, vnder the conduct of the Commander and Admirall *Inghiraim*, and running along st the coast of Barbary, they tooke a Turkish ship in the sight of Algier, loaden with merchandise, armes, and munition of war, freeing many Christian slaues which were in it. This happy beginning promised them better fortune. They passe on, and some twenty fiue leagues beyond Algiers they goe to surprise the towne of Bisquirre, a small towne in circuit, but strong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing neere vnto the coast, tooke downe his masts, lest they should discouer his comming. In the meane time he sent two long boats to find some place fit for their landing; the which being carefully obserued, Colonell *Bindy* landed his men, and about eleuen a clocke at night marched in good order towards the towne, and forced it. The darkenesse of the night kept them from spoiling it; being content only to set their guards and sentinels in the most important places of the wall: but day being come, the souldiers made themselues masters of the towne, which they sacked and spoiled. Certaine Moores and Turks, during the obscurity of the night, had retired themselues into a Mosque which they fortified: They were summoned to yeeld; but the feare of being slaues, (which they could not auoid) made them resolue to die in their owne defence; so as the Florentines hauing forced the place, put them all to sword; and then embarqued their troups, hauing filled Bisquirre with fire and bloud. The night following, being in the gulph called the Bad woman, they met with a pinnace loaden with corne, the which they tooke, and sent to Ligorne, and then they put on to encrease their conquest. Being vpon the coast of Sardinia, two Galliots of Biserta did furnish them with a faire occasion. *Inghirami* sendeth his gallies to pursue them, who hauing had them in chase threescore leagues, tooke the one, wherin they had one hundred and twenty slaues, and freed many poore Christians from the chaine, who suffered the tyranny of the Turkish seruitude. They also tooke a Turkish gally within halfe a league of Algier, and spoiled it. And thus triumphing ouer their enemies, they tooke their course towards Ligorne, hauing taken foure Turkish vessels, spoiled the towne of Bisquerre, and twice braued that of Algier.

The Morisques or new Christians chased out of Spaine.

This yeare was fatall for the Morisques or new Christians in Spaine, who being in number nine hundred thousand persons, as the originall writes, and had continued there from father to son, for the space of almost nine hundred yeares, were now in an instant banished, and made vagabonds with the blast of the Kings mouth. Men discoursed diuersly hereof: Some said, that the King had reason to do it, for that they had secret practises and intelligences with the Turke

Turke his capitall enemy. Others affirmed, that hee did wisely to preuent their attempts against his Estate, which were to be feared considering their numbers were also great. And some said plainely, that it was to haue their lands and inheritances, which had continued so long in their races. But the King declared his owne intent by his Edict, the which he published in these termes.

The King of Spaines Edict.

The King: For that reason doth in conscience binde a good and Christian gouernment, to expell out of all Realmes and Common weales those things which breed scandall, and bring hurt to our good subjects, and danger to the Estate, but especially which are offensiue to God, and prejudiciall to his seruice: for this cause experience hauing taught vs, That the residence of the new Christian Morisques, and their abode in the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andelosia, hath beene the cause of all these inconueniences: for that besides the manner of their proceedings, which joyned in the rebellion of Granado, the which began by cruell murthers of all the Priests and old Christians which liued amongst them, calling the Turks in to their aid; yet hauing drawne them out of the said country, and suffered them to liue in other Prouinces, so as they would repent them of their faults, and liue faithfully and Christian like, according to the precepts and just ordinances which were giuen them: They haue not obserued and kept them according to the strict and direct rules of our Holy Faith: but haue alwaies made shew to contemne it, and to haue no feare to offend God; as hath beene seene by the great numbers which haue beene punished by the Inquisition: and besides, they haue committed many thefts and murthers against the old Christians. And not content herewith, they haue conspired against my Royall Crowne and Realmes, seeking aid and succors from the Turke, certaine interposed persons being sent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promising vnto themselues aid and assistance, offering vnto them their persons and meanes. And seeing that during so many yeares, in which they haue practised these treasons and conspiracies, not any one hath come to reueale them, but they haue alwaies couered, concealed, and denied them; it is a most apparant signe, that they haue all beene of one minde and will, against the seruice of God and of me, and against the good of this Realme; yet they might haue imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who haue don seruice to God, to the Kings our progenitors, and to vs, like good Christians, and most loyall vassals.

Wherefore considering all this, and how much I am bound to set downe some good order, and to procure the preseruation and increase of my Realmes and subjects, and desiring to prouide for all; I haue decreed, with the aduice and counsell of many judicious learned men, and others, that are very religious, wise, and jealous of Gods seruice and mine, to chase out of the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andelosia, and out of the towne of Hernache (although it be not within the limits of the said Realmes) all the new Christians Morisques, both men, women, and children. For when as a great or detestable crime is committed in any Colledge or Communalty, it is fit that Colledge or Communalty should be ruined, and that the lesse with the greater, and one with another, should be punished: And that such as peruert the good and sincere life of Common-weales, and of their townes and cities, should be banished from other inhabitants, lest their contagion infect them.

For this cause, by vertue of these presents, we ordaine and command, That all the new Christians Morisques, without any exception of age or sex, of those that liue and reside in the said Realmes, and in the towne of Harnache, except such as be slaues, shall within the space of thirty daies after the publication hereof, depart out of all our Realmes and Dominions of Spaine, with their wiues, children, seruants, and others of their Nation: and that they shall not presume to returne or to make any residence in them, in any sort whatsoeuer. And we forbid them to depart by the Realmes of Valentia, or Aragon, nor to enter into them, nor to stay in any of our Realmes or Countries after the time prefixed, vpon paine of death, and confiscation of all their goods. And we command, that no person within our Realmes or Seigniories, of what estate, qualities, or condition soeuer, shall presume to receiue, conceale, or defend publikely nor secretly any Morisque man or woman, after the said tearme, vpon paine to lose all their goods, vassals, forts, and lands; and moreouer to lose all the graces, and benefits which they haue from me, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may justly confiscate all the goods moueable and vnmoueable of the said Morisques, as belonging to traitours, and guilty of high treason; yet vsing clemency, I am

contene

A content, that during the ſaid terme of thirty daies, they may diſpoſe of their moueable goods, and carry them away, not in gold, ſiluer, jewels, nor letter of exchange, but in merchandiſe which is not prohibited, bought of the naturall ſubjects of this Realme, and not of others: or in the commodities of the ſaid country. And to the end they may during the time of thirty daies diſpoſe thereof, and of their moueable goods, and employ it in merchandiſe, or in the commodities of the country, and tranſport what they ſhall buy (for as for their lands, that muſt be annexed to my reuenues, to be employed in the ſeruice of God and the commonweale, as I ſhall thinke moſt fit) I declare by theſe Preſents, that I take them into my royall protection, and aſſure them and their goods, That during the ſaid time they may go and come, to ſell, exchange, and alienate all their moueable goods, and to employ their mony, gold,
B ſiluer, and jewels, in merchandiſe not prohibited, or in the commodities of the country, and to tranſport the ſame freely, without any let or interruption, by land or by ſea, paying vſuall cuſtomes; ſo as they carry no gold or ſiluer coyned, or to coyne, nor any other thing prohibited by the lawes of my Realme. Yet we are content, they ſhall carry ſo much money as ſhall be needfull for their paſſage by land, and embarking by ſea: commanding all our officers and louing ſubjects to ſee this preſent Edict duely obſerued. &c. Signed, *I the King*.

After this publication of the Edict, the tearme of thirty daies was reſtrained to twenty, ſo as the Moriſques were haſtened to depart: and the ſhips and veſſels of what country ſoeuer, were ſtaied in all the Ports of Spaine, to tranſport them whither they would go. Many paſſed from Spaine into Barbary: but during this yeare there came aboue 150000 of theſe Moriſques into France,
C the King ſending Commiſſaries, to ſee them well vſed, and orderly tranſported away.

There was a warre fallen out in Barbary betwixt *Muley Xequy*, King of Fez, and *Muley Sidan* his younger brother, both Mahometanes; in which warre the younger forced the elder to fly his Country, and to come and craue aid from *Philip* King of Spaine: But the vnfortunat loſſe of *Don Sebaſtian* King of Portugall, was a good preſident for the Spaniard not to truſt in barbarous Kings, without good aſſurance: He treated with the Barbarian, and promiſed him ſuccours, with an hundred thouſand Duckats to returne to Alarache, (a place which held for him) where by money or other practiſes, hee ſhould draw vnto him as many ſouldiers as hee could: And that for the ſafety of the ſuccours that he ſhould giue him, hee ſhould put Ala-
D rache or Arrache into his hands. This Arrache is a ſtrong towne in the Realme of Fez, in the Prouince of Algar, ſeated vpon the Ocean, at the mouth of the Riuer of Lucus, whereon part of it is built, and the other part vpon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take, for that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of Fez do vſually entertaine a garriſon of three hundred light horſe, and three hundred harquebuſiers: for that the Portugals and Caſtilians hold in a manner all the Sea townes of the Prouinces of Habat, and Erif, where they haue great garriſons. This Prouince is from the Riuer of Nocor along the Mediterranean Sea, vnto the ſtreight of Gibralter, the other is vpon the Ocean from the ſaid ſtreight vnto the riuer Lucus, in the which the King of Spaine holdeth at this day the ſtrong townes of Tanger, Arzilla, and others. According to the former accord, the Barbarian returned to Arrache, with
E his mony in one of the King of Spaine his ſhips; to whom in a ſhort time repaired many of his friends and ſeruants. The Spaniard in the meane time hauing prepared a fleet of a great number of gallies and ſhips, and embarqued ten thouſand ſouldiers therein, he gaue the command thereof vnto the Marqueſſe of S. *Germaine*, who arriued on the twentieth of Nouember in the euening at the Port of Arrache, and there rode at anchor all the night. The next day in the morning, the Marqueſſe called all the Captaines to a Councell, imparting vnto them his deſigne for to force Arrache, in caſe that the Mooriſh King did not keepe his promiſe; they gaue him aſſurance, that they would carry themſelues like vnto braue and valiant ſouldiers. But ſee what hapned: The King of Fez hauing no meanes to goe from his word, ſeeing the Spaniard ſo ſtrong as he might well force it, many of his followers and people, fearing to fall
F vnder the power of Spaine, they would haue abandoned him: but hauing the Gouernour of the caſtle at his deuotion, he thruſt out the garriſon, and deliuered the keies himſelfe vnto the Marqueſſe of S. *Germaine*. Vpon the firſt bruit that the Spaniards were entred into the caſtle, all the inhabitants ran to armes, and thinking to reſiſt them, after that many of them had

warre in Barbary.

Deſcription of the towne of Arrache or Allaracke.

Arrache in Barbary taken by the Spaniards.

ended their daies valiantly, during three houres combat, they were forced to yeeld vnto the Marqueſſe, who preſently planted the croſſe and armes of Caſtile vpon all the Towers and Steeples. Thus this ſtrong towne which the Caſtilians and Portugals had ſo long deſired, and wheras the inhabitants receiued a great ruine, is in the end faine vnder the domination of their King. The newes of this exploit being brought into Spaine, pleaſed the King much, and the people made bone-fires for joy: theſe are the alterations of times. The Moores in old time were wont to ouerrun Spaine, and now the Spaniards take their pleaſure in Mauritania. G

About the end of this yeare newes came to Conſtantinople, of the great warres which had been between the Vncle and the Nephew, by the death of the great Cham of the Tartars: the ſon, who during his fathers life time, had continued at Conſtantinople as an hoſtage, and was now ſent backe into his country by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enjoy his fathers eſtate; his vncle, brother to the deceaſed Cham, practiſed to ſeize vpon the crowne: but either of them hauing drawne an army of 60000 men together, in the end, they joyned battell, whereas after the ſlaughter of 40000 men vpon the place, the ſonne had the victory, and by that meanes obtained the Crowne of Tartaria. H

A great battell in Tartary.

I will conclude this yeare 1610, with the relation of a particular buſineſſe, to ſhew the greedy deſire of the Turks to get by any vnjuſt meanes whatſoeuer, and their infidelity and falſhod to ſay and ſweare any thing for bribes. Some yeares before, one Maſter *Willoughbie* an Engliſh Gentleman, hauing rigged vp a ſhip for war into the Leuant, he came into Algier in Barbary to ſell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Baſſa. This ſhip was ſuddenly ſeiſed on, and rifled by the command of this Baſſa, vpon no other ſubject, but that the Baſſa pretended this ſhip had burnt a Caramouſall of his, which in truth the Baſſa himſelfe had cauſed to be ſet on fire, that vnder colour thereof he might ſeiſe vpon the ſhip and goods. Maſter *Willoughby* went to Conſtantinople, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henry Lilloe*, then Embaſſadour for the Engliſh; but yet could get no ſatisfaction: whereupon he returned into England, and obtained letters from his Majeſty to the Grand Seignior, and to Sir *Thomas Glouer*, then Embaſſador, reſiding at Conſtantinople: which hauing receiued, he went preſently to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Baſſa* the grand Viſier, hee being then imploied in the wars againſt the Perſian.) The Chimacham hauing read theſe letters, would not ſuffer them to be deliuered to the Grand Seignior; promiſing to doe juſtice vpon *Solyman Catania*, whom he diſcharged from his place, and ſent for him to Conſtantinople; who being come, and called in queſtion, he denied the fact: Maſter *Willoughby* (hauing no certaine proofe of his loſſe) ſuborned one *Oſiſh Baſſa* a Turke, who had beene at Mecha, and was therefore held a very holy man, who ſet a brother of his to procure falſe witneſſes, vpon promiſe to haue the tenth part of what ſhould be recouered: the witneſſes being ready to ſweare to his aſſertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Maſter *Willoughby*, and gaue him foure or fiue thouſand Dollars; ſo the buſineſſe ended. Which ſhews the corruption of the Turks, and that the holieſt of them for mony will not ſticke to beare falſe witneſſe, and take falſe Oathes. I K

A great Plague in Conſtantinople.

This yeare 1611 the city of Conſtantinople was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which diſperſed it ſelfe ouer all, and crept into the Grand Seigniours Seraglio, whereas one of his ſonnes died of that infection: whereupon the Grand Seigniour was forced to retire for his ſafety, and to paſſe the remainder of the Summer in his palace or Seraglio of *Darut Baſſa*, about a league and a halfe diſtant from the city: this violent contagion did ſo rage in Conſtantinople for the ſpace of fiue moneths, as there were numbred two hundred thouſand perſons dead within the time, and they did commonly carry euery day twelue or fifteene hundred bodies to be buried. The greatneſſe of this mortality is not to be imputed ſo much to the corruption of the aire, as to the wilfull negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchſafe to turne away from a body dead of this diſeaſe, whent it wen to buriall, not to forbeare to viſite their friends being infected. The obſtinate beleefe they haue of Predeſtination maketh them brutiſhly contemne all ſorts of dangers: For ſay they, as ſoone as man comes out of his mothers wombe to injoy the light of the world, God writes in his forehead all the good or euill ſhall happen vnto him, and particularly of what death he ſhall die, the neceſſity whereof no humane power can auoid. All is gouerned (ſay they) by Deſtiny, and therefore they L M

200000 perſons died of the Plague.

The Turks obſtinate beleefe touching predeſtination.

regard

A regard not any infection, but contrariwise when any one is dead, another takes his cloathes and weares them: which is the cause that Constantinople and the grand Caire are seldome free; and when as the aire is any thing disposed to contagion, there dies such multitudes of people, as they do not number them but by hundred thousands.

Death of the French Embassador at Constantinople.

Before the beginning of this plague, the Baron of Salignac Embassadour for the French King at Constantinople, ended his Embassage with his life. His most Christian Majesty sent the Baron of Mole, eldest sonne to the Baron of Sansie, to supply his place. He arriued at Pera this yeare in the beginning of September, and about the end of October the Sultan being returned to Constantinople; after that he had visited the Muphti, (who is the chiefe of their Law) the Grand Visier, the Defterda, (who is the Sultans high Treasurer) the Bostangi
B Bassa his chiefe Gardiner, with other Great men of the Port which were highly in fauour; in the end he was admitted to audience, and to kisse the Sultans hand. A ceremony which in mine opinion I owe vnto the History, to shew that the Majesty of the Turkish Emperours is so great, as to approch neere vnto them, the Embassadours of forreine Princes are forced to disguise themselues, and leauing the habits of their nation, to attire themselues and their Traine after the Turkish manner. Thus the Embassador of France parted from his Lodging at Pera, wearing vpon his French apparel a long Turkish Robe of cloath of gold curled, furred with Sables: his Gentlemen and Secretaries to the number of sixteene had the like Robes, but of meaner stuffe, wearing caps of blacke Veluet: he had twenty seruants in long cassocks of Skarlet, called in Turkish, Ferrages, and vpon them long Robes of the same stuffe, with
C caps of Taffata; the foure Dragomans or the Kings Interpreters, the Captaines, Masters of Ships, and other Frenchmen attyred all in long Robes, accompanied the Traine. He past the channell which doth separate Pera from Constantinople: being come to the other side, he found many goodly horses for him and his Traine, which some Turkes that were friends to France, had sent him to conduct him to the City; at the gate whereof many Chiaus and Ianizaries attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio: two Chiaus Bassaes went of either side him, accompanying him thither, the rest of the Turks going before. His arriuall was no lesse honourable at the Palace Royall, than his comming to the Towne: Two Capigi Bassaes, or chiefe of the Porters, receiued him at the entry of a great Court, and conducted him to the Grand Visier, who attended him at dinner in the hal, where he was feasted, being accompanied
D only with one Dragoman or Interpreter: the rest of his Traine were conducted into a low gallery, whereas dinner was prepared for them after the Turkish manner: That is to say, a great Tapestry vpon the ground without cloath or napkins, and some dishes thinne set. The meat was water gruell with sugar, and some pottage with pullets: there were two men either of them holding a certain instrument of sodden leather, in which there was a beuerage which they call Cerbet, made of the juyce of Lymmons, water, and sugar, and withall they held a cup of blancht copper, giuing to euery one drinke, and going among the dishes to serue them more commodiously. From this feast, distastefull to them that had liued after the French fashion, they past into another gallery, whereas the Embassadour and sixteene of his company receiued each of them a Robe of Tinsell, the which hauing put on vpon their other,
E they were conducted through a little court paued with marble, towards the Grand Seigniours chamber, which was enricht on the one side with many pillars of marble, and square stones of the same stuffe, and beautified with two little fountaines on either side: The Cham-

The Sultans Chamber.

ber within was about ten paces square, the planchard was gilt, the wals enameled with floures after the Turkish manner, and the floore couered with Tapestry of gold and silke. At the entry of this Imperiall chamber stood six Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them tooke the Embassador vnder the armes, and led him to kisse the Sultans hand, or rather his Robe; for hauing saluted him from the greatest of Christian Kings, hee kist but his Robe, and then was led on the one side, going backewards, to the end he should not turne his backe to the Emperour. The French Gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kisse his Robe. But
F they could hardly see the Sultan, for his face was turned towards a window that was grated, before the which, during the ceremony there past thirty Capigi, euery one carrying a piece of the Presents which the Embassador had brought: during the which, the Frenchmen could not see him but on the other side. This salutation being ended, the Embassador made a short

speech

speech, and presented vnto the Sultan the principall letter of his Embassage, written in the Turkish tongue. G

Troubles in Transyluania.

This past at Constantinople, wheras the Sultan did willingly see an Embassador his Ally, whom he honoured aboue all others. But in Transyluania the affaires went after another straine; the combustions which seemed inseparable to this miserable Prouince, made it still the Theater of all disorders. *Gabriel Battori*, who gouerned it since the succession of *Ragotzi*, had put himselfe into the Turks protection, against King *Matthias*, who pretended a title, by reason of the Session made by Prince *Sigismund* vnto the Emperour, as King of Hungary, and had recouered Hermstad, and chased *Raduille* Vayuod of Valachia out of his countrey; where hauing settled a new Gouernour, and filled the garrisons with Haiduckes, he returned toward Transyluania, to oppose himselfe against *Fortgatsie* King *Matthias* his Lieutenant, who came H with troups out of high Hungary, and past the riuer of Tibisce. The Vayuod *Raduille* had retyred himselfe into Moldauia to Prince *Constantine*, whom he gaue to vnderstand, That *Battory* had an intent to seise vpon his country, and to make but one Monarchy of their three Prouinces: whereupon they joyned their forces together, and in the end of Iune entered into Valachia, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the garrisons. This exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the prosperity of their armes; they entered into Transyluania, whereas they pursued *Battori* with such dilligence, as they forced him to come to a battell neere vnto Cromstat, the which he lost with part of his troups, being constrained to saue himselfe with his horsemen in Hermstad, whereas some of the chiefe inhabitants seeing him receiue this disgrace, attempted to submit themselues vnder the obedience of King *Matthias*: but the practise being discouered by him, hee did such execution, as hee purchased to himselfe the name of Cruell. I

In the meane time *Fortgatsie* Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh vse of this defeat to seise vpon Transyluania; hee made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawne high Hungary into rebellion, and caused the Haiduckes to reuolt) so as being freed from that feare, hee entered into Transyluania; where hauing taken some Townes and Castles, hee layed siege to Clausenburg, the which he battered so furiously, as the garrisons and inhabitants seeing themselues ready to bee forced, yeelded, and tooke the Oath of Allegiance to King *Matthias* the fiue and twentieth of Iuly. But as these prosperities of *Fortgatsie* were humane, so did they not long continue. *Battori* being shut vp in Hermstad, conjures all his friends to K come vnto him, and entreated the Bassaes of Buda and Temesware to succour him, according to the commandement which they had receiued from the Grand Seignior: hee practised with *Nage* (a man which did swimme continually in the floats of inconstancy) and makes him to reuolt againe in high Hungary, vpon a surmise, That *Fortgatsie* had not kept promise with him; so as *Nage* tooke armes againe, seised vpon the fort of Bayens, and filled all high Hungary with combustions; so as *Fortgatsie* could expect no succours at his need from thence: then hauing receiued some forces from the Turks and Tartarians, he went to field, pursuing *Fortgatsie* with such heat and fury, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in Transyluania, and to retyre into Valachia. What desolation did this warre bring vnto these Prouinces by so many prises and reprises? *Battori* going with a thousand horse to surprise Tocai, L vpon the frontiers of Valachia, whereas they then held a great faire, he found the garrison so watchfull vpon their guard, as hauing lost part of his horsemen, he was forced to returne into Transyluania.

Fortgatsie his miserable retreat.

On the other side, *Fortgatsie* with his Hungarians, thinking from Valachia to recouer high Hungary by the Countrey of the Zeclerians, could not effect his designe: for *Battori* being aduertised thereof, stopped his passage; and in like manner the Earles of Bucheime and Dampier had passed the riuer of Tibisce to meet him: so as *Battori* set such guards in all the passages and streights; that *Fortgatsie* was forced to retyre towards Polonia by the steep mountains, and desart places, wheras his army was so oppreset with famine and all other necessities, as they perished miserably, there remaining few aliue; with the which he ended his passage into Po- M lonia, and from thence soone after hee returned into Hungary, but with a very poore Equipage.

Thus the storme ceasing in Transyluania by the restraint of *Fortgatsie*, a more violent tempest

A tempeſt riſeth in Moldauia, to the end that theſe vnfortunate Regions ſhould neuer be without ſome touch of miſery: for the Turke hauing vnderſtood, That *Conſtantine* Prince of that country had relieued the Valachian againſt *Battori* his allye, or rather his Tributary, he ſends a new Prince into Moldauia, the ſuppoſed ſonne of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as ſome write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteene hundred ſouldiers, with Letters of command to the Turks and Tartarians thereabouts, to aſſiſt him with their forces. This new Prince was ſometime in France, and afterwards detained priſoner in the Fort of *Iaques* in Spaine, within the Pyrenean mountaines. Thus two Princes contend for Moldauia, the one ſupported by the Polonian, and the other by the Turke. But behold, a third Prince commeth in and pretends a title, being ſonne to one *Ianicolo* who had commanded there. This B man had beene a priſoner in the blacke tower at Conſtantinople, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that he had loſt a battell in the yeare 1601, againſt *Michael*, who then poſſeſt Moldauia; who eſcaping from thence, wandred through diuers countries; and at laſt comming into England, his Majeſty of Great Brittaine pittying his miſerable eſtate, recommended him by his Letters to Sir *Thomas Glouer* his Majeſties Embaſſador, then reſiding at Conſtantinople, with commandement to aſſiſt him, and to ſolicite his reſtitution with the Grand Seigniour. Vpon the receipt of which Letters, he retyred this wandering Prince into his houſe at Pera, where he entertained him, with many of his friends and followers which repaired vnto him, for a long time; and in the meane time he ſolicited the Grand Seigniour for his reſtitution, hauing good acceſſe vnto him, by reaſon that he ſpake the Tur- C kiſh tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman, or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan ſtill gaue good anſwers, but with delaies, that it was not yet time; but he ſhould haue ſatisfaction. His Competitor (who was in poſſeſſion of Moldauia) hearing of this practiſe, made friends at the Great Turks Court, and corrupted ſome of the Baſſaes by bribes, (they being all by nature very couetous) to the end they might croſſe his deſigne, and make him away if it were poſſible: and among the reſt he had won *Murath Baſſa* the grand Viſier, a man of great power and authority, who practiſed many means to get the Moldauian into his hands. Firſt, he ſent word vnto the Embaſſadour, That the Sultan hauing a meaning to reſtore him, deſired to ſee the man, if he were capable of the place or no: but being aduertiſed of their intent, and well acquainted with their practiſes, he refuſed to ſend him. After which, he wrote vnto him, That D it was the Grand Seigniors pleaſure he ſhould ſend the Moldauian vnto him, that he might confer with him. To whom the Embaſſador made anſwer, That vnleſſe he might ſee a Warrant vnder the Grand Seigniors own hand, he would not deliuer him. *Murath Baſſa* ſeeing that none of theſe practiſes could preuaile, reſolued to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thouſand Ianizaries. The Embaſſadour hearing of his intent, fortified his houſe, and armed his people with the Moldauians which were with their Prince, meaning to ſtand vpon his defence. *Murath Baſſa* deſirous to know what the Embaſſador did in his Lodging, diſguiſed a Ianizary like vnto a Greekiſh Sheepheard; who entering into the Embaſſadors houſe, found them all in armes: then returning vnto the Baſſa, he told him that he had to do with a mad man, and if he proceeded in his enterpriſe, he would hazard the E loſſe of many Ianizaries: whereupon he gaue it ouer. After which, the Embaſſador being called home into England, the Moldauian deſpairing of reſtitution from the Turkiſh Sultan, he turned Turke; and being preſented to the Grand Seignior, was made Bey of Burſia in Aſia: the which he enjoyed not long; for *Naſſuf* comming from the Perſian wars, diſcharged him. Thus Moldauia hauing many pretented Souereignes, ſuffered many miſeries, and was a prey to Turke, Tartarians, and Polonians, all partiſans to theſe Souereignes.

Troubles in Moldauia.

Theſe were the troubles which the Turks cauſed at land for the ruine of the Chriſtians. But behold what he ſuffered at ſea by the gallies of Florence, Malta, and Naples; the Florentines made their enterpriſe apart. The Great Duke of Tuſcany being aduertiſed, That the Caraua which tranſported the tribute of Ægypt to Conſtantinople, prepared to put to ſea, he re- F ſolued to diuert this tribute, and by the valour of his armes to bring it to Ligorne: and for the effecting hereof, he ſpeedily armed foure gallions, vnder the command of *Beauregard* a Frenchman, who was Admirall. The firſt was called the new gallion, in which the ſaid Admirall went: the ſecond, the great Ligorne, commanded by *Brandequedor*, Generall at land, and allied to

The voiage of the Gallions of Florence, againſt the Turks.

to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captaines. *Beauregard* hauing receiued commandement, to paſſe with this fleet into the Leuant, to meet with the Carauan, he bent his courſe towards Candy, a fertile Iſland inhabited by the Græcians: Being arriued in the Port of Caliſmene to water, he continued there ſix daies. Leauing this Iſland, he ſailed towards Cyprus, which is held by the Turks, and ſo coaſting Siria, they learned of a ſhip of Marſeilles, that the Carauan was yet in the Port of Alexandria, where they prepared for their voyage to Conſtantinople. To attend them the Admirall *Beauregard* went and caſt anchor at the fort of Sidon, called Sarepta, gouerned by *Emir*, or *Armil Facardin*, a Rebell to the Turke, and a great friend to the Florentines, where he ſtaied twelue daies, to take in Bisket, fleſh, and other neceſſary refreſhings. And hauing made a more ſtrickt league of friendſhip with *Facardin*, he honoured him with a coffer full of arms, wherby the Florentines ſhips came as freely into thoſe parts, as into their owne country.

Beauregard hauing well victualled and munitioned his gallions, hee returned towards the Iſle of Cyprus, wheras he found a Chriſtians ſhip called the flying Dragon, which came from Damietta, by whom he was aſſured that the Turks army, conſiſting of a great number of gallies, was gone out of the Port of Rhodes, and had taken a Flemiſh ſhip. Theſe newes made him thinke that he ſhould meet the fleet, and that he muſt of force defend himſelfe. Wherefore he made all things ready, and preſcribed the order which his Captaines ſhould hold during the fight; cauſing his ordnance to be mounted as if they were to joyne. He had foure as good gallions, and as well furniſhed, as any were in the Leuant ſeas, either of them being armed with 40 pieces of ordnance, and 400 good ſouldiers. Betwixt the Iſland of Cyprus and Caramania they encountered this Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of forty gallies and two galliaſſes, vnder the command of Baſſa *Muſtapha Grego*, who was Generall of this fleet, which was in ſight of the Florentines ſhips: the galliaſſes aduance to take view of them, and to find how far their cannon would reach; and in the meane time the gallies put themſelues into the forme of a Croiſant, ready for the combat. *Beauregard* an old ſea Captaine, and well practiſed in ſea fights, would not make a ſhot againſt the gallies, but attended vntill the whole fleet came cloſe vp to him; which being neere, he ſaluted them ſo furiouſly with his cannon, giuing them the broad ſides, as the Turks (who expected no ſuch reception) were all amazed, and making a ſtand, would proceed no further. Their Generall hauing well obſerued the reſolute countenance of the Florentines, diuided his gallies into two ſquadrons; giuing charge to the one to giue an aſſault to the Florentines gallions; and in the mean time the reſt ſhould prepare themſelues to fight.

The Florentines meet with the Turks fleet.

Being thus diuided, they came one after another to the aſſault, the which continued for the ſpace of ſix houres, and yet could not boord them; *Muſtapha* ſeeing fiue of his gallies ſunke by the enemies cannon, with the loſſe of all the men that were within them. But ſuddenly the wind changed, and proued fauorable to the Florentines, who embraced this aduantage, giuing chaſe to the Turks gallies, forcing them to ſeeke their ſafety in the hauen of Famaguſta, the chiefe fort of Cyprus; ſo of aſſailants (being beaten) they became run-awaies: ſo inconſtant are the accidents of war; and eſpecially at ſea, whereas the good or bad ſucceſſe many times dependeth of a little winde.

Fiue Turkiſh gallies ſunke.

The Turks put to flight.

This Turkiſh fleet, hauing loſt fiue gallies, and recouered a Port in Cyprus, the Admirall *Beauregard* ſeeing his deſigne againſt the Carauan diſappointed, he reſolued to return towards Ligorne with his gallions: being at ſea, he encountred a Turkiſh veſſell called a Caramouſall, which came from Rhodes, to goe vnto Cyprus: they chaſed it, and in the end ouertooke it; which they preſt ſo with their ordnance, as they ſlew 130 Turks, and tooke 300 ſlaues. The booty was very rich, being valued at 140000 crownes. After this prize, their victuals beginning to faile, hauing beene ſo long at ſea, they bent their courſe for Ligorne: but the winde falling contrary, they were forced to ſtay eight daies in the Iſland of Scarpante, paſt the bar of Meſſina, and hauing giuen chaſe to certaine gallies of Tunes, they arriued at Ligorne the fifteenth of Iune, where there was great joy for their returne, and the prize which they had brought, the which according to the cuſtome was to be diuided; one third to the ſoldiers and mariners, and the other two parts imploied for the entertainment of the ſhips, and the paiment of the Captaines.

The Florentines take a rich ſhip of the Turks.

This

This Caraüan which goes from Ægypt to Conſtantinople, is euery yeare attended for, not only by the gallions and gallies of Florence, but by thoſe of Malta and Naples, and by all the Pyrats of the Mediterranean ſea: like vnto the Engliſh and Hollanders, who yearely lay in wait for the Indian fleet before the concluſion of the peace and truce with the Spaniards. And although their principall deſigne was to take ſome part of the Caraüan, yet they had other enterpriſes vpon the Turks Countrey, beſides the ſpoile of merchants which they met by chance, which many times payed the charge of their voiage; and ſomtimes, they that thought to take, were taken, and loſt both their ſhips and liues.

The gallies of Malta, commanded by the Bailife of Venouge, and thoſe of Naples by the Marquis of Saint *Croix*, joyned together ſoone after, with a deſigne to ſet vpon the Caraüan which carried the reuenue and tribute of Ægypt to Conſtantinople, or els to put in execution the enterpriſe which they had long before projected, vpon certaine places of Albania, or to ſurpriſe or ſpoile ſome Iſland in the Archipelague which might pay their charges. But the firſt failing, they met with a Venetian ſhip laden with merchandiſe, to the value of 100000 crownes. The Spaniards who commanded in the gallies of Naples ſeiſed vpon this ſhip, but the Generall of Malta would by no meanes conſent vnto it, nor ſuffer any of the merchandiſe to be put into his gallies, for that he would not vnjuſtly violate the friendſhip which was betwixt his Order and the State of Venice. This example did touch the Spaniards conſciences, ſo as within few daies they ſent away the Venetian ſhip, but in courteſie they had vnloden all the merchandiſe.

The Chriſtians gallies go to the Iſland of Lango.

After this prey of a Chriſtian ſhip, the fleet diſcouered two ſailes at ſea, ſending preſently after them, they were two barks, the one comming from Candy loaden with wood, and the other from Scarpante charged with wine, the which being brought vnto the Generals, gaue them to vnderſtand, that the Caraüan of Ægypt was not yet paſt, being aduertiſed that fifty Chriſtians gallies attended them in their paſſage. Vpon this aduice, the Chriſtian Generals being out of hope to ſurpriſe the Caraüan, preſently reſolued to vndertake a more great and glorious enterpriſe, and to ſurpriſe the Iſland and caſtle of Lango in the Archipelague, vpon the coaſt of Natolia; and about ſeuen of the clocke at night they ſet ſaile with a good winde, but being changed in the morning, they were forced to return to the Iſland of Porcherne: from whence they parted againe at eight or the clocke at night, and continuing their courſe, in the morning they diſcouered three Florentine ſhips, who told them, that they had entred into the Iſle of Nigropont with ſeuen gallies; but hauing beene diſcouered, they could not effect any thing; and that their gallies were ſeparated from them in the chaſe of foure galliots. The Chriſtian fleet continuing their courſe, they arriued about eleuen of the clock in the morning at S. *Iean de Seruaë*, where hauing caſt anchor, there was a Councell called in the Admirall: where they reſolued to petard the caſtle of Lango, toward the ſea: for the execution whereof they ſhould land 200 men; *viz.* thirty Knights and fifty ſouldiers out of the gallies of Malta, and 120 Spaniards out of the gallies of Naples; and that they ſhould carry two petards with them, the one giuen in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the troupe of them of Malta, and the other was conducted by the Spaniards; the reſt of their men which they ſhould land, ſhould go and aſſault the towne of Lango. With this reſolution they parted from S. *Iean de Seruaë*, with a good winde, and arriued at the Iſland of Lango on the ſixt of Iune, an houre after midnight, whereas they landed three miles from the towne: they that were appointed for the enterpriſe, marcht on with their petards, according to direction, but the night being very darke, the troupe of Malta ſtraied from their guide, but their valour brought them directly to the walls of the Towne; where after many turnings and windings to finde a fit place to plant the petard, (notwithſtanding they were diſcouered and much ſhot at) *Beaulaigue* ſet it to a Port next the ſea, well flanckt with the Caſtle, the which he forced, and his men entering with fury, went from ſtreet to ſtreet, and put all to the ſword that made reſiſtance. The Spaniards on the other ſide made another breach with their petard, and entered the Towne; notwithſtanding that at their firſt approch, the Turks (hauing diſcouered them) played vpon them with their great ordnance and ſmall ſhot. The troups being joyned together, hauing cut all the Turks in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Caſtle, which they thought to ſurpriſe: but the bridge was drawne, and they lay open at the mercy of their ſhot; ſo as there were fifteene Knights of Malta hurt, one ſlaine, with a Spaniſh Captaine,

Lango forced by the Chriſtians.

Captaine, and ſome ſix and thirty ſouldiers of the gallies of Naples, and as many wounded. Day being come, the Bailife of Venouge Generall of the gallies of Malta, came vnto the town with the foreward, wherein were 150 Knights, and 450 ſouldiers: the Marquis of S. *Croix* followed him with the two ſonnes of the Viceroy of Naples, and 1500 Spaniards, who ſpoiled the towne and ſuburbs, and tooke all that were liuing captiue: but the Caſtle being well fortified they found it impoſſible to force; whereupon embarking their men and ſpoile, they reſolued in their return to Malta and Naples, to make an enterpriſe vpon ſome towns of Albania: but vpon the way they were aduertiſed, That the Turks had diſcouered the intelligence which the Spaniards and Knights of Malta had with the Grecians of the country; whereupon they tooke reuenge vpon them, putting many of them to death, and amongſt others a Patriarch, who being accuſed to haue practiſed the Chriſtians reuolt againſt the Turks, was cruelly fleied aliue, and his skin ſent to Conſtantinople. So dangerous a thing it is to ſeeke for liberty with this Mahometane nation.

The Carauan of Ægypt was ſtill in the port of Alexandria attending a paſſage, and to be freed from ſo many Chriſtian gallies which lay in wait for it; and it ſtaied the longer by reaſon of the great plague wherewith Conſtantinople was afflicted. But in the end of October, *Mechmet* Baſſa of Caire (who would conduct it in perſon) hauing a conuoy of fifty gallies well armed, put to ſea, and arriued at Conſtantinople without any encounter. At his landing, this Baſſa cauſed to march before him 60 mules, euery one laden with 20000 ſequins in kind, being a whole yeares tribute of the Kingdome of Ægypt, the which he cauſed to be carried to the Sultans Serail. This mony was welcome to the Port: for the former wars both in Hungary, Tranſyluania, in Aſia againſt the Rebels, and in Perſia, had ſo waſted the Emperours treaſure, as it would hardly entertaine one of his armies. The Baſſa who had gathered this tribute together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his comming to the Sultans Port honored with the charge of Baſſa of the ſea, (he who had it before, being aduanced to the dignity of Viſier) and moreouer the Sultan promiſed him his daughter in marriage, being but three yeres old.

The Carauan of Ægypt arriues at Conſtantinople.

Newes came to the Port, that certaine ſhips, gallies, and galliaſſes of the Chriſtians, to the number of fifty, came neere vnto the Helleſpont; which put the Turks in great feare: and complaints being brought vnto the grand Seignior, That certain Caramouſals had bin taken by the Chiſtian gallies; he ſent preſently for the captain Baſſa or Admirall of the ſea, demanding of him, Whether the report of theſe loſſes were true or no? To whom he anſwered, Yes. Why are not you then at ſea, ſaith he? He anſwered, For that I can get neither men nor money. Whereupon the Deftardar or Treaſurers was ſent for, who had loſt his head, had not the Aga of the Grand Seigniors women entreated for him.

Graſſehoppers at Conſtantinople ſpoile the Country.

This Summer Conſtantinople and the Countries thereabouts was ſo plagued with ſuch clouds of graſſehoppers, as they did ſhadow the very Sunne beames, and fell vpon the City and country round about. The Turks conſulted with their Wiſe men, what it might portend: Who anſwered, That they did foreſhew great plenty to follow. But indeed they left not a greene hearbe nor a leafe in all the Countrey adjoyning, nor in the city, where they entered into their very chambers, and annoyed them much, beeing almoſt as big as dormice, with red wings.

Violent raine in the city.

And ſoone after there fell ſuch extraordinary great haile in Conſtantinople and Gallata, with ſuch abundance of raine, as the violence of the water did ſuddenly ſhut vp one of the gates of the city, and ſo rebounding filled their ſhops and houſes, that very many were in great danger of drowning. Some houſes fell downe, and ſome people were ſlaine; the pauements of the ſtreets were torne vp, and the ſtones carried together into great heapes.

We haue formerly made relation of the Perſians victories, and of the defeat and death of *Cicala* Generall of the Turks army, in the yeare 1605. And that the yeare following, the Sophy hauing recouered whatſoeuer the Turks had taken from his Predeceſſors, had extended the bounds of the Empire vnto the blacke ſea, from whence he ſent an Embaſſadour vnto the Grand Seignior, to let him vnderſtand, that hauing recouered what had beene vnjuſtly vſurped from him, he would proceed no further, but deſired to liue in peace; the which might now be the better aſſured, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreouer, this Perſian Embaſſadour hauing remained ſeuen moneths at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to

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A retire into Persia without audience. And lastly, That *Amurath Serder* the grand Visier was afterwards forced to conuert his arms against *Gambolat* and the rebels of Asia, and to neglect the war in Persia.

Notwithstanding the Persian war, there arriued this yeare at Constantinople an Embassador from Persia, who according to the Turks maner was attended on by a great troup of Chaoux on horsebacke, Capigies, Ianizaries, and other Captaines, sent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few daies after his arriual, there was a great shew made in Constantinople by the seuerall trades of the city, euery one marching by themselues before the grand Seigniors Serail, and representing vnto him their maner of marching in the warres, and the order of their prouision, some carying on their shoulders sheep, others lambs, calues, beef, B &c. All which was don in policie, to daunt and dis-hearten the Persian Embassadour, and to encourage their own people; and withall to let him know, that there should be as great plenty in their campes, as he saw at that present. And to abuse him still with the imagination of their great preparation, the Chimacham or Visiers Lieutenant sent the next day for this Persian Embassador, and during their conference had taken order, that the Emperor of Tartaries brother (who was then in the Sultans Court) should come in: at whose entrance the Chimacham arose from his place, saying, *O, I know for what you are come, it is for mony for your soldiers; you shall receiue it at such a place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the English Embassador, then present: which was don to terrifie the Persian Embassador; and the same time and to the like end they sent ouer diuers troups of soldiers to Scudaret, as if they had been ready C to march with an army.

1611. *A Persian Embassador comes to Constantinople.*

The Turks great armies are not raised in hast, neither do they march in post; when as the Spahi, which make the greatest part of his army, and haue no other pay or entertainment than the reuenues of certain land, are discharged, they must haue a whole year to recouer their reuenue, and to put themselues in equipage; and moreouer, it is threescore daies march for an army, from Constantinople into Persia.

Also in the years 1609 and 1610, the Turks had not attempted any thing against the Persian, who still solicited him for peace. The greatnes of the *Othoman* empire could not resolue to make a peace, hauing receiued so great defeats; they would giue it but as victors, not as vanquished. But this year *Achmat* resolued to send a puissant Army of aboue 150000 men, D against this antient enemy of his House, vnder the command of *Amurath Serder* his grand Visier: but before the army entered into Persia, it was without a commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of Iuly; so as they were forced to stay and attend the Sultans pleasure from Constantinople.

It was suspected he was poisoned by *Nassuf Bassa*, one that stood out in rebellion against the grand Seignior, and yet he had many friends in the Turks army. Wherfore to preuent all mutinies, and consequently the ouerthrow of the whole army, *Amurath Bassa* in his sickness aduised the grand Seignior (by letters which he sent vnto him) to make *Nassuf* Generall of the whole army, and so by faire meanes to draw him home, and then to dispose of him at his pleasure. The Sultan with the great Bassa's at Court approued wel of this aduice, and chose E him grand Visier, and General of the Army. Who hauing receiued the Seal and authority, did forthwith put many of *Amuraths* friends to death, and with their mony paid all the souldiers, which wanted pay, whereof some had beene without fiue yeares before. Hee also sent vnto the Grand Seignior threescore and ten mules loden with money of *Amurath* his Treasure, and threescore with goods; all which the Sultan gaue to *Amurath* his Wife and children.

It is strange to reade, how the Grand Seignior doth tyrannise ouer his subiects, and how seuerely he doth punish the least omission in any of his officers: for I find it obserued, that the seuenth of Ianuary in the end of this year 1611, the grand Seignior being abroad in the snow, and not wel prouided for of fuel, he caused *Stambol Aga* who had that charge, to be stript na- *Seuerity of the Sultan.* F ked, and set in the snow four or fiue hours. Indeed this winter was very rigorous, and there fel aboundance of snow throughout all Turky, with great stormes: many houses were beaten downe; and amongst others, the French Consull of Aleppo was slain with the fall of his own house.

Naſſuf marching with his army to the frontiers of Perſia, committed ſuch ſpoils, as the So- G
phy was conſtrained to draw all his forces together to preuent the ruine of his country, being then about the midſt of Auguſt. But when they were come to a battell, the Perſian finding himſelfe too weak for him, offred conditions of peace, and promiſed to giue the Turk a quantitie of ſilk which ſhould make the charge of 200 camels, for a yearly tribute, in acknowledgment of ſome Countries which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. Theſe offers were accepted at Conſtantinople: but there was added, That the Perſians ſon ſhould be called Baſſa of Tauris; and that the Magiſtrat or Iudge of that city, called the Cady, ſhould be ſent from Conſtantinople. We ſhall ſee in the following year the effects of theſe propoſitions, by the Embaſſador of Perſia, whom *Naſſuf* ſhall bring to Conſtantinople: in the meane time let vs return to the Mediterranian ſea, take a ſuruey of the valiant exploits of the Knights of H
Malta againſt the Turks.

On the 26 of April, a Turk hauing lent a good ſum of mony to a Chriſtian, to be paid at a certain day; he came before the appointed day with another Turk, and willed the Chriſtian to pay the mony to that other Turk when the day came. Which the Chriſtian promiſed to doe, and performed it accordingly; but the Turk denied the receit therof: wherupon he to whom the mony was properly due came and demanded it. To whom the Chriſtian anſwered, That he had paid it to that party to whom he had aſſigned it. Wherunto the Turk replied, That if it were ſo he were ſatisfied; but yet the other Turk denied it. Wherupon the matter was examined before the Iudge, and the Turk who had receiued the mony, taking an oath to the contrary, the Chriſtian according to the Turkiſh juſtice was inforced to pay the mony again: the I
which he did; but withal prayd God to ſhew ſome publique ſigne which of them had don the wrong. And therupon the Turk going forth to repair home to his own houſe, fel downe dead in the ſtreet.

The Great Maſter *Vignancourt* continuing his generous deſignes againſt the Turke, had an enterpriſe againſt Navarrin, a place importing this common enemy of Chriſtians: for execution wherof he ſent the fiue gallies of his Order vnder the charge of *Vaqueras*, great commander of the Order, and chief of the nation of Prouence. They came within ſome miles of the ſhore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had bin diſcouered by one of the caſtles of Navarrin, which had giuen the alarm vnto the whole country, ſo as they were forced to paſſe on to ſome more eaſie conqueſt, to the end their voyage might not proue vnprofita- K
ble: wherfore they ſailed into the Archipelague, and came neere to the coaſt of Morea, tenne legues from Corinth, where in the night they landed 800 men vnder the conduct of the commander *Cremeaux* General at land. This troup marched towards Corinth, and an houre before
Corinth ſacked by the Knights of Malta. day were at the town gates to force them. Some of the Turks took armes, but their weake reſiſtance could not ſtay the Knights from entring with their troups: they ſackt the town, and hauing taken what ſpoile was portable, they caried away with them 500 ſlaues. After this triumph, the Chriſtians made a happy retreit, & in good order, notwithſtanding al the attempts of the Turks horſe and foot, who were drawn together in great numbers, making 10000 ſouldiers, for the country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarqued their ſpoil & ſlaues. Herby it appears, that this was one of the moſt deſperat enterpriſes that hath bin of long time E
ſeen. For to attempt a place ſo far from their retreit, in ſo populous a country, which vpon the leaſt alarm may draw together ſo ſtrong a power; and to make their retreit with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great troups as purſued them: doubtleſſe wee muſt confeſſe, that as they ſhewed great valor, & had good fortune, ſo they vndertook a very dangerous enterpriſe. Thus the Knights of Malta vanquiſhed; whom we might tearm the maſters of the Mediterranean ſea, if the reuenues of their Order would ſuffer them to ſet forth ſhipping and forces equal to their valor.

But to follow the variable courſe of the hiſtory, let vs obſerue the different occupations of Chriſtians. At Prague the Germanes entertained themſelues with the conſideration of a Crowne, which appeared in the firmament ouer that City about the middeſt of the moneth M
October, giuing a very great light; and about it Armies of men fighting, as if it were who ſhould haue it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was vpon the Weſt, or declining of his dayes; and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of Hungary, was vp-

on

of the ſun riſing of his triumphs. Many expounded this heauenly apparition as a preſage of happineſſe and good fortune to *Matthias*; he enioyed the crowne of Hungary already, and by deſignation that of Bohemia; and now they did prognoſticate vnto him that of the Romans. Doubtleſſe men which aſpire after great fortunes do rather adore the Sunne riſing than ſetting; and mans life when it declines taſtes of the lees. The flouriſhing glory of *Matthias*, his age, and his actions in the Warres, did adde nothing to the authoritie of other men in the country, but did mightily ſettle his owne. Three Sunnes which were ſeene in the firmament ouer Vienna the chiefe city in Auſtria, confirmed the Germans more in this their hope, that he ſhould haue the third Crowne of the Romans. This laſt apparition hapned the yeare following.

B About the end of the yeare, ſome of the Engliſh Embaſſadours men entring into quarrell with certain Iamoglans of the next Serail, from words they fell to blowes. During which tumult one of the embaſſadors men threw a ſtone, and ſmote a Iamoglan on the forehead, whereof he died within few hours after. The Aga of the Serail complained herof vnto the Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſſa of Galata to make inquiry of the fact. The Embaſſador went himſelfe to the Serail, and ſent for his men which had bin in the quarrell, willing the Turks to deſigne the party which had thrown the ſtone. Who all with a ſhout ran vpon one *Simon Dibbins*, a man that was newly come from Candy, where he had ſerued in the Venetian garriſons, and was now entertained into the Embaſſadors ſeruice. This *Simon* was not he that threw the ſtone; notwithſtanding the Turks would none but him, on him they laid hands and dragged him away. The Embaſſador interpoſing himſelfe, and offering to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his men beaten, and one of his pages wounded. Wherupon he complained to the grand Viſier, but preuailed little; for to priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole month; neither could he be releaſed, albeit the Engliſh nation offered great ſums to ranſom his life; for the Turkes would needs haue bloud for bloud. The day of execution being appointed, the Embaſſador ſent his Chapleine to the priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for death: vnto whom (examining him how he had formerly liued) he confeſſed, that in England ſome few years before he had killed a man; for which fact he fled thence into Candy; from whence he came to Conſtantinople, where he was to ſuffer for that which hee did not: the iuſt iudgement of God purſuing him to the ſhedding of his bloud in Conſtantinople among the Turks vndeſeruedly, for the bloud which he ſhed in England wilfully. He was hanged at the Embaſſadors gates: his head and heels the next night were ſtoln away by the Turks, as it was thought, to vſe in ſome kind of Sorcery; the other parts of his body they had leaue to take down and bury.

This year 1612, they did celebrate at Conſtantinople a double nuptial feaſt; for the mari- 1612.
ages of the Baſſa *Mehemet*, ſonne to the deceaſed *Cicala*, with the Sultans ſiſter; and the Baſſa *Mechmet* Admirall at ſea, he whom we haue ſeen lately return from Egypt, and bring to Conſtantinople the reuenues of that rich kingdom, with the eldeſt daughter of his Emperor. For the feaſts of yong *Cicala* the Spahi made courſes on horſeback with battle-axes and barres, in the open place neer vnto the Serail; where they made diuers fire-works of very great charge,
E but of ſmall inuention; and they gaue preſents to aboue 20000 perſons, beſides the charge of the banqueting ſtuffe, which amounted to aboue 20000 crowns. The pomp was double; for the Sultans women celebrated that day with the greateſt ladies of the Port; & the men apart in other places did celebrate it in like manner. But the magnificence of the marriage of the Baſſa Admiral at ſea with *Achmats* eldeſt daughter had far more luſtre at the port. The ceremonie was performed the 30 of Iune, twenty daies after the other; and the order of this great pomp, as wel as ſome other which we haue deſcribed in this hiſtory, requireth a particular relation.

The day before the conſummation of the marriage, they ſent the brides moueables and jewels, from the Serail to the bridegroomes lodging, in this order and ſtate following. Firſt,
F there marched fiue hundred Ianizaries on foot, beeing followed with the grand Prouoſt of Conſtantinople, and the general Surueyor, both on horſebacke, and attyred in cloth of gold; the Aga or Colonel of the Ianizaries very proudly adorned, and inuironed with ſome Ianizaries, marched alone on horſebacke: after theſe, two hundred men of qualitie well mounted, and richly attyred, followed with a ſlow pace. The laſt which marcht in this pompe or ceremonie,

monie, were the Taliſmans, Centons, Emirs, and other miniſters of *Mahomets* Clergy. And G preſently after followed the Baſſa *Achmat*, Deftarda or Treaſurer; who conducted the moueables, as choſen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the Bride, beeing inuironed with twelue footmen attyred in long robes of gold. After him followed the moueables, apparell, and jewels, which made the brides truſſe, hauing in the head excellent muſicke after the Turkiſh maner, of hoboies and kettle-drums on horſeback.

Theſe moueables conſiſted of 27 preſents: the firſt was a little hat al of gold, couered with pretious ſtones, and pantofles or womens ſhooes after the Turkiſh faſhion of pure gold, inriched with Turquoiſes and Rubies: a booke of *Mahomets* Law, the couer wherof was of maſſie gold all ſet with diamonds; many bracelets and other rare deuices for women of pure gold, with many pretious ſtones: a little coffer a cubit long, and halfe as broad, all of rock chryſtal, H hauing the corners of gold, in which were to be ſeen great diamonds and huge pearles, to the value of 80000 pounds ſterling. After this pretious coffer were caried many ſmocks imbroidred with gold and pearle, and head-bands for the forhead, with many robes of cloth of gold. All this was diſtributed into 27 preſents, as we ſaid, and caried with great pompe by 27 men on foot.

After theſe preſents followed 11 Caroches full of yong maidens, ſlaues to ſerue the bride: theſe Caroches were couered and ſhut, and either of them attended by two eunuchs Moores. After theſe followed 28 virgins ſlaues, attyred in cloth of gold, and accompanied by 28 black Eunuchs, al on horſeback and richly clad. After which were ſeen 240 mules loden with tents of tapeſtry, cloath of gold, ſattin, veluet, with the ground of gold, with many cuſhions which I are the chairs the Ladies of Turky vſe; with many other rich and ſumptuous mouables. Such was the truſſe which this yong princeſſe brought to her ſpouſes houſe. Doubtleſſe this equipage was ſtately, and did wel become the pompe and greatnes of the *Othoman* houſe, from the which ſhe deſcended, the mightieſt and richeſt of all the royal houſes of Europe, yea of the whole world.

Achmat his daughter royally maried.

The mariage day being come, the bride was conducted to her husbands lodging with no leſſe pomp and ſtate than her moueables. The Ianizaries marched firſt, as they had formerly don, being followed by the grand Prouoſt, the Surueyor their Aga, and many other Officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are deſcended from *Mahomet*, and alone carry greene turbants) marched after to the number of 80. This name of Emir is as much to ſay as Lord: they which K wear them anſwer not, and obey none but their Chiefe, called Mirabachi; and their voyce in judgment ſtands for two. They were followed by the Taliſmans or Prieſts of *Mahomets* Law, and by a great number which ſtudy it, and aſpire vnto the office of Cadies or Iudges, of Cadileſquiers or Mufti. The Viſiers or ſupream Iudges of the Turks eſtate, who iudge of all affairs in councel, came after with the grand Viſier, who is Lieutenant Generall to the Turkiſh Sultan thorowout his whole empire, and keeps the ſeals of the empire: he had on his left hand (which is the moſt honourable rank in Turky) the grand Mufti or ſupreame Biſhop of their Law. The muſick followed after on horſeback, conſiſting of thirty men with drums and hoboies, being followed by eight Egyptians which caried Biſcan tabors, and did a thouſand Apiſh tricks. Theſe were followed by forty muſitians marching two and two, ſome playing on L citerns, others on harps, and ſome on lutes after the Turkiſh maner. A foole, held for a Saint among them, being muſled with a cap and a cloak couered with mutton bones, danced & ſung with theſe inſtruments: 50 of the chief officers of the Arſenall marcht after him, and 30 men with hammers and other iron inſtruments, to break down whatſoeuer aduanced too far in the ſtreets, & might hinder the free paſſage of two trees of an immenſe height, laden with diuers ſorts of fruits all of wax, carried by many men, and ſupported from the top and the midſt with ropes. After theſe trees came 20 officers belonging to *Achmat Baſſa* the high treaſurer, godfather to the bride; and he himſelf alone richly attyred and proudly mounted. After whom came two great torches light, carried by many ſlaues, and then a third torch of a wonderfull bignes, all couered with plats of gold, and ſhining more with pretious ſtones than the flame M that burnt. The *Raiſſer Aga* with fifty of the Princeſſes officers followed theſe lights, and after them was caried a great canopie of crimſon Veluet, and after it another greater, couered with plates of gold, whoſe curtaines being ſhut on all ſides hung down to the ground. Vnder this canopy was the princeſſe on horſeback, with ſome of her blacke eunuchs, her caroch followed

lowed couered with cloth of gold, and drawn by foure great white horſes, wonderfull beautifull. Then followed eight other caroches, in which were a great number of the brides maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, 25 virgins ſlaues, choſen amongſt the faireſt, all on horſbacke, hauing their haire confuſedly hanging vpon their ſhoulders. Such was the pompe of this marriage: but many times the nuptiall feaſt is intermixt with funerall mourning. For not many daies after, the Sultans ſecond daughter, promiſed to *Naſſuf Baſſa*, was carried to her graue without any pompe or honour: for the Turks make no great eſteeme of women. *The death of the Sultans daughter.*

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the mother of this daughter, whom he had married to the Captain Baſſa; he ſtabbed her with his handjarre or dagger through the cheeke, and trod her vnder his feet. The reaſon was, becauſe ſhee had ſtrangled a fauorit of his, which was one of his ſiſters ſlaues, whom the Grand Seigniour hauing ſeene, and being enamored with her, ſent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, cauſed her to be brought to her lodging, where ſhee ſtript her of her apparrell, ſtrangled her, and put her clothes vpon one of her owne ſlaues, whom ſhe ſent to the Sultan in ſtead of the other, and at her returne ſtrangled her alſo; as ſhee had done many others when they once appeared to bee with childe by the Grand Seigniour.

The plague beginning furiouſly to ſpoile the City of Conſtantinople, the Sultan was forced to return to his country palace, called the Serail of *Darut Baſſa*, to auoid the danger of this violent contagion: the which makes mee thinke, that the Turkiſh Emperours for their owne profit diſpenſe with ſome articles of their faith; for as we haue ſaid before, The Turks are ſo obſtinatly tied to the beleefe of Predeſtination, as they will not vouchſafe to turne from a peſtiferous body, when it is carried to the graue, and much leſſe forbeare to viſit his friends, being ſick of the plague, for that (ſay they) if we muſt needs die of this contagion, it is in vain to flie it, for it will find vs whereſoeuer; if not, our health ſhall neuer be impaired, although we conuerſe with thoſe that are ſicke of this diſeaſe. But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea and to cauſe them to be led vnder the arms that come to kiſſe his hand, leſt they ſhould offer him ſome violence. Thus we ſee the defect of falſe religions, when as we ſee this marke of vniuerſalitie in the faith taken away; for there euery man beleeues according to his priuat intreſt, as wellas among many others which haue ſeparated themſelues from the truth, to canton themſelues in their errors, where we doe often trie the diuerſitie of their beleefe. *A great plaghe at Conſtantinople.*

Sultan *Achmat* being in his palace of *Darut Baſſa*, and going to viſit a ſtately Moſque which he cauſed to be built there, a Deruis or religious Turke thruſt on by ſome deuilliſh fury, caſt a great ſtone at him to beat him downe; but the blow of this deteſtable traitor, fell vpon his ſhoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they ſhould draw from this wretch the confeſſion of his confederates: but the officers of the port cauſed him to be executed the next day, ſomewhat too ſuddenly, and by a death too honourable, for a crime ſo ful of abomination, for they cauſed his head to be cut off. A Deruis of the ſame order had in former times ſought to murther the Emperour *Mahomet* the ſecond.

On the 14 of Aprill, the Lady *Anne Glouer*, wife to Sir *Thomas Glouer*, Embaſſador reſiding at Conſtantinople for the Engliſh, was buried with very great ſolemnity, the like had not bin ſeen in that countrey, ſince the Turks conquered Conſtantinople. There were preſent at this funerall of moſt nations in the world; the ſermon was preached in a large garden vnder a Cypreſſe tree: and although but few of thoſe preſent did vnderſtand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Ieſuits and Friers had formerly poſſeſt both Iewes, Turks, and other people, that the Engliſh nation ſince the change of their religion, had neither churches, nor any form of diuine ſeruice; hereby they perceiued, that they had both, and ſerued God far more decently and deuoutly than they themſelues; inſomuch that the Ieſuits being aſhamed of their impoſtures, and ſlanderous vntruth, durſt not for a while after walke the ſtreets, for feare of the Turks, who threatned them for ſo much belying the Engliſh. The Sermon being ended, the body was caried from Pera vnto the Engliſh graues, which were almoſt a mile from the place; it was cloſed in lead, and laid in a Caroch couered ouer with blacke veluet, and the horſes with blacke cloth. The Dutch Embaſſador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonell with a great number of all nations both men and women followed her to her graue. The tomb was of faire marble, built foure ſquare almoſt the height of a man, hauing an Epitaph engrauen thereon. *The funerall of the lady Glouer, the Embaſſadors wife.*

The castle of Lango taken by the Florentines.

We haue seene the yeare before, the Island and towne of Lango spoiled by the gallies of Malta and Naples, but the Castle was saued from ruine, by the resistance it made against the Christians attempts: but this yeare in Iune the great Duke of Tuscans gallies running ouer the Archipelague, assailed it so furiously, as they forced and spoyled it, carrying away twelue hundred prisoners. *Mechmet Bassa* Admirall at sea, whom we saw euen now busied at his nuptiall pompe, with the Emperours eldest daughter, being aduertised of these spoyles of the Florentines, by the dayly complaints of the Turks which lost their shipping, and of many other enterprises attempted vpon his Masters countries lying neere the sea shore; he departed from Constantinople in August with three and thirty great gallies, hauing commanded all the Beyes of the Islands and townes in the Archipelague, to ioyne with him, with as many gallies as they could make, to stop the Christians courses in the West. But whilst that he is busied in those seas, the Pirats of Rascia descending into the Euxine sea, by the mouthes of those riuers which discharge their waters into the sea, ouerran and spoiled the Turks coasts of those parts.

At the firme land *Constantine* one of the pretending Princes in Moldauia, annoyed all that had any dependance vpon the Turke. A part of that great army of the King of Polands, which had mutined for their pay, spoiled Podolia; and a Prince of the Tartarians discontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a cousin of his before him in the inuestiture of the realm of the Tartars Precopians, with 5000 souldiers spoiled the riuers of Moldauia vnder the Turks dominion, and he did the like in the gulph of Nicopolis.

Troubles in Moldauia.

This was at such time when as miserable Moldauia was the theatre, wheras the Turks, Tartars, and Moldauians acted a bloudy tragedy, at the costs and charges of the poore countreymen. For *Tomsho* hauing been chosen Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince by the Turke, *Constantine* who could not endure that he should reigne, armed the country, ouerran it, spoiled it, and made hauocke of all, detaining two Capigi prisoners, whom the Sultan had sent to him, with commandement to obey his will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomsho* in the possession of his Prouince. But this was a message of hard digestion to *Constantine*; hee could not with patience yeeld to this cession of Moldauia: and in stead of sending these messengers back to the Turke with an answer, hee carried them with him into Polonia, whither he went to demand succors, and caused them to be guarded as prisoners. In the meane time by the support and aid of *Potosly* Gouernor of Velin his brother in law, he obtained from the King of Poland, that he should be supported against Prince *Tomsho* his competitor, whom the Turke had aduanced; and to make his entry into Moldauia more easie, they resolued to send an Embassador vnto Constantinople, to intreat *Achmat* to call backe *Tomsho* to his Port, that *Constantine* might quietly enioy Moldauia; and to acquaint him with the right and interest the Polonians had by their capitulations with the Turks, to name a Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince, to the end no wrong might be done vnto them.

This Polonian Embassador being arriued at Constantinople (thinking to be presently dispatched, either by a grant or denial of his demand, & not to stay aboue fifteen or twenty days) being visited at his arriuall by all the Embassadors of Christian Kings and Princes which remained there: in stead of audience, after six weekes attendance, hee was arrested and detained prisoner, vnderstanding from the Turks, that he should haue no liberty vntill that the two Capigi, whom Prince *Constantine* carried into Poland were released.

The troubles and diuisions among Christians, neighbours to the Turke, haue alwaies serued as a bridge for this Infidell to inuade them, and by this aduantage to vsurpe such townes and countries as lie fit for him. Now that Valachia, Moldauia, yea and Transyluania, are tost and turmoiled with continuall disorders and combustions; the Sultan seemes to embrace this occasion, to make himselfe Souereigne of those Prouinces, and to get possession of al that lies betwixt the riuer of Danow, the mountains of Sarmatia, the riuer of Tibiscus, and the Euxine sea. Hee emploies all his thoughts and inuentions vpon this subiect, to bring his designes to effect. He armes and drawes forces about Belgrade, vnder the conduct of Bassa *Mahomet Bellergi*: He commands the Tartarians to enter into Moldauia, and he sent a nauall army towards the mouth of the riuer of Danow, which made the frigots of Rassia to dislodge, the which had continually made inroades and spoyles vpon his lands. *Battori* Prince of Transyluania was at that time before the towne of Cromstad, which he had besieged, but the tediousnesse of this

siege

A siege made him resolue to send an Embassador to Constantinople, to demand succours from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this siege, and to take the towne: he gaue this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and sent him to the Sultans Port: but in stead of seruing his Master faithfully, hee practised a detestable treason against him, to put the Turke in full possession of Transyluania, and to make him absolute Souereign. The practise was concluded after this manner, That the Bassa *Mahomet Belzergi* should enter the Prouince with his army, and that *Giezi* should ioyne with him certaine troupes, and should deliuer vnto him Veradin, Lippa, and some other strong and important places; and for recompence hee should inuest him in the Principalitie of Transyluania, in the place of *Battori*, and vnder the authoritie of *Achmat*.

B This treason might haue drawne this miserable Prouince into ruine, and it may be the rest neere adjacent, if it had taken the effect which the trecherie of *Giezy* had promised vnto himselfe. But the Bassa of Buda vnderstanding that *Battori* had some vent of the practise at the Port, and that being now in great feare and perturbation, hee had raised the siege from before Cromstad, and was ready to cast himselfe into the armes of the Palatine of Hungary, and to craue reliefe from him; the crafty Bassa knowing that this course would be prejudiciall for the Sultan, and finding that the deposing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, hee diuerted *Mahomet Bassa* from attempting any thing against *Battori* or Transyluania. This act shewes sufficiently, that Christian Princes which thinke to shelter themselues vnder the shadow of the Turkish crescent, are very ill assured: for he neuer failes to stir vp enemies a-
C gainst them, to make them sue for succors, and himselfe necessarie: Then in the end hee expels them, and becomes absolute master of their countries. It was also said, That the Bassa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in Transyluania, by reason of the election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Bassa of Buda was assured by the Embassador which the said Emperor sent to Constantinople, to carry the Presents vnto the Sultan, which Embassadour was honorably entertained at Buda by the said Bassa, and from thence conducted safely to Constantinople.

But not to keep these Turkish troups idle, *Mahomet Bassa* being aduertised that *Constantine* the pretending Prince in Moldauia, had been in Poland to craue some assistance from thence, he resolued to imploy his forces that way, to dispossesse him and to settle another.

D But the better to vnderstand the beginning and successe of these Moldauian warres, wee must make a repetition of that which past some yeares before. In the yeare 1608, *Ieremie Mohyla* Prince or Vayuod of Valachia. died: committing the gouernment to his brother *Simeon*, during the minoritie of his three sonnes, *Constantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldest being but eight yeares old. He left three daughters married to three generous Princes of Polonia, *Potosky*, *Visinousky*, and *Corresky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the gouernment vntill the yeare 1611; after whose decease the young Prince *Constantine* by the persuasion of his mother, that he might safely take vpon him the gouernment of Moldauia, and not attend any confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon* who had been confirmed by the Turke which then reigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entred the gouernment. At
E this time there remained at Constantinople, one *Stephano* or *Tomsho*, who had of long time practised the fauour of one of the Visiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of Georgia (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Visier) and of some other Bassaes, as well by money as by other practises, suggesting falsly that he was sonne to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vayuod of Moldauia before the deceased *Ieremy*: and he preuailed so by his practises and corruption (whereunto the Turks are more subiect than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principalitie by the Grand Seignior, and hauing giuen him to vnderstand by the Visier, that *Constantine* had thrust himselfe rashly into the gouernment, and that hee would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Souereigne, nor pay the yerely tribute, which was 40000 chequines, hee sent *Fousseyen Aga* with 20000 Turks and Tartarians to
F settle *Stephen* or *Tomsho* in Moldauia, and to expell Prince *Constantine*. Which army marched so secretly, as they had in a manner surprised him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 men, hee resolued to attend the euent. The Aga sent to acquaint him with his commission, and among other things threatned him, that if he would not suffer him to proclaime *Stephen* Vayuod of Moldauia, and yeeld him the City of Yas free; he would cut him in pieces.

Where-

Whereunto *Constantine* made answer, by the aduice of the Prince *Potosky* his brother in law, That the Grand Seigniour had been abused: for if hee had vnderstood, that his predecessor had granted vnto the deceased Prince *Ieremy* his father, and to Prince *Simeon* his vncle, That he should succeed his said father in the gouernment: it was not credible that he would seeke to dispossesse him by force, without hearing, and install in his place an vnknowne person, who had falsely supposed himselfe to be the sonne of a Prince of Moldauia: neither should they finde, that he had refused to acknowledge the Sultan for his Souereigne Prince, or denied to continue the same tribute which his father and vncle had paid; but if the Aga would proceed without any respect of his offers, he did hope that the true God of battel would maintain him in his iust defence, and would not suffer an vsurper to preuaile ouer a lawfull Prince. *Fousseyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulate with Prince *Constantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Presents and promises, aduanced with his army, so as the next day they ioyned battel; but the Moldauians oppresst with multitudes of Turks, Tartarians, and Valachians, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Constantine* to saue himselfe, and to suffer him to finish the battell: but he could by no meanes persuade him, still resoluing to attend the euent. Whereupon they went both again to the charge with such troups as they had left, and defeated many of the Turks forces; but being oppressed with a new supply of 2000 horse which the *Aga* sent by *Stephen*, they were constrained to yeeld themselues to the mercy of their enemies. Prince *Constantine* fell to the Tartarian share, either for that he had been taken prisoner by some of them, or else was giuen them by *Fousseyen Aga*, to draw a ransome from him, and be in stead of their pay. But they made no great vse of him; for as they led him away, passing the riuer of Niestre, hee leapt into it, thinking either to saue himselfe by swimming, or vnwilling to suruiue his disgrace. And as for Prince *Potosky*, he was carried to Constantinople, and was put into the blacke tower, which is a prison appointed for men of quality, where he continued vntill the yeare 1616. The losse of this battell by *Constantine*, gaue an easie entrance to *Stephen* into Moldauia, no man daring oppose himselfe against the Turks forces, so as *Fousseyen Aga* caused *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of Moldauia in the city of Yas, and then dismissed his army, and returned to Constantinople. Such was the fortune of the Prince of Moldauia, ruined by the Turks, and such was the disorder and confusion of his miserable countrey.

This Summer Constantinople and the countrey round about, was annoyed with aboundance of Grashoppers, as it had been in the former yeare: but to free themselues from this deuouring vermine, about the middest of Iuly, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Alexandria, with diuers other Bishops, and Calloires attyred in their copes and other ornaments, went forth in solemne manner at the gates of Andrianople, being the North gate of the City. Whereupon (said the Greeks) they all perished: and indeed about this time infinit heapes of them were found dead; but not by reason of their curse, for most were dead before they cursed them, and were to be seene dead vpon euery bush and twigge of a tree before their curse, and many liued after their curse, and contiuued vntill the next Summer. The cold deawes which fell this Summer (being extraordinarie) were thought to bee the naturall cause thereof; God causing those dewes to fall, to free the countrey from these deuouring creatures.

The troubles of Transyluania.

Let vs now describe the miseries of the Transyluanian, and of his Prouince, a table so often represented in this Historie. *Gabriel Battori* who gouerned Transyluania, as lawfully descended from the Souereigne Princes thereof, hauing made himselfe a tributarie vnto the Turke, and by his impious actions mingled *Mahomets* impietie with the Christian Religion; and moreouer, exceeding in his crueltie, became a memorable example to all posteritie, that Princes which carry the glorious name of Christians, when they haue once laid aside all feare of the Souereigne of Princes, cannot attend, but a miserable end in their reigne, conformable to the course of their enormities. So *Gabriel Battori* holding it a law of State, to settle his affaires with the ruine of religion, allyes himselfe with the Turke, and with him afflicts the Christian Prouinces. But seeing many factions made against him, as wel by the descendents of *Botscay*, as by *Giezi*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and some other, hee supports himselfe with the forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in high Hungarie, who came vnto him to the siege before Cromstad to assist him in his affaires. *Battori* entertained him with all

shewes

A shews of curteſie inuited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater demonſtration of friendſhip, after dinner they two went to take the air on horſeback. *Nage* had drunk after the Hungarian maner; *Battori* intreated him to run his horſe a career, and he refuſed it: the which *Battori* taking for an offence, ſpake many words of contempt vnto him, and hee anſwered him in the ſame manner, being more inflamed with wine, than gouerned by reaſon. *Battori* wonderfully offended, that a man of no ſort, being but a poore ſouldier of fortune, crept vp to ſome authoritie amongſt the ſouldiers but by degrees of rebellion, ſhould giue him ſuch words of indignitie, gaue him three blows on the head with a battle-axe which he held in his hand, and ſlew him. Thus *Nage* ſwimmes iuſtly in his own bloud, hauing wickedly, and to the ruine of his countrey, floted in the waies of vnconſtancie and popular tumults, and ſo he died as he had
B liued.

Battori kills Nage.

But *Battori* found himſelfe daily oppreſt with many affairs, which draue him inſencibly to his ruine. *Peter Decaci* kinſman vnto the deceaſed *Botſcay*, annoied him on the one ſide with troups of ſoldiers. *Andrew Giezi* (who had betrayed him in his embaſſie to Conſtantinople) leuied forces to proſecute him: and *Bethlem Gabor* a nobleman of Tranſylvania, aſſiſted by the Turk, took many places from him, after that *Giezi* had forced him to raiſe his ſiege at Cromſtad, and generally all Tranſylvania reuolted againſt this Prince. To ſee more plainely in the obſcuritie of theſe confuſed diſorders, you muſt vnderſtand that this prouince is peopled by three ſeueral nations, the Sicules, Saxons, and Hungarians. The Sicules, deſcended from the Scythians, came with *Attila* King of the Hunnes, in Pannonia, now called Hungary; and ta-
C king their way toward their country, they inhabited that part of Tranſilvania which lies next to Moldavia, and diuiding themſelues into ſeuen colonies, they built the towns of Kiſdi, Orbai, Scipſi, Cykuduarheh, Aranios, and Maros. The Saxons mutinying againſt the gouernement of *Charlemaign* King of France, for certain impoſitions wherwith he had charged them, retyred into Tranſylvania, and by force ſeiſed vpon that part of the country which confineth vpon Valachia; where they built the towne of Hermenſtad (otherwiſe called Cibin) Cromſtad, Nezen (or Biſtric) Meduviſch, Scieſpourg, Clauſenbourg, and Alba Iulia. The Hungarians inhabited this prouince from the time of S. *Stephen* King of Hungary; and hauing maſtred the other nations, they obtained ſuch preheminence amongſt them, that ſince their ſucceſſors haue cauſed themſelues to be called Nobles of Tranſylvania, and the Vayuods or
D Princes of the Countrey haue bin taken from among them. The Towns of Varradin, Deuer, Zilahi, Gela, and ſome others, owe their beginnings vnto them. The greateſt part of theſe three nations which inhabit Tranſylvania, were reuolted againſt *Battori*; but particularly the Saxons had taken vp arms againſt him, his great crueltie hauing forced them to this extreame remedie.

Parties againſt Battori.

Battori being thus abandoned by his ſubiects, proſecuted by his Nobility, and forſaken of all the world, knowing not whither to fly for ſuccour, and not daring to truſt vnto the Turke, who openly fauored *Gabor*; he reſolued to try if he could by preſents draw the Emperor *Matthias* to his aid. Wherfore he ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to promiſe all ſubiection and obedience: his preſents were, a long robe or ſacerdotal cloak of gold, ſet with pearle and pretious
E ſtones, certain plumes of blacke Herons adorned with pretious ſtones, a Turkiſh ſword, the ſcabberd being of ſiluer richly ſet with jewels, ten black horſes with rich furniture embroidered with gold and ſiluer, and a Turkiſh horſe, hauing halfe the body and legs of the color of gold, with his furniture of crimſon richly embroidered. He laboured to haue the Emperour giue notice to the Baſſa of Buda, That this attempt of the Turks againſt Tranſylvania was a breach of the peace. But the Baſſa made anſwer, That his Emperor was not to be blamed if he ſeiſed vpon that prouince, and kept it quiet from the practiſes of others, as belonging to himſelf. But *Battori* relying not wholly vpon this ſupport, but deſiring to haue more ſtrings to his bow, ſent Embaſſadours to the Sultan with rare and rich preſents; who had ſecret treaties and councels with the Baſſa's. The which *Negronius* the Emperors Embaſſador reſiding at Con-
F ſtantinople diſcouering, he ſent word vnto the Emperor, that he entertained a monſter among men.

About the ſame time there came Embaſſadours from the Saxon townes of Tranſylvania, complaining much of the crueltie and tyrannie of *Battori*. The Saxons (ſaid they) liuing many

Cruelty of Battori.

many years in Transylvania, and beautified the prouinces with townes, villages, and markets, G and had by their vertue obtained many priuiledges from former Emperours: but *Battori*, against his promised faith, and the oath which he had taken, had depriued them of their priuiledges, and afflicted them in such sort, as they were in a maner ruined. That from hie first entrance, he had sought to root out the antient family of the Saxons: That he had afflicted them with imprisonments and miserable seruitude, and had detained *Iohn Benner* three years in prison, for no other cause, but for that he knew hee had brought a great estate out of Germanie. He had depriued honest widowes of their estates, and had oppressed others with vniust exactions: he had surprised Hermstad the chiefe City of the Saxons, and suffered the Haiducks to spoil it, and to commit all sorts of insolencies. That he had expelled the Magistrates, banished honest citisens, rauished women, slain the parents, to depriue the children of their inhe- H ritance, and commited all the barbarous cruelties that could be deuised. That hee had sent three hundred Captiues to the Sultan for a present: many he cut into small pieces, some hee had thrown down from the tops of high mountains and towers, some he had hung vp by the feet, others he had drawn in pieces with wild horses & trees; and to conclude, he had practised all kindes of barbarous cruelties. That hauing expelled religious Princes out of Moldauia and Valachia, hee had made them subiect to the Turke: for no other end, but that getting an occasion to circumuent the Christians, he might wast all with fire and sword, hauing multitudes of Barbarians to second him. And for a conclusion of his notable crueltie, hauing fired the town of Gaudin, he had made choice of twenty of the principall inhabitants, and giuing euery one of them a pike, he forced them in his presence to kil one another in the middest of I the market place.

But God reuengeth his excesse in his ruine, whereinto we shall presently see him run headlong miserably: for *Bethlem Gabor* his capital enemy, hauing joined his forces with those of Bassa *Serder*, they both entred together into Transylvania, forced Lugasti, tooke Deue, and strooke a great terror into the whole Country. *Ogli Bassa* on the other side surmounteth the difficultie of the waies, and lodgeth with his troups in the suburbs of Cromstad, and from thence went and camped ouer all the tract of Barry or Barsac. Thus *Battori* sees himself oppresst by an enemy, from whom he can expect nothing but his miserie and ruine. He attended succors from the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the Palatine of Hungary and *Fortgatsie*; they came, but not such as were able to resist the Turks. This made him write to *Trinau* for the le- K uying of soldiers, but the hatred they bare him generally, deceiued his hopes, no man would march vnder his ensignes. This refusall makes him distrustfull, he dares not confer with any man touching the affairs of the war. A treaty of peace seemes most fit for his affaires: hee makes an ouerture to his most familiar friends, & tels them he holds it necessary to purchase his peace with *Serder Bassa*, at what price soeuer, yea were it in deliuering into his hands the places of greatest importance. But hee receiues no other answers from them, but that they had rather die than aduise him to it. Thus he sees himselfe void of all hopes of safety in his affairs: he wanted mony, his subiects, yea euen his soldiers hated him, as a prince abandoned to all crueltie; and for his last remedy, and the most ordinary in base and cowardly mindes, he fel into dispair, intreating one of his seruants to kill him: but the other refused him that L honor, suffering him to draw on his miserable life, vntil that within some few daies after, going forth to view where his troups were lodged, being in an open chariot, accompanied only with two gentlemen, fifty of his soldiers which attended him in an ambush, shot at him, slew him, and hurt those that did accompanie him. This accident happened in the yeare 1613. when as this vnfortunat *Battori* went to giue an account vnto God of the bad gouernment of his estate.

Bethlem Gabor made prince of Transylvania.

Some few dayes after, *Bethlem Gabor* was openly declared Prince of Transylvania by the Bassa *Serder*; who gaue him this aduertisement at his introduction; *Battori shall serue for an example to bad Princes; I doe not thinke that you will follow his steps. Beware that you attempt not any thing without the priuitie of my Master. Maintaine peace with your neighbours, and make men of ex-* M *perience and honesty of your Councell.* Transylvania did yet feare the continuance of a storme of a fatall Warre; when as in lesse than forty daies it saw it selfe setled in the calme of sweet peace, by the general acknowledgement which all the Townes made vnto *Bethlem Gabor*, and

the

the oath of fidelitie which they tooke vnto him as to their elected Prince; notwithstanding that the Emperor had imploied all his credit to hinder it. But the desire of peace, and feare of the Turks armies, drew all the Gouernors of towns to acknowledge *Gabor*. Such were the affairs of Transylvania, disordred by the Turk. Now let vs make an end of the remainder of the year 1612, the which we haue deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation of the affairs of this prouince.

We haue said elswhere, That the King of Persia had offered conditions of peace to Sultan *Achmat*, much to his aduantage, seeing that he yeelded himselfe the Turks tributary, in regard of certain lands which he had conquered from him. Now the Visier *Nassuf*, General of the army against the Persian, brings his Embassadour to Constantinople to conclude this peace. *Nassuf* ariued with his army and the Persian Embassador at Scudaret, right ouer against Constantinople, whither most of the Bassa's of the Port went to salute him, and then returned. But the grand Visier staid there two days; on the third he past ouer to Constantinople, where hee was entertained at the water side by all the Bassa's that accompanied him; an infinit number of Ianizaries going before with their pieces, and some of them in armor; after whom followed their Aga on horseback: then came a great number of Iamoglans, and the Emirs or kindred of *Mahomet* with their green turbants, with many blind men shouting aloud: These holy men caried the banner (as they say) of *Mahomet*, and the people standing by kissed it with great deuotion as they past. After them came the Chaoux on horseback, the Bassa's, & then the chief Mufti, and last of all *Nassuf Bassa* himself: after whom followed the treasure he brought with him for the Emperor, being 234 Mules loden with gold and siluer. The Visier as he past by the Sultans window bowed himselfe very low vnto him, from whom hee had a nod with his head, and so set spurres to his horse and rode away fast, as the manner of the Turkes is when they salute a greater man than themselues, presently to run or ride away apace. The Visier being come to the Serail, went in to the Sultan to kisse his hand; where hee continued a whole houre, the rest of the Bassa's attending without. There were present at this daies pompe the Emperors Embassador, the French, the English, Polonian, Low-Countries, and Venetian; the Persian remaining stil at Scudaret. The grand Visier as he past by the Emperors Embassador, put off his hat and saluted him, but not the rest. The same day *Tomsho*, who had bin lately made Prince of Moldauia by the grand Seigniour, sent many Polonians to Constantinople, whom hee had taken in the Warres. All which (notwithstanding they threw downe their Caps and offered to turne Turkes) were put to death. And within few daies after, the Visier *Nassuf* sitting in the publique Divano, had three robes sent him from the grand Seignior to grace him.

A Persian Embassador comes to Constantinople.

Achmat hauing a will to let the Persian see the magnificence of his Court, went out of Constantinople; and vnder pretence to go take the aire at his Country palace called *Darut Bassa*, he takes occasion at his return to make a stately entry into his Imperial city. The generall Surueyour being aduertised of his will, caused all the waies from his palace of *Darut* vnto the City to be couered with sand, the which containeth two French leagues, or four English miles. This done, the Emperour parted for his retinue, and entred in pomp into Constantinople. The order of his entry was in this manner. A great number of men at Armes marched first on horseback, and after them some troups of foot, the Cadies of Constantinople or men of justice; and all the Talismans, or those of *Mahomets* Law, in very great numbers followed after: and after these followed the Visiers and Bassa's in very great pomp. After whom followed the Sultans houshold, that is to say, ten men leading in their hands tenne goodly horses richly caparisoned, the last of which had the bridle and saddle all couered with pretious stones: the Sultans Target was made fast vnto the saddle, and vpon it did hang euen almost to the ground a great tassel of pearls; and ouer all this, a long horse-cloath or couering for an horse, the which was embroidered so thicke with pearle, as the ground could not be discerned. After which followed the rest of the Emperours houshold in diuers troupes: first, fifty Ianizaries on foot, euery one of them leading dogs in leashes, Mastifs, or Irish greyhounds: the goodliest of all were those which the French Embassadour had presented vnto the Sultan. Secondly, the grand Seigniors footmen, called Pelks, who were Persians by Nation, all wel attired, wearing on their heads bonnets of siluer and gilt, in form of pots. Thirdly,

Achmats stately entry into Constantinople.

threescore

threescore archers on foot, in the middest of which the Sultan came, attired in a rich robe of cloath of gold imbroidered with pearles and diamonds: his slaues were inricht after the same maner: his turbant couered with fiue plumes of black herons feathers, inricht with great Diamonds, and a chain of the same stones about the lower part of his turbant: vpon his little finger he had a diamond of a large bignes and inestimable price, which gaue a maruellous great light. He was proudly mounted vpon a goodly horse richly caparisoned, the saddle was embroidred with gold, pearle, and Diamonds, the stirrops of pure gold set with many diamonds, and from the horses neck did hang great tassels of pearle, which were so great, that they were exceeding pretious. After the grand Seignior followed three men on horsebacke, carrying in their hands, the one his arms, the other his cloak, and the third his Imperial turbant; & these were attended on by certain Esquires and gentlemen all on horsebacke. Then came the musick after the Turkish maner, consisting of threescore men on horsebacke, which played vpon Fifes, Clerons, and trumpets. Next followed an hundred pages of the Sultans brauely mounted, and followed by many Eunuchs; fifty of which pages caried euery one a falcon vpon his fist, hauing their heads inricht with diamonds; and these were followed by thirty gards of the Port. Then came fifty falconers and huntsmen richly attyred and wel mounted; four whereof had either of them before him vpon his saddle bow a Leopard couered with cloath of gold: with a great number of other Pages who were very beautifull, chosen amongst the infants of the tribute, and vnfortunatly appointed for the filthy and vnnatural pleasures of their master; whose garments after the Turkish maner were pretious, and made of rich cloth of gold curled. They were followed by a great troup of yong men plainly attired in cloath, hauing vpon their heads yellow caps pointed in form of a sugar loafe, and these were ordained to serue the Sultans pages.

There were moreouer diuers Beglerbegs attending the Sultan in this pomp; as of Bosna, Buda, Romania, Natolia, and others; euery company going distinct, both of horse and foot, with the Bassa's seruants all gallantly attyred & wel mounted. And after them followed *Nassufs* attendants, being fiue hundred in number richly armed. There were also the Kings Firemen, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or officers of gallies with spears in their hands: all that belonged to the Arsenal, the Carters which gouerned the carts going to war, and their captains; then the shot-men with their banner, and the Armorers all in armor with their banner. There were also the banners of the grand seignior *Mahomet*, and of the grand Visier, euery one in his order before the grand Seignior: and after all followed the Capigies and officers of his Kitchen. The number of all sorts of attendants in this pomp was so great, as they were reckoned to be forty thousand persons.

The Persian Embassador, for whose sake *Achmat* had made this stately shew, to the end he might carry back into his country a pattern of the *Othoman* state and greatnesse, caused to bee cast out before his lodging, when as the Sultan passed by, 100 pieces of silke, the which were gathered vp by the archers of his gard, wherof they made good purchase. All these magnificences, added to those we haue formerly related at the mariages of the Sultans daughter and sister; with other pomp celebrated in France, Spain, Naples, and Germany, for the mariages of *Lewis* 13, King of France, with *Anne* of Austria Infant of Spain; and of the Prince of Spaine with the Lady *Elizabeth* of Bourbon the Kings eldest sister; and for the coronation of the empresse, and the Emperors entry into Noremberg, may giue vnto this yeare 1612 the title of magnique or stately.

The Persian presents to the Sultan.

Foure daies after Sultan *Achmats* entry into the Imperal city, the Persian Embassador had audience, and was admitted to kisse his hand. He presented vnto his Maiestie in the behalfe of the King of Persia his master, foure hundred Balls of silke, a Besonard stone as bigge as a mans fist, with some others that were lesse; nine bags of leather ful of Turquoises, the which were a foot and a halfe long, and aboue foure fingers broad; a great number of Tapestries of Wooll, Silke, cloath of gold and siluer, with many other things of great price, and very rare. Their complements being ended, they began to treat seriously of a peace betwixt two great and antient enemies, the Turk and the Persian; the which after some difficulties was concluded vpon these conditions: That the Persian King should pay yearly vnto the Turkish Emperor by way of tribute, a quantitie of silk to the burden of two hundred camels: that the King

of

A of Persiahis sonne should be called Bassa of Tauris,and that the Cadi or Souereigne Iudge of that towne should be sent from Constantinople.This peace thus concluded to the Turks aduantage,the Persian Embassador returned vnto his Master, hauing left most of his traine dead of the Plague at Constantinople.Being arriued at Tauris,the King of Persia seeing this peace to be so dishonourable,and burthensome for him,he caused his Embassadours head to be cut off; and sent backe the Chiaux, who was come from Constantinople to see him sweare the peace. Some write that he did him some indignities,which made these two great Monarchs returne againe to armes.

The Grand Visier *Nassuf*,after his returne to Constantinople, to shew his great power and authority, procured meanes to haue the Chimacham (who had formerly supplied the place B of the Grand Visier in the absence of *Amurath Bassa*, and vntill the returne of *Nassuf*) to be depriued of his Bassaes place,and sent presently ouer vnto Scudaret, vnder pretence of preferring him to a gouernment neere vnto Trebizond in the confines of Turky, but with an intent to depriue him of his head. The friends of this Chimacham, (who were many and great in Court) seeing him so disgracefully sent away, and doubting *Nassuf* his purpose, procured leaue of the Grand Seigniour to haue him sent for backe againe, for that hee was an old man, and might from thenceforth liue at home in quiet; and for his former seruices done, a thousand Aspers a day allowed him for his entertainement: which *Nassuf* tooke very discontentedly.

The Emperour Matthias sends an Embassador to Constantinople

During the Persian Embassadours abode at Constantinople, the Emperour *Matthias* (suc- C cessour to *Rodulphus* his brother) sent an Embassadour to the Sultan, to complaine of the enterprises which were made dayly vpon Transyluania, a Prouince which he said belonged vnto him, as a dependance of his Realme of Hungary. This Embassadour called *Negroni* was receiued at the Court, and admitted to kisse the Sultans hand: but his Presents were little esteemed, for that they were of lesse value than those which they had lately receiued from the Persian. His demands to haue the Prouince of Transyluania,were grounded vpon an Article inserted among those of the peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botskay*, at that time chosen Prince of Transyluania; that is to say, *That* Botskay *dying without issue male, Transyluania should remaine at the disposition of his Imperiall Majesty*. This Article being read by *Negroni* in the Turks Councell, whither he had beene admitted; the Muphti or Souereigne Priest of D *Mahomets* Law, answered, That it was contrary to his Law: so the demands of this Embassadour touching Transyluania were reiected, seeing that *Botskay* had no power from the Sultan (said the Grand Visier) to treat with the Emperour, and to giue him Transyluania after his death. *Negroni* grounded this gift of *Botskay* (mentioned in the said Article) vpon the eighth Article of the peace betwixt the Turke and the Emperour, concluded in the Isle of Dannow,by *Amurath* Visier,and the Deputies of his Imperiall Majesty, in these words;*That all which had beene granted in the treaty of peace made at Vienna,to* Botskay, *should be duely and faithfully obserued*. *Nassuf* the Grand Visier replied, That the Bassa *Amurath* being then Visier, might erre in signing these Articles of the peace vpon the Dannow: and at the same instant he shewed forth some other Articles,whereas that was not inserted; saying, That the Sultan E would faithfully performe those and no others, pressing the Embassadour *Negroni* to signe them; the which he refused to do: so as *Nassuf* vsed some threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied,That he was in their power,and that in this case he had rather lose his life,and die gloriously for the good of his masters affaires, than to haue it taken from him at his returne to Vienna,with shame and infamy,hauing signed those Articles. Finally,he promised to aduertise his Imperiall Majesty, and to certifie them of his pleasure: which promise for this time ended the contention.

The malice and falshood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this yeare, Sultan *Achmat*, after the reception of the Persian Embassadour, and the stately entry hee made into Constantinople, went to lie at Adrianople, where his Ianizaries and Spahies began to mutiny, spurning at their Bread and Rice which F was giuen them for their dayly entertainement: and being demanded the reason of their insolency; they answered, That no Emperor before him had so carried out his men in the depth of Winter: which answer did much offence *Nassuf Bassa*. This Visier was in such credit with the

the Grand Seigniour, as during his abode at Adrianople, hee came three times in person priuately to visit him, who grew so powerfull ouer his masters affections, as he obtained a priuiledge, That it might not be lawfull for any man to speake with the Grand Seigniour priuatly, but himselfe. Being returned to Constantinople, there hapned a great fire, in which there were fiue hundred houses burnt. The Visier *Nassuf* comming to see it quenched, and finding some Ianizaries more carefull to breake open lockes, and rifle shoppes, than to doe any good seruice, he strucke out the braines of one of them with his mace, and brake the arme of another.

It had beene an antient custome in Constantinople, that the owner of the house with all his family where the fire began, should be put to death for their negligence: but it happening that the Emperors owne Seraill, in the time of *Mahomet* father to *Achmat*, being set on fire, *Cicala Bassa* presented a petition vnto him, that this custome might be abolished, holding it vnjust that other men should be put to death, and the same let passe in the Emperors owne house: whereunto he yeelded, holding it reasonable. And soone after there hapned another great fire, at which the Visier caused many of the Ianizaries to be hanged; finding them too busie in rifling houses; and he went vp and downe the streets with his scimiter in one hand, and a Ianizaries head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior sent Holy Water vnto the Visier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahomets* garment, the which being poured into the fire, the Turks said, it ceased presently; yet by the report of visible witnesses, it burned foure houres after. The Grand Visier *Nassuf* was a cruell enemy to the Ianizaries, of whom he sent sixteene thousand away into Asia, and would not suffer any moe to be made, but onely Spahies: and ouer such Ianizaries as remained he made his owne seruants to be Churbagies, and Agaes or Captaines ouer fifties and hundreds; fortifying himselfe by all meanes he could deuise, against the future time, to preuent his sudden ruine; but all this could not preserue him from a shamefull fall, as you shall hereafter heare.

Troubles in the Realme of Fez and Moroco.

In the meane time let vs passe vnto Affricke, to obserue the troubles which fell in the Realmes of Fez and Moroco; the quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muley Achmet, Ben-Abdalla* his nephew, and the victories of *Cidan* against *Abdalla*. The Family of the *Xerifs* Princes of Fez and Moroco, tooke its beginning some hundred and foure yeares since, from *Mahomet Xerif*, borne at Tigumedet in Dara, at this present one of the Prouinces of Moroco: he was Alfaqui or preacher of *Mahomets* Law, who seeing the diuisions betwixt the Souereigne Princes of those Realmes, and that the Portugalls had seised of the chiefe Forts of Moroco, he began with three of his sonnes, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the foundation of a new Monarchy, supported by three pillars. That is to say, by a counterfeit piety and disguised Religion; vpon a godly pretext to make warre against the Portugals Christians which were in Affricke; and vpon a passionate desire to retire the Mahometane Moores which were in their pay, to the end they might by that meanes weaken them, and chase them with more ease out of the territories of Moroco. The King who at that time held the scepter of Fez (seeing nothing but the outside of the *Xerifs* designes) suffered his three sonnes to display their standard against the Christian Portugals in the Realme of Moroco: Innouations and nouelties are commonly pleasing to the common people. At this beginning, these three leaders were followed by a great number of souldiers; they vanquished in many encounters, and the bruit of their new victories flying into the Realme of Moroco, retired the Moores from the Portugals seruice, whom they defeated soone after, with their Commander *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their losse; for *Abdalla* the eldest of these three brethren lost his life in this combat. But they seised vpon the great towne of Taradente in the Prouince of Sus, and of the Prouinces of Herra, Ideuaca, Vbideuaca, Cuz, Guzule, and in a manner of the whole country betwixt Moroco and mount Atlas, setling their principality in Taradente, whereas the *Xerif* their father carried the name of the Gouernour of the Prouince of Sus.

The King of Moroco fearing the greatnesse of these new Conquerours, dissembled the desire hee had to bring them vnder, assuring himselfe that time would present him some good occasion: so suffering them to enter into Moroco: but they preuented him, they tooke

away

away his life by poyſon, and ſeiſed vpon his Realme. The King of Fez, who had by an indiſcreet ſimplicity ſuffered them to take arms, and by that means to open the way to a great fortune, hee ſaw afar off the tempeſt of theſe vnjuſt ſpoilers to fall vpon Moroco and other places. The feare of the like calamity did much afflict his minde: but the *Xerifs* entertained this idle Prince with faire ſhewes; they abuſed his bounty, and with the fourth part of the rich ſpoiles which they had taken in ſo many townes and Prouinces, they lull his diſtruſt aſleepe: moreouer, they ſend him the tribute due for the Realme of Moroco. *Hamet* takes vpon him the name of King of Moroco; *Mahomet* that King of Sus, in the towne of Taradente; and by a good intelligence betwixt them, they make themſelues fearefull to all thoſe countries; ſo as they haue nothing more to feare, than the threats and vengeance of heauen. They then began to contemne the King of Fez, and plainly to deny the tribute of Moroco; pretending for their reaſon, that they were iſſued from the line of *Mahomet*. This contempt made the King of Fez to open his eies; he finds the faults paſt, by the intereſt of the preſent: he ſees the *Xerifs* had abuſed the liberty which hee had giuen them: whereupon hee went to field with an army of 18000 men, and planted his ſiege before Moroco; but as his enemies party was ſtronger than his, ſo he was chaſed away, and his army defeated at the paſſage of a riuer. Thus the *Xerifs* became peaceable poſſeſſours of Moroco. The peace of the country made theſe men idle, and idleneſſe drew the two brethren into quarrell; they muſtred vp their forces and came to fight, where after two bloudy battels, *Mahomet* being victor, he tooke his eldeſt brother *Hamet*, depriued him of his Realme and liberty, and made him end his daies miſerably in priſon. Thus God doth puniſh the vnjuſt ſpoiler of another mans good: we ſhall ſee in their poſterity the continuance of the ſame quarrell.

The King of Fez beſiegeth Moroco, and is defeated.

Mahomet ſettled ſouereigne in Moroco by bloud and fratricide, as monſtrous in ambition as in cruelty, he turned the ſame armes wherewith hee had beaten and vanquiſhed his eldeſt brother, againſt the King of Fez (whoſe improuidence had ſuffered *Mahomet* and his brethren to take armes, vnder the deceitfull title and pretence of making warre againſt the Chriſtian Portugals) he aſſaulted him with great forces, vanquiſhed him, tooke him priſoner, and depriued him both of Realme and life. Thus the *Xerifs* in the perſon of this *Mahomet* became Souereigne Princes of Fez ond Moroco. The victory ſo happily gotten of ſo many nations, made him fearefull; but by his cruelty hee drew vpon his deſcendents the juſt judgement of him who puniſheth the exceſſe and enormity of crimes vnto the fourth generation. His poſterity was miſerable, the vnjuſt deſire of reigne (one ruining another) entertained the brethren in perpetuall diſcord. For *Cidan* now King of Fez and Moroco, was lately expelled by his brother *Kequi*; but afterwards Fortune changing her inconſtant fauour, *Kequi* was purſued by *Cidan*, defeated, and forced in the yeare 1610 to ſaue his life in Algarbe in Portugall. *Abdalla* the ſonne of *Kequi* ſeeing his fathers affaires thus deſolate, retires himſelfe towards the mountaines in the Prouince of Sus: where finding opportunity to annoy his vncle *Cidan*, he made daily incurſions vpon his territories, with ſome troups of Arabians who had joyned with him being 200 horſe and 200 foot. But finding this to be a long courſe to attain vnto the conqueſt of the Realme from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himſelfe that ſome certaine counterfeit fiction in Religion, had in former times brought in his grandfather, and made him abſolute Lord of a great country; wherefore he made vſe of a propheſie forged in his ambitious ſpirit: and to worke an impreſſion in the peoples minds (eaſie to be moued with a paſſion of Religion) he ſent certaine religious Mahometans through the country, with a ſhew of holy ſimplicity, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Falquere* a man of holy life, had giuen vnto a ſonne of his a Drumme of an admirable power and vertue, commanding him expreſſely, to keepe it carefully, vntill that a Prince called *Abdalla* ſhould come into Moroco, being expelled by the injuſtice of his owne bloud: and that then he ſhould beat this Drumme, and that the people at the ſound thereof might go to the war with all ſafety; that it ſhould be helpefull to them, giue peace vnto the Realme, and ſettle all the cuſtomes and antient lawes to their common content. Thus they preached this propheſie, the which they ſaid was now accompliſhed, ſeeing that this propheticall Drum had beene found, that *Abdalla* the eldeſt Prince of the houſe of the *Xerifs* had cauſed it to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow the war for the common good of the country.

A propheſie inuented by Kequi, and preached by religious Turks.

Theſe vanities being preached by theſe ignorant and malicious Religious Turks, increaſed the number of *Abdallaes* party: whereof *Cidan* being aduertiſed, he ſent a great army againſt him into the Prouince of Sus, vnder the command of *Alcas Elmye*, to hinder the progreſſe of his deſignes; But *Abdalla* finding theſe forces to approch, retired himſelfe towards the mountaines, from whence he might charge the enemies army; the which he did ſo happily, as within few daies he cut off fiue thouſand of his men, This ſucceſſe did ſo aduance his affaires, as his troups encreaſed daily, ſo as *Cydan* was forced to go with new forces to fight with him, the which was the cauſe of his ruine: for at this time he was inueſted, and notwithſtanding the good ſucceſſe of his falſe propheſies, lightly grounded vpon the ſound of a Drum, he was defeated and ſlaine in this yeare 1612.

Abdalla defeated and ſlaine.

Gotardus, diſcourſing of this miraculous King of Mauritania, whom he cals *Muley Hamet*, writeth that he was charmed with diueliſh incantations, and freed from all outward force, carying himſelfe for a Diuine Prophet: That with one hundred and eighty horſe, and two hundred foot, he went to make head againſt *Cydan* King of Moroco, hauing forty thouſand men: That his ſouldiers (who were ſo few in number) being ready to fly, he perſuaded them with a cunning ſpeech to prepare to fight: That comming neere to *Cydans* campe, they might ſee a great Army of enemies fighting againſt them, in which there were fiue thouſand of *Cydans* Army ouerthrowne, and the reſt put to flight, and yet *Hamet* had not aduanced with his troupes: That within few daies after, comming with his troupes tyred to a riuer ſide, hee commanded them not to drinke nor waſh in that riuer, which if they did they would die: but ſome neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirſt died ſuddenly. He tooke many places in thoſe mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly ſubdued; his forces encreaſing dayly, hauing fiue and twenty thouſand men, and vowing to goe againſt the Chriſtians, more came vnto him: ſo as he went againſt *Cydan* with a good Army, who likewiſe attended him. *Hamet* perſuaded his ſouldiers that no ſhot could hurt them; ſo as they aſſaulted *Cydans* campe with ſuch fury, as within leſſe than an houres ſpace they had ſlaine aboue ſix thouſand men, and put the reſt to flight. They write that *Hamet* loſt not aboue foure or fiue, and that ſuch as were ſtrucke with any bullet, ſhewed markes but no wounds; aud that the great ordnance either ſhot ouer them, or the pouder vented out at the touch hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan* hauing loſt his brother in the fight, fled with all his treaſure, to recouer new forces, and in the meane time *Hamet* made himſelfe maſter of the whold Countrey. There were certaine Hollanders admitted vnto him, whom they found ſitting vpon a carpet made of the barke of trees, hauing a white ſhirt, and a long garment vpon it, a red cap on his head, bare thighes, and red ſhooes, a bag about his necke, and in it he had his Alcaron, a ſhort crooked ſword and a dagger hanging by him. Being ſaluted by the Hollanders, hee willed them to ſit downe by him, telling them that hee was ſent from Heauen, to purge the World from euill, and to prepare the Law of God; to expell *Cidan* out of his Kingdome, and to reſtore peace vnto the World: wherefore hee aduiſed them not to haue any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to aſſiſt him in any ſort. They obſerued many markes vpon his body, he had one blew tooth, all the reſt beeing white, haire vpon either ſhoulder, a red circle in the palme of his right hand, and the proportion of a ſpurre vpon his right foot. Hauing gotten ſome victories againſt *Cydan*, and taken the towne of Moroco, in the end his diuelliſh art failing him, he was ſlaine as you haue heard. Such were the affaires of Affricke, in the Realme of Fez and Moroco.

The miraculous King of Mauritania.

Cydan King of Fez ouerthrowne.

But in Algier a wonderfull drought had cauſed cruell combuſtions; it had ſo deuoured the fruits of the earth before their maturity, as there followed a wonderfull famine throughout the whole land. The Turks attributed the cauſe of their miſery ſometimes to their ſins; then to the comming of the Moores, who had beene expelled out of Spaine, as a pernicious vermine; and ſometimes to the licentiouſneſſe of Chriſtians, which liued in thoſe places. Wherefore in the beginning of May this yeare, the Iudge of the towne ordained, That all the Turks ſhould make their deuout praiers to *Mahomet* their Prophet to obtaine raine, ſo neceſſary in that country; that the Moores ſhould depart the towne within three daies vpon paine of death; and that all the Chriſtians, as well free as bond ſlaues, ſhould cauſe their heads and their beards to be ſhauen, this was ſpeedily executed; for the Turks decrees require a

A great drought & ſterility at Algier.

prompt

prompt obedience. But the miserable Moores which could not get out of Algier within their three daies prefixed, detained either by sickenesse, or some other impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteene daies, there was nothing seene within the towne but processions of Turks without Turbants, crying and howling after their manner to obtaine raine from their false Prophet: but he which commands Souereignty ouer times, from whose hand proceed faire weather and raine, and which makes the earth fruitfull, held the pipes of Heauen yet stopped, to open them at more religious and holy vowes than the superstitious clamours of these Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the redemption of captiues, hearing that the Turkes meant to reuenge their miseries vpon them, and to ruine a little Chappell which the Christian slaues had in the prison, for the pious exercises of their Religion, obtained (by the means of *Bius* Consull of the French in Algier) permission for the Douan, or Turkish Iudge, to make processions, and to pray vnto God to send them the dew of Heauen, which was so necessary for them. All the Christian slaues which were prisoners, continued their deuotions for the space of fiue daies: but on the fourth day being the eighth of May, there fell such abundance of raine vpon Algier, as these poore Christians seeing their praiers heard in the middest of the enemies of their faith, gaue infinite thankes vnto God for his great mercy and grace.

The deuout praiers of the Christians obtaine raine.

These miserable Christian slaues were still detained in yrons and cruell seruitude, by this accident. This *Murroy* of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, accompanied with two others of the same Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirty and six: but when he was ready to embarke them, their euill fortune would haue it, that the gallies of Genoa running alongst that coast, landed some men neere vnto Algier, where they tooke the Bassaes sonne of that towne, with many other Turks, and amongst this number a Virgine of Algier, of a very noble Family, and of as rare a beauty, for the misery of these slaues: for that when as the Bassaes son and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the father had sent, the faire Algerian Virgine was still detained by a Captaine of the Genowaies, who had retyred to Caluy an Island adjoyning, there to satisfie his desires with more ease, vpon the fraile and fading perfection of this faire slaue, which had depriued him of his liberty. In the meane time the Bassa of Algier seeing his son returned with the other Turks, and not the Algerian Virgine, commanded that the hundred thirty and six slaues should be put againe into yrons, with the three Religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine beauty, or rather the passion of the Genowaies, who holds the possession so deare, makes a great number of Christian soules to suffer by insupportable seruitude, howsoeuer they of his Nation (flattering his disordered lust) say that his desire was, to win her to God, and to make her a Christian, caused him to keepe her so carefully.

These suffered in Algier the losse of their liberty: But a Capuchen Frier, a Florentine by Nation, endured at Tunes the losse of his life, by the cruelty of the Moores chased out of Spaine, and retired into those countries. This religious man being a slaue among the Turks, attended dayly from Florence, or from some other place, mony to redeeme his liberty: but it hapned one day disputing in a Barbars house with a Morisque, concerning Christian Religion; the zeale of his faith transported him so far, as to say among diuers Turks, That his Religion was better than that of *Mahomets*. These words tooke criminously in that place, were reported by the Morisques to the Cadi or Iudge of the towne, whom they prest with such horrible clamors and cries, as he pronounced sentence of death against this Capuchen. He was deliuered vnto them, and they stripped him naked, leading him with infamy through Tunes, some spitting in his face, others casting durt at him, and so they led him out of the towne, where they tyed him vnto a post, and they being cruelly insenced by a speech which a Morrabour or religious Turke said vnto them, *That he among them that gaue him not one blow with a stone, should be no good Turke*; they stoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his body, and threw the ashes into the winde.

A Capuchen of Florence in captiuity at Tunes.

He dies gloriously for the faith.

The martyrdome of this Capuchen, was followed by the constant confession (amidst the violence of torments) of a penitent Renegado, a Florentine by Nation, and Captaine of the chiefe gallie of Chio; foure Frenchmen being slaues in the Island of Chio, in the patron

An enterprise of foure slaues.

or chiefe gally, belonging to the Bey or Gouernour of the Iſland, they reſolued to recouer their liberty with the hazard of their liues, to returne into France, and carry into ſome Port of Chriſtendome that gally, being the beſt appointed in the whole hauen. They drew vnto their party the Captaine which commanded, being a Florentine Renegado. Their enterpriſe ſhould haue beene executed when as they ſhould goe to land to cut wood. But whether that the ſcribe were trecherous to his companions, or tranſported with ſome raſh indiſcretion; being on land, hee ſpake theſe words aloud, the which ouerthrew both the deſigne, and them that projected it; *Hoe, we will returne into Chriſtendome.* A Turke which was neere, taking hold of theſe words, reported them vnto the Patron; who preſently layed hold vpon the Scribe, and drew from him the confeſſion of all the enterpriſe. He preſently ſends an hundred men towards the gally, to ſeiſe vpon the foure French ſlaues and the Captaine. But theſe fiue made ſuch a generous reſiſtance, as if the other ſlaues, who were for the moſt part Moldauians, or of the Prouinces which border vpon the blacke ſea, had had the courage to fight for their liberty, without doubt the French mens enterpriſe had ſucceeded happily. But what could fiue men do againſt an hundred? yet they ſlew fifteene, and wounded many: the foure Frenchmen were all ſlaine, and the Florentine Captaine was taken aliue, and reſerued to the rigour of a cruell death. For they continued him ſix houres together in moſt violent torments, hee ſtill calling vpon the holy and ſacred name of *Ieſus Chriſt*, euen to the laſt gaſpe, and deteſting the errours and falſhood of the law of *Mahomet*. This hapned in October this yeare.

The Vnited Eſtates ſend an Embaſſador to Conſtantinople.

A little before, the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, and Count *Maurice* ſeeing the loſſes which the ſhips of Holland ſuffered in the Mediterranean Sea, many of them being taken by the Turkiſh gallies, and a great number of their men made ſlaues: to the end they might bee freed from that danger, and haue a ſafe paſſage for their ſhips, and procure liberty for their captiues, they reſolued to make a league with the Turke. Wherefore they ſent *Cornelius Hage* to Conſtantinople: who not onely willingly accepted of that Embaſſie, but performed it with ſuch diſcretion, as hee purchaſed great credit and commendation to himſelfe, and much profit to the Prouinces. He had reſolued at firſt to paſſe through Hungary; but he found ſo many croſſes and obſtacles, by ſome that were Creatures to the Pope and Spaniard, as he was forced to turne out of the way, and fetch a great circuit. Firſt of all, he fell into the hands of the Archduke *Ferdinand*, who cauſed him to be examined, and admoniſhed to deſiſt from his purpoſe: After which he was toſt at Sea, and in the end hauing ſurmounted all dangers, he recouered Conſtantinople, the firſt of May. Hee had expreſſe charge from the Vnited Eſtates to labour for three things. The firſt was, to treat of the deliuerance of the Hollanders that were ſlaues. The ſecond, to make a league with the Turke. And the third, to obtaine from him a free nauigation for the Hollanders, throughout all the ſeas and ports of his Empire.

Preſents ſent from the Vnited Eſtates to the Turke.

This Embaſſadour was brought to kiſſe the Sultans hands, and was fauorably receiued: he preſented vnto his Majeſty in the name of the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, his Letters of Embaſſie, with the Preſents which follow: Three birds of Paradiſe of rare & precious plumes, wonderfull goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound ſterling: two veſſels of Chriſtall wonderfull rich and beautifull: foure other veſſels made of fiſhes bones, whereas the Art ſeemed miraculous in the grauing: forty pieces of cloath of gold of diuers colours: fiue pieces of ſilke, fiue of Damaske, fiue of ſilke watered, and fiue plaine: A ſtaffe of an Elephants tooth grauen with admirable induſtry. A Parret ſhut in a cage of Chriſtall, ſo artificially done, as no man could diſcerne the entry: and many faire and rich table-clothes of Holland cloth, moſt part powdred with floures to the life, and wrought in their liuely colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All theſe things ſhew ſufficiently, That the Eſtates from the beginning or ſoone after haue raiſed handy-workes as well as traffique and nauigation to the higheſt point of perfection.

A league betwixt the Turke and the Hollanders.

The ſixth of Iuly following, the league was ſworne betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour, and the Vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promiſed to cauſe to be ſet at liberty, all the Hollanders that were detained ſlaues within his Empire: That the traffique

A traffique ſhould be free forthe Hollanders ſhippes throughout all his ſeas and hauens: and moreouer hee granted, That the Eſtates ſhould haue an Embaſſadour reſiding at his Port. This alliance with the Turke, for the which they haue ſo often, and with little reaſon blamed the French, hath beene affected and ſought by the Engliſh and Spaniards, as we haue ſaid elſewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whoſe Eſtates proceed in all their affaires with ſuch weight and meaſure, as it ſeemes they doe nothing but with great reaſon, and to good purpoſe.

The Moriſques chaſe the Iewes out of Pera.

About the end of this yeare, the Iewes whoſe long ſlauery thoughout the Word, repro-
cheth their wretched and miſerable obſtinacy, receiued at Pera neere Conſtantinople the
weight of a furious tempeſt which fell among them, ſtirred vp againſt them by the malice of
B the Moriſques Granadines chaſed out of Spaine, and retired into the Leuant. Theſe hauing by Preſents wonne the fauour of the Cadi, or Iudge of the place, who was a Negro newly ſetled in that charge by the Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*; they obtained power from him to thruſt all the Iewes out of Pera, and to ruine their Synagogues. This power they executed with all violence: And yet theſe miſerable Iewes durſt not make their complaints vnto the Magiſtrate, except one of their ſect which dwelt in the Iſle of Chio, who being then at Conſtantinople, and ſuppoſing hee had more credit than the reſt, went to complaine to this Cadi Negro, who preſently cauſed to bee giuen vnto him fiue hundred blowes with a cudgell, in ſtead of doing him juſtice; ſo dangerous a thing it is to haue to doe with ſuch vnjuſt Magiſtrates.

C The inſolencies of the Moriſques tranſported them further: for after they had expelled the Iewes out of their dwellings, they threatned to doe vnto the Chriſtians at Pera, as much as had beene done vnto them in Spaine: and they bragged, That they would ſeiſe vpon their Churches, and eſpecially of that of the Franciſcan Friers, the which was reaſonable faire for the place. But the French Embaſſadour, hauing made his complaint to the chiefe Viſier, he prohibited them to make any attempt againſt the Chriſtians, vpon paine of rigorous puniſhment. This prohibition ſtaied their fury: but they did not forbeare in all other occaſions to ſhew the cruell hatred they owe vnto Chriſtians: ſo as through all the Leuant, in all encounters where they come, they do a thouſand times more miſchiefe than the Turks themſelues.

The Turks army for Tranſyluania.

D At the ſame time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawne together a mighty army to go into Tranſyluania; he cauſed it to campe in tents neere vnto Conſtantinople, about his palace called Darut Baſſa, whither the people of Conſtantinople went to walke, and to ſee his forces: within few daies after, he went to Hadrianople; meaning from thence to proceed in his voyage, carrying with him all the chiefe men of his Port, except the Baſſa of the ſea, or Admirall, who remained at Conſtantinople, to haue a care of the city. And for the greater ſafety thereof, this Baſſa cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould go out of his houſe, nor keep any light in it after the ordinary cry, which is made an houre within night, when as the Taliſmans crying from the tops of their Moſques, inuite the people to make the Sala, or prayer. After the publication of this ordinance, he ſent certaine Chiaux to entreat all the Embaſſa-
E dours reſiding at the Port, not to ſuffer their people to goe out by night, to the end that their liberty might not ſerue as a dangerous example to others. But notwithſtanding all the Baſſaes entreaties and prohibitions, three Engliſhmen of the Embaſſadours traine, went out by night into the ſtreet, where they were met by the Prouoſt of Pera, who tooke them, and preſently (without reſpect of the quality) cauſed either of them to haue an hundred and fifty blows with a cudgell, and then committed them to priſon, the dores whereof are neuer opened but with a ſiluer key: ſo ſtrictly do they obſerue in Turky the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of Perſons.

About the end of the yeare, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople (by reaſon of diuers complaints made againſt him) was depriued by the Grand Viſier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of
F Alexandria, (a learned and religious Biſhop) was (much againſt his will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all ſuch as had wrought his ouerthrow; but he himſelfe was baniſhed into the Iſle of Rhodes. In his paſſage, the barke wherin he

he went was caſt vpon Mytilene, in which place he renounced all right and claime to the Patriarchſhip before the Biſhop of that place, and reſigned it to the Biſhop of Patras: whereupon the Biſhop came from Patras, to Conſtantinople, and laboured with the Viſier *Naſſuf* for the place: who vpon promiſe to pay him fifteene thouſand Chequines (which is ten thouſand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus* the late elected Patriarch vnderſtanding, he came with all the Grecians to expoſtulate the buſineſſe with the Grand Viſier: Who anſwered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperours profit, and nothing againſt it; wherefore if they would giue ſo much as the other had promiſed, *Cyrillus* ſhould continue in the place. Which the people were very willing to performe; but *Cyrillus* refuſed it, and ſo the other was made Patriarch: who preſently ſent for the old Patriarch to come from Rhodes to make peace with him, for that they held not his excommunication juſt, being not depriued by a Councell, but only by the King. About the ſame time, *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier ſent for the foure Embaſſadors, of England, France, Venice, and the States of the Low-Countries; and the reaſon why he ſent for them was, to raiſe their cuſtome on the hundred more than the Merchants had formerly payd. G H

The enterpriſe of the Great Duke of Tuſcany vpon Agliman.

Whileſt that the Sultan *Achmats* Army drew neere to Tranſyluania, and fortified the places which hee held in thoſe Countries, *Coſmo de Medicis* Great Duke of Tuſcany bent his generous deſignes againſt the Fort of Agliman in Caramania, in old time called Cilicia, a Prouince which in the writings of Antients hath beene honoured with two famous Cities, that is to ſay, Tharſis the Countrey of Saint *Paul*, and Seleucia, the Fort and Port whereof is called Agliman, a hauen which in old time hath continued within it's boſome the fearefull forces of the Pyrats of thoſe daies: from thence in former times hath come forth a powerfull army of pyrats with a thouſand ſayle, ſo proudly rigged as many of them had their ſayles of purple, the tackling of gold thred, and the oares garniſhed with ſiluer, markes of the ſpoiles of aboue foure hundred cities ruined by thoſe pyrats, who ſtroke a terrour euen to the Romans, and forced them, to auoid their fury, to ſet to ſea that great fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great was Generall. I

The number of the Dukes gallies, and the commanders.

1613 The trophy erected vpon the walls of Agliman, of the heads of forty Florentines, loſt in a Ship called the Proſper, by the ignorance of the Captaine which commanded in it, made the Great Duke to ſtudy to haue his reuenge for this afront; and his deſire to abate the pride of the common Enemy, eleuated his minde to generous enterpriſes. In the end of March this preſent yeare 1613, he armed ſix Gallies vnder the command of the Admirall *Inghirami*, the which hee manned with ſix companies of foot commanded by *Iulio de Conty*, called *Montano*, Generall at land, beſides forty Knights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good number of Gentlemen aduenturers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis*. This fleet parted from Ligorne, and came to Ciuita Vecchia: in the beginning of Aprill they tooke in many Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, which attended them, and would be partakers in the enterpriſe; the which were, the Earle of Candale, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Eſpernon, *Cipierre, Themines, De Vic, Monterrault, De la Tour*, and his brother *Boiſſiere, Villandre, Vernegue, Du Pleſſis, Dea la Motte magnus, Anenes, Del Tour, Sainct Cyre, Monplaiſir*, and *Loyres*. About the middeſt of Aprill the gallies landed in the night neere vnto a little towne in Aſia the leſſe, called Ieronda, held for that Geronda of the Antients: but their diſcent was fruitleſſe, they found it deſart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had preuented all ſurpriſes. They returned againe to their gallies, and ſailing towards the Eaſt, they encountred three veſſels like vnto their Caramouſſals, the which they ſet vpon and tooke: and about the fifteenth of May, hauing ſcoured the Leuant ſeas, they reſolued to attempt Agliman. Vpon the way they tooke a Veſſell called Grippe, which inſtructed them of the eſtate of the Fortreſſe: they vnderſtood there were two Gallies of Cyprus in the Port, that the place was well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and guarded without by a good number of horſemen, and that within few daies after, one of the ſaid gallies ſhould come out of the Port of Agliman, and go to the Iſland of Papadula, to fetch a new maſt. *Inghirami* thought to preuent it, carrying his whole fleet thither, the which he layd cloſe in the Iſland to ſurpriſe the Turkiſh Galley; but it hauing diſcouered his fleet, put out to ſea, and with ſpeed returned to the Port of Agliman; K L M

to

A to giue the alarme vnto the country. Notwithstanding the Christians resolued to assault it, they went with their fleet to the port Caualier, twelue miles from Agliman, from whence they sent a long boat to discouer: the which brings them word that the whole country was in armes. These newes might well haue danted the courages of some that had been lesse generous; yet they passe on and about three of the clocke in the morning they came neere the shore, being couered with the silence of the night, so as before six of the clocke they had made their landing about a mile and a halfe from the port. The Seignior of *Montano* and the Earle Candale with some few choice men landed first, to discouer: a mile from the shore they encountered the Turkish horsemen, yet notwithstanding *Montano* commanded they should finish their landing, leauing twenty men for the guard of euery gally.

The Christians land at Agliman.

B This fort of Agliman is seated vpon a little pleasant hill, which looks towards the South: It extends from the hill vnto the sea shore: the forme is ouall; that part which is next to the Sea is altogether Meridionall, and the other which riseth vp to the top of the hill, lookes towards the North. The wals are built of good stone and lime, the which are fiue saddome high, and one broad. Within there was a wall drawne from the East to the West, which diuides it into two vnequall parts, the which they enter by a port set in the midst. The circuite of the wall is fortified with eight towers, whereof fiue be whole, and three are but halfe towers: those which be whole are of a square forme, and haue fiue saddome in breadth on either side: the halfe towers haue the same greatnesse on the one side, and halfe as much on the other; their height exceeds not the wall, vnlesse it be that which is built on the top of the hill, C which is raised aboue eight foot aboue the wall. Within the place were aboue three hundred fighting men; with store of victuals, munition for war, and many pieces of ordnance: without, there were an hundred horse scouring vp and downe for the safegard of the place: and within the port there were two gallies, a Caramousall, and a Greeke Brigandine, with some hundred and fifty fighting men. The order of the combat was diuided after this manner, by the Seignior *Montano* Generall at land: for the principall port, and that of the retreat, he sent two companies of foot, which were those of the Admirals gally, of the captains gally, and of Saint *Stephen*, with the petards, all vnder the charge of the Earle of Candale, who leading this forward, discouered a *Corps de gard* of Turks, horse and foot together: whereof he presently aduertised the Generall, sending him word that he would march on towards the fort, and if the D Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many aduised him to returne to the gallies: but *Montano* allowed the resolution of the Earle of Candale, who past on without charge vntil he came within an hundred and twenty paces of the wall, where he was charged before by the musket shot of the fort, behinde by the gallies, and in flanke by them of the mountaine, with such horrible howling and crying out, as the mariners which carried the Petards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the ground and fled away. The Baron of *Mont-terault*, and *Tiel*, a souldier of *Langueza* tooke them vp. They continued their way vntill they came within fifteene paces of the walls, when as twenty Turks sallyed forth with a shew to make head against the earle of Candales troups: but seeing themselues too weake, they fled presently backe againe into the towne. The Earle aduanced to enter with E them, but the port was so soone shut as they were in: wherefore they must of force set the Petard to worke. But whilest they were making it fast vnto the gate, there fell a showre of great stones vpon the troupe, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs bee present) was ouerthrowne and halfe slaine; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Dauanes*, and *Deltour* had taken vpon them the charge of the Petard, euery one carrying a part, to put it speedily in execution.

The description of Agliman.

Whilest they were thus busied to force the Port, the Sergeant Major came vnto the Earle of Candale and told him, that there was a troupe of three hundred musketiers come to charge him: these were two Beyes which came out of the gallies with their troups, by reason of the bad guard which the two companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their landing, had F kept. The Earle of Candale had left part of his troupe with the Petard, and turned head with the rest against these Beyes to charge them: but they had no meaning to fight, but onely to make a shew, and seeing they should be forced if they staied longer, they tooke their way towards the mountaine, and in their retreat made many shot. The Christians pursued them not,

The Turks come from their gallies to charge the Christians.

not, holding it fitter to returne to the Petard, the which plaied so happily, as it made a breach capable for three men to enter in front. G

The squadron of the Knights of S. *Stephen*, commanded by the Commissary *Lenzoni*, and the company of the gallie of S. *Mary Magdalen*, with two ladders were to assault the high tower. The company of the Admirall gally with one ladder, had charge to force the Port of the retreat; and the company of the Gally S. *Iean* was to fight with the gallies and vessels in the hauen: all these troups (being led by the Generall *Montano*, and by Captaine *Alexander* of Tarentum, Sargeant Major) marched in order towards the fort. But the petard hauing effected as we haue said, the Earle of Candale entered first with all his troup, and suddenly ran vnto the port of the retreat, there to apply a petard, the which also very fortunately made a breach. The Turks amazed at the noise and forcing of their gates, fled vnto their walls; some retiring into their towers, and others into the barricadoes which they had made in the street. H At the same instant they planted two ladders on the lower part of the towne somewhat neere adioyning to the sea, whereof one was broken with the losse of them that were vpon it: by the other (notwithstanding that the Turks horsemen charged them behind) a good number of Christians got vp to the wals, making their way by their arms, whilest that the rest put the Turks to rout: hauing taken their Cornet, they forced the rest for to flee vnto the mountaines. The squadron of Knights with the company of the gallie of Saint *Mary*, hauing had a longer way to march, came not to the tower vpon the hill, vntill that after the petards had wrought their effects: so as the Turks being retired thither, they found very great resistance, besides the attempts of the enemies horse which charged them behinde; thrice they planted their ladders I against the wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commissary *Lanzoni*, hauing performed as much as a braue and resolute man could doe in that extremity, resolued to leaue that place, and go to some other where he might be more necessary: but being the last to make the retreat, hee was shot through with two musket bullets, and suddenly slaine. The company of the gally S. *Iohn*, vanquished the two gallies in the port, whereof *Inghirami* the Admirall at Sea went to take possession as soone as they had giuen him a signe, hauing the other two vessels at liberty.

A bloudy combat within the fort.

Within the fort in the towers, and at the barricadoes, the combat was hot and dangerous, the Turks had despaire and the aduantage of the place on their sides. The Christians thrust on by their valour and constant resolution, prest them on all sides; there was nothing to be K seene but bloud, wounded, or dead men; but much more of the Turks side than of the Christians. In the end after a combat of foure houres, the Turks fainted, some were taken, many were slaine, and the Christians obtained an absolute victory: but as it could not bee made without losse of their enemies, who made great resistance: so there were fiue and fifty Christians wounded, of which number *De Vic* a French Gentleman was one, who had a musket shot through his thigh, going to charge a troupe of Turks which were retired into a tower: and some Gentlemen were slaine; amongst the which was young *Boissierre*, a French-man, whose valour in this action made them that saw him fight so generously, conceiue a certaine hope that hee would haue prooued a valiant Captaine, if Heauen had lent him longer life. The sorrow for his death was generall; as well among the Italian troupes, as among those L of his owne Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other braue French Gentlemen were also slaine. The dead and wounded were carried vnto their Gallies: they emptied the Fort of all the Artillery, munition for warre, and victuals; the trophy of forty Florentines heads was beaten downe and all the houses set on fire. Agliman beeing thus ruined, they shipped their booty, with three hundred and fifty Turkish slaues, hauing freed about two hundred and forty Christians which were in yrons. The two Turkish Gallies were drawne out of the Port, and carried away with eight other vessels. In this triumph as the Admirall *Inghirami* bent his course towards Ligorne; vpon the way a Turkish Caramousall came into the middest of the fleet, as into a toyle: It prepared to defend it selfe, the patrons gally inuested it, but not without losse; for the Turks made so great resistance, as there were aboue foure score M Christians hurt or slaine; the Earle of Candale fighting alone at the prow of the Gally, by the permission of the Generall. But this Caramousall being taken, and the Florentine mariners entered, it split and sunke suddenly. The great Dukes gallies encountered some other

The Christians get the victory.

smaller

A smaller veſſels, the which they tooke, and afterwards arriued happily at their Port.

The twelfth of Auguſt following, *Octauio* of Arragon Generall of the gallies of Sicily, by the commandement of the Duke of Oſſunna, Viceroy in that Realme, parted from the hauen of Palermo, with eight gallies well armed and manned, to ſaile into the Leuant. His firſt touch was vpon the Iſland of Cerigo, where he vnderſtood that the Admirall Baſſa of the ſea was gone from Conſtantinople with thirty gallies, bending his courſe to the Iſland of Negropont, whereas ſixty others attended him in the hauen; and moreouer, that the gallies of Rhodes prepared to goe and joyne with him, all which Nauall fleet was to fall vpon Soria, againſt the Turks Rebels. *The Voyage of the gallies of Sicily in the Leuant.*

Notwithſtanding theſe news, *Octauio* continues his courſe vnto the Iſland of Nicaria, where B he vnderſtood by a Greeke veſſell, that the Turkiſh Admirall meant to ſend twelue gallies to Rhodes, to guard certaine veſſels of the fleet, which came from Alexandria by the Channell of Samos. True it is, that of twelue which were together when they parted, two were ſent by the Bey or Captaine which commanded them, into the Iſland of Chio, ſo as there remained but ten together. *Octauio* reſolued to charge theſe ten, cauſing his fleet to row that day, and almoſt a whole night as ſecretly as they could, along the ſhore of the firme land of Natolia, and at the breake of day hee arriued at the cape of Coruo, twenty miles from Chio; from whence hee ſent his long boat to diſcouer. But in the meane time he himſelfe eſpied the ten Turkiſh gallies not far from him; at ſight whereof he ordred his gallies for battell, with ſuch diligence, as at Sun riſing he was about the enemies gallies, and had inueſted them. At his firſt C approch he diſcharged all his ordnance, and then with his Admirall gally he joyned with the Turks gally which carried the ſtandard; the Spaniards entered, ſlew and maſſacred all that made reſiſtance: the combat began at the prow, from whence they went to the poope, whereas the Bey or Commander of the ten gallies ſtood, whom they forced to yeeld. In the meane time the other gallies of Sicily charged the Turks ſo furiouſly, as they tooke fiue, all great veſſels carrying lanthornes; two fled towards the land, hoping to ſaue themſelues, but the Turks had ſcarce leiſure to leape to land, and to fly into the country, abandoning their veſſels to the Spaniards, who purſued them; the other three gallies hauing gotten ſome aduantage eſcaped by flight: ſo ſeuen only came into the Spaniards power, in the which they had a very rich booty, freeing aboue a thouſand Chriſtian ſlaues, which were at the chaine, and by a D ſtrange change of fortune, putting into their places the Turks which had inchained them. Among the moſt remarkeable of the priſoners, were the commander of the ten gallies called *Sinan* Bey of Grigna in the Iſland of Cyprus; the Bey of Alexandria (ſonne to *Piall Baſſa*, who was defeated in the battell of Lepanto, by *Don Iohn* of Auſtria) and ſome Raiſe or Captaines, and Patrons of gallies. *They ſet vpon ten Turkiſh gallies.*

This Summer the Emperor *Matthias* being gone to an aſſembly of the States at Presburg in Hungary, in the meane time *Sigiſmund Battori*, who had beene Prince of Tranſyluania, and ſo great a terrour and ſcourge vnto the Turks, as hee made *Sinan Baſſa*, hauing an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, to fly thrice within ten daies from before him, and would neuer endure the ſight of him, hee hauing but forty thouſand men in his army. But afterE wards being the author of his owne misfortunes and miſeries, by his inconſtant humours, he came and liued a priuat life at Prague, and there died of an Apoplexie. The Eſtates aſſembled at Presburg, conſulted of the fortifying of their Frontier towns, and manning them with good garriſons, knowing the infidelity of the Turks, and doubting that they would not obſerue the truce. But there was ſome queſtion in the aſſembly, touching the admiſſions of Germans into their garriſons: for that the Hungarians maintained they had a decree to the contrary; and yet they could not defend themſelues without the aſſiſtance of Germanes: but in the end it was concluded, that the Germans ſhould be admitted equally with the Hungarians into their garriſons, but all other ſtrange ſouldiers ſhould be excluded. The Turks in the meane time had burnt and ſpoiled many villages in Hungary and Tranſyluania, carried F away many Chriſtians captiue, and committed many other acts of hoſtility, ſo as all men feared a new warre in Hungary; but by the prouidence of God it was diuerted. For Sultan *Achmat* marching towards Tranſyluania with a mighty Army, hearing vpon the way that *Bethlem Gabor* was acknowledged Prince, vnder his protection, he turned head towards Conſtantinople, *Sigiſmund Battori Prince of Tranſyluania dies at Prague.*

ſtantinople. But rather for the affaires of Aſia, whereas the Rebels of Natolia had ſpoiled G
and burnt many places; and a certaine Arabian had reuolted againſt him, and vſurped the
title of King, hauing drawne vnto his party fifty thouſand Rebels, the which did ouerrun and
ſpoyle the Countrey which yeelded obedience vnto him, threatening his Dominions with a
greater ruine. Moreouer, the Portugals and Spaniards had made many incurſions vpon his
places joyning to the Red Sea, and had taken and ſpoiled Aden, a place of importance: ſo as
all theſe diſorders haſtened his returne into Thrace, to ſend forces againſt his Turkiſh Rebels,
A great Plague in Conſtantinople. and his Spaniſh enemies. But approching neere vnto the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople,
the Plague was ſo violent, as hee ſtaied at Adrianople vntill the end of this yeare, when as
that horrible contagion ceaſed. Hee then came vnto the City, whereas he made a very ſtate-
ly entry; before him there marched his ordinary guard of fiue and twenty or thirty thouſand H
Ianizaries, all the Baſſaes of the Court following him in very great pompe, and before him
there marched on horſebacke two of his ſonnes, the pillars and hope of his affaires, the el-
deſt beeing about ſeuen or eight yeares old. Paſſing before the Moſques, the Taliſmans or
Prieſts of his law, made ſacrifices in his preſence for his proſperity, they ſlew ſheepe and ox-
en vpon Altars erected for that purpoſe, then they cut them in pieces, and gaue them vnto
the people.

The Grand Seigniour beeing returned to Conſtantinople after the great Plague, not-
withſtanding the Turkes hold a firme opinion of Predeſtination, and that they ſhall not
die before their appointed time, and that the time of their death is written in their fore-
heads; yet apprehending the infection, by the aduice of ſome about him, hee commanded I
All the Dogs ſent out of Conſtantinople. all the dogges in the City of Conſtantinople, to bee tranſported vnto Scutary in Aſia (a
Towne antiently called Chriſopolis) and for the due execution thereof, euery houſholder
was to bring in his dogge firſt to the Cadi (which is the Iudge of the place) and to receiue
from him a Tuſcany or Ticket for his paſſage, or elſe hee was to pay foure Chequines; by
which meanes there were tranſported to the number of fifty thouſand dogges. The reaſon
of his ſending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his father, hee found that thirty
yeares before, hee had ſent away all the dogges for feare of the infection. The Sultan com-
manded allowance of bread and fleſh to be carried euery day to ſuſtaine them, which not ſuf-
ficing, the inhabitants were much oppreſſed, and ready to fall into mutiny; but by the ad-
uice of his Muphti, they were at length tranſported from thence to an Iſland that was not K
inhabited, ſome ſixteene miles from Conſtantinople, where they all periſhed. Before
their ſending away, the Grand Seigniour had propounded to his Muphti, to haue them all
ſlaine: who made anſwere, That euery dogge had a ſoule, and therefore it was not fit to kill
them.

The care of the Turkes to win men to their Religion. The Turkes are wonderfull glad when they win any one to their Religion, and ſeeke by
all meanes to ſeduce them either by force or by faire perſuaſions; whereof you may ſee an
aſſured proofe, by a Iew, who being turned Turke, ſoone after buying of grapes of another
Turke, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his grapes: from words they fell to
blowes, and the Iew-Turke beat the other, which hee endured very patiently to encourage
him as it ſeemed in his new Religion. Soone after, another Iew came to the Turke who had L
beene beaten, and demanded of him why hee had ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo abuſed? Who an-
ſwered, You ſhall beat me as much as you will, turne Muſulman: ſo zealous they are to winne
Proſelites.

A ſeuere puniſhment of a drunkard. This yeare in October, the Turks obſeruing their feaſts of Bairan (which is our Eaſter) the
which they obſerue twice a yeare; a Turke hauing drunke Wine too freely (the drinking
whereof is forbidden amongſt them, although they loue it well, and drinke in priuate) was ap-
prehended, and carried before the Grand Viſier: who ſeeing the fact verified, inflicted this
puniſhment vpon him, to haue boyled lead powred into his mouth and eares, the which was
ſpeedily executed.

Bethlem Gabor as you haue heard was ſeated quietly in the Principality of Tranſyl- M
uania, the Sultan ſupported him, and had ſent *Sarder Baſſa* with an Army againſt *Gabriel Battori* who was then in poſſeſſion; but weake both of men, money, and friends, hee was not
able to make head againſt them; ſo as beeing abandoned of his friends, and hated of his
ſubjects,

A subiects for his tyrannie, he grew into despaire, and was slaine by his owne souldiers. Whereupon the countrey yeelding obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Bassa* retired out of Transyluania with his Turks. Yet afterwards, some neerly allyed to *Battori* (desiring to reuenge his death) caused some alterations; and others seeking to get a Prouince from the Emperour, had surprised Huſt and other places in his name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his Letters to the Noblemen and States of the Prouince. They were not ignorant he said, that since the time that Transyluania yeelded obedience to his predecessors and him, they had alwaies liued in peace vnder his protection, and had often desired and obtained succour against their enemies: That when as *Botscay* had been annoied by the Germans, assisting him with great forces, he had shaked off the yoke: That when as *Battori* his successour had liued after his owne will, they sent
B *Bethlem Gabor* with complaints to his Court by their generall consent, and did easily obtaine forces to free the Prouince from tyrannie. Hee being taken away, now a wished day began to shine, the clouds of tribulation being all dispersed: That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to succeed *Battori*, and to enioy that Prouince. Wherefore he had commanded all the Noblemen to submit themselues vnto him, and to enioy a wished peace: That *Bethlem* had sent to aduertise him of the new practises of the Germans; wherefore he had giuen charge to the Bassaes of Temeswar and Agria, and to the Prince of Valachia, to be watchfull to repell all these iniuries; admonishing the Noblemen to yeeld speedy obedience to *Bethlem*: to which end hee had sent them those letters, that vpon the sight therof they might be admonished of their duties; and if the Germans should attempt any thing, they should make resistance till the com-
C ming of his forces: and following *Bethlem* in al things, they should acknowledge him for their true and lawfull Prince, and continue constant in their fidelitie, lest they should prouoke his wrath against them, and draw vpon themselues some great misery: writing much more to the like effect; concluding, That he had fully purposed and resolued not to spoile any one village or any Fort in Transyluania, nor to do any wrong to any man, nor suffer it to be done by any other, but would defend that Prouince from all oppression. Wherefore he would haue the Emperor aduertised, that if he meant to haue the peace inuiolably kept, hee should cause the said places of Transyluania to be presently restored vnto the Prince, or signifie his mind vnto him by letters.

Emir Facardin abandoneth Sidon.

Of these Rebels of Asia, whereof wee haue made mention, the Gouernour of Sarepta or
D Sidon in Syria, called *Armill* or *Emir Facardin*, he who gaue entrance into his Port to the Florentines, and receiued them in their courses to the Leuant; hearing that the Bassa of Damas, and the Bassa of the sea, with the gallies which he brought from Constantinople, and the threescore which he tooke at Negropont (whereof wee haue made mention) came to fall vpon him with a mighty and fearfull army, hee left his eldest sonne within Sidon with forces to command there, and in other Forts about it, and flying from a furious tempest of enemies, hee went to sea with three ships, to retyre himselfe into Europe, with his foure wiues, ten children, seuenty Turks, and fourteene thousand pound weight in gold. Hee arriued at Ligorne, and went from thence to Florence, vnder the protection of *Cosmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuscanie, whose hands hee kissed, presenting vnto him a Cuttelas very curi-
E ously wrought, and enriched with stone, and two jewels to the great Dutchesse, to the value of six thousand Crownes. This Turke though hee had no faith, yet he found faith with this Prince of Tuscanie. *Cosmo* receiued him, defrayed him and all his traine, furnished him with money, whether it were by way of gratification, or that *Emir* had consumed his owne: and by all kinde of courtesies made this Infidell see what difference there was to flie vnto the protection of a Christian Prince, or to haue recourse vnto a Mahometane. They say that *Emir* had many goodly ouertures for the setling of the Christians in Asia: but to attempt it with a good and happy successe, it should be necessarie that most of the Christian Princes would ioine their wils and armes together for the generall good of Christendome. It is true, that the great Duke *Ferdinand* deceased, and *Cosmo* his successour had made proofe of their
F good intentions, by many generous enterprises against the Turke. But one Prince alone cannot do all.

A horrible tempest in the Mediterranean sea.

These things past in the yeare 1613. the end whereof concludes with the fury of terrible tempests in the Mediterranean sea. The tenth of Nouember a fearefull tempest full of lightning, thunder, and furious winds, was the cause of the losse of many gallies and ships in

the port of Genoa, with a great number of persons which were miserably drowned. Which G
losse was valued at aboue 800000 crowns. The port of Naples was not free from this storm;
and the gallies of Malta, with a great number of other vessels receiued great losse.

The grand Signior hauing this year and the year before sustained great losse of his gallies and frigots in the Mediterranian sea, by the gallies of Naples, Malta, and Florence, and in the black sea by the Cossacks, who had taken two gallies well manned and richly laden; hee now imposed a great tax vpon all his Christian subiects, towards the reparation of that losse: so as he charged the Armenians to build him nine gallies at their owne costs, and the Grecians twenty. Such is the Turks tyrannie, as he suffers not the poore Christians to enioy any thing, but he finds means to pull it from them.

The grand Visier *Nassuf* held his credit with the Prince: at whose returne from Adriano- H
ple, many of the Ianizaries (to whom he was very odious) conspired to kil him as hee should enter in at the North gate comming from Adrianople: and had placed themselues there for the effecting of what they had intended: but comming neer the gate, the Sultan (ignorant of what was plotted against the Visier) called for him to speake with him, keeping him by him vntil he was entred into the city, by which means he escaped the intended practise. Soon after *Nassuf* inuited the Sultan to a sumptuous feast; and within few daies after the Emperour feasted the Visier; who presuming vpon his great credit, caused all the crosses in the Church of S. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodliest monuments in Constantinople) to be cast downe, and all the images to be defaced: the which had stood entire euer since the Christians Gouernment.

Cruelty of the Persian King. The year before, the King of Persia had put to death 1200 Armenians, vpon a false sugge- I
stion as if they had intended to reconcile themselues to the Pope; as hating the Papists, yet suffering diuers Iesuits to liue in his dominions. The English Embassadors Chaplein desiring to know the reason of the Persians cruelty, conferred with the Patriark of the Armenians which resided at Constantinople (for there are two Patriarks, one vnder the Persian, and the other vnder the Turk) who told him, that it was true he had miserably slain many of their nation, by the cunning practises of an Armenian, who had counterfeited letters from the Patriark of Armenia to the Pope; by which the Patriark with his whole church of Armenians offered to reconcile themselues to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope for their head; intreating the Pope to write to the king of Persia to giue them leaue to doe it freely. K
Which letters the Pope receiuing, he rewarded the messenger bountifully, and returned Letters by him to the Persian king; wherby he intreated him to suffer the Armenians in his country to vse their consciences freely. The King of Persia hauing receiued these letters, grew into a great rage, causing many of them to be put to death; saying, *That if they would be obedient to the Pope, he could expect no seruice nor obedience from them.* Although the Papists say this was don directly by the Patriark, the Armenians affirm it was the practise of a counterfeit rogue. Soon after there arriued three Embassadors at Constantinople; the one was a Circassian, the second a Georgian Bishop, and the third a Mingrelian; all of them complaining of the Persians oppression and cruelty, and imploring succors from the grand Signior for their support. Presently after there arriued a Persian Embassador, whom the Sultan would not admit to au- L
dience, vntil all controuersies were concluded betwixt himself and the Emperour, which was then in question; the Sultan hauing sent one *Gasparo* (somerime a seruant in the English Embassadors house) to treat with the Emperor; by whose means at length all matters were reconciled betwixt them.

1614. *The fall of Nassuf.* The year 1614 began by the horror of great prodigies, which were seen in diuers parts of Hungary and Silesia. Ouer the strong town of Vienna in Austria, the heauens grew so red and fearfully darkned, as they feared that either the last day was come, or else there would follow some horrible effusion of bloud. But all these signes had no other effect this year, but the ruine of the fortune and prodigious authoritie of *Nassuf Bassa* the great Visier of the Turkish Empire; formerly one of the greatest and most fearefull enemies which had caried arms M
in Asia against the soueraigne power of their Sultan. But to comprehend more plainly the fall and declining of his fortune, let vs behold him in his beginning and first rising. He was the sonne of a Greek Priest, borne in a little village neere vnto Solonica; and hauing beene taken by the Tribute, which the Turks exact from Christians vpon their miserable children,

The beginning & progresse of Nassuf fortune.

A taking one of three; hee was carried very young to Constantinople, and there sold for three Chequines or Sultanines (euery one of which is not aboue eight shillings sterling, to an Eunuch of the Sultans, who nourished him and bred him vp vntill hee came to the age of twenty yeares, and afterwards sold him to a steward of the Sultana's house, to serue him in his charge. Who finding this slaue to haue a spirit capable of greater affaires than the household, employed him in the ouersight and building of a rich and stately Mosque, which the Sultana caused to be erected at her charge. In this place he gaue such proofe of his wit and judgement, to the Sultana's content, that soone after she gaue him the gouernment of her household.

The Sultan had a will to imploy him in his seruice, and retyred him from the Sultana's
B house into his Seraglio, where he was honored with the charge of the Capigi Bassa or Captaine of the Porters or Vshers of the Seraglio: from thence he was aduanced to the dignitie of the Bassa of Aleppo, and soone after hee was made gouernour Generall of Mesopotamia. The commodity of his gouernment, frontiring vpon Persia, stirred vp his ambitious thoughts and his disordinate desire to become Soueraign of that countrey, and made him to entertain many practises with the King of Persia, an antient enemy to his master. The report of his practises came to Constantinople, the Sultan is aduertised thereof, he knowes the ambitious and
C stirring spirit of this *Nassuf*, and findes that he is very profitable for his seruice, if hee can by any milde course withdraw him from his disloyalties and intelligences with the Persian. Wherefore he dissembled the knowledge of his treacherous designes, and to gaine him the more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious appetite with the greatest dignitie of his empire. After the death of *Murath Bassa* hee honoured him with the place of grand Visier, and gaue him a great part of his goods, and in his place made him Generall of the army against the Persian, with promise to giue him his daughter in mariage. Thus was *Nassuf* aduanced by his dexteritie, wit, diligence, and treacherie, to the greatest charges of the greatest Empire of the World.

He entred into Persia as Lieutenant General of his masters Army, with the which he made so great a spoile, that he forced *Ka Abbas* King of Persia then reigning, to demand a peace. And after that he granted him a surcease from armes, he brought his Embassadour to Constantinople, to conclude this peace to his masters benefit, as we haue formerly obserued. He
D enters in pompe, presents a million of gold vnto his Emperor, is wel receiued at the Seraglio, much made of by the Bassa's, but more by the Sultan, who caused him to marry his daughter. Fortune hauing thus aduanced him to the height of greatnesse, not being possible to climbe higher, she ouerthrowes him, and doth precipitate him to the lowest degrees of miserie. The Sultan fears his spirit, too head strong by reason of his ambition, he grows jealous of his actions, and about the end of the year concludes his ruin and death. The commandment is giuen to Bostangi Bassa, that is to say, the Sultans chief gardiner, and ouerseer of his Seraglio and all his houses, one of the goodliest dignities in the court. *Nassuf* was at that time sick in his house; Bostangi goes thither to visit him, and to cause him to bee strangled, being accompanied onely with seuen or eight men; for that he would not giue any suspition of the commanE dement he had receiued from his master. Being come vnto his lodging he demanded to speak with him, and *Nassuf* excused himself by his seruants, by reason of the discommodities of his health. But the Bostangi (who would needs execute his commission) replied, That hee could not return to the Sultan (who had sent him to haue certain newes of his health) before he had seen him, to be the better assured. At this reply *Nassuf* grew distrustfull, and would without all doubt haue bin far from thence in some place of Mesopotamia: but beleeuing whatsoeuer hapned to him was ineuitable, he commanded them to suffer the Bostangi to enter: who at his first approch entertained him with many complements of curtesie; and hauing demanded some questions of him concerning his health, he drew out of his pocket a commandment from the Sultan to *Nassuf*, to deliuer vnto him the seales of the Empire. The which beeing
F presently don, he drew out another commandement vnto him, by which hee was injoined to send him his head. Then *Nassuf* cried out aloud, and desired to speak with the Sultan; but the Bostangi answered, That he had no commission to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to cause his life to be taken away presently. Vpon this refusall hee intreateth him to giue him leaue

to waſh himſelfe in the next chamber, to the end that his ſoule (ſaid he) ſhould not depart the world in the ſtate of pollution, according to the Turks beleefe, who hold the waſhing of the body for a true purification. This fauour was alſo denied him; hee ſaw there was no remedy in his miſery, nor any hope of grace. Boſtangi Baſſaes followers (which were ſeuen or eight Capigies) being come to take away his life, and enuironing his bed, which was an vndoubted ſummons that he muſt die; in the end hee reſolues, and turning himſelfe vnto theſe executioners, hee willed them to do their duties: whereupon they fell to worke, and caſting themſelues vpon him, they put a cord about his necke, and ſought to ſtrangle him; but ſeeing that the fatneſſe of his repleat body would not ſuffer them to take away his life preſently, they cut his throat with a knife. His death could not be diſpleaſing to the Chriſtians, ſeeing that all his deſignes tended to their ruine: he had perſuaded his Maſter to breake the peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the Venetians, promiſing him to make him ſouereign Monarch of the whole world, to the end he might keep his ſpirit in action, and make himſelfe neceſſarie to his Maſter, and liue more ſafely in combuſtions than in a calme; whereas the enuy and malice of his enemies gaue him a thouſand furious aſſaults. Thus *Naſſuf Baſſa* ended his dayes and fortune; before Gouernour of Meſopotamia, Generall of an Imperiall army, and Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire, aduanced to theſe ſupreme dignities by the great actions of his mind, but ouerthrown ſhamefully to his ruine by his boundleſſe ambition. Doubtleſſe it is a difficult thing for a fauorite that is inſolently audatious, to continue long in grace with his Prince; eſpecially when his vnreſtrained ambition hath once broken the bounds which reaſon preſcribeth to thoſe that Fortune aduanceth by the fauour of her blaſtes; and that hee followes obſtinately that pernitious curioſitie to know by experience how high Fortune can aduance him: for then the deſire to enioy that which is aboue his condition, blinding the eyes of reaſon, he doth precipitate himſelfe by his raſh and inſolent actions, to the loweſt ſtep of ſhamefull ruine. The riches of *Naſſuf* were ſo great and proportionable to his fortune, as after his death they found about two buſhels of diamonds and pearles. Doubtleſſe this rich and ſtately ſpoyle deſerued to be enioyed by ſome great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* ſeiſed thereon, and applyed it to his Chaſna, or Treaſurie.

Naſſufs throat cut.

Another diſcourſe of Naſſufs death.

This death of *Naſſuf* is related after another manner by one who was then preſent in Conſtantinople, the which I haue thought good to ſet downe as I haue receiued it from him. The Grand Seignior being much diſcontented with his Viſier, whither inſenced with ſuch as were neere about him, who both hated and feared *Naſſuf*, or doubting his great power; hee diſſembled his ſpleene, vntill he might find ſome opportunitie for reuenge: yet it was not ſo ſecretly carried, but *Naſſuf* had diſcouered the Sultans diſcontent, and laboured by great gifts both to the Sultana and others to pacifie him, prouiding notwithſtanding in the meane time for his owne ſafety, ſending horſemen dayly ouer into Aſia, meaning to paſſe himſelfe when he had gathered together a ſufficient ſtrength. But it fel out on the ſeuenth day of October, it being the Turks Sabbath, that the Moone about eight a clocke at night was much eclipſed, which made the Turks expect ſome great accident. The Grand Seigniour hauing formerly cauſed it to be bruited, That hee would about that time paſſe to viſit a new Moſque which was then in building; whereupon all the ſtreets were hanged with cloth and arras, and as the cuſtome was, a crie went before, that *The King commeth*; at the noiſe whereof, *Naſſuf* (being then in his houſe) could not but deſcend to ſalute the Sultan as he paſſed by: But it was not the Grand Seigniour himſelfe, but his Boſtangi Baſſa, whom he had cauſed to be attyred like himſelfe, who being come before *Naſſufs* dore, and finding him ſtanding there, hee ſuddenly leapt vnto him, and told him that the Sultans pleaſure was he ſhould deliuer vp his ſeal: wherat *Naſſuff* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to do? to whom the Boſtangi Baſſa replyed, That he knew not what the Princes pleaſure was, but if he would not deliuer it, he would returne with that meſſage vnto him. Whereupon *Naſſuf* drew the ſeale out of his boſome, and deliuered it. Then the Boſtangi Baſſa ſhewed him a warrant for his head, whereunto he preſently ſubmitted himſelf, and then two Iamoglans ſtrangled him: his head was preſently cut off, and carried to the Grand Seigniour, and his body thrown into the ſtreet to be trampled on.

It

A It was thought that his death was procured by the wife of *Cicala* Bassa of Babylon, who had been manzoled or deposed from his gouernment there by *Nassuf*, and was a little before returned to Constantinople, but could not be allowed by *Nassuf* to haue any accesse vnto the grand Seigniors presence. Wherupon he wrot a letter vnto the Sultan, wherein hee accused *Nassuf* to haue conspired with the Persian to kill him; charging him with many things that were capitall. This letter he sent by his wife, who was sister to the grand Seignior; who comming to his speech (although she was watchfully obserued by *Nassuf* who was then present) left the letter in his chamber, and so departed. The grand Seignior finding this Letter, and reading it, was much insenced against *Nassuf*, and neuer quiet in mind vntil hee had his head. He writes, that there were found in *Nassufs* house eighty bags of gold, each bag containing ten
B thousand Chequines. After *Nassufs* death, *Mechmet Bassa* Admirall at sea (who had married Sultan *Achmats* eldest daughter) was made chiefe Visier. He was born in the Imperial City of Constantinople, and the first naturall Turk that was euer chiefe Visier since Constantinople was won.

You haue heard in the last yeares relation, of some combustions which were growing in Transylvania; and how the Sultan had written his letters of an imperial stile vnto the Nobilitie and States of the Countrey; which letters were fixed vp in form of a Mandate thorow-out all Transylvania, and in places that were neerest vnto those noblemen which held the Emperors party against *Bethlem*. At the same time *Bethlem* defeated certaine troups of the Garrisons at Lippa and Genoa, which ouer-ranne and spoiled the Countrey; so as the gouernors
C of those places were forced to send to Vienna, to demand succors of men and money. A Chiaus arriued at that time at Lintz, bringing letters vnto the Emperor from the grand Seignior: The first point contained in them was, That his Imperial Maiestie should haue a care, that the peace made betwixt them for twenty yeares should not be violated; and that for his part he desired to obserue it faithfully. 2. That in the name of his Imperial Maiesty they had seised vpon certain places in Transyluania, a Prouince which had been alwaies vnder his protection; which receiued her Princes from his hand, and the which he was bound to defend against all her enemies. 3. That the tyrannie of prince *Battori* had constrained him to giue forces to *Bethlem Gabor*, to dispossesse him of the principalitie of Transylvania. That after the death of the said *Battori*, he had inuested *Bethlem* to gouern it in peace. 4. That since, he
D had bin aduertised, how that some troups of souldiers in the name of his Imperiall Maiestie, contrary to the articles of peace concluded betwixt them, had by force seised vpon the forts of Hust and Viuar, and the townes of Nagipan and Tonase. 5. That hee had giuen charge to *Bethlem*, not to suffer any enterprise, no not vpon the least village of his principalitie; to the end that nothing should be separated, and that he should repel the iniury of the aggressor by force. 6. That hee exhorted his Imperiall Maiestie, if hee desired the continuance of the peace, to command his people to make restitution of the places vsurped; or to signifie his intention by the same Chiaus which he had sent vnto him, to the end he might be fully assured: for the mischiefe increasing daily, the affection which hee bare to the good of peace might grow cold.

Achmats Letters to the emperor.

E The Emperour receiued this Chiaus at Lintz very honourably, and gaue him an answer of his Letter, wrapped in a piece of cloath of gold. The sence whereof was, That this businesse being of great importance, his Imperial Maiestie desired to confer with the Princes Electors and States of the empire to heare their aduice: after which he would acquaint him with his last resolution. And finally, That hee should rest assured, that for his part hee would not attempt any thing contrary to the peace. In the meane time there was a petty Warre in Hungary, the incursions and spoiles betwixt the Christians and the Turks beginning the same againe. The Turkes of the garrison of Agria going forth, tooke a great number of cattel from the Christians. Eight hundred Haiduckes aduertised of this spoile, pursued them so speedily, as they ouertooke them before they came within halfe a league of their retreit; when
F they made them to leaue their prize, and put them to flight. The Bassa of Agria aduertised of the defeat of his out-riders, goeth forth with a thousand souldiers, to recouer the bootie from the Haiduckes, which they had but newly before taken from his men. But after a sharp incounter, hee lost his horse and two hundred of his men, and was forced to make his retreit.

From thence the Haiduckes went and ſpoiled the Countrey about Solnoc: ſome others holding the waies of Strigonium or Gran, took a Turkiſh Bride with her baggage, who was going from Gran to Buda; and foure hundred Boot-halers (ſome of them Haiduckes, and the reſt Turkes, men which hold no party but their owne, to robbe with the more impunitie) ſeiſed vpon Balaſter, Micolut, and Felak: but at the recouerie of them they were ſo ill intreated by the Hungarians, as that moſt of them loſt their liues there, and the reſt were taken priſoners. G

But the Emperor, who deſired to be reſolued in the important buſineſſe of Tranſyluania, aſſembled the Eſtates of Bohemia, Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Sileſia, Luſatia, Morauia, and Hungarie, his hereditarie countries; whom hee gaue to vnderſtand, That the peace was violated in Hungarie by the hoſtilities of the Turkes vpon the Chriſtians: to whoſe preiudice Sultan *Achmat* had ſubiected vnto himſelf the prouinces of Valachia, Moldauia, and Tranſylvania: this laſt being vnder the gouernment of *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himſelf his Vaſſall. That the Sultan had ſent word vnto his Imperial Maieſty, That hee ſhould not pretend any thing there, to the end this countrey might bee wholly vnited vnto the Turkiſh Empire. Whereupon he earneſtly exhorted the aſſembly to conſider wiſely: Firſt whether Tranſyluania ſhould be left wholly in the Turks power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not conſent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the means to make war, if the neceſſity of his affairs ſhould force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turke would hinder his Imperiall Maieſty, that he ſhould pretend no right to Tranſyluania: Fifthly, that the Turke had ſent him an Embaſſador, who contrary to the articles of peace, had not brought any Preſents: Sixthly, if they ſhould make a new accord with the Turke, to conſider aduiſedly, what aſſurance they might take, ſeeing that he would not conſent vnto the ſixth article of the peace. H I

The reſolution of the Eſtates.

There opinions were diuers vpon theſe propoſitions; but all ioyntly conſented to maintaine the authoritie of the Imperiall Maieſtie. The Hungarians only intereſſed in their reſolutions to warre, by reaſon of the ſpoyle of their countrey, as a paſſage for all their troupes, they beſought the Emperour, that if hee meant to ſend any forces into Tranſyluania, they might haue commandement to march ſome other way, and not ouer their lands. *Bethlem Gabor* in the meane time laboured to recouer thoſe places which had been loſt. Wherefore he prouided himſelfe to make ſome attempts vpon Lippa, and other places; as at Borene, Genoë, and Arach. The Gouernours of theſe places gaue aduice vnto *Forgatſi* Lieutenant Generall to the Emperour in high Hungarie; repreſenting vnto him the eſtate of their garriſon, and the feare they had, that if *Bethlem* ſhould once get them into his poſſeſſion and power, he would deliuer them ouer vnto the Turke: That if they would ſend them ſuccors, they would rather endure all extremities than yeeld them to the enemie. Yet for all this, they make no haſte to ſend them ſuccours: and *Sander Baſſa* according to the commandement hee had receiued from the Sultan, hauing brought forces to *Bethlem*, the ſiege of Lippa was reſolued in the Eſtates of Tranſyluania. On the fiue and twentieth of October the Cannon being drawne out of Veradin to batter the Fort; *Bethlem* went to inueſt it, made his approaches, and battered it ſo furiouſly, as hauing made a reaſonable breach, it ſerued firſt for a paſſage for foure hundred men to eſcape, who left the Gouernour with very ſmall meanes to defend the place, and without hope of ſuccours from Hungarie; which made him come to a parley, promiſing to yeeld the place, to haue their liues and goods ſaued. The Forts of Genoë and Arach, were deliuered by the ſame capitulation. That theſe three places ſhould not be put into the Turks hands, but ſhould remaine perpetually vnited to the principalitie of Tranſyluania: and to take all intereſt from the Turks, the Eſtates of the Countrey ſhould pay vnto *Sander Baſſa* the charges and entertainment of his troups. Theſe places thus gotten by *Bethlem*, he manned them with new garriſons: the Imperials which were within them, being retyred to *Forgatſi* the Emperours Lieutenant in high Hungarie. But the Eſtates of Tranſyluania being aſſembled at Veradin, diſputed diuerſly, whether they ſhould reſigne theſe three places into the Sultans power: ſome repreſented the diſcontentment hee would haue if they were refuſed, and the inconuenience that might enſue: others were not of opinion that the Prouince ſhould be ſo diſmembred, giuing

The deſignes of Bethlem vpon diuers places.

He receiues forces from the Turks, and beſiegeth Lippa.

K L M

the

A the most important places thereof vnto the Infidels. Thus without consenting, or refusing to deliuer these places vnto the Turk, the Estates concluded that prince *Bethlem* should do therin what he held most necessary for the tranquilitie of the country; beseeching him most humbly to free them from the Imperials, who had seised vpon Hust and Viuar. Such were the affairs of Transylvania this year; a prouince distracted from the Emperors power by the Turks practises.

The Sultan causeth a platforme to bee made at Constantinople.

At Constantinople, Sultan *Achmat* being desirous to beautifie the outward part of his Seraglio, with a goodly and spacious place vpon the sea shore, he caused a platforme to bee made within the sea, beeing eight hundred paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad. The Prouost of Constantinople caused this his resolution to be proclaimed; when as presently euery house sent forth a man, and the chiefe of families themselues laboured there in B person. There might you see the Bassa's serue as the ouerseers of the Workmen, and the Ianizaries and Spahies carrying scuttles with a wonderfull alacritie; and at all houres of the day there was musicke of diuers sorts of instruments to ease their labour, and to incourage them to continue. The Visiers going to view the Workemen, caused a largesse of pieces of siluer to be cast among them. Thus the Sultan being serued with admirable diligence in this his worke of pleasure, hee saw it finished in three moneths, hauing beene begun in October this yeare.

Certain Iesuits go to Mingrelia or Cholcos.

Whilest that the Sultan imployed his leisure after this manner in the structure of a platform within the sea at Constantinople, certain religious men departing from Pera, had a de- C signe to build another in the waues of infidelitie, but more profitable for the health of souls. This was an imployment of the Iesuites into the country of Mingrelia, in old time called Cholcos. *Lewis Grangier* a priest of this societie, and two others of his order, with an Armenian for their Interpreter, parted from Thrace with this godly resolution, to preach to the people far from God, the truth of his holy Word, and to guide them happily in the way to heauen. He passed the Bosphorus of Thrace, and the famous castles of *Leander* and *Hero*, and cut thorow those waues, whereas he that could not quench the fire of his passion, quenched the flame of his life: he passed beyond *Pompeyes* pillar, or rather that of the most happy *Daniel Stylita*, who erected his toward the mouth of this sea; and about the sixt of Iune this year they arriued at Verna, a famous town in Thrace; whereas a company of French soldiers (whom the D violence of necessity had some years since forced to leaue the Emperors seruice in Hungary) were in garrison for the Turke, to defend his subiects against the incursions of the Cossacks: yet these Frenchmen do stil obserue the Catholique Religion inuiolably. From thence hee sailed toward Cordula, and by the incounter of a little gallion he entred into the port of Trabizond. Within few daies after, he was caried in the same vessel to Erissa in the countrey of Laxia or Lassia, which on the one side lookes toward the countrey of Georgia, and the other that of Trabizond. The Christian religion hath bin for a long time planted amongst those people, but very ill manured; for the fathers to free their miserable children from the tribute wherewith the Turkes doe oppresse them, cause their children to be circumcised after the Mahometan manner; and for the same consideration they marry their daughters vnto Ianizaries. Moreouer, they abandon themselues to the Mahometan impietie, to the end they may E be deliuered from their insupportable oppressions, and their Turkish yoke. The Iesuits found there a good subiect to worke vpon for the help of soules: during their abode there, for certaine dayes they catechised the men, baptised the children, and aduertised the women married vnto Turks, what they were to do for the maintenance of their faith. But for that their commission or charge was to goe vnto Mingrelia or Cholcos, they went againe to sea, and sailed towards Gouea, which is the farthest corner of the Black sea. This hauen being verie vnfit to cast anchor in, they followed the gallies which caried a Bassa called *Oneze* from Constantinople, who should treat of a peace on the behalfe of Sultan *Achmat* with the Prince of the Mingrelians, and dispose him to pay a certain tribute. With these Vessels they went F into a port called Macrogalo, nine miles from that of Gouea, holding this place more safe than the other. But doubtlesse there is very little assurance whereas the waues and windes command soueraignty. A North-west wind rising about midnight on the fifteenth of September, draue their gallies neere vnto the shelfes and rockes, whereas one was broke and cast away.

The shipwracke of certaine gallies.

away. This tempeſt continued many daies, and during the violence therof another gally was G
loſt, in which the Ieſuits had bin, but by good aduice they retired to land during the fury of the ſea and winds. The Ieſuits imputed the cauſe of this loſſe to the prohibition which *Oneze* the Baſſa had made vnto them, Not to paſſe into Mingrelia before the peace was concluded betwixt the Princes of that country; the which grew long, by reaſon of the difficulties which hapned in the treaty. In the end thoſe princes reſoluing to pay the tribute to the Turk, it was concluded.

The libertie of trauel followes peace; *Grangier* and his Companions proceeded in their journey: twenty daies after they departed from Macrogalo, they arriued at Satrapella, a place of Georgia; wheras the princes Viſier came to viſit them, and after the Georgian maner ſaluted them bare headed, and kneeling vpon one knee. *Gorel* Prince of the Georgians (who was H
then at Barlet, wheras the Court was to paſſe the feaſt of Chriſtmas) being aduertiſed of the arriual of theſe new Chriſtian and French preachers, ſent for them, receiued them fauorably, and ſaluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he had made them to bleſſe his court, he held many diſcourſes with them of the truth of the Roman church, & of the Popes power as Father of all Chriſtendom: being mooued partly thereunto, by a feeling of pietie to the Church, and partly from the inſtructions he receiued from the Ieſuits; ſo as inlightned with a new beam of the true light, he intreated *Grangier* to craue abſolution of his ſinnes from the Pope, the which (ſaith he) he may giue me by the power hee hath from God; promiſing to ſend him his confeſſion in writing. But vnderſtanding that the Ieſuite had power from the Pope to abſolue him, hee purged his conſcience of all his ſins, by a generall confeſſion of his I
life. Without doubt the zeal of theſe ſoules, ſo far from ſuccor, ſhews plainly what the harueſt would be, if ſo many labourers were ſent as were neceſſarie. A Monke of Georgia, who had liued at Rome for the ſpace of twelue yeares, had in former time planted pietie there, the which they of this miſſion did now alter. This Prince *Gorel* intreated the Ieſuits to ſend him ſome of their company at their return into Europe, promiſing to make great eſteem of them, and to giue them a Church, an houſe, and all things neceſſarie for their maintenance. The prince offered them ſiluer, which they refuſed, modeſtly excuſing themſelues vpon the rules of their inſtitution, which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the adminiſtration of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their maner of liuing, and cauſed them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journy K
into Mingrelia.

The third of February, in the yeare of our Lord God 1615, they parted from this towne with the Turkes who came to conclude the peace; and paſſing by the banks of Faſſo (a riuer which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at Herailcano, otherwiſe called Heraclea, and from thence they went to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the Mingrelians, called *Dodran*, then remained, being buſie in the reception of *Threbis Cham* King of Georgia, who was come thither to viſit him, being expelled his Country by the king of Perſia. The Ieſuites were brought to kiſſe the hands of prince *Dodran*, and of *Lipartia* his Vncle, who was Regent for the Realme during the time of his minoritie. They both promiſed them aſſiſtance in their affairs, ſending them to the towne Macaurie, to make their abode L
there whileſt they were buſied in the affaires of their Countries, the which at that time were ſomewhat confuſed. The Biſhop of that place entertained them with very great demonſtration of loue, and ſoone after making a feaſt to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the Georgians, he would needs haue the Ieſuites aſſiſt at this banquet, for a great teſtimonie of his loue. It is the manner of thoſe of Cholchos or the Mingrelians, as well as the Georgians, to ſing at their meat. The *Threbis Cham* deſired, that the Ieſuites might ſing ſome note when it came to their turne, whereof they excuſed themſelues diuers times: But there was no remedy, they muſt do as others haue done: whereupon they ſung the hymne of *Plange Lingua, &c.* appointed for Holy Thurſday. Being thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their reſidence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of ſoules, which erre in M
that countrey through the darkneſſe of ignorance, for want of men to teach them the way of truth. They are Chriſtians of the Greeke profeſſion, vnder the commandement of diuers Princes, alwaies in warre either againſt the Turke or the Perſian: They carry the name

The Mingrelians cuſtome at their feaſts.

of

A of Cham,which is as much to say, as King or Souereigne Prince: The Sophie had dispossest *Trebis Cham* chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred himselfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

The Historie of Sultan Iacaia, held by many to the Emperour Achmats brother.

Whilest those men labour to sow the seeds of true doctrine of the Apostles in the soyle of Mahometisme,a Turke passing out of Asia,comes into Christendome to seeke the light of truth,and demands fauorable assistance and succors from Christian Princes, to enter into the possession of the Empire,wherunto his birth and the degrees of a lawful succession seemed to cal him by a iust title.The discourse of his birth,of his fortunes,and of his pretensions to the Turkish Empire,is comprehended in this following relation.He termed himselfe the son of *Mahomet* the third,father to *Achmat*,now sitting in the Imperiall Throne at Constantinople; B he maintained,that his father by foure wiues or concubines had had foure sons;*viz.Mustapha* who was strangled,for that he would haue dispossessed his father of his kingdom;*Iacaia*(which was himself) *Achmat* now reigning,and *Osman*:yet it seems by the sequell of the Historie,that he had another *Mustapha*: that hauing bin sent for to come out of Magnesia to Constantinople,his mother(who had bin a Christian,and baptised vnder the name of *Hellen*,but was afterward ingaged in the company of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beauty, and knowne in Turky by the name of Sultana *Lalpare*)could not conduct him to his father,for that he was dangerously sick of the small pocks.And this Princesse desired much,to find some fauorable occasion, wherby she might be freed from the damnable errors of *Mahomets* law,and return to the wholesome way of the Christian faith, and retyre her sonne *Iacaia* farre from the power of C those bloudy lawes,which sprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes to the Crowne with the bloud of his brethren;she well foresaw that *Iacaia* being but the second of *Mahomets* sonnes, should one day by his death secure the life of *Mustapha* his elder, and that the onely meanes to preserue him, was to retyre him into Christendome. Wherefore she laboured seriously in this designe,and made vse of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out,that her sonne *Iacaia* was dead of the small pockes; and hauing supposed in his place the son of an Eunuch dead of the same disease,assisted at his funerall,and by her constrained teares subtilly disguised her designe. An Eunuch called *Astam Mehemet* was the faithfull secretarie of her enterprise; with him she leaues Magnesia,a Prouince in Asia,and vnder pretext to goe vnto certain baths there by, shee gets her downe to the sea side, passes into Europe, and transports her son into Mo- D rea, sometimes called Hellespont, and lodgeth him (as vnknowne) in the Bishops Palace in the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares old; she held him not secure at Miclo,but transported him into Macedonia, vnder the habit of a Greeke Monke,and retyres him into the towne of Cassandria; where she discouers vnto the Archbishop of Thessalonica, a man learned and of a holy life, the qualitie of her sonne, and the desire shee had to make him a Christian: intreating him in charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbishop lodgeth the mother in the Monasterie of Religious women of our Lady of Thessalonica, and giues the custody of the sonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all Sciences, vnder whom hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke Tongue as in many goodly arts. I do well know this to be true,for that I haue conuersed with him for the space of E six moneths, and haue seene him often in the companie of learned men speake the Greeke with as great facilitie as his Turkish and mother tongue. He continued in this Monastery vnder the care and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of seuenteene yeares; that is to say, for the space of eight whole yeares; during which time, his Mothers tears,the holy instructions of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of his soules health,and become a Christian.The Archbishop of Thessalonica clensed his soule from the pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*,and baptised him in the Church of Saint *Anastasius*, without the City of Thessalonica; yet secretly, for feare lest the Eunuch comming to discouer this misterie, should abandon him, and publish abroad the place and estate of his solitarie aboad,and so be miserably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himselfe Sultan,being already F in some assurace of the Crowne of heauen by the promises of Holy Baptisme, whilest that hee was in the beginning of his pretensions to that of the Turkish Empire, he leaues the Monasterie where hee had been instructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp

and

and down Greece, passing away (in the length and varietie of his voyage) the impatiencie of his age & desires, for that he would not be known, he takes vpon him the habit and the license of a Dervis or religious Turk. But when he came to the city of Siopia, hee vnderstood of the death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the third his father, and the rejoycing for the new aduancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the same instant, that *Mustapha* his elder brother had bin strangled by the commandement of his father. The displeasure which hee conceiued for that he had not bin bred vp at Constantinople with the rest, to receiue so rich a Crown as that of the Turkish Empire, made him to wauer in diuers resolutions; somtimes he would go into Persia to haue succours from him, and with him to make warre against his brother: somtime he would serue for a support and countenance to the Rebels in Asia, and justifie their party.

After many discourses with the Eunuch touching his affairs, he sends him vnto the son of *Peri Bassa*, a Rebell against *Achmat*: the Eunuch treats for his master, and receiues from him the Rebels oath; and returning to Tarlis, where the Sultan *Iacaia* remained, he conducted him to *Peri Bassa*, to be the head of his troups. *Iacaia* arriues, and sees himselfe obeyed by an army ready to fight: for the Deftarder or Treasurer beeing sent against the rebell *Peri*, with seuen thousand horse, and three thousand foot, was already vpon the banks of the riuer Bardate, ready to giue him battel. The Bassa's troups (being lesse in number of fighting men) went to assail him. There was a sharp incounter, but in the end the Deftarder was victor, & the troups of *Peri Bassa* defeated, and *Iacaia* being wounded in four places of his body, was forced to saue himselfe on the other side of the riuer, where wandring vp and down the fields, hee found relief with a poore countrey peasant, and soone after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him, and caused him to be cured; holding him to be one of the Deftarders pages, as he himselfe said.

His wounds being cured, *Iacaia* returnes again towards Greece, where he finds his mother, conferres with her, and soone after with the Eunuch, of the estate of his affaires; and concludes with both of them, to send to Constantinople, to the Visier Deruis (who at that time was discontented with the Emperor *Achmat*) to sound his disposition, and to see if hee might gaine him to his party: The Eunuch vndertakes the voyage, he speaks with the Deruis, and finds him disposed to entertaine the offers of *Iacaia*: The conspiracie was concluded, and they sweare to kill *Achmat*, and to settle *Iacaia* in the Imperiall Throne. Hereupon he transports himselfe to Constantinople, in a disguised habit: but when as they were ready to execute their enterprise (say they) the Deruis died; be it that the Emperor *Achmat* had discouered their designe, or otherwise. Thus *Iacaia* being frustrate of his hope to effect any thing by this means, he left the City and fled towards the blacke sea, and then wandred into the countries of Valachia, and Moldauia, following the Carock of a Poland Embassador on foot, vntill he came to the City of Cracouia, whereas Fortune had laid a snare for him, which brought him in danger of his life; for a Chiaus being come from Constantinople, and knowing him, he desired the King of Poland in his Masters name, to stay him, assuring him that by this meanes he should strictly bring vnto him the affections of Sultan *Achmat*: the King refused his vniust demand, holding himselfe much honoured to see his Court the refuge of vnfortunate Princes. After this refusal the Chiaus flies to trecherie; he corrupts certaine Tartarians of the Kings guard with money, who promised to murther *Iacaia*; and doubtlesse they had performed it, if a Flemish Embroiderer had not aduertised him, and lent him his lodging for certain daies to hide himselfe; after which he freed himself from danger, and past to Prague towards the Emperor *Rodulphus* who was then liuing.

In this Imperiall Court hee found relieue, and meanes to ease his forepast miseries: The Emperour furnished him with all things necessarie: Hee spent a whole yeare there, and was acknowledged during his abode, by many Turks which came to Prague, for brother to their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but succours to effect his designes: But hee finds nothing but good words and faire wishes at Prague; so as hee was forced to seeke the effects elsewhere. Certaine Saxons that were his friends, aduised him to passe to Florence to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of Tuscanie: hee takes directions from that Princes

Embassador

A Embaſſador reſiding at Prague, and goes on his journy: but entring into Italy, he heares that *Ferdinand* was dead; theſe mournfull news made him to reſolue to ſeeke ſome other place, if *Coſmo* ſucceſſor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Ducheſſe his mother, had not called him backe. He came then to Florence, where he was honorably entertained, and lodged for the ſafety of his perſon in the Fort of *S. Iohn*, where he was ſupplied with all ſorts of commodities. The great Duke *Coſmo* gaue him the title of Excellencie, appointed him horſes and caroches, and ſuch companie as he delighted in, for the pleaſure of hunting. He had not ſtaid long at Florence, but he ſaw himſelfe aſſiſted with ſuch forces as he deſired. The great Duke *Coſmo* cauſed his gallions to be armed, ſending them into the Leuant, vnder the command of the knight *Beauregard*, where hee had conference with *Naſſuf Baſſa*, at that time chiefe of the Rebels of
B Aſia. He offers him men, armes, any money, if he would come to land, and march towards Perſia, whither many Rebels were retyred. But he who commanded the Florentine gallions, had no commiſſion to leaue him in the hands of *Naſſuf*: wherefore hee carried him backe to Florence to his Highneſſe.

During the time that *Iacaia* was aboord the gallions, the great Duke ſent diuers perſons into many parts of the Leuant, to informe themſelues carefully of theſe things which he had deliuered, not onely touching his owne perſon, but alſo of his Mother; and they all brought backe certaine proofes of the truth of his diſcourſes. This gaue the great Duke ſubiect to impart this faire occaſion vnto Spaine, to labour for the common good of Chriſtendome: He wrote vnto the Catholique King, and informed him of the quality of *Iacaia*, to the end that
C contributing ſuccours to his perſonage, they might vndertake ſome happy enterpriſe againſt the Turke. The King of Spaine was content he ſhould be ſent to Naples: commanding the Viceroy to giue him a reception fit for his quality. *Iacaia* went on his journy, being accompanied by ſome, by the great Dukes commandement: but according to the newes which he receiued from Naples, he ſtaid at Auerſo, where he was receiued by the Gouernour with much honour. The Viceroy came to viſit him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellency. But as the councell of Spaine was tedious in their reſolutions, and delayed too long (as *Iacaia* ſuppoſed) the ſuccours which he expected; hee parted from Auerſo to go to Millan, and from thence in a diſguiſed habit paſt again into the Leuant, to ſound their wils that might aduance his pretentions, and bring them to a happy end: but he preuailed as little as he had don before.
D Beſides all theſe voyages which we haue deſcribed, to the end he might leaue no means vnattempted to aduance his affaires, he went to Rome to kiſſe his Holineſſe feet. Cardinall *Bellarmine* receiued him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie: the Pope aſſured him of his affection and ſuccors; but it was neceſſary the ſecular powers ſhould begin to leuy men, and make the firſt ouerture to war.

Since, we haue ſeene him at France and at Paris, vnder the protection of the Duke of Neuers, entertained by the bounty of this Prince, and aſſiſted by his Councell: and doubtleſſe if the troubleſome combuſtions of a ciuill war had not diuerted the armies of this duke, we had ſeen ſome happy ſucceſſe of the affairs which he treated in Loraine, Germany, and other places, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Chriſtendome. Finally, as for this Turke called
E *Iacaia*, terming himſelfe eldeſt brother to the Emperor *Achmat* now reigning at Conſtantinople, and for ſuch acknowledged by many: yet ſome affirme (yea ſuch as haue conuerſed in the Eaſt) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three ſons, which were *Muſtapha*, *Achmat* and *Oſman*: Notwithſtanding it is hard to diſcouer in this perſonage any ſignes of an impoſture. I haue often frequented with him, and carefully obſerued his carriage and actions: and haue alwaies noted in him a carriage and minde borne to great matters. This is all that wee could learne of this man.

Stephano or *Tomſho*, of whom we haue made mention in the yeare 1612, hauing ouerthrown *Conſtantine* the lawfull Prince, and made himſelfe Vayuod of Moldauia, by the ſupport and tyrannie of the Turke; as he held it by vſurpation, without any iuſt title, ſo he gouerned with
F all cruelty and inhumanitie, preferring crueltie before clemencie, and imitating that tyrant, who ſaid openly, *That he reſpected not the loue of his ſubiects, ſo as they feared him.* Euen ſo this *Stephano* at his firſt entrance plotted how hee might root out all the Noblemen in the Countrey, whom in their language they call Boyers, with all others of credit and authoritie *Tyrannie of Stephano.*

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in the countrey, both for that they ſupported *Conſtantine*, as for the jealouſie he had of them, being beſt able to reſiſt his tyrannous deſignes: being alſo the common diſpoſition of ſuch as vſurpe any eſtate by wicked practiſes, to be alwaies in feare to be diſpoſſeſſed, and to be entreated according to their merits. He began firſt with the Lord of Botacan brother to the Princeſſe widow to *Ieremy*, whom he cauſed with two others of the chiefe Noblemen to bee miſerably and inhumanely empailed, as if they had been two notable theeues and murderers; and not content herewith, ſoone after, hee cauſed threeſcore and fifteene Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their heads; and would not pardon any one, notwithſtanding the great inſtance that was made by their kinsfolkes; charging them with the crime of treaſon, as if they had conſpired againſt his perſon, hauing no proofe at all: but theſe his cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had perſuaded himſelfe; but contrariwiſe they were the more inſenced, and many of them tooke armes openly, and had then ſeiſed vpon him, bin reuenged of his cruelties and ſet their country at liberty (which had not been ruined as it was afterwards) if he had not bin aſſiſted by the Citiſens of Yas; whom he conjured to ſecond him in this occaſion, promiſing them immunities of all ſubſidies: In regard of which promiſe, theſe poore wretches preferring their priuat profit before their publique ſafety, imploied themſelues in the ſeruice of this tyrant, and fought valiantly againſt the Boyers, who were come to aſſault him in the City of Yas; But finding that he was better aſſiſted than they expected, after ſome light skirmiſh they retyred as well as they could, whereof many were taken priſoners, whom the tyrant cauſed to be ſlain in cold bloud, or empailed to terrifie the reſt.

The Boyers which eſcaped from this defeat, knowing that there was no hope of mercy in *Stephano*, who was full of reuenge; nor by conſequence any ſafety in Moldauia during his gouernment, they reſolued to haue recourſe vnto the Princeſſe (widow to *Ieremy*) who had fled into Polonia when as ſhe receiued news of the taking of her ſonne *Conſtantine*. This Princeſſe vnderſtanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous gouernment of *Stephano*, and that moſt of the Moldauians were reſolued to ſhake off the yoke of his tyranny, and deſired to haue prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good vſage they had receiued from the deceaſed Prince *Ieremy* his father. Theſe conſiderations, together with a deſire of command vnder her ſonne (who was then but ſixteen yeares old) were ſtrong motiues to perſuade both her and her ſonne to imbrace this occaſion, the which they imparted to Prince *Viſinouiskie* ſonne in law to the Princeſſe; and to Prince *Coresky*, who at that time aſpired to marry her yongeſt daughter: Theſe Princes not only allowed of this deſigne, but they offered themſelues willingly to accompanie Prince *Alexander* into Moldauia, and to take the whole care of his army. This reſolution being taken, they preſently imploied all their credit to leuy men, and had within leſſe than two months drawn together ten or twelue thouſand foot and horſe, Polonians, Coſſacks, and Tranſyluanians: whereof the Vayuod *Stephano* being aduertiſed, he preſently leuied what forces he could, of Moldauians, Tartarians and Valachians, hauing drawne together an army of almoſt 20000 men, which hee kept about Yas, and there reſolued to attend the Princes of Polonia.

The Fort of Cochina yeelded vnto Prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* being aduanced with his army within two leagues of Caminithe in Podolia, hee was much troubled to paſſe the riuer of Nieſtre, which diuides the countrey from Moldauia, fearing the Fort of Chochina, in the which there was a ſtrong garriſon of Moldauians, and ſtore of munition to defend the paſſage of the ſaid riuer: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captaine which commanded in the ſaid Fort, being much diſcontented at the cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himſelfe to offer his ſeruice to *Alexander*, and brought him the keyes of the Fort, leauing all to his diſpoſition; ſo as hee paſt his army eaſily into Moldauia, and in ſigne of ioy diſcharged many vollies of his great Ordnance, which made *Stephano* diſtruſt the affections of the Moldauians, and to feele a pricking in his conſcience, which doth neuer abandon tyrants and vſurpers.

1500 Tartarians defeated by the Coſſackes.

Prince *Alexander* making ſome ſtay with his army at Cochina in the yeare 1615, aduanced towards Yas, and being come within halfe a daies journey, he ſent forth eight hundred Coſſackes (choſen out of a great number) to diſcouer the countenance of his enemies army: but they were not farre aduanced, before they encountred 1500 Tartarians, ſent by

Stephano

A *Stephano* to giue some charge to the Polonians. Although the Cossackes were fewer in number, yet finding the Tartarians in disorder, they charged them so resolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the rest to rout. After which exploit they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano's* army might be about the number of fifteen thousand men; but they were such as were gathered vp in the country, and not trained vp to armes, who were rather drawne to it by constraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy successe, together with the report made by the Cossackes, did greatly encourage *Alexanders* army, being also much insenced against *Stephano* for certaine letters which he had written to their Prince, full of threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercy, the which did the more encourage the Polonians, and made them resolute rather to die fighting, than to
B fall into the hands of this cruell tyrant. The same day there came certain deputies of the Moldauians to Prince *Alexander*, without the priuity of *Stephano*, to know what his designe was, and to intreat him to take pitty of Moldauia, which was threatned with a speedy ruine if the war continued any longer: to whom the Prince made answer, That his intent was not to oppresse Moldauia, but to free it from the tyranny of *Stephano*; that he had beene inuited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come vnto him into Polonia to that end, and had giuen him assurance, that it was the common desire of the Moldauians. That vpon this confidence he had marched with what forces he could draw together, and that if he did preuaile in his designes (as he assured himself with their assistance) he would gouerne them with no lesse mildnesse than his father Prince *Ieremy* had done, whose sonne and lawfull successour he was. The
C deputies returned well satisfied with this answer, and hauing published it in diuers places, many Moldauians came and joyned with the Prince his army, and assisted him faithfully in this action.

In October Prince *Alexander* aduancing about three leagues with his army, hee made a stand in a faire Champion where there were good Springs to refresh them, and in the meane time he called a Councell at warre, to resolue what course he should take, and when he should draw the enemy to fight. In the meane time he had sent a troupe of Cossackes to discouer the army; who brought word that they were ranged in battell, and that they had twenty cannons ready in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that some daies before, the Generall of *Stephano's* artillery had sent to assure him, that if he gaue battell, he would
D annoy his men as little as he could, hauing a desire to serue the Prince, and by this meanes be reuenged of *Stephano*, who had caused his brother in lawes head to be cut off, vpon a false suspect which he had conceiued against him being innocent. The which should teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more secret enemies than cruelty, and that at one time or other they in whom they most rely abandon them when as they least expect it. The Vayuod *Stephano* meaning to make a second discouery of the Princes army, sent 1200 Tartarians, and two or three hundred Moldauians, who being seene a far off (for that it was in a plaine champaine) the Prince sent 500 Cossacks with 400 Polonian lances to encounter them: The Tartarians perceiuing it, made a shew at the first as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from the campe; and being about a league off, they made a stand, thinking that they
E durst not charge them: but they were soone deceiued, for the Polonians fell vpon the Tartarians with such fury, as they ouerthrew them, and slew most of them, so as there escaped not aboue fiue or six hundred, who retyring to their campe caused a great amasement. The Princes army was much encouraged by this exploit, and increased daily in number, as it is vsuall in ciuill war to follow that party which hath the first aduanced.

The Generall of Stephano's artillery resolues to betray him.

Presently after this execution, the Prince meaning to aduance his army towards the enemies campe, his forewardnesse was staied by a battalion of one thousand horse, who had the night before seised vpon a narrow passage, betwixt a poole and a marish, by the which they knew the Polonian army must passe: but this obstacle was soone taken away, by the aduice which was giuen by certaine Moldauians, to send a company of horsemen by a way vnknown
F to the enemy, by which meanes they might surprise them behinde, before they should be discouered. The execution of this stratagem was giuen to the Cossackes, who speedily went, being guided by certaine Moldauians; who comming within fifty paces of the enemy vndiscouered, they charged them, and were seconded so fitly by the foreward, that staid on the

other side; as of one thousand horse there returned not aboue fifty to their campe, to carry newes of their bad successe. G

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this passage, he aduanced with his army within cannon shot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Visnouiskie* was of opinion, that they should make a kinde of inclosure with their carts, which might serue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues; the which being discouered by *Stephano*, hee shot certaine vollies of cannon through their fort, so as there were some souldiers slaine, and some hurt: and the Prince answered him with the like, but to small effect, for that night surprised them, neither had they aboue eight small pieces. Prince *Visnouiskie* spent the night to encourage his souldiers, letting them vnderstand that they had no reason to be amased, although their enemies were more in number, for that most of them were peasants, neuer trained vp in armes nor seene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were so many testimonies and assurances that God did fight for them, and would vse them to punish the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties against Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but should returne loaden with rich spoiles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did so encourage the souldiers, as they protested all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer, the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderstand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* Artillery, wherewith they were much comforted. H

The disposition of the two armies.

The next day being the eleuenth of October, they began to put their Armies in battell, during the which there were diuers skirmishes, wherein *Alexanders* party had still the aduantage, so as it seemed they were so many presages of good Fortune which should befall them that day. The Princes army was ordered by *Visnouiskie*, to whom Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as most capable, hauing sundry times giuen sufficient proofes of his sufficiency and valour in other battels. This Generall seeing *Stephano's* horsemen diuided into three squadrons, and the Tartarians most aduanced, he appointed the Cossackes to encounter with them: the which was judiciously and discreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but only with the skinnes of certaine beasts, wherewith they make themselues to seeme as fearefull as they can, obseruing no order in their fighting, and vsing cries which are fearefull to such as are not accustomed vnto them; and being once broken, they seldome returne againe to their charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houssarskie, being about one thousand and fiue hundred men well armed, made the second battalion of *Alexanders* army, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand against three thousand Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horsemen. The Hungarian foot being about three thousand men were in the middest of Prince *Alexanders* Army, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of some aduantage; and on the left hand was the rest of the Chaualry, who were led by the Princes *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot of the campe where they lodged the night before. I K L

The battell betwixt Prince Alexander and the Vaynod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing disposed his Army into diuers squadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* Army, who found that the Generall of the Artillery had kept his promise, for most of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commanded the Cossackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they soone defeated. At the same instant two thousand light horse gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an instant cut most of them in pieces, and the rest yeelded themselues; so as *Alexander* became master of his cannon. The tyrant seeing his Infantery in danger to bee defeated, and his cannon lost, caused a battalion of three thousand Valachian and Moldauian horsemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the generous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Leunciers charged them so furiously in the flanke, as that they slew almost the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the rest that remained to rout. Presently after this followed another squadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, M

he

A he wisely retyred towards his campe, seeing his men wearied and tyred with the slaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without some rest. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Visnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the rest of his horsemen to encounter this last battalion of the enemy, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were assured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there present; which charge continued for the space of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leisure to take breath, and to gather together what possibly hee could of those of his party, to succour them that were then in fight, who were almost tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre ingaged. But seeing these vnexpected succours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were so much amased at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout and

Stephano's army defeated.

B fled.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himselfe to the rest of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a shew that hee would rather die with them than fly away; but seeing the euent of this last charge, and his horsemen all in rout: he soone resolued to saue himselfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one stroke in this battel. The footmen which remained being about foure thousand men, seeing the successe of the battell, yeelded to the mercy of the victors, and cryed out, God saue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victory Prince *Alexander* made his entry into the City of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Visnouiskie* on either side, after whom followed his whole army. Entering into the castle he was there proclaimed Prince and Vayuod of Moldauia by all the No-

Alexander proclaimed Prince of Moldauia.

C bles and Boyers of the country, the which he would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderstanding that a great number of the chiefest of the inhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forrest to attend the euent of these troubles, he sent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all assurance) to their houses, causing part of his Army to dislodge, and to be quartered in the country thereabouts; and there were one thousand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horse (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) sent to the city of Vasselloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillery, some were sent into Polonia, and some were put into the fort of Cochina, the which is as it were the Arsenall of Moldauia.

Embassadeurs sent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seigniour.

D At the same time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no lesse glory to preserue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to Councell, to resolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him and his estate, which hee had newly gotten by the sword: where it was concluded among other things, that hee should speedily send an Embassadour to the Grand Seigniour, to let him vnderstand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes against his Majesty, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had beene sought vnto being in Polonia, and inuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnspeakeable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had resolued to root out the Nobility of the said Countrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occasion. They had also charge to giue the Sultan to vnderstand, That when his Majesty aduanced *Stephano* to

E be Vayuod of Moldauia, he had falsely suggested that hee was sonne to a Prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertised by his Bassaes and Counsellours, that his predecessour had promised to the deceased father of Prince *Alexander*, and to Prince *Semeon* his vncle, that after his decease his sonnes should succeed him in the said estate, if they shewed not themselues vnworthy, and did pay the yearely tribute of forty thousand Chequines; which tribute since the death of *Ieremy* had beene offered by Prince *Constantine*, his eldest sonne, to *Houssine Aga*, when as hee was sent to settle the said *Stephano*: as also that Prince *Alexander* promised to pay it hereafter; and if need should be, he would giue Prince *Bougdan* his brother as a sure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promises during the first yeare.

Prince Alexanders Embassadours put to death by Stephano.

F The Embassadours hauing receiued these instructions, they tooke their journey speedily to Constantinople: But in stead of passing through Thrace which was their directest course, they were forced to goe by Transyluania, fearing to be hindered by the men of warre

which then troubled all Thrace. Comming to Buda they went to ſalute the Baſſa which commanded there, who being a ſpeciall friend to *Stephano*, put them in priſon, violating the Law of Nations obſerued by the moſt barbarous; and afterwards he ſent them to Braille whither the tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They ſay he gaue fifteene thouſand Chequines in recompence to the Baſſa, and to reuenge himſelfe in ſome ſort of Prince *Alexander* in the perſons of his Embaſſadours; he cauſed their heads to be cut off one night after ſupper, and their bodies to be caſt into the Danowe. The death of theſe Embaſſadours was very prejudiciall to Prince *Alexander*, by meanes whereof the Grand Seigniour was not truly aduertiſed of what had paſt in Moldauia, not receiued the complements, offers, and ſubmiſſion of Prince *Alexander*, ſo as he was wonderfully inſenced againſt him, and ſware his ruine, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

Stephano hauing receiued foure thouſand men from *Michna* Prince of Valachia, and gathered together the reliques of his ſcattered army, he marched towards Valachia; wherof Prince *Alexander* being aduertiſed, he ſent Prince *Coreskie* with ſix thouſand horſe, Polonians and Coſſackes to Ticouch a ſtrong frontier towne, to guard that paſſage: And Prince *Alexander* and *Viſnouiskie*, they ſtaied at Yas with the reſt of the army to preſerue the country, and to preuent all alterations in fauour of *Stephano*, who had ſome intelligencers. Within few daies after, the Prince had newes that the Inhabitants of Horreoua (a Countrey in Moldauia conteining about fifteene or ſixteene French leagues in circuit) were in armes, and had joyned with a great troupe of Tartarians to come and inueſt him, knowing well that Prince *Coreskie* was otherwiſe emploied with part of the Polonian army. *Alexander* ſtaied not to haue theſe Rebels come to Yas; but ſent *Viſnouiskie* his brother in law with ſuch forces as he could draw together to encounter with them. They met together within two leagues of the city, where *Viſnouiskie* charged the Tartarians with ſuch fury, as halfe of them were ſlaine vpon the place, and the reſt of them fled: there were a great number of priſoners taken, and all the poore inhabitants of Horreoua were brought vnto Yas in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight hundred Tartarians and others ſlaine, and of the Polonians only fifty, and ſome hundred hurt.

Stephano returnes into Moldauia.

Prince *Alexander* hauing receiued newes of this defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went preſently to horſebacke with his company of French, which hee had onely reſerued about him, to goe and meet with *Viſnouiskie*, and to congratulate his happy victory. This being done with many complements and embracings, he caſt his eie vpon the poore inhabitants of Horreoua, whom they led like a troupe of ſheepe; and had ſuch commiſeration on them, as he preſently ſent them backe againe, hauing taken their oath of fidelity, hoping that this his clemency would draw the moſt factious to obedience, hauing formerly tried the oppreſſions of a moſt cruell Prince. Prince *Alexander* hauing giuen thankes to God for this new and vnexpected victory, he ſent a Gentleman vnto Prince *Coreskie*, to aduertiſe him thereof, who at the ſame inſtant was buſie to diſpoſe of his troupes to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into Moldauia. The encounter was in a plaine Champaine, hauing on the one ſide the riuer of Sirette, the which diuides Moldauia from Valachia: the skirmiſh continued from tenne of the clocke vntill it was noone with like aduantage; but Prince *Coreskie* being aduertiſed that *Stephano* was in a ſquadron of horſe which was ſome two hundred paces diſtant from him; he joyned vnto his troupe foure hundred Gerbeyes, who were well armed, and led by a very valiant Captaine, with the which he charged him with ſuch violence and fury as hee forced them to giue backe, yet fighting in ſuch ſort as the euent ſeemed to be doubtfull: the which being diſcouered by another of the Princes Captaines, who led a troupe of foure hundred light horſe: hee came ſo fitly to ſuccour him, as *Stephano* and his horſemen were forced to fly, whom the Prince purſued and cut in peeces. *Stephano* eſcaped with a troupe which he had reſerued rather for the guard of his perſon, than to fight. Prince *Coreskie* at his returne from the chaſe of his enemies, cauſed the dead to be numbred, where he found that of *Stephano's* ſide were three thouſand and foure hundred men ſlaine vpon the place, beſides thoſe that were priſoners and wounded; and of his part only three hundred and fifty.

Stephano defeated the ſecond time.

Preſently

A Presently after this victory, the season of the yeare being cold (it beeing the twelfth of Nouember) Prince *Coreskie* put his troupes into garrison, and returned with one hundred and fifty horse to Yas, where hee was receiued with much honour and joy. The princesse mother to *Alexander*, was yet in Poland, but being aduertised of her sonnes fortunate successe, shee returned to Yas, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngest sonne, with *Alexandrina* her daughter, who was yet to marry. At whose arriuall there was great feasting and joy; then they began to treat of a marriage betwixt Prince *Coreskie* and the princesse *Alexandrina*, the which had beene then consummated, if *Bellona* had not opposed it, stirring vp new and more powerfull armies than the precedent, to exercise the vertues and valours of the said princes, and to try the patience of the two louers, who loued one another reciprocally from
B their youth.

To continue the deduction of new affaires which troubled the quiet of the said Princes more than euer, you must vnderstand that about the end of Nouember this yeare 1615, they were aduertised that *Michna* Prince of Valachia with a Bassa called *Hebraim*, came against them with an army of forty thousand men, Turks, Tartarians and Valachians, to succour the Vayuod *Stephano*: and moreouer, that *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Transyluania, had charge from the Grand Seigniour to arme against them, and to assaile them; which in effect was a false alarme; for the said Bassa had beene sent by the Grand Seignior to bring Caphtanes (which are robes of cloath of gold which the Grand Seignior doth vsually send in fauour to Princes that are vnder his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who he held to be in peaceable possession of Moldauia; but not with any army, nor with an intent to make war against the said Prin-
C ces; for he was yet ignorant what had passed against *Stephano*. Notwithstanding the Princes holding this aduertisement to be true, assembled a Councell of the chiefe Noblemen in Court, where it was resolued, That an Embassador should be speedily sent to Prince *Michna*, both to know his intent, and to discouer whether he marched toward Moldauia, and with what forces. This charge was giuen vnto a braue Gentleman of Polonia called *Boyartskie*, who parted presently from Yas, and being entred into Valachia, he vnderstood that prince *Michna* was then in his towne of Bonza, some twenty French leagues distant from the frontiers of Moldauia. The Embassadour being arriued demanded audience before *Michna*, by whom he was sent vnto the Bassa, who at his first enterance (without hearing the subject of his Embas-
D sage) demanded, who had made his master *Alexander* so bold, as to carry armes in the country of the Grand Seigniour without his authority; for the which hee should be punished, and those that did assist him: commanding the Embassadour presently to be put in yrons, as if he had beene a theefe or some miserable caitife. The Embassadors seruants seeing how they entreated their master, escaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to Yas, enformed prince *Alexander* what had passed, assuring him that *Michna* had no army ready, nor any intent to enter into Moldauia at that time. The Bassa disdaining to speake any more to the said Embassadour, he gaue charge to some of his officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what forces he had: and within few daies after he returned to Constantinople, leading the said Embassadour thither with him. But as soone as they were
E arriued, they sent the Embassadour vnto the Diuano, where he was againe examined by a Visier, and in the end he was condemned by him to the gallies there to remaine perpetually. So little account do these barbarous people make, to violate the Law of Nations, especially with Christians, presuming that all the World should bow vnto them, as if they were gods vpon earth.

An Embassador from Prince Alexander to prince Michna.

There was another Embassadour sent by Prince *Alexander* vnto *Bethlem Gabor*, who was prince of Transyluania, being at Fureuar or Alba-Iulia, whom he receiued very courteously; to whom the Embassadour deliuered the subject of his charge. That Prince *Alexander* his master had beene aduertised that he made some leuie of men to joyne with *Michna* prince of Valachia, and to make war against him; the which he could not easily beleeue, for that he
F had made profession of friendship to his deceased father, and had no cause now to leaue it; entreating and conjuring him, not to meddle in the affaires which hee had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requitall (if any occasion were offered to serue him) he would employ

Prince Alexander sends an Embassador to Bethlem Gabor.

all his meanes. The Embaſſadour hauing ended his ſpeech, he deliuered his Princes letters of credit: To whom *Bethlem Gabor* made this anſwer, That hee neuer had an intent to take armes, nor to attempt any thing againſt Prince *Alexander*, whoſe father was his true friend; neither would he euer giue any cauſe to diſcontinue this loue and friendſhip betwixt them, wherefore he would giue good proofe in all occaſions, eſpecially in this ſubject now in queſtion. The Embaſſadour was much ſatisfied with this anſwer, the which was alſo confirmed by letters; yet he afterwards leuied forces againſt prince *Alexander*, but he would not joyne with *Michna* his army. G

To returne to the courſe of our Hiſtory; preſently after the Baſſa his departure from Cicouch to returne to Conſtantinople, prince *Michna* ſent an Embaſſadour to *Alexander* with Letters, by the which he excuſed himſelfe for the ill vſage of his Embaſſadour by the Baſſa, proteſting that he was much grieued, and that it was not with his conſent that he had carried him with him, promiſing to employ his beſt meanes to mediate his deliuery. Moreouer, that hee was not ignorant what authority and power the Grand Seigniour had ouer him, whom he might not reſiſt, nor by conſequence his Baſſaes; that he had no army on foot, as he was giuen to vnderſtand, and that his deſigne was not to ſupport the cauſe of the Vayuod *Stephano*, vnleſſe he were forced by the commandement of the Grand Seigniour. And whereas he entreated him to deliuer his enemy *Stephano* into his hands, hee could not do it, vnleſſe hee ſhould violate the lawes of hoſpitality, in betraying his friend who had fled vnto him for ſuccour, and withall hee ſhould incurre the indignation of the Sultan, and be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of his owne eſtate, hauing no ſufficient meanes to maintaine himſelfe againſt ſo great a power. Prince *Alexander* hauing heard this Embaſſadour, and receiued an anſwer from the prince of Tranſyluania, by the aduice of his Councell diſmiſſed all his footmen, and part of the Coſſackes, retaining only fiue or ſix thouſand men with him during the Winter. H I

Prince Viſnouiskie poyſoned by a Prieſt.

About this time there was one of the moſt curſed and impious acts committed that euer was heard of. Prince *Viſnouiskie* who was a Proteſtant of the Greeke Church, hauing prepared at Chriſtmas to receiue the communion after their manner, the Prieſt (who had vſually ſerued him in that deuotion, being corrupted with money by his enemies) poyſoned the bread; which the prince hauing receiued, he ſuddenly fell ſicke, and his torments were ſo violent, as he died the next day. This bred a ſuſpition that he had beene poyſoned; whereupon the prieſt was apprehended, who preſently confeſſed that he was guilty, and had beene prouoked by his enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat, who had made vſe of ſo reuerend a Sacrament, to poyſon a prince beloued of all men for his rare vertues; ſo his puniſhment was very ſeuere and long: being bound in a chaire made of copper wire, and a fire made round about him, ſo as he was heard for twelue houres crying out fearefully for the inſupportable paines which he endured. Whileſt that prince *Alexander* and his whole Court mourned for this fatall and vnexpected accident, there arriued a ſpy which hee had ſent into Valachia to obſerue the actions of prince *Michna*, who gaue him to vnderſtand that there was a Baſſa arriued called *Skinder*, with a great and powerfull Army, and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who preſſed them dayly to march into Moldauia; and to begin the warre, hee ſent foure hundred men to ſurpriſe the Towne of Berlada, whereas prince *Coreskie* had left part of his men in garriſon during the Winter: who keeping bad guard, were ſurpriſed and moſt of them cut in pieces; which ſo puffed vp *Stephano* with pride, as he aſſured himſelfe of an eaſie victory. But Prince *Alexander* hearing of this defeat, hee ſent foure hundred Coſſackes, who made ſuch ſpeed, as within three daies after they arriued at Berlada a towne not walled, no more than the reſt, where hauing ſet fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in peeces, and the reſt were burnt; ſo as there eſcaped not aboue fiue or ſix to carry this bad newes vnto their maſter, who was much afflicted. K

Skinder Baſſa comes with an army againſt Prince Alexander. L

At the ſame inſtant, when as the Coſſackes were ſent vpon this expedition, prince *Coreskie* deſiring to be reuenged for the defeat of his men, tooke two thouſand fiue hundred choice horſe, and put himſelfe ſpeedily into Vaſſelloy, fearing the garriſon he had left there would M

be

A be in like manner ſurpriſed: whereof the Baſſa being aduertiſed, by ſome of the countrymen, he ſent his ſonne (being twelue or thirteene yeares old) and gaue him an old Turke of great experience for his conductor, with ſeuen thouſand men, holding this a good occaſion to get reputation to his ſonne. Prince *Crreskie* being aduertiſed of his march by ſome Moldauians, and that they ſhould ſurpriſe them early in the morning, knowing that they were of neceſſity to paſſe a bridge of wood ouer a riuer that runs by the towne, he diſpoſed his men in ſuch ſort as that the enemy could hardly diſcouer them: ſome of them were lodged within Vaſſelloy, and the reſt were couered with a little mountaine that adjoyned vpon the towne: when as ſome of the Turks had paſſed the bridge, two ſquadrons ſallied from the towne, and charged their foreward ſo furiouſly, as they were in a manner all put to the ſword, and amongſt
B them the conductor of the whole troupe, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for that the Turks who had marched in a maner all night, to arriue early in the morning, were benummed and halfe dead with cold; the reſt of the Turks which had not yet paſt, hearing the noyſe of this hot alarme, durſt not aduance, but retyred ſpeedily, fearing perchance that the Baſſaes ſonne might be loſt as well as his conductor. Prince *Coreskie* purſued them vnto a village foure leagues diſtant from Vaſſelloy, killing and taking priſoners all he found in the way. Among the priſoners there was one who gaue it out that he was neere kinſeman vnto the Baſſa, who being brought to prince *Alexander*, he receiued him very courteouſly, and gaue him a garment fit for him, hauing beene ſtript of his owne, he alſo gaue him a horſe, and ſent him backe vnto the Baſſa with a good conuoy, to whom he ſent a letter, by the which he in-
C treated him not to aduance in fauour of *Stephano*, promiſing that if the Grand Seignior would ſuffer him to enjoy Moldauia quietly, hee would be moſt faithfull vnto him afterwards, and pay him the yearely accuſtomed tribute: whereof the Baſſa made no great account; for hee was wonderfully inſenced, both for his ſons bad ſucceſſe in this enterpriſe, and for the death of the Turkiſh captaine.

Vpon the day of this victory, prince *Alexander* ſent fifteen hundred horſe to fortifie prince *Coreskie*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certaine Borough ſix leagues from Ticouth, whereas the Baſſa and *Michna* were then with their army; being about fiue and twenty thouſand men. Theſe eight hundred men neglecting their guards, did nothing but drinke drunke, and moleſt their hoſtes with all kinde of inſolencies, and forcing their wiues and daughters,
D which made them take a reſolution to be reuenged, and to that end they called vnto them certaine Boyers out of the country, who chuſing their time, cut all their throats when they were aſleep, and moſt of them drunke.

About the end of this yeare prince *Alexander* called a generall councell, whereas the princeſſe his mother, prince *Coreskie*, and all the chiefe noblemen and captaines aſſiſted: where it was reſolued that they ſhould returne to Chochina, being thirty French leagues off; for that it was the ſtrongeſt place and the beſt furniſhed of all Moldauia, and withall they ſhould be far from their enemies, and neere vnto Polonia. According to this reſolution, prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole army, and came in foure daies march to Cochina, in the extreameſt cold ſeaſon that could be; hauing lodged his troups, the princes ſent di-
E uers Gentlemen to all their friends and confederates, to conjure them to come ſpeedily to ſuccour them; and in the meane time they gaue order to make prouiſion of victuals, and of all other things neceſſary for their army. The Baſſa being aduertiſed of this retreat, he marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards Yas, notwithſtanding the extremity of the cold, which was ſo violent that many died vpon the way; whereupon they ſtaied vntill the time was more milde.

Prince Alexander returnes to Cochina.

In the beginning of March, the Lord of *Tiſcheuich* came vnto prince *Alexander* with 3500 Coſſackes, and within few daies after arriued the Lord *Potoskie*, nephew to him who had been taken at the firſt battell, and carried priſoner at Conſtantinople, who brought with him a troupe of fifteene hundred Polonians well armed: there came alſo other ſuccours vnto him,
F ſo as by the end of that moneth the princes army was ten or twelue thouſand ſtrong foot and horſe.

Succours come to Prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* hearing of the enemies approch, he ſent forth a thouſand horſe with his company of French Caualliers to diſcouer the enemies army, who ſtaying to refreſh themſelues

ſelues within halfe a league of the towne of Eſpanocha, whereas *Michna* his Tartarians were lodged: they were diſcouered and preſently inueſted by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to reſiſt ſo great a multitude, yet *Alexanders* men (who had alwaies beene accuſtomed to vanquiſh) behaued themſelues very valiantly, deſiring rather to die, than to yeeld baſely without giuing proofes of their valour. This fight continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night; and of the whole troupe there eſcaped but twelue, ſeuen Polonians, and fiue French, the reſt were either ſlaine or taken priſoners, among the which was the captaine of the French company called *Mounteſpin*, whom they would haue ſent with the reſt to the Grand Seigniours gallies: But *Stephano* preſerued him, vpon promiſe that he would doe him good ſeruice. Heere Fortune (which had hitherto beene fauourable vnto Prince *Alexander*) began to ſhew her inconſtancy, to teach Princes not to runne raſhly into dangers, although they haue had ſome aduantage ouer their enemies. G H

1616 *Ieſuits at Conſtantinople accuſed.*

At Conſtantinople about the end of Auguſt this yeare 1616, Enuie, the moſt furious of all the windes that ſhake the affaires of the World, ſtirred vp a horrible tempeſt, whoſe violent guſts fell dangerouſly vpon the Ieſuites ſettled at Pera by the Sultans permiſſion, at the perſuaſion of *Henry* the fourth, the French King; and labours to caſt them vpon the rocks where they might ſuffer ſhipwrecke, ſhamefull to their Order, and prejudiciall to the Chriſtians which liue in the middeſt of Mahometiſme. And to ruine them without all hope of helpe or reliefe, they accuſed them before the Grand Viſier, to be ſpies to Spaine; to giue abſolution to renegadoes; to baptiſe Turks, to conceale fugitiue ſlaues, and to ſend them into Chriſtendome; and withall they objected the doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were tyrants, the which had beene raſhly written by a Spaniard of their Coat: all which crimes are commonly puniſhed at Conſtantinople with death. They ſeiſed vpon their perſons, and lodged them in a dungeon, they were ſix in number, that is to ſay, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis Guilier*, *Dominick Maurice* of Chio, and *Iohn Baptiſta Iobert* their ſuperiour, all foure Prieſts, and two aſſiſtants, and with them a Franciſcan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople. A ſuſpition of danger in an eſtate is eaſily beleeued vpon the leaſt accident. In the meane time the Emperours Embaſſadour came to Conſtantinople, to renew the truce; they entered with their drummes beating, and their enſignes diſplaied. They which thought to erect trophies to their glory by their ruine of the Ieſuites, made vſe of this entry, and gaue falſe aduertiſements to the Seraglio, that there were in Conſtantinople, and at Pera many thouſands of Chriſtians diſguiſed in the habites of Greekes and Turks, which came with this Embaſſadour, with an intent to put that in execution which the Ieſuites had projected. Moreouer, they enformed the Grand Viſier, and the Muphti, that the Churches in Pera, and the Embaſſadours houſes were full of armes; and that now when as the Turks eſtate, and eſpecially Conſtantinople, was vnprouided of forces, hauing employed their armies in diuers places, and at one inſtant, as in Poland, Perſia, and both the ſeas, that they meant to draw the Greekes into rebellion, and giue an entry to the Coſſackes, by the blacke Sea. The Sultan and his Baſſaes tooke an alarme, they commanded euery man to weare the habit of his owne Nation, with a prohibition to weare any hat except the Frankes, and they to weare a Grecian habit; They alſo inrolled all the Chriſtians in Conſtantinople and Pera. But the Sultan did not thinke his Imperial City of Conſtantinople free from the danger of ſurpriſe by this diligent ſearch, but he would ſeeke his aſſurance in the bloud of the Chriſtians, ſo as he commanded that all the Frankes ſhould be ſlaine without exception. But yet this commandement took no effect, by reaſon of the remonſtrances which the grand Viſier and the Mufti made him, repreſenting vnto him, That by this cruelty he ſhould draw vpon his eſtate a dangerous Warre from all the Chriſtian princes in generall. But all this freed him not from fear; he walks all night vp and down the City, contrary to his vſuall cuſtome, and he cauſed a Frier, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had beene taken with the Ieſuits, to be executed in his preſence; and hee doth expreſſely forbid the paſſage from Conſtantinople to Pera, and from Pera to Conſtantinople. I K L M

During this prohibition, the French Embaſſador had paſt from Pera to the city, to ſolicit the Ieſuits libertie. At his return he had found the paſſage ſtopt; he goes vnto the Mufti, and

leaues

A leaues his people in the meane time at the sea side (for it is the custome, to goe to the Soueraigne of *Mahomets* law with a small traine) during the time of his being there, a multitude of people ran downe to the shore, to see these men, thinking for certaine, that they went to put them to death: They lamenting their miserable fortune, and the Turks charging them furiously with injuries, as the men whom they thought practised by conspiracy their ruine. But the grand Visier hauing written with his owne hand, and sent one of his people to them that kept the passage, the Embassadour with his whole traine was suffered to passe to Pera, but he found the storme as raging at Pera as from whence he came: for one night after, the people of that place fell into such a fury, as it was to be feared the law of Nations would haue beene violated by the insolency of some furious people, although the subject were of small importance. About fiue hundred paces from the French Embassadours quarter, there fell out a dispute in a lodging, betwixt some who spent the night in some kinde of emploiment: the Turks that dwelt neere, being awaked with this noise, ran to armes, and trouped together in the street, beeing in all a thousand men armed, crying out, that this noise came from the Franckes, (that is to say from the Christians in the West, as Italians, French, Spanish, English, and others) who meant to rise; and they resolued to force the Embassadours houses, and to put all to fire and sword, if some better aduised of the troupe had not persuaded them to delay the execution vntill day, the which being come, the French Embassadour had meanes to get the Sultan to interpose his souereigne authority, to bridle the insolency of a multitude inconsiderately insenced. Such is the danger in the which many times the ministers of C Christian Princes find themselues, who for their Masters seruice liue at the mercy of a Nation barbarously furious, as the Turkish.

A tumult at Pera.

The Iesuites in the meane time continued prisoners in the dungeon, vntill that the Baron of *Sansy* Embassadour for France, had let the Grand Visier see their innocency, and procured their liberty, and the Sultan by his letters Patents did publish the falsehood of the malicious accusations inuented against them: but to auoid the fury of a multitude blind in their passions, and dangerous in their fury, they went to sea to returne to France: but after they had sojourned sometime at the Dardanels, they were againe committed to prison, by reason of some certaine aduertisement that was giuen to the Sultan of the same substance: the Sultan informed himselfe truely of their probity, gaue them their liberty, calling backe to Pera, to D liue there, with the same priuiledges they formerly had, and suffered the rest to returne into France.

The Iesuits set at liberty.

Alexander Prince of Moldauia hauing lost a thousand horse neere vnto Cochina, the last yere as you haue heard, the Bassa and *Stephano* were puft vp with this good successe; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who hearing that the Princes attended him at Chochina, with a resolution to defend themselues, remembring that a certaine Italian making a profession to foretell future things, had told him, That if he euer came to fight with the Polonians, he would be in danger of his life. Wherefore by the aduice of his Chancellor and Campe-master, called *Spaterlecha*, he pretended that he had receiued news from his Lieutenant, that there was a great troupe of Tartarians entered into Valachia, and spoiled the country; vpon which pretext he tooke leaue of the Bassa and returned, leauing all his souldiers in the army, reseruing only an hundred horse for his guard. Being in Valachia, *Stephano* wrote vnto him, that he had defeated the Polonians in battell, in the which there were slaine six thousand men vpon the place, and had taken a great number of prisoners, which they meant to send to the grand Seignior: all which was but a meere inuention to mocke *Michna*, and to make him sorry that he was not in the action: whereupon he was so much discontented, as he caused the heads of his Chancellour and Camp-master to be cut off for their bad counsell, charging them that they had some secret intelligence with the Polonians.

About the end of March, the Bassa with *Stephano*, and a Tartarian Prince called *Monoza*, resolued to aduance with their whole army (being twenty thousand men) towards Chochina, and being within two leagues, they made a stand a whole day to refresh their men. In the meane time the Princes put their army in order of battell, in a little plaine within a quarter of a league of Chochina, leauing a thousand choice horse within the towne vnder the command

The Bassa and Stephano defeated at Cochina.

of

of Prince *Coreskie*, assuring themselues that the Turks would not faile to campe betwixt the towne and the Princes army, that if they were defeated they might haue no meanes to retire into the fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of cannon out of the fort, which they planted within a trench which was couered with a wood. The Bassa on the other side thought that he had the Princes at his mercy, being aduertised that they had not halfe so many men in their Army; early in the morning hee caused his men to march in good order, who arriued neere to Cochina by seuen of the clocke in the morning, where hauing made a stand to discouer the Princes army, he went and encamped betwixt them and the towne, as it had beene foreseene. His men being put in order, the Tartarians who had a great desire to be reuenged of the Cossackes, who had defeated them in many encounters, intreated to haue the point: the which was granted, and the trumpets sounding, they aduanced towards a battalion of Cossackes, nothing distrusting the cannon which was planted on that side, and not seene. Comming within the shot, they presently plaied vpon them, and ouerthrew a great number of the Tartarians, and terrified the rest, the which the Ccossakes perceiuing, they charged them furiously, and cut the rest in peeces, and so returned towards their army, seeing another squadron of Valachians and Moldauians come to succour the Tartarians. The Lord of *Tischeuich* with his troup of fifteene or sixteene hundred horse well armed, went to encounter the said squadron, which aduanced brauely towards the Princes cannon. The combate was long without any shew of aduantage, which made the Marshall of the Turks Army to send three thousand Turks to succour them: and the Princes caused a squadron of Cossackes and Moldauians to aduance, who carried themselues so valiantly, as they forced the Turks to retire aboue an hundred paces. Then Prince *Alexander* cryed out, Now my companions, behold the enemy is in disorder, let vs charge them resolutely, and the victory is certaine. After which he aduanced with the rest of his Army, commanding two cannons should be shot off together, for a signe to Prince *Coreskie* that he might sally forth, and charge the Turks rereward, as it had bin resolued: But he staied not for the signall, being already aduanced aboue three hundred paces, fearing that the party would be ended without him, or that he should fayle at need.

The Bassa seeing this stratagem, which he feared not, and the bad successe of his men which he had sent to fight, and that he was charged both before and behinde, he began to be amased, and hauing caused a squadron of two thousand horse, Turks and Valachians, to aduance, to second his troupes, he retyred apart with *Stephano* (who was no lesse afraid than himselfe) with the rest of the Turkish Cauallary, to attend the euent of the battell. There was neuer a more furious combat seene (which continued for the space of two houres) full of fearefull howlings of Turks, who in the end fainted, seeing no succours come vnto them: whereas if the Bassa and the cowardly *Stephano* had joined with them, they had without doubt fortified their carriages and renued their forces, and by all apparance woon the victory, which they lost beyond all mens expectation. When as the Bassa and *Stephano* saw that their forces were in rout, and no meanes to draw them againe together, they began to make a retreat with aboue two thousand horse, which had not yet fought. In the meane time the Princes *Tischeuich* and *Coreskie* (like two thunderbolts of warre) cut all in peeces they could meet; and fearing lest they should make a new head, the Princes drew all their men together, and made a stand vpon the place of battell, not suffering their souldiers to go to the spoile, before they were assured that the enemy was retired in great haste, fearing the Princes would haue pursued them, the which they would willingly haue done, if their men and horses had not beene almost tyred in the former battell, in which there were slain aboue twelue thousand men besides the wounded and prisoners.

Flight of the Bassa and Stephano.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to Cochina with the other Princes and Noblemen, they gaue thankes to God for the victory they had obtained against the Turks and their confederates; and there was much joy with the Princes and all the Ladies, who were retired into the fort, attending the euent of this fearefull battell. Prince *Coreskie* burned with desire to enjoy his Mistresse, whom he loued as his owne life; so as by a free consent of all parties, they were married within two daies after the victory, to the great content of all the Court.

Prince Coresky marries with the Princesse Alexandrina.

Whilest

A Whileſt that the Princes began to enjoy the fruits of their victory, the Baſſa and wretched *Stephano* returned to Yas, but finding no ſafety there, they parted preſently; the Baſſa to Conſtantinople, and the tyrant into Valachia to Prince *Michna*, who was his onely ſupport, notwithſtanding that he had mocked him apparantly. But before this wretch departed from Yas (hauing no hope euer to returne againe) he cauſed the towne to be ſet on fire in many places; ſo as of two and twenty thouſand houſes, there were not aboue ſix hundred vntouched. The Princes hauing aduice hereof in the beginning of Aprill, they marched ſpeedily thither, where finding it ſo deſolate, they reſolued to purſue *Stephano* into Valachia, and puniſh him according to his deſerving. The next day they marched towards Valachia, being
B to paſſe the riuer of Siretta, there being on the other ſide a Borough in which *Michna* had foure hundred men in garriſon, to keepe the Frontiers. The Princes arriuing at this place, the garriſon put themſelnes in defence, but they were ſoone forced and cut in pieces, ſo as there eſcaped not one, and as for the inhabitants, they were well entreated, hauing made no reſiſtance, and withall they hated *Michna* for the vexations they receiued from the ſaid garriſon. The Army hauing reſted there three dayes, aduanced with all ſpeed towards the City of Bonza, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to make good cheere. The Army beeing come within a league of Bonza, it was diſcouered by ſome countreymen who ran to aduertiſe their Prince, wiſhing him to ſaue himſelfe ſpeedily, for that they had diſcouered the Polonian Army neere the City. *Michna* was ready to
C ſit downe to dinner, hauing inuited *Stephano* to accompany him: but he was ſo amaſed at this vnexpected comming of the Princes, as hee ranne himſelfe to his ſtable, and mounted vpon the firſt horſe hee could finde, without ſaddle, and ſo tooke his way towards Tergouiſt, beeing followed by few of his people, one of which gaue him his owne horſe, which was better furniſhed, and as for *Stephano* hauing ſaddled his owne horſe, he fled all alone towards Nicopolis.

Prince Michna and Stephano fly from Bonza.

The Princes being entered Bonza without reſiſtance, they were wonderfully grieued that they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole deſigne, and that Prince *Michna* (to whom they intended no harme) had beene ſo amazed. The Army at the firſt enterance ſpoyled the city, which the Princes could not hinder, nor yet the rauiſhing of many wiues and virgines, which drew the wrath of God vpon them, and in all appearance was the true cauſe of the
D miſeries which afterward befell the Princes. During their abode at Bonza to refreſh their men, many Boyers or Noblemen of the Countrey (deſiring to ſhake off the yoke of Prince *Michna's* command, who gouerned inſolently) came vnto Prince *Alexander*, beſeeching him to ſtay in Valachia, promiſing that the whole Nobility would willingly yeeld him all obedience and fidelity. But the Prince (hauing no intent to diſpoſſeſſe *Michna*) thanked them for their good will, the which the Boyers vnderſtanding, they told him, that they would bee glad (ſeeing he refuſed it) that Prince *Cherbanne* (who had beene their Vayuod before *Michna*, and had beene expelled Valachia by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into Germany to the Emperour) might returne and take vpon him the gouernment of Valachia, entreating him
E to giue him paſſage through Moldauia if he preſented himſelfe, the which Prince *Alexander* willingly granted, deſiring much that Prince *Cherbanne* were reſtored, for that *Michna* fauoured his enemy, and had himſelfe a deſigne vpon the eſtate of Moldauia, which in the end he obtained.

Prince Alexander refuſeth the eſtate of Valachia.

Prince *Michna* being come to Playa, which is betwixt Bonza and Tergouiſt, he ſtayed ſome dayes there attending his traine, during the which he ſent ſpeedily to his wife being at Tergouiſt, willing her to goe with all ſpeed to Nicopolis: for that he feared the Princes would ſeiſe both vpon them and their eſtates, as they might eaſily haue done, if they had foreſeene what afterwards befell them. *Michna* being come to Tergouiſt, he preſently ſent an Embaſſadour to Prince *Alexander*, to know vpon what deſigne hee had entered Valachia with an Army, hauing no cauſe; but contrariwiſe, that he had giuen good teſtimony that
F he was his friend, for that hee would not aſſiſt the Baſſa and *Stephano*, when they purſued him to Cochina, notwithſtanding that they were much ſtronger in ſhew; That if his intent were onely to ſeiſe vpon *Stephano*, hee aſſured him that hee was not with him, but was fled another way; promiſing that if he could euer take him, he would deliuer him into his hands:

intreating

intreating him withall to retire out of his eſtate, not ſuffering his army to ſpoyle it any more, and that they might continue good friends. Prince *Alexander* receiued this Embaſſadour very courteouſly, who hearing the ſubject of his Embaſſie, made anſwere, That hee had the day before ſent vnto his Maſter to informe him of his intent, which was not to attempt any thing againſt his perſon nor eſtate, but onely to purſue *Stephano* who had ſet fire on the City of Yas before he parted: and to let *Michna* know, That he meant not to wrong him, nor to enrich himſelfe with any thing that was his, he had ſent him backe his plate, with all his rich mooueables. *Michna's* Embaſſadour hauing thanked Prince *Alexander*, returned to Tergouiſta, and found all true that the Prince had ſaid; the which freed *Michna* from further feare. G

1500 *Tartarians defeated by Troianoskie.*

Before Prince *Alexanders* departure from Bonza, he ſent the Lord *Troianoskie* with two thouſand horſe to purſue *Stephano*: but it was without effect, for he vnderſtood that he had paſſed the riuer of Danow with his wife, and a ſmall traine. At the ſame time a troupe of fifteene hundred Tartarians, being aduertiſed that the Polonians purſued *Stephano* onely with a thouſand horſe, and that they were tyred with their long marches, aduanced to charge them; but it was not with that ſucceſſe they expected: for *Troianoskie* diſcouering them a farre off in a plaine champion field, had leaſure to put his men into foure ſquadrons, and there attended them, who approching neere to diſcouer the number of the Polonians, would gladly return without blowes, but it was too late: for *Troianoskie* commanded two of his ſquadrons to charge them ſuddenly, ſo as within leſſe than a quarter of an houre they were defeated, and aboue foure hundred ſlaine vpon the place, the reſt fled the ſame way that they came: of the Polonians there were not aboue fiue and twenty ſlaine, and about fifty hurt. H I

The Princes had reſolued to leaue Valachia, forbidding all Captaines and ſouldiers vpon paine of death to carry away any Valachian of either ſex with them, hearing they had ſeiſed vpon ſome, and meant to draw a ranſome from them: after which they began to march, and being vpon the way, they were aduertiſed that the inhabitants of Horreoua were againe reuolted and in armes, refuſing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, or to pay the accuſtomed tribute, vnleſſe he would make it appeare that he was confirmed by the Grand Seignior. Prince *Coreskie* was ſent thither with fiue thouſand men, whoſe comming did ſo amaze them, as they yeelded without any reſiſtance. This Prince being loath to loſe any time, laid ſiege to the towne and fort of Bialigront, ſeated vpon the riuer of Bohou, the which was held by the Tartarians Præcopences, in which fort there was a garriſon of Ianizaries, and many Boyers of Moldauia, who defended themſelues valiantly, and made many ſallies, in which they ſlew aboue three hundred of the Princes men, and he himſelfe was in danger to be taken, if he had not beene ſpeedily deliuered by the Lord of *Tiſcheuich* and his troupe, who charged the Ianizaries ſo reſolutely, as they forced them to retire, leauing many of their men dead vpon the place. The Prince ſeeing there was no hope to take the place without cannon, raiſed his ſiege and returned to Yas to Prince *Alexander*. K

Soone after, *Hebraim Baſſa* wrote to Prince *Alexander* (as if he had beene his friend) giuing him to vnderſtand, That from thenceforth hee ſhould liue quietly in Moldauia, for that the Grand Seigniours Lieutenant Generall or chiefe Viſier (from whom *Stephano* had alwaies drawne his chiefe ſupport) was in diſgrace, promiſing the Prince to employ himſelfe for him to his Maſter: the which he did either to make him careleſſe of his owne ſtrength, or to draw ſome recompence or reward from him, if the Grand Seigniour ſhould confirme him in Moldauia, as there was ſome likelihood, ſeeing that *Stephano* had made himſelfe altogether vnworthy; as well by his flight, as by his wicked actions, which made him in the end ſo odious to the Grand Seigniour, as hee reſolued to ruine him. So as ſoone after they were aduertiſed, That the Grand Seigniour had giuen commandement vnto the ſaid Baſſa to ſeize vpon *Stephano*, who had retired himſelfe to Brahile, and to bring him vnto him aliue or dead, with whatſoeuer did belong vnto him: the which he executed after this manner: the ſaid Baſſa marched with all diligence towards Brahile, carrying a Chiaux with him, and being within foure or fiue leagues of the towne, he ſent one of his people to aduertiſe *Stephano* of his comming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who diſtruſted nothing) L M

Stephano in diſgrace with the Sultan.

A nothing) holding the Visier to be stil his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and comming neer him he alighted from his horse to do him reuerence, and the Bassa did the like; where after some little conference together, he drew out the commission he had to seise vpon his person, and to cary him to Constantinople. The which *Stephano* perceiuing, he turned him to his seruants, and willed them to shift for themselues, for that hee saw hee went to his death. His men being retired, the Chiaus who had his mace in his hand gaue him a blow betweene the shoulders, and then caused him to be bound hand and foot, and cast into a cart drawne by four good horses, and in this maner they caried him to Constantinople: where being ariued, to auoid the punishment he had deserued, he denied his faith and became a renegado, & withall he became very poor and miserable; for at the same instant when he was taken, the Bassa
B sent to seise and carry away whatsoeuer he had at Brahile & Nicopolis, where his wife remained; so as he had nothing left him but remorse of conscience, which tormented him continually, for the barbarous cruelties he had practised in Moldauia. Some of his men returned to Yas, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their presence, for which they generally gaue thanks vnto God, and were very ioyfull.

Soon after, newes came to Yas, That the Sultan had appointed prince *Michna* to succeed *Stephano* in the principalitie of Moldauia (which is far better than that of Valachia) and that he sent *Skinder Bassa* his General in Europ, with a powerfull army to settle the said *Michna*, and to expel *Alexander*. The which proued so true, as on the 25 of Iune this yeare 1616, the said Bassa came to Tergouist, where prince *Michna* attended him, with great preparatiues
C both to receiue him and to refresh his army. The Bassa entring into Tergouist, had amongst other things of note, thirty or forty musitians on horseback, playing vpon certain instruments almost like to gitterns, which made but silly musick; he had also many pages, who in stead of cloaks ware the skins of leopards, lions, and tygers, as if they meant to terrifie the world; and his army consisted of about 20000 men, some Turks, some Tartars; to whom *Michna* joyned his forces, hauing 10000 horse and foot which he had drawn from Valachia and the neighbor countries. The Bassa being entred the castle wheras prince *Michna* attended him, after many complements they entred into a great hall wel appointed, where the Bassa presented him with his letters patents, and a robe which his master had sent to *Michna*, which hee caused to be put on in the presence of all the noblemen of his court, proclaiming him prince of Mol-
D uia, with many ceremonies too long to relate. After which, prince *Michna* led the Bassa into another great hall, where a feast was prepared, both for himselfe and such as hee would admit to his table; *Michna* offering to serue the Bassa, but he would not suffer him, causing him to sit down right against him. On the second of Iuly they departed from Tergouist, and marched into Moldauia: whereof the Polonian princes were aduertised; but the princesse mother to *Alexander* maintained, that the Bassa came only to bring the patents to her son. Which dangerous opinion of hers grew by reason of the letters which *Hebraim Bassa* had sent to prince *Alexander*; not remembring that it came from a Turk his sworn enemy, and therefore not to bee credited, especially in a matter of that importance; so as she was the cause of their vtter ruine.

Michna proclaimed Prince of Moldauia.

About this time, the General of the king of Polonia's Army, called *Zolkelchy*, enuying the
E honor which the Polonian princes had gotten by so many victories, and withall drawn by his own priuat interest, writ to prince *Michna* and the Bassa, That if they would promise to procure the Sultan to aduance the eldest son of the deceased prince *Simeon* (who liued with him) to be Prince of Valachia (whereof his father had bin formerly Vayuod) he would so weaken the Princes army, as they should be forced to yeeld or flie. Whose demand being easily granted, this traitor writ to certaine Captaines of the Cossacks, that they should leaue the Princes army, and come with all speed into Poland, to accompanie *Vladislaus* their Kings son, who had been chosen Duke of Muscouie, and meant to go thither with a great army by reason of some crosses; and that they should be very well paid. The Cossackes (who depend vpon the Crowne of Poland, seruing those that promise) most began to mutiny, saying plainly, That if
F they had not money speedily, they would retire into their countrey, yet concealing that they had bin called to any other seruice; and without any long stay, there parted early in a morning about 8000, carrying with them great store of oxen, sheepe, and other cattell, with all the spoyles they had gotten in the precedent victories.

The Cossackes mutinie and leaue Prince Alexander.

After their example, *Bicho* General of Prince *Alexanders* army, whether corrupted by bribes,

or for that he had an apprehenſion of this powerfull army that came againſt them, retired al- G
ſo ſecretly toward *Michna* and the Baſſa, being followed by 2000 horſe. This much amaſed the princes army, & yet as if they had bin inchanted by ſome diuelliſh charms, they could not reſolue to make a retreit while they might haue don it without danger. Many aduiſed prince *Alexander* to this courſe, yea prince *Michna* by letters perſuaded him to return into Polonia, before his army came neerer to Yas. Which he did for fear of the ſucceſſe, wherof his falſe prophet had forewarned him, as is formerly noted. Wherupon *Alexander* went to councel the 25 of Iuly, but they could not reſolue; the commaunders and ſouldiers being much diuided, moſt of them demanding their pay, elſe they would not fight; the which they took for a pretence of their retreit. In the mean time the Tartars, who made the vantgard of prince *Michna's* army, approched; which made the princes to leaue Yas, & to march toward Cochina: but H
they could not do it ſo ſecretly but the Tartars heard of it, who paſt ſpeedily thorow the city and charged them in the reare. In which incounter *George Potoskie*, Nephew to him that was taken with *Conſtantine*, hauing fought valiantly, & ſlain many Tartars with his own hand, was in the end ſhot thorow the body with an arrow, wherof he died preſently. The lord *Tiſcheuich* came ſpeedily to the charge with a troupe of Coſſacks which he had ſtaied, and charged the Tartars ſo furiouſly, as he ſlew 800 vpon the place and put the reſt to rout.

Alexander hauing receiued the forementioned letter from prince *Michna*, made anſwer, that contrary to his promiſe to continue his friend, & neuer to take arms againſt him, he had craued aid of the Turk to diſpoſſeſſe him of Moldauia, to which his predeceſſor had neuer pretended, neither could they according to the fundamentall lawes of the country, and the con- I
uentions accorded by the grand Seignior when as the Moldauians ſubmitted themſelues vnder his ſoueraignty, by the which no man could be Vayuod of Moldauia vnleſſe he were born in the country. Moreouer, he ſhould remember that it was in his power to diſpoſſeſſe him of Valachia, when as he entred Bonza with his army in purſuit of *Stephano*: the which he would not do, nor detain any of his pretious moueables, but had ſent them all vnto him. That if hee abuſed the power which he then had, God would not ſuffer ſo great an ingratitude and vſurpation to paſſe vnpuniſhed. And although his army were far inferior to his, yet he ſhould know hee neither feared him nor the Baſſa, putting his chiefe confidence in the Almighties aſſiſtance, who had in many occaſions vſed them to abate the Turkes pride, which hee ſhould abhor if he were a true Chriſtian, rather than to join with them to ſatisfie his ambition. K

Prince *Michna* hauing ſent this letter to *Skinder Baſſa* Generall of the Turks army, he was ſo inſenced, as hee preſently commaunded his Lieutenant to purſue the Polonians with 12000 choice men, they being then at Cotnard betwixt Yas and Cochina. Prince *Alexander* beeing aduertiſed hereof, he ſuddenly cauſed his army to aduance towards the fort of Cochina. At the ſame time Prince *Cherbannes* Chancellour, who came with a hundred and fifty horſe vnto prince *Alexander*, to aduertiſe him that his maſter was comming to his aid with fiue or ſixe thouſand men, was purſued by the Turks neer vnto Yas, wheras he thought to haue found the ſaid prince; and of all his troupe only himſelf and one more eſcaped, ſo as the prince could haue no certain news of the ſaid *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coresky*, who had ſtaied with 2500 horſe not far from Cotnard, was alſo incountred with a great troup of Turks and Tartars, which he L
could not wel diſcouer by reaſon of a little mountain that couered them. The prince ſeeing ſome of them appear, charged them; but finding that as he defeated one troup, a freſh ſucceeded in his place, he was forced to retire, with this aduantage, that he had ſlain almoſt 6000 of his enemies, hauing not loſt aboue 250 of his owne men. But the prince was wounded with two arrows, one in the thigh, and the other in the backe, which was a great diſaſter for himſelf and for the whole army. He which commanded this troup of Turkes being very much amaſed at this vnexpected incounter, hauing gathered his men together, and joined them to fifteen thouſand others whom the Baſſa had ſent, he being yet at Yas, he cauſed this army to approch within a quarter of a league of the Polonians; where hauing incouraged his men in what he could, he told them, That to ſhew his affection vnto the Sultans ſeruice in this occa- M
ſion, he was reſolued to ſend a challenge to prince *Coresky*, whom hee confeſſed to be the moſt valiant man of all the Polonian army. So as he preſently diſpatched one of his Captaines to go vnto the prince, and to call him in the behalfe of his Generall. The Captaine comming to *Alexanders* camp, demanded to ſpeak with prince *Coresky*; who being brought vnto him, de-

Prince Coresky challenged by the Turks Generall.

liuered

A liuered the charge he had from the Generall. The prince, although he were neither able to ſtand, nor to ſit on horſebacke, by reaſon of his wounds, yet would needs haue accepted this challenge, if prince *Alexander* and the chiefe noblemen of the army had not conjured him to excuſe himſelfe by reaſon of his indiſpoſition; letting him know, that the euent of ſuch a combat did not only import him, but all thoſe of his party, who had their chief hope in him. Wherunto the princeſſes added their inſtant intreaties, and among others his deare Spouſe, who was much afflicted for his wounds. The Lord *Tiſcheuich* a braue and valiant Gentleman being then preſent, earneſtly intreated prince *Alexander* to giue him leaue to accept of the challenge for prince *Coresky* his couſin: the which being eaſily granted, he ſent a Gentleman with the ſaid Turk, to know if the General would yeeld thereunto. Which he did willingly,
B not being ignorant of the qualitie and valour of the ſaid *Tiſcheuich*. It was agreed, That the combat ſhould be betwixt both armies, lying in an open field, within a quarter of a league of one another, with promiſe that neither party ſhould be aſſiſted.

Theſe two braue warriors hauing taken leaue of their friends, came to the place appointed in view of both armies. The Turks General being about fifty paces from his army, cauſed water to be brought, with which he waſhed his mouth, eies, noſe, ears, and priuy parts; beleeuing (according to his Law) that this waſhing would ſerue as a purifying: then turning toward the
C Eaſt he made his prayer, after which he went to horſeback, being richly armed and furniſhed, and then marched ſoftly toward his aduerſarie, who attended him well mounted and armed, and ſo began the combat; their chief arms being bows and arrows, which they ſpent without hurting one another; til at laſt *Tiſcheuich* hauing a petronel, ſhot the Turke thorow the body and ouerthrew him; who ſtriuing to riſe again, *Tiſcheuich* paſſed ouer him with his horſe, and wounded him in his right arm, and at the next blow ſlew him: after which he cut off his head and caried it to prince *Alexander*.

The Polonians were very ioyfull of the happy ſucceſſe of this famous combat; and the Turks being much amaſed, aduertiſed the Baſſa and *Michna*, That they ſhould bring the reſt of the army and their cannon, if they would be reuenged of the Polonians. In the mean time the traitor *Bicho*, who had abandoned prince *Alexander*, with a troup of two thouſand Tartari-
D ans and Moldauians found means to get before the Polonian army, and to cut off the way betwixt Cotnarde and the town of Bothocan ſix leagues off. The Valachians and Tranſylvanians led by the General of *Michna's* army inueſted them vpon the right hand, and the body of the Turks army followed behind: ſo as there remained nothing but vpon the left hand a wood of timber trees, which might fauor their retreit.

The princes of Polonia inuironed by their enemies.

Skinder Baſſa hearing the ſucceſſe of the combat, commanded his army to aduance preſently with ſixteen canons. The Princes ſeeing themſelues inuironed by ſo many enemies, they reſolued to fortifie themſelues with their carts and carriages, and to defend themſelues. But what could fiue or ſix thouſand men preuail againſt two or three and twenty thouſand; for ſo many were thought to be in the Turks army. True it is, they expected daily prince *Cherbanne* & the lord *Boſſi*, who were within two dais journy, and brought with them ten or 12000 men. This made the Baſſa and *Michna* to aduance, to force the Polonians to yeeld or to fight. Com-
E ming neer vnto their camp, and ſeeing themſelues inueſted on all ſides but toward the wood, they approched their cannon, which had been able to haue ſpoyled their Campe, but that it was not their deſigne; for they only deſired to take the princes and princeſſes priſoners, with the chiefe Noblemen and Captaines of the Army. Whereupon they ſent to ſummon the Polonian ſouldiers to deliuer into their hands the ſaid princes and Lords, promiſing that the reſt of the Army ſhould depart with bag and baggage. Whereunto they would not yeeld, but made an anſwer with one conſent, That they would rather die than commit ſuch baſenes and treacherie. This being reported to the Baſſa and prince *Michna*, they commaunded that ſome of their canon ſhould be charged with ſmall bullets, and diſcharged through the Polo-
nian army, wherby a great number were ſlaine and wounded. The princes who had but ſome
F ſmal pieces, made certain vollies, but to ſmall purpoſe: neither had they any more bullets left, and little pouder, for that by il chance part had bin burnt ſome few daies before: ſo that all things ſeemed to foretell their ruine at hand. The Lord *Tiſcheuich* hauing diligently obſerued, that remaining in that incloſure he could not eſcape death, or at leaſt captiuity, reſolued

with 500 horſe, the moſt valiant amongſt the Polonians, to force thorow three or four ſquadrons which were ſet in gard by the wood ſide, to the end none might eſcape, that place beeing moſt ſuſpected by the Turks. The which they executed with ſuch fury, as they ouerthrew all they incountred; ſhewing that it is a very dangerous thing to make head againſt thoſe who are reduced to that extremitie as they muſt either vanquiſh or die. Prince *Coresky* would not haue failed to haue made the like retreit, and to haue carried prince *Alexander* with him; but he could not ſit on horſeback by reaſon of his wounds: and beſides, he had rather haue died, than to leaue his wife in that extremitie. His laſt refuge was to diſguiſe himſelf as well as he could, giuing it out that he was eſcaped with *Tiſcheuich*, that ſo he might paſſe for a common ſoldier if the priſoners were put to ranſom. In like maner the Princeſſes diſguiſed themſelues for the like intent. G H

The Turks cannon hauing ouerthrown many of their cariages, which ſerued as a Rampier, two ſquadrons, one of Tartars, another of Turks, preſented themſelues at one inſtant, in two ſeueral places to force the Polonian camp; who ſeeing no means to make reſiſtance and to repel their enemies, laid down their arms, and yeelded. Wherat their enemies were exceeding glad, deſiring nothing more than to take theſe noble princes priſoners, and to diſpoſe of the reſt at their pleaſure. The Turks and Tartars hauing entred their camp, making ſpoil of all, and ſeiſing vpon what they could lay hands on, beginning to ſhare their priſoners, the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, with their mother, were deliuered vnto *Skinder Baſſa*, who led them to Conſtantinople, wheras ſoon after their arriual they forſook their God, denied their faith, and became renegado's, for fear of perpetual impriſonment wherewith they were threatened. For which infidelitie *Bougdan* was preſently puniſhed, for hauing cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed according to the Law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the Princeſſe his mother was confined to the old Seraglio. As for prince *Coreskie*, in this generall ruin of a Chriſtian army (being forced to yeeld and ſubmit it ſelfe to the Turks tyrannie) he had ſo diſguiſed himſelfe, that hee paſt for a time vnknown, and was led to Yas among the common ſoldiers; where he was afterwards diſcouered by a ſoldier of his own party, who obtained his libertie by this baſe trecherie. The Turkiſh Captaine who had gotten the Prince, hearing of his qualitie by the aforeſaid Villein, he led him vnto *Skinder Baſſa* the Generall, who recompenced him well, and made both him and the ſouldier that diſcouered him, to take ſolemne oathes not to impart it to any man: for he had an intent to draw ſome great ranſom from this prince, and to reſtore him to his former libertie; knowing wel, that if he caried him to Conſtantinople the grand Seignior would confine him into his priſons, by which means he ſhould make no vſe nor benefit by his taking. But it hapned, that another Perfidious of the Polonian army aduertiſed *Michna* of *Coreskies* captiuitie, and in whoſe hands he was; who was ſo jealous, as he croſt and ouerthrew the good deſigne of *Skinder Baſſa*, telling him plainly in the preſence of many, That hee knew for certain prince *Coresky* was among his ſlaues, and that he ſhould beware he did not eſcape, for that the grand Seignior would call him to account. The General anſwered, That he would be glad if it were ſo, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good aduice. But fearing that if he did what he intended, ſuffering prince *Coresky* to eſcape for a ranſom, the Sultan comming to the knowledge therof would be much inſenced, and puniſh him with diſgrace or death; the next day he told prince *Michna* plainely, that the aduice that hee had giuen him was true, and that *Coresky* had bin found diſguiſed among his other priſoners, whom he would preſent vnto his maſter, with the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*; as he did, of whoſe deliuerie you ſhall heare hereafter. The yong princeſſe wife to *Coresky*, hauing diſguiſed her ſelfe and diſ-figured her face with her nailes and other helpes, fel into the hands of a Tartarian captain, with many others; who caried her into Tartarie, wheras ſhe was inhumanly intreated. I K L

The Princes taken priſoners.

In the Mediterranian ſea *Coſmo* great Duke of Tuſcanie continued his enterpriſes this yeare againſt the Turks: his gallies part from Ligorne and runne into the Levant, in queſt of ſome occaſions to anoy theſe infidels. They drew neere vnto Cerigo, in old time Cytherea, the twenty fift of April, where meeting with certaine Chriſtian ſhips, ſome Venetians aduertiſed them, That in the Iſland of Chio the Turkes had prepared two gallies to paſſe into Barbarie. *Inghirami* Admiral to the great Duke reſolued to ſet vpon them: beeing on the way, M

he

A he turned with his fleet where they were to paſſe, and being couered by the night, hee caſt anchor vnder caſtle Roux. But as he attended a fair occaſion, the Moone ſhining diſcouered him vnto the Turks; and the gards hauing aduertiſed the Turkes Gallies, they preſently began to flie, the one rowing amaine towards land, and the other continuing her courſe at ſea with all ſpeed. *Inghirami* with his Admirall gally got before that which was going to land, inueſted it (being followed by the gally called S. *Stephen*) and three houres within night grapled with it, and labored to enter it: but the Turks (who were all good ſouldiers) defended it valiantly, ſo as they were aboue an hour faſtned together, hewing one another furiouſly: yea the Turks entring *Inghirami* his gally, fought valiantly vpon the hatches, but in the end the Florentines had the victorie, and took this gally, yet with much loſſe of Chriſtian bloud. It was the Pa-

B tron gally of that famous pyrat *Amurath Raiſe*, which was commanded by the ſon of *Mammi* a Portugall, called *Muſtapha Celebi*, who was taken aliue, but ſore wounded. The other Galley which was fled to ſea, and was the Captaine galley of the ſaid *Amurath Raiſe*, commanded by the Bey of Mitylene, nephew and ſon in law to the ſaid pirat, called *Amurath*, who had married his daughter, being his mothers ſon, was inueſted by the gallies of S. *Mary Magdalen*, and the Patron S. *Coſmo*. This combat was no leſſe furious than the other, the Turkes making a wonderful defence: but in the end, the bloud on either ſide being abundantly ſpilt, the Florentines had the victorie. *Amurath* Bey of Mitylene was ſlain, and *Muſtapha*, whom theſe Turkiſh gallies carried to Algier in Barbary. They were of twenty fiue bankes a piece, carrying lanthorns, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, manned with 420 Ianizaries, all men of a-

C ction, and practiſed in piracies with that pirat *Amurath Rais*. In this prize the Florentines took 240 Turks, and freed 430 Chriſtians: among the artillery of theſe gallies they recouered a cannon and two facres of the gally of S. *Iohn*, and a ſail belonging to the great dukes captain gally, which the pirat *Amurath Rais* had formerly ſpoiled. Theſe Turkiſh gallies were loden with great ſtore of rich commodities, the which were valued at 200000 crownes. But this conqueſt was got with the loſſe of much bloud; for of the Florentines two hundred twenty three men were wounded, and 35 ſlain in thoſe two combats: which made the Admiral *Inghirami* to reſt ſatisfied in this voyage with the taking of two gallies, after which hee returned to Ligorn.

Turkiſh gallies taken by the Florentines.

We haue formerly made mention in the Ieſuits buſineſſe, being preſented at Conſtantino-

D ple, of the Emperors Embaſſadors entry into that city: and this was the effect of his Embaſſage. The peace concluded at Situa Torok, *Anno* 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan, was ſomewhat altred by the diuers interpretations and explications which they made of the articles therin contained; but this year 1616, in the month of March, the Embaſſadors of both their Imperial Maieſties aſſembled at Vienna: namely the Cardinall *Forgatſie* Archbiſhop of Strigonium and Chancellor to the Emperor, Cardinal *Kleſſel* Biſhop of Vienna, the Baron of Rainek, Count *Adolph Althem*, the Earle of Solmes, the Earle of Thoron, and *Pauli Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperor: *Hali* Baſſa of Buda, *Achmat Tybaia*, and *Gaſper Gratſiani* for the Turk. Where they concluded theſe following articles, to take away all pretext of controuerſie, in the explication of thoſe which were agreed vpon at Situa Torok. But it was after that

E Embaſſadors had been ſent on either ſide, as well to Conſtantinople as to Prague, with royall and rich preſents.

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of *Achmat* Emperor of the Turks.

1 *FOraſmuch as many things haue hapned on either ſide, contrary to the peace concluded at Situa Torok, it hath bin neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to reduce it into the right courſe. Wherfore this holy peace made and concluded at Situa Torok ſhall be obſerued for twenty yeares compleat, to begin at*

F *the date of theſe preſents. Giuen in the month of Chomazilabil, in the year of the Prophet* 1024.

2 *That the Peace hertofore concluded at Situa Torok ſhall remain firm in all the articles, according to the treaty which the Emperor* Rodulphus *did ſend vnto vs, ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeal; the which we haue receiued willingly, and the ſame treaty we alſo ſent back confirmed to the Emperor*

of the Romans; the which he receiued in like maner. And this treaty which was sent vnto vs, bare date the G
ninth of December, in the year 1606, *of* Iesus *of reuerend and happy memory: and that which wee sent vnto the Emperor of Romans, wherwith he was satisfied, was dated in the year of the Prophet* 1021.

3 *Since the time that Agria, Canise, Alba-Regalis, Pesth, Buda, Solnoc, Hatwan, and other places haue bin taken, that the villages which were of their appurtenances shall hereafter remain annexed vnto them. But those villages which since the peace of Situa Torok, haue bin hindred from paying of their tribute on either side, or haue bin held by force, contrary to the treaty of peace, that those villages shall bee viewed by Commissaries appointed by vs and the Emperor of the Romans, and presently shall bee set at libertie, and restored to their Lords and right owners. As for the villages which pay tribute to either part, those which are scituat vpon the frontiers of the Emperour of the Romanes, toward Novigrade and other* H
places, shall be viewed by Commissaries thereunto deputed, who shall take a register, to the end those villages may not be molested by their neighbors. In like manner the Commissarie shall make a register of the villages that pay to both sides, lying neer the towns of the Emperor of Romans, of Strigonium, and other places; to the end they may take notice what villages are bound to the one or to the other party, that hereafter there might grow no controuersie. And for that which concerned the 158 *villages about Strigonium, for the which there was some controuersie; the* 60 *lying neereſt vnto the said towne shall be adiudged as it hath bin agreed, and the Commissaries of either side shall take order for it. The foresaid villages lying neer to Strigonium, and all other of the realm of Hungary, which shall be adiudged to the one or other party shall not in any sort be disquieted, more than of antient custome, and there shall nothing bee exacted from them more than the tribute.*

The Iudges of villages shall pay vnto the Lords the tributes according to the antient custome; If the I
Iudges do not bring the tribute, the Bassa or Beg of the place shall summon the Inhabitants thrice, to the end their Iudges may come and pay their tribute: and if they do it not after these summonings, hee shall write vnto the next Gouernor for the Roman Empire, that the Iudges of the villages may be sent to him with the tribute. And finally, if after all these formalities it be not payed, the Bassa or Beg may vse force to fetch in these Inhabitants and make them slaues. The which shall be obserued thorowout all the villages which owe vs tribute in the realm of Hungary; yet nothing shall bee exacted or demaunded of them, more than they haue been accustomed to pay in antient times. The Commissaries deputed, shall view and set down by a ioynt consent, the limits and bounds of the lands and signiories which are held by either part in the vpper or lower Hungary, and in the realms of Croatia and Sclavonia.

4 *They that shall break the peace of either part, if they canot be conuicted and punished instantly, we* K
haue decreed, That there shall be order taken on either side, and justice shall be don within three moneths. All prisoners of war, and others that haue bin taken since the peace of Torok, shall be set at liberty without ransome.

5 Achmet Tahaia *hath presented vnto vs a Roll of places built and fortified since the peace, for the retreat of soldiers. Wherupon we haue ordained, That information shall be taken of all fortifications made on either side since the peace of Situa Torok; and if it be found that any fortification hath bin made contrary to the peace, it shall be visited within three moneths, by the captains on both sides, or by a Nobleman of either party, and the fortifications which shall be found to haue bin thus made contrary vnto the peace, shall be demolished.*

6 *And for that some wicked and malicious spirits haue attempted many things vniustly, to infringe* L
this holy peace and good amity, we haue ordained, That if hereafter any person on either side shall attempt or practise any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrary to the peace and mutuall correspondencie, wee will aduertise the Emperor of Romans therof: and in like maner the Roman Emperour, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall write vnto vs to our Court, and no credit shall be giuen to the reports of such persons.

7 *The Priests, religious men, and Iesuits, among the people of holy* Iesus, *which follow the Popes Religion, may build Temples in our Realms, there to say diuine seruice after their manner, and read the Gospell. We will yeeld them all fauor, and will not suffer any one to disturb them contrary to law and equitie.*

8 *It shall be lawfull for the inhabitants born in the realm of Hungary of either part, to re-edifie the villages ruined and laid wast; and after they are inhabited, they shall pay tribute to the one and the other, if they be such villages as haue bin accustomed to pay to both.*

9 *Merchants shall haue free leaue to traffique, passing from our port into those Countries; and the* M
transport of merchandise shall be free to such as shall take letters from the Gouernours of the frontiers, or from the Receiuers of the thirties; the which they shall represent in passing; and the Lord of the place, or

the

A *the Receiuer shall atteſt the ſaid letters by his manual ſigne or ſeale; for the which they ſhall take nothing of the Merchant. If he be to paſſe by any dangerous place, they ſhall giue him a ſufficient conuoy to conduct him in ſafety; and after that the Merchant hath payd of either ſide the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man ſhall moleſt him, nor hinder him to go where he pleaſeth.*

10 *The Merchants which would paſſe from the realms and ſigniories of the Emperour of the Romans and the houſe of Auſtria, into our kingdom, with merchandiſe or mony, ſhal come vnder the enſigne of the Emperor of Romans, and ſhall haue his letters patents to vs, without the which they ſhall not be ſuffered to paſſe. And if they enter without enſigne or patents, the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour may ſeiſe vpon their veſſels, merchandiſe, and mony, and ſhall giue aduice thereof vnto their Emperor. Wherfore all the Merchants of the Emperors countries, of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the King of*
B *Spain, both as well thoſe of the Low-countries, as his other realmes, may come with all aſſurance into our realms, with their ſhips, mony, and merchandiſe, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Empire, they ſhall pay vnto them two Aſpers for the hundred: and in doing ſo, the ſaid Agents and Conſuls for the Roman Emperor ſhall haue a care of the merchants affairs. If any merchant ſhall chance to die, the Emperors Agent and Conſul ſhall cauſe his goods to be ſealed vp, and ſhall take them into his poſſeſſion, to which our Treaſurer ſhall haue no colour of pretenſion. And when as the merchants haue payd the cuſtom of three for the hundred in one place, they ſhall not be bound to pay in another for the ſame merchandiſe. If the Merchants haue any controuerſies amongſt themſelues or with others, the Cadi or Iudge of the place may take knowledge of the cauſe, if it exceed not the value of* 4000 *Aſpers, but it ſhall be iudged by the Cadi of our Port.*

C 11 *As long as this holy peace ſhall continue, the Poſts which ſhal be ſent with letters from the Baſſa's, Begs, Lords, and Agents, or by the Viſiers on our behalfe to the Emperor of the Romanes, and reſpectiuely from him to our Court, ſhall be honorably entertained by our officers: and if the way bee dangerous, they ſhall giue them aſſiſtance to conduct them into a place of ſafety with their letters. And if the agent which is with vs deſire to write any particular letter vnto the Emperor, and not ſend an expreſſe meſſenger, that this letter ſhall be caried by the poſt, and deliuered ſafely where it is directed. That the meſſengers of the Baſſa's and Begs ſhall go no more into the villages, but the Iudges ſhall bring the tribute and deliuer it where they ought.*

An Accord for the execution of the Articles touching the villages in con-
D ## trouerſie, and the raſing of fortifications.

TO conclude all differences touching the diuiſion of Villages, and demolition of fortifications made in preiudice of the peace of Situa Torok; we the Commiſſaries deputed had agreed vpon the time of four moneths. But for that all controuerſies cannot be decided within that time, by a common conſent we haue concluded the time of twelue moneths, for the expedition of all that ſhall remaine vndecided; all things remaining in the ſame eſtate during the time. For the ending of theſe affairs on the behalf of the Maieſty of the Roman Emperor, ſhall be ſent the noble Lord Adolph *of Althem Earle of the ſacred empire, with others according to his Maieſties good pleaſure. And on the behalfe of the Othoman Emperor hath been named the noble Lord* Ali *Viſier Baſſa.*

E *For the greater aſſurance of theſe things, we the ſaid Commiſſioners haue cauſed ſix copies of this treaty to be diſpatched in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkiſh tongues. And we the director or Preſident of the priuy Councell to his Imperiall Maieſty, and Cardinall, with other Counſellours of his priuy Councell, and Commiſſioners, hauing full power and authoritie, haue confirmed theſe preſents vnder our hands and the ſeals of our arms.*

As alſo we Ali *Baſſa of Buda, Viſier to the moſt powerfull Sultan* Achmat, Tyhaia Mutafaraga, *and* Gaſper Gratiani, *Embaſſadors for the Turkiſh Emperor with the Imperial Maieſty of the Roman Emperor, hauing full power and authoritie to conclude this treaty, haue ſigned it with our hands, and ſealed it with our ordinary ſeals: wherof there were three copies deliuered to either party. Giuen at Vienna the firſt of March, 1616.*

F This new declaration of the *Othoman* Emperor, vpon the firſt Articles concluded at Situa Torok, ſhewes plainly how much the Turks are of late daies refined from their antient barbariſme and rudeneſſe, hauing made themſelues capable of great affairs. And theſe frequent meetings

meetings betwixt the Emperor of the Romanes and the Sultan, by their Embassadours, as an holy watering of the Oliue tree of peace, seemes to make it so flourishing, as the sweet sauour may pierce farther, and make vs hope that God wil make vse of this peaceful vnion, to prepare vnto himselfe some means for a new harueſt, or a healthful conquering of soules, wandring amidst the falshoods of the Alchoran. G

Prince Coresky his wife caried into Tartary.

Alexandrina wife to prince *Coresky*, hauing bin taken at that vnfortunate ouerthrow of the Polonian Princes in Moldauia, by *Skinder Bassa* and prince *Michna*; she was carried away (as you haue formerly heard) by a Tartar captaine, and led captiue vnknowne to Bialigrot, where she receiued many indignities being with childe; yea during the time of her lying in, beeing fiue or six months after her taking. All which time she bethought her selfe of a means to hasten her own deliuery, and withall to free a Polonian soldier called *Iaques*, who had bore arms vnder prince *Coresky*. This man although he knew the Princesse well, and might by her discouerie haue purchased his own libertie, yet he would not do it: wherfore the Princesse hauing tried his fidelitie, taught him a meanes how to work his owne libertie, and hers in the end, by his care and diligence. The Tartar one day being absent, *Alexandrina* took occasion to talke with this *Iaques*; telling him, That hauing found him faithfull vnto her, she would direct him a course wherby hee might redeeme himselfe out of captiuitie, so as he would principally obserue what she did prescribe. *Iaques* hauing promised to execute whatsoeuer this lady should enjoin him, though it were to the hasarding of his life; she then said vnto him, You know the Tartarian whose captiues we are hath an elder brother a very rich man, who of late is become blind and deaf, by reason of a great catarrhe and defluxion which is fallen down into his eyes and ears, wherwith his brother seems to be much afflicted. I haue a jewel which my Lord and husband gaue me when we were made sure; the which I haue kept carefully, hiding it sometimes in my hair, somtimes in my old tatterd rags which I haue worn since my captiuity: the which I haue much esteemed, for that my deare spouse assured me, that the stone which was set in this jewel had many and singular vertues; and amongst others, that it would restore the sight which was lost by defluxion, and cure deafnes, so as it were not natural or too inueterate. I am resolued to take out the stone and deliuer it to thee: after which thou maist sound the Tartarian, whether he wil set thee at libertie if thou cureſt his brother; making him sweare solemnly not to retain the stone, but to suffer thee to carry it away, to the end thou mayst restore it vnto me without his knowledge. Hauing resolued vpon this plot, the lady said vnto him, You must also demand of the sick man an horse and some mony, with pasports to go into your country, to the end thou mayst go speedily to my deare husband, whereſoeuer thou shalt hear of him, and deliuer him my letters and bring mee an answer if it be possible. *Iaques* hauing sworn to perform whatsoeuer the lady commanded him, beeing at libertie, the princesse deliuered him the stone, he swearing to restore it vnto her again so soone as hee had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by violence. H K

The Polonian attended with impatiencie, vntil that the Tartarian did talk vnto him of his brothers infirmitie: who finding him one day much afflicted, took occasion to tel him, that he knew a certain means how to cure his brother without any pain, or taking any thing inwardly. I beleeue nothing (replied the Tartar) for all the physitians in the country canot do it: but if he could effect his saying, he promised to set him at liberty without ransom, and to giue him wherwithall to conduct him into his country. It is the recompence (said the prisoner) that I meant to demand, and that you swear vnto me by your great God, not to faile of your promise when I haue performed mine, and not to detain, nor suffer any one to take from me the thing I shall vse in the cure. The Tartarian hauing solemnly sworne, and laid his right hand vpon his heart, the Polonian took a time to make preparation for his cure. The Tartarian although he distrusted his new physitian, yet he acquainted his brother with the project; who beeing desirous to recouer his sences, intreated his brother not to neglect the offer, promising to saue him harmlesse, both in respect of the ransom which he expected from the Polonian, and the mony he should giue him. The day appointed being come, the Tartarian prest his prisoner to perform his promise. To whom the diseased man also promised an horse, with 50 chequines to return into his Countrey, taking the same oath which his brother formerly had done. All things being now readie, hee applied his physicall stone, binding it fast vnto one of his eyes L M

for

A for the ſpace of ſeuen hours, after which being taken away he ſaw clearly, and in like manner he recouered his other eie, and afterward his hearing by the like application. Wherat the Tartars much rejoiced, giuing vnto the Polonian what they had promiſed, and procuring him paſports from the Gouernor, without which he could hardly get out of the country.

Iaques ſeeketh out Coresky.

The Polonian before his departure told the Tartarian captain that he had a ſuit vnto him, which was, That the Polonian woman which was alſo his priſoner was his neer kinſwoman, intreating him, that in reſpect of his good office he had don vnto his brother, he would vſe her and her little infant better, & that as ſoon as he were returned into his country, he would take a courſe for her ranſome, and perhaps would bring it himſelf. The Polonian hauing acquainted the Lady with what had paſt, and deliuered her jewell faithfully vnto her, hauing receiued
B her letters to prince *Coresky*, and vowed to find him out, he took his leaue. This Polonian trauelling toward his country met with one of the ſame nation, who hauing bin taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, made an eſcape. Theſe two diſcourſing freely of their aduentures, *Iaques* inquired carefully what was become of the princes who had bin caried priſoners to Conſtantinople by *Skinder Baſſa*, and eſpecially of *Coresky*; and hearing that he was in the priſons of the Black ſea, he inquired by what means he might ſpeake with this prince, or at leaſt how he might conuey ſome letters vnto him. To whom he anſwered, that it was very difficult, for that he was ſtreitly garded: but he vnderſtood that the French Embaſſadour had ſometimes leaue to ſend to viſit him, wherof he might inform himſelf more particularly. After this, *Iaques* entreated his countryman to deliuer certain letters which the princeſſe had written vnto
C her kinsfolks; the which he promiſed to perform faithfully, and ſo they parted. *Iaques* comming to Conſtantinople, grew acquainted with one of the French Embaſſadours men, who was ſomtimes imploied to viſit the Prince, & cary him mony & other neceſſaries; by whoſe means he had acceſſe to the Prince, and deliuered his letters, the which he receiued very ioyfully, hearing of his wiues health. Eight daies after, the Polonian comming to viſit the prince he receiued from him an anſwer to his wife, & ſo took his leaue: who after many troubleſome incounters returned to Bialigrot; where finding the lady all alone (the Tartarian and his ſeruants being gon a hunting) he gaue an account her of his negotiation, and deliuered his letters, wherat ſhe much rejoiced, hearing that he was aliue; though infinitly grieued at his captiuitie, vnderſtanding that the grand Seignior had refuſed to put him to ranſom. After their
D diſcourſe, the Princeſſe aduertiſed her faithfull Agent, That ſince his departure the Tartar grew jealous of her qualitie, and had inquired of her what her husband, her kinsfolk, and their eſtates were. To whom ſhe had anſwered, That her husband was a Captain who had been taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into Turky; and as for her other kinsfolks they were all ſoldiers, who had bin ruined during the wars of Moldauia. Deſiring the Polonian to remember it well, leſt they ſhould be found to differ when they ſhould come to treat of her ranſom. The Tartarian returning ſoone after to his houſe, he found *Iaques* the Polonian there; whom he entertained very kindly, both in regard of the good offices hee had done for his brother, and for the hope he had of his priſoners ranſome, remembring that *Iaques* had told him that ſhe was his kinſwoman, and that it might be he would bring it. After ſome
E little diſcourſe, *Iaques* asked him what ranſom he would require for his Polonian priſoner. To whom the Tartarian anſwered, That he would haue 6000 chequines for her and her ſonne, vnleſſe he would giue him the ſtone with the which he had cured his brother. To whom the Polonian replied, That as for the ſtone, it was not in his power, hauing reſtored it to a Nobleman whom he had followed when he was taken priſoner. And as for the ranſom which he demaunded for his priſoner and her child, it was more than ſhe and all her kindred were worth, ſhee being wife to a captain who had bin taken priſoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was ſtil detained. The Tartarian interrupted him, ſaying, That he vnderſtood ſhee was of noble extraction, and that ſhe had rich kinsfolks, who would not ſuffer her to ſpend her life in captiuitie. I confeſſe, ſaid the Polonian, that ſhe is iſſued from noble parents, but they are
F ruined during the troubles of Moldauia; adding withall, that he would not haue returned, if he had thought he would haue demanded aboue 1000 Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard ſhe was his kinſwoman, and for the good office hee had don for his brother. You haue bin ſatisfied, replied the Tartarian, and haue no cauſe to com-

plaine,

plain. Notwithstanding after some contesting, by the mediation of the Captaines brother who had bin so wel cured, the ladies ransome was set at three thousand chequines, wherof her faithfull agent gaue present intelligence to prince *Charles* brother to prince *Coresky*, who sent this sum with all possible speed: and so the princesse and her little infant were redeemed from captiuity, and conducted into Polonia by her faithful solicitor. From whence she aduertised the prince by letters, of her deliuery. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who by his report was present in all the troubles of Moldauia. But as touching her deliuery by meanes of the cure, I canot warrant it, but leaue it to the censure of phy sitians and Naturalists, who can best iudge of the vertues of stones, herbs, and plants; but it is certain that she was imprisoned and ransomed as an vnknown person. G

Prince Coresky his wife redeemed from the Tartars.

In the year 1617 there came to Paris a Chiaus a Spanish Renegado, called *Solyman*, sent from Constantinople with letters from Sultan *Achmat* to the King, for the deliuery of twentie eight slaues, who had redeemed their liberty for mony in diuers ports of Italy, and in their return to Constantinople had bin taken by the ships of Marseilles. The King caused them to be set at liberty. But the Chiaus had charge also to intreat his Maiesty to cause justice to be done vpon the Moores Granadines, expelled out of Spain, and wronged in their goods & persons vpon their passage into France: wherin he had what contentment he could expect of justice. Notwithstanding he did witnesse openly his amasement at their long delaies, in the dispatch of suits; saying plainly, That France which had the reputation thorowout the world, to maintaine euery mans right inuiolably, did no justice but after long and tedious pursuits; and that the execution of decrees was many times longer than the suit it selfe. Whereas the Turks justice (said he) was speedily administred to euery man, & within eight daies they saw an end of the greatest and most important suits. This Chiaus was fauorably entertained, and defraied with his train for the space of six or seuen moneths at the Kings charge. H I

As the Turks estate hath not growne great but by combustions, so it is ordinarily full of troubles; wherby it seems the preseruation thereof depends in making war vpon others, or to support it, when as neighbour princes seeke to recouer that which they had vniustly wrested from them by the *Othoman* force. So this great Estate entertained this yeare foure great Armies, two at land, the one against the Persian his antient enemy; the other (consisting in a maner all of Tartarians) against the king of Poland, as supporting the part of the Vayuod of Moldauia against the Turke, who had setled another in that prouince. And two navall Armies, the one in the Black sea against the Cossacks and Rassians, who made daily incursions into the *Othomans* country; men wholly giuen to arms, who go to sea in small boats, able to carry but fiue or six men, made of the bodies of hollow trees; but they are in a maner inuincible with these kind of boats: for when as the disaduantages of a combat forces them to sound a retreit, they retyre neer vnto the land, and in such places where the Turkish gallies canot approch, and so they easily preuent a totall ouerthrow. Finally, in case of necessitie they carry their vessels with them: for in the end of the last yeare, finding the passage of the blacke sea stopped at the mouth of the riuer of Danow, by the Turkish gallies, they put their boats into carts, and taking the way by the mountains brought them easily into the sea. Their fourth army was in the white sea, as they call it, imploied either to conduct the Carauan which brings the tribute from Egypt to Constantinople, or in search of the gallies of Malta and Florence, which scour those seas continually to anoy the Turk. The army against the Persian was led by *Haly Bassa* successor to *Mehemet Bassa*, he who fled into Persia after hee had lost sixty thousand men in a set battel: after which being sent for to come to Constantinople, fearing that the Sultan would take reuenge of so great a losse vpon his life, hee retyred to the Sophy and there remained. K L

The Turkes being much annoyed both at sea and land by the Vscoques, made great complaint to the States of Venice, with whom they were in league, being greatly grieued at their thefts, and complaining much, that they could not passe by sea without danger of seruitude or death: adding withall, That these pirats hauing gotten away into Turky by the Venetian territories, they were by them made slaues and slain in their own countries; and although they went not from their houses, nor vndertook any voyages, yet they were stil in alarm and subiect vnto ruin. That the small resistance which was made gaue great cause of jealousie that there M

was

A was ſome ſecret intelligence betwixt the ſubiects of the Seigniory of Venice, and the Vſcoques, and that they diuided the ſpoyle betwixt them. Finally, that in what ſort ſoeuer the matter paſt, they held them inſupportable to al men, but eſpecially to themſelues. The Turks threatned to take their iuſt reuenge, the which being impoſſible to effect in the countrey of the Vſcoques (for that by the letters of the commonwealth of Venice their paſſage was ſtopped) they reſolued to be reuenged vpon their ſubiects, and recouer a part of their goods which they had loſt. Finally, they prepared to come into the gulph of Venice with a mighty army, the which without doubt had brought that State into great extremities, and been very prejudiciall to many Prouinces of Chriſtendome. But for that the inſolencies and thefts of the Vſcoques had like to haue ingaged the Venetians in a dangerous war againſt the Turke with
B whom they were in league, it ſhall neither be vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable to make a little digreſſion, and ſhew what theſe Vſcoques were. About the yeare 1550, there aſſembled together *The beginning of the Vſcoques.* in certaine plains neere the ſea belonging to the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, people (who were cruell, violent, and infamous) from diuers parts of the countrey of Chimera, Dalmatia, and the other confines of Hungarie, and ſuch as had been baniſhed from the State of Venice; whoſe delight was onely to liue vpon ſpoyle and bloud. All theſe theeues being thus gathered together (whom they called by a generall name Vſcoques) as enemies to all art and induſtry to liue honeſtly by their labours, retyred themſelues into a deſart country, receiuing no pay from the Princes of Auſtria who commands there. Being thus by their naturall in-
C clination giuen to ſpoyle, adding thereunto the ſpurre of pouerty, nothing mooued them to ſtay in thoſe places, but all libertie was left them to rob and ſpoyle: whereupon they applied all their minds and forces; ſo as hauing made certaine light foiſts, they began to make courſes at ſea, with the moſt barbarous and impious crueltie that euer was practiſed amongſt the Scythians, Tartarians, or any other inhumane Nation whatſoeuer. And for that it is an ordinarie courſe for any one that will commit a great villanie, to ſeeke out ſome goodly pretext to couer it: ſo they concluded among themſelues, to ſhadow their inſolencies and thefts with a colour to goe againſt the Infidels. Wherefore in the beginning, there were no Merchants, were they Turks, Iewes, or ſubiects to the Turke, although they were Chriſtians, but if they entred into the gulf either to traffique or to furniſh Venice with prouiſion and merchandiſe, they were taken by them, their goods diuided amongſt them, and they forced to pay a great
D ranſome, or to die miſerably. All the ports of the State of Venice, both of Iſtria, Dalmatia, and the Iſlands from whence they receiued their victuals and prouiſion, were ſoon after ſhut vp by theſe pyrats, who not content to ſpoyle the Turks (which trafficked no more by reaſon of their great dangers and loſſe) allured by the rich ſpoyles which they tooke, and the deſire they had to encounter them, they began to ſet vpon the Venetian ſhips, forcing the merchants whom they tooke to confeſſe by torments, that the goods belonged to Turks, although in effect their chiefe booty came from Chriſtians. Hauing drawne many vnto them of their owne humors, and thinking their ſpoyles at ſea not ſufficient to ſatisfie their couetous deſires, nor the Preſents which they were to giue to others, to be fauoured and ſupported in the Courts of Princes, they ſtaid not long before they entred with all violence into the Turks countrey,
E through the Venetian territorie, to whom they were as hurtfull as to the Turks; from whence they carried away rich ſpoiles and many priſoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich, or good, but was ſubiect to the inſatiable greedineſſe of thoſe pitileſſe theeues and pyrats, if paſſing by ſea they came neer vnto the maritine coaſts. Whereupon grew the great complaint you haue heard made by the Turks, threatning to be reuenged vpon the Eſtate of Venice for the inſolencie of the Vſcoques, which afterward bred a cruell war, betwixt that State and the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Grets, now Emperor, who ſeemed to ſupport them, thereby to ingage the State in a war with the Turke. But for that the ſucceſſe thereof doth not belong to our Hiſtory, we will leaue it to them that haue written it at large.

On the fifteenth of Nouember this yeare, Sultan *Achmat Chan* hauing liued thirty yeares, *The death of Achmat.*
F and gouerned that great Empire of Turky fifteene, died. When hee came to the Empire, he was but fifteene yeares old; he was of a good conſtitution, well complexioned, and ſomewhat enclined to be fat, ſtrong and actiue, which appeared by his exerciſe in caſting of a horſmans mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein hee exceeded any one of his Court; in memorie

whereof

wherof there are two pillars set vp in one of the courts of the seraglio at Constantinople, with G
an inscription, as marks of his dexteritie. He was by nature ambitious and proud, which some hold qualities befitting his great estate: he was not so cruel as many of his predecessors, but was much giuen to sensualitie and pleasure, for which he entertained three thousand Concubins and virgins in a Seraglio; being the faireſt daughters of the Christians. His mother was a Christian of Bosna or of Cyprus, and therfore it was thought he was somwhat fauorable to Christians. He was much delighted in hawking and hunting; and namely for hawking hee kept in Grecia and Natolia forty thousand falconers, who attended his comming in their seueral places of charge, and had good yearly pensions. Neither were his huntsmen much fewer in number, or of lesse charge. As the Turkish Emperors are bound by the law of their religion once euery day to practise some manual trade, so *Mahomet* his father gaue himself to the ma- H
king of arrows, and *Achmat* to the fashioning of horn rings such as the Turks wear when they draw their bowes. This they do in the morning after they are ready and haue said their prayers, then they call for their exercise; but it is onely for fashion-sake: for they scarce make an arrow or a ring in a whole year.

Christian Princes of the same time with Achmat.	Emperours of Germany	Rodolphus the second,	1577. 35
		Matthias,	1612.
	Kings	Of great Britain, James the sixth, Of England	1602.
		Of great Britain, James the sixth, Of Scotland	1567.
		Of France Henry the fourth,	1589.
		Of France Lewis the thirteenth,	1610.
	Bishops of Rome	Paul the V.	1605.

Nought but affliction thundring out of heauen,
makes men on earth to any goodneſſe giuen.
Nor longer than ſhe thunders, any fear
that any heav'n holds any Thunderer.
So *Muſtapha*, while Heaven reſtrain'd his ſtate,
and held him fetter'd in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his ſtudies driue,
was curteous, pious, and contemplatiue.
But when his brother could no longer liue,
and Libertie did to him Power giue;
Then Pride and Tyrannie his horſes were,
And driue him alwaies paſt Heavens loue or fear;
Greatneſſe, on Goodneſſe loues to ſlide, not ſtand,
and leaues for Fortunes ice, Vertues firm land.
Honor had rather be with danger driuen,
than ſtay with Vertue on the hand of Heauen.

Muſtapha

MVSTAPHA THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

C

Osman the eldest son of *Achmat* beeing not aboue twelue years old, *Mustapha* the brother of *Achmat* being 25, was drawn out of a Cell where he then liued as it were religiously and in contemplation, and proclaimed Sultan *Mustapha Chan*. They write of him, That he grew cruell, causing yong *Osman* to be kept vnder sure gards, putting his brethren to death. Hee also did many indignities to the Christian Embassadours. And to confirme him in his Throne, hee gaue great sums of money to the Ianizaries and Spahi; and sent a messenger to Vienna to the Emperor, to assure him that hee would maintain inviolably whatsoeuer had bin concluded betwixt him and his deceased brother *Achmat*. But growing odious by reason of his tyrannie, the grand Visier came out of Persia with an Army and deposed him, forcing him to turn to his cel, setting prince *Osman* at liberty, & seating him in the Imperial throne. But for that it may seem strange, that *Mustapha* should be preserued aliue during the reign of his brother *Achmat* (contrary to the custom of the *Othoman* Emperors, who do vsually kill all their brethren at their first comming to the crown, thinking thereby the better to assure their estates) it shall be fit to make mention therof. *Mahomet* the third of that name, dying in the year 1602, and leauing *Achmat* and *Mustapha* his sonnes by the Sultana *Flatra* a Lady of Cyprus, some say of Bosna, *Achmat* the eldest was sent for speedily out of Magnesia, by the Bassa's, to take possession of his fathers crown, being the first Emperour of that name. And for that the custom of the Turkish Emperors was (as wee haue said) to haue neither brother nor nephew aliue, vnlesse they could saue themselues by flight; yet the Visier Bassa's and other officers of the court concluded in Councel, That it was not fit that *Mustapha* brother to *Achmat* should die: grounding their opinion vpon a good reason of state, For that their Emperor being but fifteen years old, they feared, that dying in his nonage without children able to gouern, the Empire might fall into combustion, and ruine it selfe by reason of ciuil wars: wherupon they decreed, That *Mustapha's* life should be preserued, but with that caution and restriction, that he should remain still a prisoner in some chambers of the Emperours Seraglio at Constantinople.

Mustapha obtains the Empire, but is soon after deposed.

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During *Achmats* minoritie, and before hee had children, there was no cruel decree made against *Mustapha*, but he onely continued in his contemplation without any liberty. But

when as the Emperor ſaw himſelfe fortified with iſſue, and remembring the cruel cuſtome of G
his predeceſſors, he many times propounded the putting of his brother to death to his counſell. The which may ſeem very ſtrange it took not effect, hauing beene often concluded. Among others it is written, that his death was concluded one euening, and that it ſhould haue beene put in execution the next day. But *Achmat* was ſo frighted in the night with apparitions and fearefull dreames, that morning being come, he ſaid, Seeing the onely reſolution of putting his brother to death had ſo terrified him, hee did beleeue that his torments would much encreaſe if he ſhould put it in execution. And therfore he commanded that his brother ſhould liue, more in regard of the terror of his mind, than for any brotherly affection. Another time Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the windowes of the Seraglio, beheld his brother *Muſtapha*, who by his permiſſion was walking in the gardens with his gard. Some one of the H
Baſſaes or other officers that were neere vnto him, and willing to flatter his humor, told him, That it was a matter of great conſequence to ſuffer him to haue ſo great libertie. *Achmat* (mooued with jealouſie and diſtruſt) grew into a rage at his words, and thereupon tooke his bow and arrow (being a very expert Archer, as all the Turkiſh Nation generally are) and aimed at his brother to kill him: but at that very inſtant he felt ſo great a paine in his arme and ſhoulder, as not able to let looſe his arrow, nor to perform what he had intended, hee ſaid with a loud voice, That *Mahomet* would not haue *Muſtapha* to die. This prince had three chambers in the Seraglio, where he remained a priſoner fifteen years, and ſpent his time in a contemplatiue kinde of life, after the manner of the Muſſulmans: his whole delight was to reade the Arabian bookes of their doctors in diuers ſciences. The grand Seignior gaue him I
leaue ſometimes to take the aire of his gardens with his Gard, and admitted him of his counſell in diuers affaires of ſtate; taking his aduice many times, for that he knew him to haue a ſound judgement.

After a long impriſonment, and a daily apprehenſion of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling grieuouſly ſick in Nouember, as is before ſaid; the great Baſſa's of the Court and other Counſellors about him, ſeeing the great danger he was in, perſuaded him to take ſome good courſe for the ſucceſſion of his Empire. He had children by the Sultana, but they were all ſo young, that they were not capable to gouerne the Empire. Moreouer, this Sultana was dead, and the children left friendleſſe, hauing none to ſpeake for them. But on the other ſide, the Sultana *Flatra* mother to the Emperour *Muſtapha* was yet liuing, who thought that if the K
Baſſa's ſhould vndertake to gouern the State during the minoritie of the Emperors children, her honour would be much eclipſed: wherfore ſhe fauoured *Muſtapha*, and perſuaded the dying Emperour to make him his ſucceſſor. On the fifteenth day of Nouember, *Achmat* ſeeing his end draw neer, called for his brother and told him, that ſeeing death approch, he deſired to prouide for the preſeruation of the Empire, and therefore had made choice of him to ſucceed him; intreating him to take the gouernment vpon him preſently after his death. *Muſtapha* was much amaſed at his ſpeech, and anſwered him with words full of feare and humility, That he might not accept of the honour which he did him, ſeeing that the Empire did rightly belong vnto his eldeſt ſon. *Achmat* diſabled his ſon for ſo great a gouernment, both for his age and capacitie, being neceſſarie for the maintenance of ſo great a monarchie; and ſaid that he L
for his ripe yeares and deep iudgement, ſhould take vpon him the managing thereof: recommending the children he had by the Sultana, vnto him, intreating him to vſe them in the ſame manner that he had vſed him; leauing the other children which hee had by concubines being his ſlaues, to his diſcretion. Soon after theſe words *Achmat* died, and *Muſtapha* was generally acknowledged for ſucceſſor to the Turkiſh Empire. Who at the firſt was ſo amaſed, as he had thought he had bin in a dream, to ſee himſelfe aduanced to ſo great a power and ſoueraigntie, from a ſtreit priſon and a daily apprehenſion of death. At his firſt comming to the empire he cauſed the Perſian Embaſſador to be ſet at libertie, whom his brother *Achmat* had cauſed to be reſtrained, contrary to the publique faith, for that newes came to the Court, of ſome combuſtions raiſed by the Perſia. After which, he ſent ſpeedily to the Baſſa of Bu- M
da, commaunding him to entertaine the treaty of peace made by his predeceſſor with the Emperour inuiolably. Yet notwithſtanding, he carried himſelfe during the ſmall time of his

reigne,

A reign inſolently and cruelly; for violating the Laws of Nations, he had il intreated the Baron of Mole or Sancie Embaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſetting gards vpon him as a priſoner, hauing cauſed his people to be put in priſon, and tortured after their maner. The reaſon of this indignitie which *Muſtapha* did vnto the French Embaſſadour and to his people, grew vpon an occaſion which will require an ample diſcourſe, for the better vnderſtanding of that which hath gon before. After the ouerthrow and taking of the princes of Moldavia, Prince *Coresky*, as you haue heard, was brought by *Skinder Baſſa* to Conſtantinople, wherat the grand Seignior was wonderfully wel pleaſed, for that he was held, euen by his enemies, for one of the moſt valiant and redoubted princes of Chriſtendom. Wherfore he was ſent away priſoner, and confined to the towers of the black ſea, which are diſtant fiue miles from Conſtan-
B tinople; a place appointed for the gard of priſoners of great qualitie and importance, ſuch as he was. He was ſhut vp with a French captain called *Rigaut*, in a little chamber which was on the top of one of thoſe towers; in which Chamber there was a window capable for a man to paſſe thorow, and yet it had no bars, for that the height of the place freed it from al ſuſpition. This Prince was much ſolicited by the Turk to become a Renegado, as the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan* his brothers in law had don: but hee reſiſted it with a generous reſolution, reſoluing rather to die in that tedious captiuitie, than commit ſo baſe an act againſt God and his conſcience. The which being made known vnto the King of Polonia, it mooued him to compaſſion, and cauſed him to write to the French Embaſſador, and to intreat him to be a means that this Prince might be put to ranſom, and freed from captiuitie, at what price ſoeuer. The
C which the Embaſſador durſt not vndertake (although he deſired it much) for that hee had no charge from the King his maſter. The Emperours Embaſſadour did what poſſibly he could, knowing how much the liberty of this prince might auail Chriſtendom. For which conſiderations the Turk would not yeeld in any ſort to ſuffer him to be releaſed; ſo as the friends of this captiue prince were out of hope euer to ſee him at liberty. But moſt commonly in ſuch extremities the Almighty works by the ſecret inſtruments of his diuine prouidence, & giues aſſiſtance vnto them that feare him, when as all humane helpe and hope faileth; as you may vnderſtand in the ſequell of this hiſtory, whence grew the Embaſſadours affront which hee receiued.

About the ſame time there had bin a Lady taken out of Podolia, with a fair yong daughter
D of hers, and a maid ſeruant, by the Tartarians, who ſould them vnto a Turke, and he brought them vnto Conſtantinople to make his profit. This Lady who was a Chriſtian, hearing nothing from her husband for the ſpace of nine moneths, went accompanied with her daughter to the French Embaſſadors houſe which was at Pera, to craue his aid and aſſiſtance. Where his Secretary (who was called *Martin*) mooued with compaſſion and loue, promiſed vnto them all ſeruice; and afterwards aſſured the mother, That if ſhee would promiſe hee ſhould marry her daughter, he would indeauor to redeem them from captiuitie. Wherto the Ladies yeelded, and paſſed their promiſe in writing vnto the Secretary. Whereupon he payd two thouſand and fiue hundred Crownes for their ranſome, and ſent them home into their owne Countrey. Being returned, the Lady made her husband and the reſt of her friends acquain-
E ted, how they had been freed from captiuitie, and of the contract of mariage which was paſt between her daughter and the French Embaſſadors Secretarie. But the father did altogether diſlike of this mariage, for that *Martin*, as he ſaid, was no gentleman, and had not an eſtate to entertaine his daughter according to her qualitie. The mother aduertiſed *Martin* ſoon after of the fathers refuſall; proteſting vnto him, that he alone was the hinderance. And as for the mony which he had diſburſed for their ranſome, they would ſend it vnto him if he pleaſed to Conſtantinople with intereſt. *Martin* was much diſcontented, and diuers letters and expoſtulations paſſed betweene them, but hee could not obtaine the execution of his deſire, and their promiſe: whereupon he grew full of griefe and melancholy, and thereupon went to viſit Prince *Coreskie*, who was in the blacke tower, to make his complaint vnto him, and to take his
F aduice, what courſe he were beſt to follow. Hee made his excuſe, That hee was ſent by his maſter to carry the Prince ſome mony, as he had don at other times. Who making the prince acquainted with his diſcontent, (for that he knew theſe Podolians, and had formerly allowed of the ſuit which he had made to this virgin) he comforted him, ſaying, That if hee might

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by any means get out of priſon, he would willingly ſupply the defects which they obiected a- G
gainſt him, and would maintaine him againſt all that ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt the accompliſhment of his deſires. This made *Martin* ſtudy by what meanes hee might free the Prince, to the end he might bind him to ſuccor him when he was at liberty; and Loue, which is many times the author of many goodly inuentions, ſuggeſted one vnto him which was very ſubtil, and difficult to execute: which was, to ſend vnto Prince *Coresky* a bottom of packthred in a little pie; which hee ſent him with other meat, aduertiſing him by a letter, That vpon a certain night concluded betwixt them, he ſhould put downe the packethred at his Chamber window, wherunto a ladder of cords ſhould be tied, by the which hee might deſcend from the tower. The which was afterwards punctually effected, not by *Martin* himſelf, but by a Greek Prieſt who liued in Conſtantinople, to whom hee had imparted his enterpriſe, and had inga- H
ged him vpon hope of great reward from the Prince. In the mean time *Martin*, doubting that he ſhould be ſuſpected to practiſe this eſcape, reſolued to be gon, and took leaue of the Embaſſador, whom hee gaue to vnderſtand, That hee had ſome preſent vrgent affaires which did preſſe his ſpeedy returne into France: and therfore he left the execution of his deſigne to the Greek prieſt, who failed not at the time appointed to do as the Secretary had directed him.

Prince Coresky eſcapes out of priſon.

The Prince hauing drawn vp this ladder of ropes with the help of his packethread, and beeing come to the foot of the tower with his chamber fellow, he found the Greek prieſt attending for them; who told him that he had charge from *Martin*, to conduct them to a certain Caue which was is a great rock a league from thence, where they muſt remain all that day; and that in the euening he would not fail to come vnto them, and bring them habits like vnto his own, M
that being ſo diſguiſed, he might conduct them to his lodging in Conſtantinople, and there conceal them ſo long as they ſhould think fit. This deuice pleaſed them wel, and ſo they went all three vnto the ſaid caue, wheras the two camrado's hid themſelues, and the prieſt returned to his houſe.

At the break of day, it being the 23 of Nouember 1617, ſome of the gards entring the priſoners chamber, ſaw that they were eſcaped, and found the ladder of ropes which they had vſed, tied to the window; wherat they were much amaſed, knowing wel that they ſhould ſmart for it. Notwithſtanding he who had the charge of the priſons, ſent ſpeedily to Conſtantinople, to giue notice of their eſcapes. So ſoon as this was known, they ſent poſts ſpeedily to all parts, to make inquiry for theſe fugitiues, eſpecially at the ports and paſſages, giuing them L
ſpecial charge to obſerue all men that paſſed, if there were not one of them who had the little finger of his right hand ſhrunk vp, as Prince *Coresky* had by a wound which hee had receiued. Within few daies after, the Turk ſeiſed vpon the ſeruants of the Baron of Sancy or Mole, Embaſſador for the French, torturing two of them after their manner; which is to lay the party vpon a table on his belly, and to giue him three or four hundred blowes with a ſtaffe vpon the ſoles of his feet, the calues of his legs, and his buttocks: yet could they not make them ſay any thing that might charge their maſter, as theſe Turkiſh tormentors did hope. Not contented herewith, they did as much to a poor Turk, who was a weauer by trade, and dwelt neer vnto the Embaſſador; thinking to force him by this cruel torture to depoſe falſly, that he had ſeen the Secretary *Martin* going and comming to his maſters lodging vntill the time of the priſoners K
eſcape: but God would not ſuffer the weauer to depoſe any thing but the truth, notwithſtanding all the miſerable and cruel torments which hee had ſuffered. The which is worthy the obſeruation, for that the Turks do generally hate the Chriſtians mortally, and do greatly rejoice at their diſaſters. As for the gards of the towers, ſome of them were impaled, and ſome were pouned or beaten to pieces in great iron mortars, wherin they vſually poun their rice to reduce it into meal.

Three daies after, the Chiaus Baſſa had charge to ſeiſe vpon the perſon of the French Embaſſadour; the which he performed very ſeuerely and vnciuilly, without any reſpect vnto his qualitie. Hauing taken him, the ſaid Chiaus led him vnto the Viſier Baſſa's houſe; where hauing beene examined vpon many circumſtances touching the eſcape of the prince *Coresky*, I
they left him as a priſoner in the hands of the ſaid Chiaus, where hee continued for the ſpace of three daies. During the which time, the ſaid Embaſſador deſiring to write to ſome of his friends, and alſo to ſpeak with the Mufti, which is the Turks high prieſt, to acquaint him with his

The French embaſſadour impriſoned by the Turks.

A his iuſt grieuances, he could obtain leaue, but by giuing two thouſand crownes vnto his Iaylor. True it is, that this preſent made the Chiaus tel the Embaſſador, That if he would obtain any fauor from the Mufti, he muſt procure it with mony. According to which aduice he gaue three or four thouſand crowns; wherupon the Mufti became tractable, acquainting the grand Seignior *Muſtapha* with the Embaſſadors iuſt complaints, and of what importance his detention was, ſeeing there was nothing found to charge him, that he had fauored the eſcape of the Prince *Coresky*, as it was ſuſpected; and that his Secretary who had practiſed it for his owne priuat profit, had left his maſter aboue ten or twelue daies before the ſaid eſcape, with an intent, as he ſaid, to return into France. Finally, That all the world would taxe him to violate the law of Nations: and that no Chriſtian prince nor other would herafter put any confidence
B in him; and it was to be feared, that they would all joine together, and make war againſt him. And in truth the Embaſſadours, both the King of Englands and the Low-Countries, were much diſcontented at this vnworthy vſage of the French; proteſting openly, That if he were not ſpeedily ſet at liberty, they would retyre themſelues into their countries. All which conſiderations repreſented by the Mufti, mooued the grand Seignior to command, that the ſayd Baron of Mole or Sancy ſhould be ſent back vnto his houſe without any further diſpleaſure. But all this could not free his houſhold ſeruants from their impriſonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thouſand crowns for their redemption; elſe had they beene ſo tormented, as that their liues had been in danger: for ſo they were threatned. Soone after, the grand Viſier hearing of the tyrannous gouernment Of Sultan *Muſtapha*, returned from Perſia
C with his whole army toward Conſtantinople, where he forced him to leaue the Empire, and to retyre into his Cel, hauing reigned but two moneths and ſome odde daies.

But to returne to prince *Coresky*, whom wee left with Captaine *Rigaut* in the lodging of the Greeke prieſt at Conſtantinople, wheras they lay hidden for the ſpace of two moneths, vntil that their good hoſt got leaue from the Patriark of Alexandria, as well for himſelfe as for two others (who he ſaid were of his ſocietie) to goe and confine themſelues in the deſarts of the Archipelagus, with many hermits who liued there after the maner of the antient Anchorits. Hauing gotten this leaue and paſport, they imbarqued, being diſguiſed like prieſts, and arri- *Prince Coresky eſcapes from Conſtantinople.*
ued at Etchut, where they found an Engliſh ſhip ready to ſet ſail for Meſſina in Sicily: from whence he went by land to Naples, where he made himſelfe known to the King of Poland his
D Embaſſador, who was wonderfull glad of his liberty, leading him to the duke of Oſſuna, then Viceroy of Naples, who furniſhed him with all things neceſſarie, and a good conuoy to go to Rome; where the Pope receiued ſingular content to ſee him, and to hear of his ſtrange aduentures. From thence he paſt to Vienna, where the Emperor entertained him according to his merits. After which he retyred to his own houſe, full of honor, gotten by his valour and conſtancie in his afflictions. Some ſay he eſcaped by the black ſea, and ſo into Polonia.

Osman, thy gentle nature far declin'd
from Turkish tyrannie and pride of mind;
Which made heauen raise thee, and extirpat them,
the proud Vsurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes, when their States are blest
with Power and Empire, think their interest
In those their blessings, held but by the grace
Of Gratitude and Goodnesse; and no place
Is held without them long: they soone would trie,
that Truth preuailes past all their Policie.

OSMAN THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, TENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

1618.

PRince *Osman* beeing set at liberty by the Grand Visier, hee caused him to be proclaimed Sultan, and seated in the Imperiall throne of the *Othomans*, with the generall applause of all the Bassaes and army. The French Embassadour beeing by the same meanes freed from this guard, aduertised the King his Master, how barbarously he had beene entreated by *Mustapha*, entreating his Majesty to reuoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King sent two Gentlemen to Constantinople to the new Emperour *Osman*, to demand reparation of the indignity done to his Embassadour and Secretary; and to let him vnderstand, that hee could not send any other Embassadour to his Court to condole the death of Sultan *Achmat* his father, nor congratulate his comming to the East, vntill that he had receiued satisfaction from him befitting his dignity, and the wrongs he had receiued in his Embassador. The Grand Visier and the Muphti hearing this Embassie, and considering of the actions which had passed, aduised the Emperour *Osman* to send an Embassador to the most Christian King to confirme the league, and to testifie both by words and letters how much he was displeased for his discontent.

The French king sends to Constantinople.

The Grand Seignior by the aduice of the Visier and others, sent *Vri* Chiaus into France, to confirme the articles of peace betwixt the French and the Turks. At his first audience he presented a Letter vnto his Majesty with this superscription.

To the most glorious and puissant Prince of the Beleefe of Iesus, arbitrator of all the differences which happen among the Christian Nations, and of all the most noble, and the most antient, the Emperour of France, to whom we wish the end of his daies to be happy, and his desire accomplished.

Osmans letter to the French King.

KNow, that I send vnto you the capitulations and treaties of peace which are betwixt our majesties: giuing you to vnderstand, that there is not any thing firme or stable in this world, neither King nor beggar, although they liue long: that which pleaseth God cannot faile. If all mens desires should succeed, without doubt all men would goe to heauen. Man whatsoeuer he doeth, or in what dignity soeuer hee be, shall not remaine in this fraile life, wise men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that which we haue said, we desire to let you know, that he who was in health, hath encountred death, and is gone to a goodlier place, to Paradise, my father Sultan Achmat Chan; *the God which hath no resemblance haue mercy on him. No man shall remaine in this lying World: And in Paradise are the approches to God, where there is no death. Finally he is gone.*

Since the beginning of the Othomans *vntill this present, the empire of my fathers and their countries from*

from father and sonne, from hand to hand, and from father to sonne, the inheritance comming so vnto G
vs; our Vncle Sultan Mustapha Chan, *for that he was elder than our selfe, was preferred before vs*
to the throne of the Ottomans, *and was some daies in peaceable possession of the Empire, yeelding ju-*
stice equally to all men both great and small. But as he was shut vp many yeares in secret places, praying
vnto God continually; so of himselfe he hath relinquished the dignity of the Emperour, and contemned
it. The Empire then belonged to those of our high linage, and for that by right it should come vnto me,
the Almighty God by his infinite bounty and mercy hath restored it into my hands, my Visiers, Bassaes,
Lieutenants, the Mufti, and other great personages, and they that are in any respect with me: and finally,
all my subjects and vassals, by a generall consent haue acknowledged me for Emperor, in the happy yeare
1027. *About the first day of the Moone of Ianuary, in a good houre. Wherefore I am seated in the*
great throne of the Othomans, *like vnto that of* Solomon, *a powerfull and able Emperor: And in all* H
our countries and cities, all the Musulmans being assembled together in their churches to preach, the
greatnesse of my name hath beene proclaimed, and through all the mints of mine Empire they haue gra-
uen it in their stamps, to coyne pieces of gold and siluer. Finally, whereosoeuer there are any Musulmans,
and in what places there are men, my name shines like gold. Hereafter injustice nor impiety shall haue
no place, but justice shall be done equally. Now we are in joy, and for that our naturall disposition is good,
and the antient friendship betwixt vs is perfect, I therefore thought good to aduertise you of all that hath
passed here, and to send you our Letters of Imperiall alliance by Vreiu Chiaus *who is my antient seruant,*
hauing had the managing of my treasure, whereof he hath giuen me good account, being arriued at your
Court, carrying my said Letter, he deserues to be receiued with honour: swearing and protesting againe
vnto you, to obserue in all points the full capitulation made betwixt my predecessors, and your great I
grandfathers, and for our part, you may be assured, that the faith promised shall be maintained as it hath
beene heretofore by our predecessors. And from the day I entred into my throne, I haue made my will
knowne to all the Viceroyes, and other officers which do my justice, and generally to all those of my obedi-
ence; entreating you to giue the like commandement to your Gouernours of Prouinces, and other officers
of Iustice, as in like manner to all your subjects. And as your grandfathers haue taken the faith of our
high family, so it may please you to continue with me, and we desire on both sides it may be good and
firme. Know then that for my part it shall be obserued, so as of your side there be nothing done contra-
ry to the promised faith. And if before we came vnto the Imperiall throne, your Embassadour which
did your affaires hath receiued any distaste, and hath not receiued the honor and friendship accustomed,
in my time he shall be the more honoured and respected as the chiefest Embassadors haue beene: I haue
commanded that he shall be greatly fauoured, and our respect shall be vnto him as Quineo, that is to say, K
Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I do certifie you.

The French King hauing receiued by this action a full satisfaction for the indignity done vnto his Embassador: soon after he called the Baron of *Mole* or *Sancie* home into France, sending the Earle of *Sezi* to succeed him as Embassador at Constantinople.

A battell betwixt the Turks and the Persians.

The war continuing still betwixt the Turks and the Persians, the grand Visier was sent to inuade Persia with a great army, where after many exploits of war, newes came to Constantinople, that the Visier had gotten a great aduantage vpon the Sophy of Persia in a battel which had beene fought, wherein there had been 100000 men slaine. And although the Turks lost L
the greatest number, yet they remained masters of the field, and spoiled the Persian campe, who was retired or fled. For that the manner of the Sophy is to fight with the Turks in retiring or giuing way a little; and with this manner of fighting they haue alwaies made head against the Turks. After this ouerthrow the Visier aduanced with his army, and entred far into Persia, which made many doubt that his returne would proue difficult: yet soone after there came letters to Constantinople, importing that the Turks being in Persia in great distresse for victuals, the Sophy had sent an Embassador to the Visier to demand peace, promising hereafter to satisfie the tributes of silkes which he ought yearely vnto the Turke; and that the Visier (in regard of the necessity of his army) had accepted his offer, and granted him peace, the which Sultan *Osman* did afterwards ratifie. After the conclusion whereof, the So- M
phy sent many Cammels loaden with victuals vnto the Turks army, which was in great distresse and want.

A peace concluded betwixt them.

A comet seene ouer Constantinople.

During the Turks war in Persia, vpon the anniuersary day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the night a Comet ouer the city of Constantinople; in forme like a crooked sword,

or

A or Turks scimiter: and it was so great, as it extended from the meridian neer vnto our zenith, vnto the horison: the point began to shew it selfe an houre after midnight, and then it appeared little and somewhat whitish, and gaue but a glimpse, after an houre it was more apparant and of a deeper colour, and the more it did rise, the redder it was, and like vnto bloud; but at the breake of day it vanished by little and little in the light: And it was so big when the point approched neere vnto the zenith, as the hilt was hidden vnder the horison; the Mathematicians did obserue, that it followed the motions of the heauens; it did alwaies rise in one place, and the bending of the said sword was towards Crates, more Southerly than it. It did appeare directly in the East a quarter towards the South, the point comming directly towards Constantinople, and the blade extending it selfe to the said East a quarter to the South,
B which is justly the part where Persia is scituated. The edge looked directly towards Constantinople, the which made men discourse diuersly, and many were amazed, fearing that it did signifie the losse and defeat of their army in Persia, whose returne they feared much.

Vri or *Husseine* Chiaus hauing finished his Embassie in France, came into England with the like charge, and had audience from his Majesty at White Hall, Sir *Thomas Glouer* being Interpreter, from whom I receiued a true discourse of his whole speech, as followeth.

The Turkish Embassadors speech to his Majesty.

C *Hac subhanehu, ve Allahuteale, Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padishah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amin yah Rabil alemin.*

Ziyad e cudretlu ve saadetlu Sultan Ali Osman Chan *Padishah Hazeretleri; saadetlu Padishah Hazeretlerine juzbin selamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun saadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irsal idub: vmidleri oldurchi, maabenilerinde munakid olan sulhu selah, bu anedeghin, ne veczuzre chyvz olundise, halia dachi ol vslub vzre her daim giun-*
den ginne artirub mucarer olmasina murad humaiunleridur.

Ali Osman, *Padishahung dachi Lala, ve Bash vezirazam Bassa hazeretleri, saadetlu*
D *Sultanum hazeretlerine juz bin selamber idub, bu mektub sherifleri dachi haki pay sherifle-*
rine irsal idub doaler ider.

Asitanei saadette dachimutemekin olan elezighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay sherifterine juz kylyndikdensongra, mubarek aiaghyn pusse idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irsal eiledy ler.*

The interpretation hereof is this.

That most true, incomprehensible, and most high God, encrease and multiply your Majesties yeares in
E *all happinesse and felicity, Amen oh thou Lord of the World.*

The most inuincible, most mighty, and most happy Sultan Osman Chan, *of the* Othoman *Empire Monarch, sendeth vnto your excellent Majesty a hundred thousand salutations and greetings, euermore praying the most high God for your Majesties happinesse. sendeth vnto your Highnesse with all possible honour and renowne, this his Imperiall and most noble Letter; and withall hopeth, that the sacred bond of peace, which hath beene hitherto inviolably on your Majesties parts kept and obserued; your Majesty will be well pleased still on your part, with dayly encrease more and more of friendship, earnestly to continue therein. And his Imperiall Majesty on his behalfe is also resolued in the like manner euermore punctually to keepe and obserue the same.*

Also the most mighty Emperour his Tutor, and his chiefe Visier Bassa, hath addressed to the dust of
F *your noble feet, this his most honorable Letter, with a thousand commendations, praying euerlastingly that mighty God for your Majesties long life and happinesse.*

Also your Majesties Embassadour at Constantinople, your slaue Paul Pinder, *bowing his forehead to the dust of your Majesties feet, and most humbly kissing your Highnesse blessed feet, hath directed vnto your Majesty this his submissiue Letter.*

This

G

This that now followeth, is the said Embassadors speech to his Majesty at the taking of his leaue at White Hall.

Saadetlu Padishahum, Nitekim bu kullighiz haki pay sheriflerine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali Osman *Padishah Hazeretlerinung name humaiunlerin destimuzile teslin eiledük : Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazaretcleri dachi angha giore effendimuze name sheriflerile giouab idub bu killighize teslim ei lemek erzany buiurila ve herdaim saadette ve deulette peydar ola.*

H

The Interpretation *Verbatim* is this.

Most happy Emperor, as I haue with mine owne hands, bowing my selfe to the dust of your Princely feet, appresented vnto your excellent Majesty the most mighty and high Sultan Othoman *my Lord and Master his Imperiall Letter, so likewise I most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased in conformity thereof, to vouchsafe your Princely answer by your noble Letter, and to deliuer the same into the hands of me your slaue : and be euer partaker of all blessednesse and happinesse.*

A Copy of the Letter of Sultan *Osman* the present *Othoman* Emperour, written to the Kings Majesty, and presented by *Husseine* Chiaus.

I

ALthough in this transitory World, if the King or the begger should enjoy the longest terme of life that might be, and obtaine all that his heart could wish, yet it is most certaine, that in the end hee must depart and be transported to the Word eternall; and it is well knowne vnto the wise, that it is impossible for man to abide for euer in this World. The occasion if this prologue is, that the immortall, omnipotent, and only God hath by his Diuine will and pleasure called vnto himselfe our father of blessed memory Sultan Achmat Chan, *who in life was happy, and in death laudable ; and departing out of this momentary World to be neerer the mercifull Creator, being changed into perfect glory, and eternall blisse,* K *hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradise. This paternall Empire and Monarchicall kingdome hath almost vntill this present blessed time, beene alwaies hereditary, from grandfather to father, from father to son, and so cursiuely on that manner ; but hauing regard vnto the age and yeares of our great and noble Vncle Sultan* Mustapha, *he was preferred and honoured to sit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being settled for some time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular. But hauing beene many yeares retired in solitarinesse, and giuen to deuotion and Diuine obedience, being also as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire, of his owne accord withdrew himselfe from the Gouernment ; for that the Diademe and Scepter of the Empire of the seuen Climats, was the true right and inheritance of our most excellent Majesty, of the which with* L *the meeting and consent of all the Visiers, and other Deputies of State, of the Primat of the Mussulman Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the souldiers, and of all the subjects both publike and priuat, the Almighty God hath made an high Present and worthy gift vnto vs. And in the happy day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il euel of this present yeare 1027, in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was our blessed and happy sitting established vpon the most fortunate* Othoman *Throne, the seat and wisedome of* Solomon. *In the pulpets of all the Mosques the congregations of the faithfull, and deuotion of the Mussulmen, throughout all our dominions is read to our Imperiall name the * Hutbeh. And in the mints (where innumerable summes of mony are coyned, as well vpon the siluer as the gold) our happy name and stampe is signed. And our most powerfull commandements are obeyed in all the parts and dominions of the World. And the brightnesse of the light of the Sun of Iustice and equity, hath caused the darkenesse of injuries and molestations to vanish away.* M

* Hutbeh *is a prayer only for the prosperity of the King.*

Now seeing it hath beene an antient custome of our famous Predecessors to giue notice of the same vnto such Princes as are in sincere friendship, and do continue it with the House of great Majesty and our Imperiall Court : We also haue written these our princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his equals Husseine *Chiaus (whose power is great) one of the honoured and respected*

seruants

A *seruants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that such newes might cause great joy of our most honourable assumption. And we doe hope that when they shall come to your hands (in conformity of the well grounded friendship vpon the sure league, articles, and writings which hath been established of old with our most royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifest infinite joy and gladnesse, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Gouernours of the Dominions and Countries vnder you, that they may know the articles of the peace and league, and the points of the oath which are firme and to be desired on both parts, from the time of our grandfather and predecessour of royall stocke now in paradise (whose soule God enlighten) vndoubtedly during the time of our reigne shall be obsehued with all re-*
spect. And let there not be the least imagination of any want of due obseruance of the signes of friend-
B *ship on our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundation of the peace and league.*

The Copy of a Letter written by *Halil Bassa*, chiefe Visier, and Generall in the expedition against the Persian, at his returne from the wars, to the City of Senit in Aprill 1618, vnto Sir *Paul Pinder* Knight, then Embassador for the Kings Majesty at Constantinople.

The humble Visier Halil Bassa.

C TO *the courteous Lord of the Nation of the* Messiah, *both great and honourable among the people of* Iesus, *and the true determiner of the Christian affaires; our good friend* Paul Pinder, *the Eng-*
lish Embassador, whose later daies be with all felicity. To whose noble presence (after our many kind sa-
lutations tending to all good affection and manifestation of joy, worthy and beseeming our friendship)
our louing aduice is this; That if you desire to heare of our estate and being, you shall vnderstand, that af-
ter we departed from the happy port with the army for the wars of Asia, we arriued and wintered in Meso-
potamia, and remouing thence in the Spring with all the Mussulman hoste (alwaies victorious) we went
to Van, from which place vntill we came to Tauris, the Mussulman army went on alwaies sacking and de-
stroying all those places and townes of the Persians which we met withall by the way in those parts, where
were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of villages, and tormenting all those people that came to
hand. And when we were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Persian forces (of peruerse religion)
D *called* Carelgai Han *(the accursed) retired himselfe into the said Tauris, where beating vp his drums*
in euery quarter, he made a shew that he had a will to fight: so we sent a little before vs some Tartars and
others of our army to hearken out and take notice of the enemy; who meeting with seuen or eight hundred
Persians of note, put them to the sword, very few escaping, and that with very great difficulty and ha-
zard. By which the said Generall finding himselfe vnable to resist the power and fury of the Mussulman
hoste, or to stay any longer in the said place, the very same day that we arriued there, the said Generall ba-
ning spoiled all the city, fled away; so we tooke the place, ransacked it, and burned all the buildings, towers,
gardens, and whatsoeuer else we found within it: And thus the great city Tauris by Diuine fauour and
grace became ours. Then forthwith we sent after the enemy, the Tartar with some Beglerbegs, who ouer-
taking them gaue them battell; and albeit some of ours did fall, yet they which fell on the enemies side
E *were innumerable. And so going forwards towards Erdeuil (their obscure residence) about ten days journy*
in the country, we went burning and spoyling it, and killing all the Persians that we met; that indeed there
was so much glory and honour won, as that all the antient men of the country do affirme, there was neuer
seene the like; insomuch, that from the confines vnto Erdeuill, twenty daies journey of the country was on
that manner by vs destroied. Thus afterward the King caused to empty the said place of Erdeuill, and
fled into a place called Hulchal, and caused his army to go to the top of a high mountaine, from whence ha-
uing sent three or foure times men of quality vnto vs, seeking and entreating for peace, with promise to
giue yearely vnto our Emperor a hundred Somes of silke, and all such places as are vpon the confines
gotten in the time of Sultan Solyman, *except Der Ne and Der Tink; wherewith we weare contented*
with the peace, and his Embassador is vpon the way comming toward vs. And so we returning the same
F *way againe (alwaies spoiling) we came to Erzirum. And thus our present Letter is written vnto you for*
the respect and preseruation of our friendship: and euen as our amity hath euer beene hitherto sincere and
firme, so likewise by the Grace of God at our arriuall in the happy Port, it shall be in like manner main-
tained and continued, that more cannot possible be. And so God keepe you in health.

The

1619. The wars growing hot in Bohemia against the Protestants, and the Emperour raising what G
forces he could to suppresse them, the directors or Gouernors of the country wrote their letters to *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Transyluania, to acquaint him with the estate of their affaires. To whom he made answer, That his country standing euen in the very jawes of the Turks, whose councels were neuer quiet, but euer working like to the waues of the vast ocean, and alwaies watchfull to embrace all occasions vpon any discord of the Christians, especially now when they had pacified all quarrels with the Persian, and had no rebels in Asia, against whom they might employ their forces; he had propounded to himself to attend the consent and fauor of the *Otheman* Emperour, whereby he might take from him all occasion to make any irruption into the neighbour countries, and haue the better means to imploy his best means to reconcile the discords among the Christians; wherefore hauing sent to Constantinople to H
acquaint the Grand Seignior with his intent, and to craue his fauour, he receiued letters from thence the 17 of August, whereby he was assured of the Grand Segniors consent and faubur. Wherupon he resolued (notwithstanding the opposition of the house of Austria, the Pope of Rome, and others of that faction) to take arms in defence of the Bohemians; promising to be in September following vpon the confines of Morauia vnlesse he found some stay in Hungary. Being aduertised of the state of Bohemia and Morauia, he leuied an army at Clausenburg, and entered into the vpper Hungary, whereas most of the Barons submitted themselues vnto him; only *Humanoie* a great man in that country opposed himselfe: but not able to make his party good, he fled into Polonia. After which he sent his army (being 18000 strong) and took Filek, Ternan, Vacci, Nouigrade, and others; after which he seised vpon Neuheusall, the Go- I
uernour being deliuered bound vnto him. The Palatine of Hungary wrote letter to *Redei* Generall of the Prince of Transyluania's army, wishing him to consider what the forces of the Kings of Spaine and France were, with the house of Austria and their allies, and that the Electors of the Empire (some excepted) would send aid vnto the Emperor. Who answered, that he doubted not of the power of those Kings, and that the Electors would send supplies vnto the Emperour; yet hoped that before they came, all should be ended, and their dinners should be prouided.

Bethlem Gabor taketh many townes in Hungary.

Soone after, the Prince of Transyluania came to Presburg with his vrmy, a towne of note in Hungary, whereas their Kings are vsually crowned. The newes thereof comming to Vienna, they sent 3000 souldiers with three pieces of ordnance downe the riuer of Danow, who K
entred the suburbs on the 13 of October, the night was very stormy and rainy, and the Transyluanians taking this opportunity charged them, and slew the greatest part, their Commander flying away with some few. The suburbs being taken, *Bethlem Gabor* sent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yeeld the town and castle without force, giuing him some time to resolue; who after consultation with some noblemen, they resolued to yeeld, and so the towne was deliuered into his hands. After which he sent part of his army vnder good Commanders into Austria, to the gates of Vienna, where they committed great spoile, the particular relation whereof I leaue to the History of the Emperours liues, to which it doth properly belong.

In Nouember *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transyluania, and the Estates of Hungary, sent Embassadors to Prague, where they propounded diuers articles vnto the Counsell, and amongst L
others, That they should joyntly send Embassadors to the Grand Seignior, & that the prince of Transyluania should negotiate the businesse. And for that the kingdome of Hungary was much exhausted, whatsoeuer should be taken in Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, should be vnited vnto it, to the end it might be the better able to resist the Turke: all which tended to the prejudice and ruine of the house of Austria. The Prince of Transyluania hauing taken diuers townes in Hungary, belonging to the Emperor as King of Hungary, and entred Austria in hostile manner in fauor of the Bohemians; knowing that hee had thereby much insenced the Emperor, and the whole house of Austria, and that if he should preuaile ouer the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the war would lie vpon him, he therefore in the end of this yeare sent an Embassador with presents to Constantinople, to craue assurance of the Grand Seigni- M
ors aid and support (vpon whose fauour he had alwaies depended) in case the Emperor should inuade Transyluania: where being countenanced by many of the chiefe Bassaes, he had assurance of Sultan *Osmans* support and protection, the which he confirmed by a solemne oath vnder his hand, as followeth.

The

A

The Great Turks oath to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of Transyluania.

Sultan Osman,

By the grace of God vnconquerable Turkish Emperour, sweares by the Highest, Almightiest, and Almighty Gods Holinesse, by his Kingdome, by the substance of the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, by the earth, and by all vnder the earth, by the braines and all the hairy scalpe of my mother, by my head, and all the strength of my soule and body, by the holy Great Mahomet, *and by my Circumcision, That I thee my brother and son* Bethlem Gabor, *succeeding King of Hungary, in no manner*
B *of way, in thy great and weighty affaires will leaue, though it be to the ouerthrow of my Kingdome, to be brought to nothing, vntill there shall be no more left but my selfe, or foure or fiue Turks at the most, yet will I be still obliged to defend thee, and all those that do any waies appertaine vnto thee. And if thou shalt haue need of me, I will be alwaies ready to goe with thee. And in case this my promise shall in any wise be frustrated, then let Gods justice fall vpon my head and destroy me and my posterity, and wipe away whatsoeuer belongeth vnto me, and gather it together into a rocke of stone, or substance of earth, and that the earth may cleaue asunder and swallow me vp body and soule.*

Dated at Constantinople the fifth of Ianuary, 1619.

C

Bethlem Gabor being assured by this oath, of protection made by the Grand Seignior, in the beginning of the yeare 1620, he called an assembly of the Estates of Hungary at Presburg, whither Embassadours were sent from the King of Bohemia, and the States of that countrey, with the incorporate Prouinces, where a perpetuall league was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at Prague; where among other articles, it was concluded, that forasmuch as necessity did chiefely require, that a peace should be concluded and inuiolably kept with the Turke, therefore a new Embassie should be sent to the Grand Seignior from all the confederate Kingdomes and Prouinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* should take
D vpon him the chiefe care of that businesse; but yet in such sort, as the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces should send their Embassadours with the Hungarians, and beare their shares of all that should be disbursed, as well for the Presents, as for the Embassadours charges. 1620. *A League betweene the Bohemians, Transilvanians and Hungarians.*

In Iune following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an assembly of the Estates of Hungary at Neuheusall, where he propounded diuers heads vnto the States: That he desired nothing more than to restore the Kingdome of Hungary, so miserably afflicted, to liberty; and that they might enjoy their religion and priuiledges: That hee had spared no cost for the lawfull defence of the country; and for a testimony that he desired peace, he had refused the Crowne which the Estates offered him at Presburg: that the ground of peace was to maintaine the
E league which they had begun with the Bohemians: that hee had alwaies desired peace with the helpe of other Princes, so as it were sincere and without fraud or deceit, for the obtaining whereof hee had assisted his confederats miserably afflicted: That he knew for certaine the Emperour desired not peace but war, hauing suffered the Cossackes to enter into Hungary, and to spoyle many places with fire and sword, and denied passage for the Embassadours of Bohemia and Austria; for this cause they were not now to treat of peace but of warre, and to consult how it might be begun and maintained: for the leuying of money which is the sinewes of war: for the furnishing of their forts vpon the frontiers, and for the speedy sending of Embassadors to the Turkish Emperor, lest being ingaged in an intestine war, there might be some attempts made vpon these bordering forts. Hauing deliuered his minde vnto the
F Estates, there came diuers Embassadours thither from Bohemia, Austria, Silesia, and Lusatia, Venice, Poland, and Turky: The Venetian Embassadour was content their Commonwealth should enter into the league, and the Turke made offer to conclude a perpetuall league with them.

On

Bethlem Gabor proclaimed K. of Hungary.

On the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſyluania was proclaimed King of Hungary by the Palatine, at the inſtance of the Turkiſh Embaſſadour, and with the conſent and applauſe of moſt part of the Eſtates of the country: after which he leuied a great army of thirty (ſome ſay fifty) thouſand horſe and foot, and made many Enſignes with diuers Emblemes and deuices; which being knowne, the Proteſtants of Vienna, with the conſent of the Emperour, wrote vnto him, humbly entreating him to ſpare the city and country, for their innocent wiues and childrens ſake: but in the meane tim e all the citiſens were commanded to make prouiſion of victuals for ſix moneths. G

A viſion ſeene at Medina Talnabi.

There came newes to Conſtantinople of a ſtrange apparition or viſion, which was ſeene at Medina Talnabi in Arabia, whereas *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried: to viſit whoſe tombe the Turks vſe to goe in pilgrimage, but they muſt firſt goe to Mecha, which is ſome few daies journey off, and there they take a ticket from the Grand Seigniours Beglerbeg, elſe they are not allowed to goe to Medina. This viſion continued three weekes together, which terrified the whole country, for that no man could diſcouer the truth thereof. About the twentieth of September, there fell ſo great a tempeſt, and ſo fearefull a thunder about midnight, as the heauens were darkened, and thoſe that were awake, almoſt diſtracted; but the vapours being diſperſed, and the element cleare, the people might reade in Arabian Characters theſe words in the firmament, *O why will yee beleeue in lies*! Between two and three in the morning, there was ſeene a woman in white compaſſed about with the Sunne, hauing a cheerefull countenance, and holding in her hand a Booke: comming from the Northweſt, oppoſite againſt her were armies of Turkes, Perſians, Arabians, and other Mahometans, ranged in order of battell, and ready to charge her; but ſhe kept her ſtanding, and only opened the Booke, at the ſight whereof theſe armies fled: and preſently all the lamps about *Mahomets* tombe went out; for as ſoone as euer the viſion vaniſhed (which was commonly an houre before ſunne riſing) a murmuring winde was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguiſhing of the lampes. The antient pilgrims of *Mahomets* race, who after they haue viſited this place neuer vſe to cut their haire, were much amaſed, for that they could not conceiue the meaning of this viſion: onely one of the Deruices (which is a ſtrict religious order amongſt the Turks, like vnto the Capuchins amongſt the Papiſts, and liue in contemplation) ſtepped vp very boldly, and made a ſpeech vnto the company, which inſenced them much againſt him, ſo as this poore prieſt for his plaine dealing loſt his life, as you ſhall heare. H I K

A Deruice ſpeech vnto the Turkes.

„ The ſumme of his ſpeech was this: That the World had neuer but three true Religions,
„ euery one of which had a Prophet; firſt God choſe the Iewes, and did wonders for them in
„ Ægypt, and brought them forth by their Prophet *Moſes*, who preſcribed them a Law, where-
„ in he would haue maintained them, if they had not beene obſtinate and rebellious, and fal-
„ len to Idolatry: whereupon hee gaue them ouer, and ſcattered them vpon the face of the
„ earth. Then preſently after hee raiſed a new Prophet, who taught the Chriſtian Religion.
„ This good man the Iewes condemned and crucified for a ſeducer of the people, not moued
„ with the piety of his life, his great miracles, nor his doctrine. Yet after his death, the prea-
„ ching of a few fiſhermen did ſo moue the hearts of men, as the greateſt Monarchs of the world L
„ bowed to his very title, and yeelded to the command of his Miniſters. But it ſeemes they
„ grew as corrupt as the Iewes, their Church being diſmembred with the diſtinction of the Eaſt
„ and Weſt, committing Idolatry againe by ſetting vp of Images, with many other idle cere-
„ monies, beſides the corruption of their liues, ſo as God was weary of them too, and not onely
„ ſent diuiſions among them, but forſooke them, diſpoſſeſſing them of their chiefeſt Cities Ie-
„ ruſalem and Conſtantinople: yet God is ſtill the Gouernor of the World, and prouides him-
„ ſelfe of another Prophet and people, raiſing our Great *Mahomet*, and giuing way to our nati-
„ on, ſo as no doubt we ſhall be happy for euer, if we can ſerue this God aright, and take ex-
„ ample by the fall of others. But ahlas! I tremble to ſpeake it, we haue erred in euery point,
„ and wilfully broken our firſt inſtitutions, ſo as God hath manifeſted his wrath by euident M
„ ſignes and tokens, keeping our Prophet from vs, who prefixed a time to returne with all
„ happineſſe to his people, ſo as there are now forty yeares paſt by our account: Wherefore
„ this ſtrange and fearefull viſion is a prediction of ſome great troubles and alterations.

For

A For either the opening of this booke in the womans hand, doth foretell our falling away from "
the first intent of our law, whereat these armed men departed as confounded with the guilt of "
their owne consciences; or else it signifies some other booke wherein we haue not yet read, "
and against which no power shall preuaile: so as I feare our religion will be proued corrupt, "
and our Prophet an Impostor, and then this *Christ* whom they talke of shall shine like the sun, "
and set vp his name euerlastingly. Hitherto the company were silent; but hearing him speak so boldly, they charged him with blasphemy; and knowing their law, which makes all blasphemy capitall, they presently condemned him, and hauing the Beglerbegs consent and warrant, they put him to death.

The Dervice put to death for his speech.

As their rage against him was violent, so their execution was extraordinary, for they nei-
B ther cut off his head nor strangled him, as they vsually doe to malefactors, but they tortured him by degrees: for stripping him first naked, they gaue him a hundred blowes on the soles of his feet with a flat cudgell, vntill the bloud issued forth, the poore prieft crying continually on the woman that opened the booke. After which they tooke a bulls pizzle, and beat all his body vntil the sinues crackt, and in the end they laid him vpon a wheele, and with an Indian sword made of sinews, they brake his bones to pieces, the poor man crying to the last gaspe, *O thou woman with the booke, saue me*, and so he died: At which time there was a fearefull tempest. The Beglerbeg sent certain Spahies to the port of Sidon to imbarke for Constantinople, to the end they might aduertise the Emperor of these tidings.

Sultan *Osman* from the first enterance into his reigne was freed from all cares of forraine
C war, or intestine combustions; for hee had that happinesse (being himselfe young, and not able to gouerne so potent an estate) as by the counsell and assistance of *Halil Bassa* his grand Visier, he had forced the King of Persia to demand a peace, and to pay the tribute which had been formerly promised. His rebels in Asia were all pacified, and the truce with the Emperour (which had been somewhat interrupted by misinterpretation, or the practise of bad ministers) was newly confirmed a little before his comming to the crowne, onely Moldauia had beene the theatre of war for some yeares, where his father had exercised his armes, and imployed his forces, to aduance whom he pleased to be Vayuod of that countrey, against ano-
D ther party that was supported by the Polonians, as you haue formerly heard. *Michna* Prince of Valachia, being made Vayuod of Moldauia by *Achmat*, and the Polonian party wholly ouerthrowne in the yeare 1616, hee enjoyed it not long: but whether hee died of a naturall death, or fell into disgrace with the Grand Seignior, I do not reade: yet I finde that after him there was another Vayuod or Prince of Moldauia, who is yet liuing, but in disgrace with the Sultan, his name is *Gasparo Gratsiani*: and to the end you may vnderstand, that the Turks neuer respect the birth and quality of any man in their aduancements, I will relate what this man was, from the mouth of him that knew him very well.

This *Gasparo* was borne at Gretz (a towne of great strength belonging vnto the Archdukes of Austria, by the which a branch of that house is distinguished from the rest, and whereof the Emperour now reigning is the head) but being a man of small fortune, and little expe-
E ctance in his owne country, he went to Constantinople, and put himselfe in seruice with Sir *Thomas Glouer*, before that he was Embassadour for his Majesty to the Grand Seignior, vnder whom he learned both to write and reade the Turkish tongue. After which he came with him into England, and there by his recommendation was employed to Constantinople for the redeeming of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who was then a prisoner among the Turks. Hauing performed his charge orderly, and being come to Venice with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glouer* was sent Embassadour to the Grand Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to Constantinople to his old master, where he was emploied yearely to buy or exchange Christians for Turks, carrying the Christians into Italy, and so returning Turks for them. About the end of *Achmats* reigne arriuing at Constantinople with a ship full of Turks, which he had exchanged, he acquainted the Visier Bassa with the good seruice he had
F done vnto the Grand Seignior; who demanding of what countrey hee was, and his breeding, asked him if he would vndertake a seruice which should be for his aduancement, which was to go vnto the Emperour to reconcile all difficulties concerning the peace, wherein he

carried himselfe so discreetly, as Commissioners were appointed, who concluded all difficulties, as you haue heard. But before his returne home, the Grand Seigniour was dead; yet he pressed the Bassa for the performance of his promise, desiring him, that he might be made Vayuod of Moldauia, which the Bassa effected: but the presents he gaue aduanced him more than his merits. Since hee grew into some disgrace; so as the Grand Seigniour making choice of another Vayuod, gaue charge to certaine Capigies, to go into Moldauia to strangle *Gasparo*, and that they should take foure hundred Turks vpon the frontiers to assist them. But *Gasparo* hauing good spies at Constantinople, who aduertised him of their designe, resolued to preuent them; wherefore taking some troups with him, he met them vpon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to Yas, hee slew a thousand Turks. After which he fled into Poland with two thousand horse; from whence they write that he hath made diuers incursions into Moldauia, and committed great spoiles vpon the Turks, being assisted by the Cossackes, and keepes possession of the conntry, although there be another Vayuod made by the Turke.

Gasparo made Vayuod of Moldauia.

The Turks preparation to armes.

Sultan *Osman* seemes to be much insenced against the Polonians, as well for this support, as for former quarrels, making it his colour for the leuying of the greatest army that hath beene seene since that *Solyman* went vnto the siege of Agria, consisting, as it is said, of three hundred thousand men, hauing drawne downe all his forces out of Asia. God knowes where he will imploy it, but it is much to be feared that he will make vse of this diuision betwixt Christian Princes, who should vnite their wills and forces, to oppose them against the common enemy of Christendome, who watcheth only to get an aduantage, little regarding his word and promise.

The Turke hauing no imployment for his forces by land, sent threescore gallies by Sea, to make some enterprise vpon the Christians. They came into the Mediterranean Sea, and hauing coasted the Island of Sicilie, they sent twenty gallies to land in the Kingdome of Naples, where they surprised the Towne of Manfredonia, and spoiled it, carrying away foureteene or fifteene hundred captiues, and so retyred againe to Sea. The rest of their fleet lay about Vellona in the gulfe, which made the Spaniards jealous that the Venetian had beene acquainted with this enterprise. And since there is newes, that the Gallions and Galliots of Algiers, haue taken Iuisa, a small Island of foure miles compasse, neere vnto Majorca: It is a place of great importance, for that it hath a hauen able to containe much shipping; for the guard whereof the King of Spaine entertaines a great garrison, and it did much annoy them of Algiers. They tooke the towne; but it is not yet certaine whether they haue taken the castle.

The greatnesse of the Turks Empire.

This is all I could learne of the Turks affaires since the yeare 1609 vntill this present. The Reader may obserue, that since the reigne of *Ottoman* their first Emperor, this great Empire of the Turks is proudly built vpon the foure Monarchies of the World; that is to say, of the Assirian, Persian, Greeke, and Romane. For they enjoy Babylon, and all Chaldæ, with the country of the Medes: We haue seene them in Tauris the capitall city of Persia, Greece is subject to the yoke of their command; Constantinople, sometimes called New Rome, by the transport of the Imperial seat, is now made their Throne, and so many prouinces and realmes which in former times depended vpon the Romane Empire, do now acknowledge their power: they are Masters of the Realmes of Ægypt and Cyprus; the Islands of Rhodes, Mitylene, Negrepont, Chio, and many others acknowledge them, the Empire of Trebisond is theirs; the Realme of Colchos, now called Mingrelia, payes them tribute: they of Tunes and Algiers in Affrica obey them; Dalmatia, the Illyrians, Triballiens, the countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia do them homage, and we see them command euen in the chiefe townes of the Realmes of Hungary: But all this power of the *Ottomans* had neuer bene so great nor so fearefull, but by the discord, diuision, and bad intelligence betwixt Christian Princes, as you may reade in the course of this History, as well in Greece, at Constantinople as in other parts of Europe, whereas these Princes contending one with another, haue furnished matter and meanes to the Turke to dispossesse them of the chiefe peeces of their Monarchies. They measure the continuance of their Empire by the

discord

A discord betwixt the Princes of the beleefe of the name of Iesus, and they confesse truely, that this diuision is the onely cause of their greatnesse, the which hath made them beleeue, that among Christians there was a bad Angell enemy to peace, which they call, *The strong or powerfull Spirit*, which kindling the fire of reuenge and ambition in the hearts of great men, drawes from their affections the good of their beleefe, to entertaine them in perpetuall discord; during the which, they promise vnto themselues a firme and an assured reigne. So the Mufti, and the Talismans praying on Friday in their Mosques, demand of their Prophet the circumstance of this bad intelligence betwixt Christian Princes, to the end they may enjoy the Empire which they haue vnjustly vsurped. Yet their propheties doe not promise them a perpetuall possession; behold one in their owne tongue, which hath alwaies made them feare
B the vnion of Christians:

Patissabomomos ghelur, caiferun menleker alur kenzul almai alur kapze iler ie di yladegh Giaur Keleci cshkmasse on ikigladegh on laron Begbhgheder. Ensi japar, baghi diker bathesai baglar, ogli kesi olar; onichi yldden sora Hristianon-keleci csechar, al Turkei ghereshine Tuschure. *A Turkish Prophesie.*

That is to say;

C *Our Emperour shall come, he shall possesse the Realme of an Infidell Prince, he shall take the red apple, and make it subiect to his power: if at the seuenth yeare of his command the Christians sword doth not aduance, he shall rule vnto the twelfth yeare, he shall build houses, plant vines, compasse in gardens with hedges, and beget children: but after the twelfth yeare that he hath held the red apple, the Christians sword shall appeare and put the Turks to flight.*

By the *Infidell Prince* they vnderstand a Christian Prince (for so they call them) and by the *Red Apple* an Imperiall towne strong and important; in the which, and elsewhere the Turks shall *build houses*: that is to say, conuert holy temples to the vse of the Mahometan impiety: *The exposition of their Propheste.*
D for by this word *to build*, they that haue commented vpon this propheste, vnderstand vsurpation of the houses of God: *Plant vines*, by these words they signifie the extent of the Turkish Empire, and the setling of their colonies, as we see in Hungary and Transyluania: *Compassing in Gardens*, that is to say, they shall fortifie the townes which they haue taken from their enemies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan religion far in the Christians countries. *But after the twelfth yeare, &c.* within a certaine time best knowne to God, his diuine Majesty, opening the eies of his clemency vpon the Christians, will vnite the wills of their Princes, kindle their affections with a holy zeale, and blessing their armes, will make them victorious ouer the Turke, whom he will banish out of the East, and chase into Scythia, from whence they came to be a scourge vnto Christendome. These are my wishes, wherein I hope all good
E Christians do concurre.

Hauing runne ouer the occurrents which haue happened in the Turks estate for the space of eleuen yeares, I must according to Master *Knolles* his method, conclude the worke with a description of the Grand Seigniours Port or Court, of his Gouernment, Officers, Riches, Force, and Religion. The Turks (a people of Scythia) hauing like a violent deluge ouerthrowne a great part of the East, and taken diuers Prouinces, being expelled from Ierusalem by *Godfrey* of Bouillon, and the Christians, their remainder retired to Nicea where they liued without any head or soueraigne commander, vntill that *Ottoman* about the yeare of our Redeemer 1300, by practise made himselfe sole and absolute Monarch. His sonne conquering diuers Prouinces, remoued his Imperiall seat to Prusia, now called Bursia, the chiefe
F abode of the Kings of Bythinia. *Amurath* the first (being drawne in by the Emperour of Constantinople to succour him, and allured with the wealth of Europe) turned his armes against him, taking diuers prouinces and townes from him, amongst others Adrianopolis, which he made the seat and residence of the Turkish Emperours, in the yeare 1363. But *Mahomet* the *The beginning of the Turkish Empire.*

second hauing taken the city of Constantinople, and expelled the Emperour in the yeare 1453, he made it the royall seat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reason, being one of the faireſt and ſweeteſt ſeats of the World. G

Deſcription of Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople hath in circuit by the opinion of ſome Writers fifteene or ſixteene miles, and is called by the Turks themſelues Stambull or Stambolda, the ſea beating vpon it vpon the North and South ſides: Towards the Eaſt it is diuided from Aſia by a large channell, which runneth from the one ſea to the other, and is about ſeuen miles in length. The City is built vpon the declining of a hill, in which there are many rare ſingularities which I omit being deſcribed elſewhere. There are in this City ſeuen little hils, vpon the which are built ſeuen principall Moſques or Churches, by ſeuerall Emperours, where of the faireſt and moſt ſtately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Vpon the North ſide of the City ſtandeth H the Grand Seigniours Palace or Seraglio, commonly called by the name of the Port: The which hath on the one ſide thereof the Sea, and of the other ſide of it the hauen, the other two being towards the City, being about three miles in compaſſe, ſome write of foure. It is walled about, and within it are many gardens, orchards, medowes, and woods. Being entred into the firſt Port (which hath double gates of yron) into a large Court, on the left hand there ſtands a building like vnto a Turkiſh Moſque, which now the Grand Seigniour vſeth for a ſtore-houſe, wherein are great ſtore of armes which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other ſide of this Court are ſeuerall gardens walled in, from which they paſſe to another Court with a gate like vnto the former, where are targuets and ſcimitars hanging, and many Porters attending, as at the former. After this, they paſſe into another large I Court which is planted with Cypreſſe trees, and full of graſſe, where deere feed; but round about it is a cloiſter which is in length about ſix hundred and foureſcore foot, and aboue fiue hundred in bredth, paued with ſtone, and couered with lead, it being ſupported with one hundred and forty pillars of white and gray marble, ſtanding vpon baſſes of copper, with capitals of the ſame; vpon the North ſide whereof ſtands the Diuano, whereas the Viſier Baſſa and the other Baſſaes ſit in Councell, and heare cauſes of importance, whereof we will

Attendants vpon the Grand Seignior.

ſpeake hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seigniour hath many chambers which are richly appointed, wherein hee remaines, and there he hath ſix young men which attend his perſon, and the ſeruice of his chamber, whereof two wait dayly, and at night they watch when hee ſleepes, the one of them at his head, and the other at his feet, with two torches K burning in their hands. In the morning (as *Sanzouino* Writes) when the Grand Seigniour attires himſelfe, they put into one of his pockets a thouſand aſpers, and into the other pocket twenty duckats of gold, the which if he giue not away that day, is their fee at night, neither (as they ſay) doth hee euer put on the ſame cloathes: and whenſoeuer hee goes to hunting, or to any other exerciſe (beſides the money which hee hath with him) his Caſnadar Baſſa or chiefe Treaſurour ſtill followes him with great ſtore of money to giue away. The office of theſe ſix young men (who are changed as it pleaſeth the Grand Seigniour) is diſtinct, for the one carries his ſhooes, the ſecond his bow and arrowes, the third his veſt, the fourth a veſſell with water, the fifth carries a ſeat, and the ſixth called *Oda Baſſa* is head of the chamber. L

The chiefe officers of his houſe

He hath dayly a great number of perſons reſident in his palace, imployed in their ſeuerall charges, ſome in one place, ſome in another, vnder their ſeuerall commanders. But among all the great men in the Court theſe are of chiefeſt eminency and note.

Firſt the *Capi Aga*, that is to ſay, the mouth of the Grand Seigniour, by whom the Sultan ſpeaketh to ſuch as haue any great ſuit vnto him: for no Embaſſadour is admitted vnto him, but at his firſt arriuall when he deliuers his letters of credit and his preſents, and when he hath any buſineſſe to treat of, he repaires to the Viſier Baſſa or his Aga.

The ſecond is *Caſnadar Baſſa*, the chiefe Treaſurour of the houſhold, or ſuperintendent of the Treaſuror.

The third *Chilergi Baſſa*, chiefe cupbearer. M

The fourth is *Seraglio Agaſi*, ſteward or maſter of the houſhold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agaſi*, or *Saraidar Baſſa*, Querſeer of his Seraglio of concubines, who is alwaies an Eunuch as the reſt be.

The

A The sixth and last is *Bostangi Bassa*, chiefe Gardener, and ouerseer of all his gardens, Captaine of his Iamoglans, and stearer of his Barge whensoeuer he goeth by water. He hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many gardeners vnder him, which are called Bostangi, who when they come out of the Seraglio, become Ianizaries, Solacci, or Capigi, according to their qualities.

These six Officers of the Sultans house aboue mentioned haue no authority out of his palace, yet the greatest Bassaes stand in awe of them, and feare them, for that they haue free accesse vnto the Sultan, and haue dayly opportunity to insence him against them: for by their secret suggestions and false informations, many of the greatest Bassaes are many times suddenly and vndeseruedly cut off in the height of all their pompe and glory.

B Hee hath many mutes or dumbe men attending about him, whereof eight be his dayly companions and play fellowes in the Seraglio, in whose company hee takes great delight: besides many others to the number of forty, which attend vpon him as pages. They are all borne deafe and dumbe, yet by long practise they grow so perfect, as they will vnderstand any thing that shall be acted vnto them by signes and gestures; and will themselues by the gesture of their eyes, bodies, hands, and feet, deliuer matters of great difficulty, to the great admiration of strangers. *The Sultans dumbe men.*

The Grand Seigniour hath within his palace a Seraglio of young men to the number of fiue hundred, from eight yeares of age to twenty: these are the well fauoured and best proportioned of all the tribute children which hee draweth from Græcia and Natolia, and they C are chosen out of his Seraglio's at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places, and brought to this to be bred vp, where they are instructed in diuers Arts, according to their disposition, but especially to reade and write, and in the doctrine of their Law, and to ride, there being a great number of horses kept within this Seraglio for their exercises, and for the Eunuches. They neuer goe out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinkes them to be of fit age to vndergoe some charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtary, and to some he giues greater places, according to their valour, or the fauour they haue gotten with him. *A Seraglio of young men.*

He hath in like manner about fourescore Mutaferache, that is to say, Launce-bearers to the Grand Seigniour: which carry his Lance whensoeuer he goeth to field, and acknowledge no other commander, and in time by his fauour or their merits, are made Captaines. *They that carry his Launce.*

D He hath alwaies aboue one thousand Eunuches entertained in seuerall places, whereof some of them are in very great credit with him, and can preuaile much: they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgines in his Seraglio. They are not only depriued of their genitors, but in their youth they haue their whole priuities smoothed off by their bellies, and in their turbants they beare short quils of siluer, thorow which they make water. This inhumane custome wes first inuented by Sultan *Solyman*, who seeing a Gelding make offer to couer a mare, grew suspitious that they were able to do some small thing, notwithstanding the losse of their genitors. *The Sultans Eunuches.*

The Grand Seignior hath a Seraglio for his women without his palace, in the which there are alwaies foure or fiue hundred young Virgines, the fairest of the Christians children, which E be gathered vp out of Græcia for tribute. The Sultan repaires sometime thither to make choice of such as he shall like best for his pleasure; wherof they are aduertised the day before by the Eunuches, that they may prepare themselues in their best habits to giue him content. Being all in a roome, and standing vpon either side, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and viewes them; to her that hee likes, he casts a handkercher, (whereof he hath many hanging at his girdle) and in this maner it may be he makes choice of halfe a dozen, the which his Eunuches obseruing, they put them presently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his palace. In this Seraglio they haue good entertainement, and are apparelled in silke twice a yeare, and are taught to make diuers works by antient matrons, and attended on by the younger sort. They haue many Eunuches with their Aga or Cap- F taine, and they haue one hundred Capigi's and Ianizaries, which keepe their gates. When as the number of these Virgine slaues decreaseth, and they haue not wherewithall to supply them with their tributary children, they send to the market in Constantinople, where they say there are dayly ten thousand slaues of all ages and sexes to be sold: and there they buy the *The Sultans Seraglio of women.*

faireſt they can get, but they will not haue them aboue eight yeares old, leſt they ſhould be corrupted before they come into the Turks Seraglio. G

The ſtate of his concubines. As for the other Seraglio within the Sultans palace, there remaines the Sultanaes with their children, and ſuch other Concubines as he hath made choice of for his delight. He neuer marries, but when any one is brought vnto him, he giues her an attire for her head of gold, and ten thouſand aſpers, cauſing her to liue in a chamber apart, encreaſing her dayly maintenance. The firſt that beares him a childe, is called Sultana, and is miſtreſſe of all the reſt, and moſt fauoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his women, the reſt as they are fauoured by the Prince, are brought vnto him to haue his pleaſure, and then returned backe againe: if they chance to be with childe, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the vſe of, but no children by them, are giuen in marriage to his ſlaues, who are aduanced to dignities, and made Gouernors of countries. H

His guard, footmen, & porters. He hath three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his perſon, and make as it were his guard, being vnder the command of the Aga of Ianizaries; they are richly attired, hauing lawne garments hanging downe beneath their knees, and ouer it a quilted waſtcoat with halfe ſleeues of taffata, damaske, or ſatten, and on their heads, caps and feathers like vnto the Captaine of the Ianizaries, and they attend on him with bowes and arrowes. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he rides abroad forty Peichi, that is to ſay, footmen or poſtes which runne wonderfull ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his commandements, where hee ſhall pleaſe to employ them they weare long coats of cloth of gold, with a broad girdle of the ſame, and caps like vnto womens thimbles, with a horne of ſiluer and gilt ſtanding vp before. There I are about foure thouſand Capigi's or Porters which continually attend his palace and Seraglioes, they are attired like vnto the Ianizaries, and haue ouer them three Capigi Baſſaes. Theſe men are many times employed to execute the Grand Seigniors commandements, when he will haue any great mans head, or his throat cut, as we haue ſeene of late yeares in *Gambolat Baſſa*, and in *Naſſuf Baſſa*, who was Grand Viſier to *Achmat*.

The Turks gouernment. The Grand Seigniors gouernment is ſo abſolute, as they all tearme themſelues his ſlaues, and no man how great ſoeuer can aſſure himſelfe of his eſtate, no not of his life, but by the Great Turks ſpeciall fauour. He commits the mannaging of his eſtate to ſuch as haue abjured the Chriſtian religion, and haue been brought by way of tything in their infancies from Greece and Natolia, and afterwards for their merits are aduanced to great dignities, as Baſſaes, Beglerbegs, and ſuch other. The Prince hath a court or Councell which they call Diuano, and this is held within the Seraglio foure daies in the weeke; that is to ſay, Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the affaires of priuate men. To this councell are admitted the Grand Viſier, eight or nine Baſſaes who are called Viſiers, and are continually reſident at Conſtantinople, (for there are many more which are employed abroad in the conduct of armies or gouernment of Countries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the riſing of the court or councell, the Grand Viſier informes the Sultan of all the proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not diſſemble, for that the Prince hath a window joyning to the Diuano, where he may heare and ſee any thing and not be ſeene. He ſeldome impugnes what they haue reſolued, vnleſſe it be to moderate ſome rigorous ſentence, or to giue anſwer to ſome Embaſſadour, and what he himſelfe concludes is irreuokeable. K L

The Turks Iuſtice. Their ſuits are very ſhort, for they haue no aduocats to breed delaies, as they haue in Chriſtendome; yet commonly he that bribes moſt ſpeeds beſt; for the Turks are the moſt couetous and corrupt Nation in the World, neither will they do any man a kindeneſſe without a fee; and yet they are not ſure to enjoy any thing they get no longer than it ſhall pleaſe the Prince. They puniſh crimes with great ſeuerity, and ſpeedily, the fact being prooued, which doth ſo turrifie them, as by the report of ſuch as haue conuerſed long there, you ſhall ſeldome ſee a murder or a theft committed by any Turke; and if any foule fact be committed, it is moſt commonly done by the Græcians. M

The Grand Viſier. The chiefe of the Grand Seigniors Councell is the Grand Viſier, who weares the Princes ſignet, and is as it were the Lieutenant Generall of the whole Monarchy: he hath authority ouer the other Baſſaes, and they are bound to yeeld him an account of their imployments.

He

A He is still about the Prince his person, and is not sent abroad for any employment, vnlesse it be for an important war, as they haue done of late yeares against the Persian. When the Visier is sent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Bassaes to be his Lieutenant and to execute his authority, and he is called Chimacham.

The Beglerbegs and Sanzackes.

Next vnto the Bassa (which is as much to say as great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and haue their places in court next vnto them. They are men of great authority, and haue the command of great kingdomes and armies, vnder whose obedience are diuers Sanzacks which are sent as Gouernors into Prouinces during the Princes pleasure. These are men of great experience, and haue command ouer the Spahi, and Timariots, the Turks chiefe forces on horseBacke, whom they call continually to exercise their armes. There is one Beglerbeg of Greece,
B which hath all the countries in Europe in the Turks dominions vnder his charge, and this is the first of all the Beglerbegs, who hath vnder him aboue thirty Sanzackes. There are six other Beglerbegs in Asia, whereof the first is he of Natolia or Asia the lesse. He hath the gouernment of Pontus, Bythinia, and other Kingdomes, and hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Caramania with seuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Aladuley, vnder whose command are seuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Amazia and Toccato, hauing foure Sanzackes. There is also one in Mesopotamia, and vnder his command twelue Sanzackes or Gouernours of Prouinces. There is likewise a Beglerbeg of Damas, Suria, and Iudæa, who hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. And there is one of Caire, who commands ouer sixteene Sanzacks, his charge extends to the Arabians, but they are not so obedient as the Turks other
C countries.

The great Turks forces.

As for the Turks forces, they consist of horsemen, footmen, and fleets at Sea. His horsemen consist of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari and Olofagi, who haue assignations of lands for the entertainment of them and their horses. For no man can enjoy any possessions, but he is enjoyned to entertaine a certaine number of souldiers proportionable to the reuenues of the land: so as the Gouernour or Bassa is alwaies bound to haue this number ready to march when they are called. Of these Timariots they are able to raise about an hundred and *The Timariots.* fifty thousand horse alwaies ready at the first call, for the which the Prince disburseth not a penny; for in regard of the land which is alotted them, they are bound to maintaine themselues, their horse and armes in the war. Whereseuer the Turke conquereth any country, he
D diuides it among his soldiers; assigning 4000 aspers yerely (which is little aboue ten pound sterling) to euery one for himselfe and his horse, and so proportionably if he haue more land. These horsemen are much pestered with armes when they go to war: for they haue a jacke, a speare with a little white banner, a caliuer hanging vnder his left arme, a cimiter, a bow and arrowes at his girdle, and a battleaxe at his saddle bow. And of these kinde of horsemen they say there are 80000 in Greece, besides an infinite number in his other countries. This Turkish Cauallery worke two great effects, for they serue as a support to his estate, to suppresse all seditions, and they are ready to vndertake any enterprise. Besides these, he entertaines many horsemen about his person, whereof some are Spahi, and these are Christian slaues bred vp *The Spahi.* yong in the Princes Seraglio, who by their merits attaine to that degree, and afterwards to
E greater dignities. They are alwaies attending about the Princes person whereseuer he goes, being commonly thirteene hundred.

The Caripices & Spachoglans

The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his horsemen, being in number about eight hundred, who march still about the Princes person during the wars. The *Spachoglani* which is as much to say as young men on horsebacke, are aboue three thousand, who haue yerely pensions in mony, which they are bound to receiue yearely at Constantinople, or else they are held as dead men. In the wars they march on the right hand of the Grand Seigniour, and are knowne from the Spahies by the banners of their launces, which haue two points and of diuers colours, the others being painted and all white, but they are armed alike. They are men at armes of a good fashion, and are commonly aduanced by the Sultan to higher places. They haue
F a Captaine or Aga of great esteeme, with a Lieutenant, and euery twenty haue a Boluch Bassa.

The Salichtari.

The *Salichtari* are also horsemen, and lodge vpon the left hand of the Prince, being in number about three thousand: Their breeding is like to the Spahi, and there is no difference betwixt

twixt them but in their march, the one hauing the right hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turks. G

The Olofagi. There is yet another sort of horsemen, which they cal *Olofagi*, being about 2000 in number, and they march on the right and left hand of the Prince. These seuerall troupes are as it were a nursery for all the chiefe officers of that Empire; out of which they doe commonly chuse their great commanders. Besides, they haue their mercenary soldiers called *Alcanzijs*, which come to serue the Turks from Tartaria, Valachia, and Moldauia.

The Ianizaries and their breeding. As for his foot forces they consist chiefely in Ianizaries, into which number they haue not vsed to enroll many of Asia, whom they haue held faint hearted, but those of Europe, who haue alwaies had the reputation to be valiant. Their manner to entertaine this discipline, is, to send euery three yeares into all the Prouinces of Europe, from whence they bring ten or H twelue thousand Christian children as a tribute, making choice of such as haue any shew of magnanimity, agility, or courage, which are parts fit for a souldier. These children being brought to Constantinople and visited, some of them are sent into Natolia, Caramania, and other Prouinces, to dig and weed the ground, where they forget their parents, countrey, and faith, and learne the language and vices of them with whom they conuerse, and so become Mahometans. They continue in those places three or foure yeares, without any charge to the Prince, being entertained by them for whom they labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultans Seraglio's at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places. But they that haue the best faces and are most actiue, are reserued for their Princes seruice.

The Aiamoglani These children being brought into the Princes Seraglio's, are of two sorts; the one are cal- I led *Aiamoglani*, that is to say, simple Boy: they are instructed by seuere masters in diuers manuall and painefull exercises, as shoomakers, gardeners, and such like base trades. Their feeding and apparell is very meane; and for the most part they lie in great and spacious roomes, like vnto religious men, hauing a light continually burning, and guards about them. These haue liberty to goe abroad, who after the age of twenty yeares are dismissed; whereof some are sent into the Sultans gardens, which are many and great; others are emploied as car-men to carry wood, hay, water, and other prouision for the palace, and some are sent to the kitchens and stables; yet when places fall they are preferred to be Ianizaries, and haue competent pensions to mainetaine them during their liues. The least hath fiue aspers a day, and none aboue eight, and the Spahies ten. They are attired in long blew gownes girt with a broad girdle, and on their heads they haue long yellow caps without brims, and sharpe like vnto sugarloues: and of these *Aiamoglanes* there are alwaies aboue twenty thousand which serue to supply his armies. K

The Ich Oglani The other sort of youths, which are bred vp in the Turks Seraglio's or nurseries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to say, chamber pages, being the choice of all the Christians children for proportion and fauour, and these are better bred vp than the *Aiamoglani*, and come to better preferment, of whom we haue formerly made mention; for the meanest places these yong men attaine vnto at the first is to be Spahies, or to attend vpon the grand Seignior as his chamberlaines and pages. And many of them hauing extraordinary parts are suddenly aduanced to places of great dignity. Of these the Prince hath euer 5000, who vntill they come vnto the L age of twenty yeares are neuer suffered to goe out of their Seraglio, nor to see any person but such as instruct them and attend vpon them.

The Ianizaries. The Ianizaries (who are the grand Seigniors chiefe strength on foot) are raised out of Christians children, bred vp in these nurseries, as we haue said, where they are taught to shoot with their bowes and arrowes, to vse the harquebuse, and all other weapons fit for seruice; and are at length enrolled among the Ianizaries, and are held the most valiant and resolute souldiers among all the Turks. There are commonly resident at Constantinople and thereabouts twenty foure thousand of these Ianizaries when as the Grand Seigniour is there, (for in his whole estate he hath a far greater number) vnder their Aga or Captaine Generall, which is a place of great credit, but not like vnto any of their Bassaes; the great Turke fearing to joyne M power and authority together. Being once Ianizaries, they are either sent to the wars, or put in garrison, or else they remaine at the Sultans court (which they call port) where they haue certaine spacious places for their dwelling, like to religious houses, where they liue vnder their commanders:

A commanders: and the younger serue the antient with great respect. All the Ianizaries of one squadron eat together at one table, and sleep in certaine long halls, and if any one chance to be absent all night, he shall (the next night) be beaten with a cudgell, which he takes so patiently as he kisseth his hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much respected and feared of all men, and are diuersly imploied in the city; as to see the peace and good orders kept; to looke to the prices of things, to arrest malefactors, and to guard the gates. If they buy any thing they will haue it at their owne rate; they cannot be judged but by their Aga or Captaine. There is seldome any one punished with death by the course of justice, without danger of a mutiny; and therefore they execute them very secretly. They haue many meanes to get mony; for some attend vpon Embassadours and keep their houses; others go with trauel-
B lers, to guard them safely through the Turks estate. They haue a great power in their Princes election; so as to win their loues euery new Emperour at his first comming to the Crowne giues them a donatiue and encreaseth their pay, presuming vpon their valour and multitude. They many times commit strange insolencies vpon any discontents; as in firing of houses, brauing the Bassaes, and sometimes bearding the Sultan himselfe: as you may reade in this History.

The chiefe strength of the Turks forces consist in the Ianizaries; and yet there are other sorts of footmen, whereof some are called *Acouizes*, which is a forlorne hope, and receiue no pay, but march before the army, and haue leaue to spoile, so as they giue the fifth part of their booty to the Prince. There is another kinde called *Azapi*: these are souldiers of small effect, *Acouices.* *Azapi.*
C and serue rather with the pickaxe and spade than with the sword: they are fitter to tire an enemy with their numbers, than to vanquish them with their valour; and they are accustomed to fill vp ditches with their dead bodies to make a passage for the Ianizaries to ascend vnto a breach. The Grand Seignior hath euer six thousand Gunnars in pay whom they call *Topegi*. *Topegi and Iebegi.*
And for the guard of the pouder and shot when the army marcheth, there is alwaies 12000 men in pay, whom they call *Iebegi*.

The Grand Seignior hath also certaine officers attending on him to the number of 3000, whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were sergeant at armes. These are men well esteemed, *The Chiaus.*
and are often employed in Embassies to forreine Princes: They also carry letters and commendations from the Prince or his chiefe Visier, and they apprehend offenders. These neuer
D goe to the warre but when the Sultan is there in person. They are commanded by a Chiaus Bassa, who is of so great credit with all men (as *Sanzouino* writes) that when he is sent by the Grand Seigniour to any Bassa, Sanzacke, or Cadi, with order to haue any mans head cut off, he is obeyed, although hee haue no warrant in writing, as if the Prince were there himselfe, and commanded it.

Thus we haue set downe the Grand Seigniors forces at land, whose numbers are so great, *The Turks discipline in their armies.*
as in shew they should breed confusion, and ruine themselues; but they keepe very good order and discipline, so as in that point they yeeld not to any. They liue of a little bread baked in the ashes, with rice, and the pouder of flesh dried in the sunne: They may not drinke wine, and there are no women seene in their armies: they obserue a wonderfull silence, and all the soul-
E diers are gouerned by the becke of the hand or any shew of the countenance. Quarrels and thefts are seuerely punished. When they march they dare not enter into any corne fields nor vines. The valiant are assured of preferments, and cowards of punishment.

Hauing spoken sufficiently of their land forces, let vs see what strength he hath at sea: they haue great store of forests for the building of ships; neither want they good shipwrites, for that couetousnesse hath drawne many Christian carpenters into the grand Seigniors arsenal: And he hath great numbers of men trained vp in marine affaires, in regard of the gallies which he hath at Mitilene, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and for the retreat hee giues pyrats at Tunes, Bona, Bugia and Algiers, from whence he drawes commanders and his best mariners, as hath beene seene by experience in the enterprises of Malta, Guletta, and elsewhere.

F To maintaine these great forces, it is requisite he should haue the sinews of war; yet his ordinary reuenues (considering the large dominions) are not so great, as in reason they should be: for some are of opinion, that hee hath not aboue eight millions of gold for his ordinary reuenue; for which they giue diuers reasons: first, that the Turks haue no care but of armes, *The Turks reuenues.*

the

the which doe rather ruine than inrich a country: secondly, they consume so many men in their enterprises, as they scarce leaue sufficient to manure their land, so as the subjects (despairing to enjoy their wealth and necessary commodities, which they might get by their labour and industy) imploy not themselues to worke nor trafficke, no more than necessity shall constraine them: for to what purpose is it, say they, to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another will consume? And for this reason you shall see in the Turks estate whose countries lie wast, and many times great dearth, which growes by the want of men to manure their land; for that the country men for the most part either die in the voyages which they make, or in carrying victuals and other necessary things for their armies; for of 10000 which they draw from their houses to row in their gallies, scarce the fourth part returnes to their houses, by reason of the great toyles they endure. Another reason why the Sultans reuenues be no greater, is, for that when he conquers any country, he assignes the lands to his Timarri, who are bound to maintaine so many men, and so many horses, according to the proportion of land which he giues them, reseruing no rent.

But although his ordinary reuenues be no greater than we haue spoken, yet he drawes great profit by his extraordinaries, especially by confiscations and presents; for being all his slaues, no man enjoyeth any thing longer than it pleaseth him: yea, the Bassaes and greatest officers of that crowne, which oppresse his subjects, and gather together inestimable wealth, in the end for the most part, it comes into the Turks Casna or Treasury. It is not strange there to send for any subjects head, vpon any suggestion whatsoeuer, which no man dare contradict: after which execution, his slaues and goods are sold in the market at Constantinople, and the mony applied to the Princes coffers. His presents also amount to great summes, for no Embassador may come before him without a present, neither may any man expect any office or dignity without mony: no gouernor being returned from his prouince, dares present himselfe to the Sultan empty handed, neither are their presents of small price. The Sultans exchequer is gouerned by two Treasurers called *Deftardari*, who are more rightly gouernors of the reuenues, for that they keep an account of the Princes Casna or Treasure, the one hath charge of the reuenues which are raised in Natolia, and the other in Europe. Also they draw great profits from their tributary prouinces, especially from Valachia, Moldauia, and Transyluania, where the Princes maintaine themselues by presents and gifts; so as they change dayly, for that they that offer most are aduanced, wherby they are forced to ruine the country, to performe what they haue promised.

The lawes whereby the Turks are gouerned.

But hauing spoken of the Turks forces and reuenues, whereby they maintaine their armies to inuade their neighbours, we must now speake somthing of their lawes wherby the subjects are gouerned, which are institutions and answers of wise men, the which they hold as an interpretation of their Alcaron, which is the ground of their law. These institutions are conteined in twelue volumes, treating of all things belonging to ciuill conuersation. Some prouinces of Turkie are gouerned by customes, and enjoy their priuiledges, and their wise Iudges supply many things which are not written. The Sultan makes choice of the wisest and worthiest person that can be found, of a sincere life according to their law, & he is called Mufti, that is, Interpreter of their Alcaron; he is (as it were) their high priest, attending only matters of religion and faith: he is head of the church among the Turks, and decideth all questions of their law. He is of such eminency, as all the Bassaes are subject to his direction: he abaseth not himselfe so much as to sit in the Diuano, onely passeth through it when he is sent for by the Sultan, who (so soone as he seeth him) riseth from his seat as it were to honour him, and then they both sit downe face to face, and so confer together.

The Mufti.

The Cadilesquiri.

They make triall of the sufficienteſt of their Iudges, before they chuse any, for which there are two *Cadilesquiri Talismani*, that is, Doctors of the law, and Examiners at Constantinople, or wheresoeuer the Prince remaines; These examine the Iudges or Cadi's of diuers prouinces. The one hath his charge ouer Europe, and is called *Cadilesquirie Romly*, before whom (after good information of his life, and sufficiencie) he sweares that he will do justice to all men, and yeeld an account of his charge when he shall be called. The othe *Cadilesquirie* is for Natolia: they are souereigne judges in all causes, and as it were Patriarks. They are of great authority, and haue place in the Diuano with the Bassaes to consult of weighty matters.

There

A There is a third degree of their churchmen, belonging to their law, called *Mulli*, which are bishops and chiefe gouernors vnder the Mufty; and their office is to place and displace churchmen at their discretion. Next are the *Nuderisi*, who are suffragans to the Bishops, and their charge is to see the Cadies doe their duties. Next come the *Cadi's* who are Iudges to punish offendors, of which there is one in euery city vnder the Seigniors command. *The Mulli, Muderisi, and Cadi.*

Vnder these are another kind of yong Doctors of the law called *Naipi*, who are not so well read as to be absolute Iudges, but yet supply their places in their absence. *The Naipi.*

After these are the *Hogi*, who write their bookes, for that they allow no Printing: and inferior vnto them are the *Calfi*, who reade vnto them that write. And the yongest of all are called *Softi*, who are yong students or nouices in their law. *The Hogi, Calfi, and Softi.*

B These are their seuerall degrees of lawyers or churchmen: for the Turks are gouerned by a kinde of Ecclesiasticall law, according to their Alcaron. They haue colledges (called Medressæ) at Constantinople, and in other places, where they liue and study their law and diuinity, and so they ascend by degrees to the highest dignity of their profession.

As for their religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, when as the Empire was much dismembred by the heresies of *Arrius* and *Nestorius*. *Mahomet* borne in Arabia imbraced this opportunity, seeking to ouerthrow the Diuinity of *Iesus Christ*, which was opposed by the Iewes and Arabians: he was assisted by two hereticks, the one was *Iohn* a Nestorian, and the other *Sergius* an Arrian. After which (being assisted by many slaues, to whom he allowed all that was pleasing to the sence and flesh, if they should receiue this law) he obtained many victories. By *Mahomets* law they make a distinction of cleane and vncleane meats to content the Iewes, and also it maintaines circumcision, but not at the eight day of their birth, as the Iewes vse it, but after the eight yeare, when the infant is able to make confession of his faith, where lifting vp his finger he speakes these words, which are grauen in their temples in the Arabian tongue: *There is but one God whose Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equall Prophets.* The circumcision being ended, they feast three daies together, and then they carry the circumcised to a bath with great pompe; after which the guests conduct him to his house, and present him with gifts. The women are not circumcised, but only speake the words. If any Christian abjure his faith and indure circumcision (as they often doe by reason of their tributes and vexations) they are led through the towne with great honor and rejoycing of the D people, who do also giue vnto them, and they pay no tributes. *Mahomets* law denies the Diuinity of *Iesus Christ*, to please the Arrians who were then powerfull: It is full of fables to please Idolaters, and it giues liberty to the flesh which is pleasing to most men. *The Turks religion.*

They confesse one God, and honor *Iesus Christ*, not as the sonne of God, but as a Prophet borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They neither honor nor allow images. Friday is their Sabbath, as Sunday is ours. They obserue a Lent of thirty daies, which they call Ramadan; during which they eate nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but swines flesh; yet they abstaine from wine and women. They haue their Easter called Bayran, which continues three daies, in which they enjoy all pleasures: but this feast is not alwaies prefixed, for that they account not the day according to the course of the Sun, but of the Moone; and E therefore they do carefully obserue the new Moone and salute it.

They haue no bels in their Mosques, neither do they suffer the Christians which liue there to haue any. They put off their shooes when they go into their Mosques, and take them again at their comming forth. Whersoeuer they sit in their churches or houses, they haue tapestry couerlets or mats vnder them: they are not much giuen to contemplation or learning, yet the Turkish women being married and hauing issue, are carefull to breed vp their children, and to be instructed; for the which there are many schooles, where they reade their lawes, to the end they may serue in their Mosques, and be able to gouerne the common-weale.

The Turks by *Mahomets* law haue leaue to marry as many wiues as they can maintaine; and a Turkish woman being once with childe, her husband neuer toucheth her vntill she be F deliuered, but lies with his slaues out of the house where his wife remaines. They haue a certaine kind of marriage made at pleasure, which they call Kebin, the which is many times practised by strangers, who being out of their country contract with women, whom they are to enjoy during their pleasure, and when they cast them off, they giue them a certaine summe of

of mony, and keepe the children. The Cadi's or Iudges allow not this kinde of contract, especially amongst Christians, vnlesse it be with an oath of marriage. A Turke hauing had the vse of a Christian woman, they are both condemned to die, vnlesse she will adjure her faith: the like is obserued betwixt a Christian and a Turkish woman, if they haue been found together. Diuorce is allowed among them in case of barrennesse and incontinency. G

There are foure orders of religious men among the Turks which differ in their liuing, habit, and ceremonies. These be the *Terlaques*, *Deruis*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiemales*, and these last are very vicious, and wicked impostors, deceiuing of the common people. The Deruis is a strict order liuing in contemplation, much like vnto the Capuchins among the Romish Papists. The Turks forbeare to blaspheme either God, Christ, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatsoeuer, and they punish blasphemy seuerely. They conuerse with Christians, and eat and traffique with them freely; yea, somtimes they marry their daughters, and suffer them to liue after their owne religion. But they hate the Iewes, and despise them as the basest people in the World. They haue an assured confidence, that he that shall duely obserue the lawes of *Mahomet*, shall haue eternall life, and a Paradise full of delights: and contrariwise they that shall breake the lawes of their Alcaron are threatned with hell and eternall death; yet they haue an opinion that hee that beleeues in the Alcaron when hee dies, shall be vndoubtedly saued. H

The disposition of the Turks.

To conclude this relation with some few lines of their humors and dispotions; they write of them, that they are grosse witted, idle and vnfit for labour. They are exceeding couetous and corrupt, aboue all other Nations; for justice is sold to him that offers most. They are humble among themselues, and obey their superiours with great silence. They are proud and insupportable to strangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are giuen to gluttony and drunkennesse, and will spend whole daies together in feasting, and will drinke with excesse if it be in priuate, for that it is forbidden by their law. They are vain-glorious, proud and deceitfull, neuer keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to venery, and are for the most part all Sodomites. They are very superstitious, giuing credit to dreames and diuinations; and they hold that euery mans destiny is written in his forehead, which cannot be altered or auoided. I

Thus I haue continued this History for eleuen yeares, hauing informed my selfe out of the best authors and intelligencers I could fide that concerne this subject: I should haue beene glad that some which haue resided at Constantinople most part of this time, would haue assisted mee with their obseruations, which should haue beene for the generall good of our Nation; but I hope notwithstanding the Reader shall finde content and satisfaction. K

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A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORY, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1620, VNTILL THE ENDING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628.

COLLECTED OVT OF THE PAPERS and Dispatches of Sr THOMAS ROWE, Knight, his *Maiesties Embassador with the grand Signior during that time.*

And since by Him re-viewed and corrected.

BEfore we come to speak of the great preparations made by the grand Signior in the yeare 1621, to inuade the kingdom of Poland; and those by that king to resist him: I hold it necessarie, briefly to set down the causes and reasons of the insuing war. 1620.

The Chrim Tartar, confining vpon the dukedome of Russia and borders of Poland, had made many incursions, and did great spoile vpon the Cossackes within that prouince of Russia, and other parts belonging to the Kingdom of Poland, and carrying away the people of all ages and sexes, made sale of them within the Turkes empire. Now *Iean beagh Ghiray Han* Prince of the Tartars, being wholly dependant on the *Ottoman* Emperors, his Maiesty of Poland sent many seuerall Embassadors to complain at that Port; That notwithstanding the antient league betweene him and the *Ottoman* Family, the Tartars greatly spoiled his Countries, which was both vniust and against the treaties. Howsoeuer the complaints were many and great, yet the king of Polands ministers found no redresse for those their alledged wrongs; but were answered, That the Tartars were absolute lords ouer themselues, and that they pretended to haue an annual tribute of 40000 Dollars from the king of Poland; which being denied them, they had reason so to do: and that the grand Seignior could only intreat, but not command them to surcease. The Tartars seeing the Polacke thus sleighted at the Port, grew more insolent and outragious: wherewith the Turkes were well content, for the great

great benefit they receiued by slaues which were continually brought to be sould in their dominions, finding for the most part that those men had able bodies, and fit to be applied to the oare. It is true that the Chrim Tartars in antient time beeing so neere neighbours, were woont to receiue such a Pension from the Crowne of Poland, for the which they were obliged to seiue in euery occasion of Warre: but of later yeares that payment hath discontinued, because they rather receiued hurt, than any assistance from that vagabond and predatory people. G

When the Cossacks saw that after so many complaints they could not liue at rest, nor procure restitution of their wrongs, nor take their reuenge vpon the Tartars, being a flitting and fugitiue nation, who had no certain place of abode; they resolued to fall into the dominions of the grand Signior, who seemed, if not to protect, yet to conniue at injuries they receiued from these their neighbors. The Cossacks then that inhabited vpon the banks of the riuer Boristhenes (which emptieth it selfe into the blacke sea) were coniectured to bee fittest for the execution of this reuenge: and therfore they prepared a number of wel armed Barques, & falling down the riuer, did very great dammage, by robbing, spoiling, and burning diuers townes and villages bordering vpon the black sea. H

This news being brought to Constantinople, the grand Signior took it in great scorne, that such a base and rude people should come and afront him so neer his doores. Therfore he caused some gallies to be armed forth with speed to suppresse them: but his forces were foure or fiue times valiantly repulsed, and stil the Cossack went safely home with his prey. Now the tide of affairs was turned, and this great Emperor who was formerly petitioned by the Polack, is now become a suitor to him, & finds his Ministers measured by the answer the grand Signior had giuen concerning the wrongs don by the Tartars: That though the Cossacks adhere to the Crown of Poland, yet are they a free people of themselues: but when the Tartar shall cease from his hostilitie, it is like enough the Pole will intreat the Cossacke to do the same; and that is all the authoritie he can exercise ouer them. I

The grand Signiors preparation for warre with the King of Poland.

Affairs standing thus, no accommodation for wrongs on either side could be made; and the grand Signior, although he was now but fifteen years of age, yet was hee strong, vigorous, and of a high spirit, and more than desirous of a war, but especially with the King of Poland, from whom he looked for better satisfaction. This desire was nourished in him by the counsels of *Ali Bassa* great Vizier; and notwithstanding it was vtterly disliked by al the rest of the Ministers of state, and officers of war in that Empire, a war was neuertheless thereupon proclaimed throughout all the Turks Dominions; which did in generall displease the common soldier also. K

1621. The grand Signior the foure and twentieth of Aprill commanded paiment to be made to all the Soldierie; and the day following caused all his tents and pauilions, with those of his Viziers and other officers, to be solemnly pitched without the City, with all trades that were to attend his Royal camp. Who hauing now gathered of foot and horse three hundred thousand (though reported to be twice the number) set forward together with his court and train out of Constantinople the 29 of April, with three hundred field pieces, beside a hundred cannon sent vnto the frontiers by sea; leauing *Achmat Bassa* and the Bostangi Bassa gouernors of the city til his return. L

When he was arriued at the confines of Poland, he first attempted the fortresse of Chotyn in the prouince of Moldauia, lately giuen by *Gasparo Gratiani* to the Polacks. The which being strong of scituation, and well furnished for defence, the Turke finding it difficult to carry in few daies, left it besieged; and passing the riuer of Boristhene, found there the Chancellor of Poland intrencht vpon the borders, in a strong place and of good aduantage, with forty thousand Polacks and Cossacks, and eight thousand high Dutch, sent by the Emperor in aid of the King of Poland. The Prince was incamped at Caminitza, and strongly intrenched with sixty thousand souldiers; the King abiding in Cracovia, with the Nobilitie and his Court. The grand Signior facing the Trenches vpon Boristhene, with the multitude of his army inclosed them round, and shut vp all the passages; sending presently the prince of the Tartars, *Ieanbeagh-Ghiray-Han*, with thirty thousand light horse to make incursions within the heart of Poland: who did great spoile, and brought away captiues twenty fiue thousand soules of all sorts; which dammage did not so much proceed from the will of the Prince, as M

from

A from a Captaine of his, a Nobleman of Tartarie called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great fauor at that time with the Emperour: for it was thought that betweene the King of Poland, and the Prince of Tartarie, there was some secret intelligence by the vertue of money.

During the space of foure and thirty dayes that the Grand Seignior held these Trenches besieged, almost euery other day he gaue them terrible assaults, but was alway forced to retyre with losse. The Polacke in brauerie making some sallies, were also glad to recouer their strength; onely once they so farre aduanced in the euening with their shot vpon the quarter of the Ianizaries, that they made a great execution, and almost put the whole camp into disorder; and as the Turks themselues did confesse, if this sally had been giuen in the night, it had hazarded the confusion of the whole army: All which being seen by the Grand Signior,
B and little hope of aduancing further, for diuers reasons he was inforced to treat a cessation of Armes with the Chancellor. The first was, That he had spent so much time without any aduantage, and the Winter approched, whereby his army suffered great extremities of cold and other miseries, by reason of terrible raines which had carried away diuers tents, horses, and other cattell, and some part of his cannons. Secondly, the prouision of sodder was become so deare, that diuers forsooke their horses for want of means to feed them: besides the great mortalitie of men, of fluxes, Feuers, & colds, and the horses of Asia not vsed to such a climat, that many men of quality that came out with ten & 12, were compelled to return on foot. Thirdly, the army either for wearinesse, or for discontent receiued from the Emperour himselfe, for
C his narrownesse and auarice shewed to the soldier, contrary to the glorious example of his ancestors in like enterprises, not only refused to fight, but were little lesse than mutined. Fourthly, this attempt from the beginning proceeding meerely from the obstinacie of the Grand Signior, contrary to the counsell of most of his Visiers, who desired generally a peace: at their solicitation and by the mediation of *Radula* Prince of Valachia, both parts were easily induced to treaty, and the Chancellor was drawn to send a Secretarie to the Grand Signior; where it was agreed, as followeth.

First, That the Emperor should raise his army, and retyre from the confines of Poland; and the Tartars as the occasioners of this war should send an Emirze to reside as a pledge from ensuing incursions. The Chancellor promising in the name of the King of Poland, to keep another in the court of the Prince of Tar-
D *tarie, with condition to pay yearely as aforesaid forty thousand florins (an antient pretention of the Tartars) as a donatiue from the King of Poland; promising moreouer, for the better confirmation of the future peace, to maintain a Resident in the Port of the* Ottoman *Court; and vpon the arriuall of euery such Embassador, to send a Present conformable to the Ledgiers of other Christian Princes. And as the Grand Signior was obliged for the Tartars that they should forbeare all inuasions vpon the Polacke; so the Polacks should bind themselues in behalfe of the Cossacks, that they should commit no roberies in the dominion of the Grand Signior. And further couenanting in the name of the Polish Merchants for the Priuiledge of free traffike, to make a Present of an hundred thousand chequines in plate, sables, and Bulgary*
hides; alway intended with this reseruation, that this treaty should not prejudice or bind, vntill the Grand
Signior did send a Chiaus to the King of Poland with these ouertures, that he might haue time to assem-
E *ble his Parliament, and there to resolue to send an Embassador with ample authoritie to treat and conclude a finall peace in the Port.* Whereupon the Grand Signior being satisfied with these conditions, did dispatch presently his Nuntio into Poland, and suddenly to the great content of all his army, he raised his camp, and returned to Adrianople.

The losse in the Turkish & Polish armie.

By relation of diuers present in that war, it was reported, That there died in the Turkes camp, by the sword, famin, sickneſſe and cold, about eighty thousand men, and aboue an hundred thousand horse; and the remaine at their returne, appearing so naked, sickely, and poore, made euident demonstration of the great losse and miserie sustained. The Polacks in their trenches lost aboue twenty thousand by the famine suffered in their besieging: so that if the winter and other wants had not constrained the grand Signior to rise with some pretence of honor, and that he had staid a few daies longer, they had bin forced to render or perish: which
F is euident, for that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

The grand Signior being informed that the Emperour of Germany had sent aid of eight thousand Dutch to the King of Poland, and inraged that hee had so little aduanced in that

1621. *The grand Signior inraged at the Emperour for aiding the Pole.*

attempt, pretending that the Emperour by giuing succors had broken the peace; to vent his choler, contrary to the aduice of his Councell, presently vpon his arising from the confines of Poland, in his camp proclaimed war against Germany for the next Spring; commanding vpon great penaltie, all his souldiers and slaues to be ready for that inuasion. Which gaue great discontent to the army, insomuch as they did almost publiquely professe, that they neither could nor would follow him. And conformable to this his rash resolution, hee gaue order to *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, a Tartarian captain then Bassa of Silistra, to winter with 20000 of his soldiers in the frontier. Presently hereupon *Cæsar Gallo* the Emperours Embassadour was stayed at Buda; the Grand Signior pretending, that hee had promised vpon his life, that the Emperor would giue no aid to the King of Poland. Not considering that he himself contrary to the peace, the summer before had surprised Vatz a town of Hungary, and had permitted many of his souldiers to follow the prince of Transylvania, as Voluntiers against the Emperor.

The King of Poland hearing of this resolution against the Emperour, called the Chiaus sent about the Treaty, before him, and told him, That if the grand Signior should proceed to make war vpon the Emperour for his occasion, that he could conclude no peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperor as his deare brother and Confederate. Which message the Chiaus sent to the grand Signior when hee was yet at Adrianople, where hee either purposed to Winter to affright the Emperour, or to quicken the Polacke to a conclusion of peace; cold in his sudden pretence, by the persuasions of the Visiers and Mufti hee changed his resolution, and tooke his way to Constantinople, where hee arriued the last of December.

Now it being giuen out, That the Emir of Syria or Sidon was in rebellion, and that hee had possessed himself of the city and castle of Tripolie, the grand Signior pretended to go in person against him, and gaue out 60000 Checquines to prepare his carriages and pauilions; and tooke order to prouide his palace in Aleppo, determining to passe that way, to amuse and raise suspition in the Persian: and likewise commanded the army of Asia to be in readines by the end of the month of April; and gaue out commission for victuals, munition, and other necessaries. The Mufti, Hoja, and other the Visiers who knew not the mistery, misliking this counsel, with great instances and reasons dissuaded him, as being a course very dangerous to his estate. First, that his Maiesty should go in person, leauing all Greece desolate, and commit the care and gouernment of his Imperial seat to a poor Chimacham or lieutenant, it not being probable, that the Emir of Sidon would stay to oppose himself against the force of his royal army, but rather make an escape, and retyre himself to some part of Christendom: and that a Generall by land, and the Captain Bassa Admirall of the sea, with his fleet of Gallies, would suffice to punish and destroy him. Besides, if his Maiestie vndertooke the journey in person, it was necessary that all his soldiers should attend him, which were a charge superfluous and aboue the enterprise, and almost impossible for them, hauing bin so harrassed and distressed in the late inuasion of Poland; who did euen publiquely murmure that they would not go. For which reasons the King seemed to change his resolution, and was contented to make a General by land, with the army of Asia: to which charge was named the Bassa of Cairo. The next day after, the grand Signior comming to the Arsenal, he called the Visier Bassa, the Admiral, and the great Treasurer before him; where it was concluded, to make ready at least an hundred gallies: for the preparation wherof sixty thousand Checquines were then deliuered; the Visier promising to furnish the rest of the whole charge with expedition, of his own purse, and to take it vp vpon the Kings Assignations. Wherupon the grand Signior with great content did vest them as a mark of fauor, and gaue present commission to the Admiral to be ready and to depart by the midst of Aprill following: and for his better strength he gaue a command to send for aids to Tunes and Algier. Which was thought requisite, because it was reported that the prince *Philibert* of Savoy, then Viceroy of Sicilie, had in readinesse sixty Gallies and six Gallions at Messina; which force was doubted would be imploied to giue succor to the Emir of Sidon, or to reuenge the attempt and late sacke of Manfredonia. So that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arsenall: and for prouision and preuention of the worst, there was ordained twelue small Gallies

and

A and the ordinary fleet of frigots to keep the black sea from the incursion of the Cossacks: and though it was giuen out that this army was only prepared against the Emir, yet many that vnderstood the secrets of that empire, knowing it to be too great, did beleeue it should bee sent to preuent a generall reuolt, which was then murmured and suspected in Asia. 1621.

About this time, contrary to the counsel and wil of all his ministers, the grand Signior married the grand child of a Sultana wife to *Pertau Bassa*, only for her beauty, without any pompe: which was ill interpreted in that court; his ancestors of late yeares not vsually taking wiues, especially of a Turkish race, in respect of kindred. This and other inconstancies, with extream auarice, made him odious to the souldier; and his daily haunting the streets on foot, somtimes disguised with a page or two, prying into houses and tauernes like a petty Officer, B increased his contempt euen in the city. *The grand Signior maried.*

Secret order was giuen about the same time to *Diac-Mahomet* Bassa of Canisia, and to *Gelut-Emirze* a Tartarian, to vnite themselues with *Bethlem Gabor* against the Emperour of Germanie. But the Bassa of Buda did aduertise the graund Signior, That *Gabor* had concluded peace with the Emperour; which news did greatly displease him, beeing ardent in the desire of war.

The peace between the grand Signior and the king of Poland was not yet fully concluded; but Embassadors weekly expected at the Port from Poland and other places, to hasten a full consummation therof. Among which, Sr *Thomas Rowe* Knight, Embassador in ordinary from his Majesty of great Brittain to the grand Signior, arriued there the first of Ianuary, and had C his audience speedily, when he made this speech vnto him in English: *The King of great Britains Embassador arriueth at the Port.*

Most high and mighty Emperor, his sacred Maiestie the King of great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, my most gratious Lord and Souerain, according to the antient league of friendship and amitie, of long time begun and continued between the most noble Ancestors of your Maiesties, and in his royall person confirmed by his sundry Embassadors and Letters, both to your renowned father, and to your Imperiall Maiesty; being fully determined on his part, to maintain and inuiolably to hold a fair and good peace and correspondencie with your Maiesty; hath commanded and sent mee with his Letters of credence, and friendly present, to reside as his Embassador in your royall Court. Not doubting but your Imperiall D *Maiesty will accept them, and receiue me his vnworthy seruant with your wonted honor and fauour: and that you will giue credit vnto me in diuers matters of importance which hee hath commanded me to deliuer in his name; comprehended in fiue articles written in this Memoriall: And that you would be pleased to do therin according to the royall friendship of his Maiesty and your princely wisedom and justice. The particulars whereof I desire your Maiesty to reade and consider at your ease and leisure, and to affoord mee your royall answer; his Maiesty resting assured he shall receiue content and satisfaction worthy his Royall friendship.*

The Letter of Credence sent by Sr *Thomas Rowe.*

E *IAmes by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France, and Irelend, Defender of the Christian Faith, against all those that falsly professe the name of* Iesus, *&c. To the most high and mighty Prince Sultan* Osman Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman *kingdom and Empire of the East, sendeth health and greeting.*

WE doubt not but you receiued our Letters sent by our subiect Iohn Chapman; *whereby we signified vnto you our royall pleasure, to recall and discharge our Embassador Sir* Iohn Ayre *from his imployment and residence in your Court; whom wee desired you in your princely fauor to dismisse for our especiall seruice, and to receiue the bearer of our said Letters as Agent, to remaine in your protec-*F *tion, for the better support and maintenance of our subiects which do trade and abide in your dominions, and for the aduancement and continuance of the mutuall commerce and friendship which hath bin a long time contracted between your predecessors and ours, vntill the arriuall of Sir* Thomas Rowe, *of whom as then we made choice to send vnto your Port as our Embassadour; as well to propound vnto you diuers things*

things necessary for the generall peace, as to reside in your court for our particular seruice. Notwithstanding lest the said letters should not come safely to your royall hands, wee haue thought fit again to make known our purpose of recalling our former Embassador Sir Iohn Ayre, and to desire you to discharge and dismisse him from your Port, and to receiue and admit in his roome our trusty and welbeloued Seruant Sir Thomas Rowe, one of the principall Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Priuy Chamber; whom wee haue expresly sent, and whom we authorise vnder our great Seal of England, as our Embassador to reside at your Port, and to negotiate in our name, and in the behalfe of our subiects abiding within your Kingdomes. Of whose fidelitie and discretion as we are well assured, so we doubt not but he will giue you good content in his demeanor and negotiation with you. Wee haue also thought fit to put you in minde of those common Rouers vpon the seas, who are enemies to the Lawes of Nations, and spoilers of the quiet & peaceable Merchant, by whom amitie and friendship is maintained betweene Kings and Princes: That you would please to exercise your great and mighty power to chastise and destroy them, as Traitors to your honour, and infringers of the sacred and publique peace. In full assurance that you will extend the same good respect vnto vs, as your royall Ancestours haue don vnto our most renowned predecessours, whereby that antient League and commerce may be inviolably maintained beiween both our Kingdomes, which on our part we shall be very loth to infringe or dissolue: We doe by these our Letters recommend vnto your princely fauour this our said trusty seruant and Embassadour, to reside and remaine in your Port, on our behalfe to treat with you in all affaires for the publique weale of our Dominions, and for the general peace of vs both, and our Allyes and friends, as also for the support and aid of all our subiects which doe liue and trade within your Estates and Countries: To whose good discretion we commend their affaires, and by whose industry and mediation we conceiue our people may bee relieued in their iust and reasonable demands, to the perfect maintenance and assurance of that mutuall crmmerce which hath so long time beene continued betweene our royall progenitors. And as we haue great cause to professe our grateful acknowledgement for many fauors which our former Embassadors and all other our subiects haue and doe receiue from your Royall hands, so in our princely loue we do intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command redresse for diuers oppressions and wrongs done vnto some of our said subiects persons and goods that liue vnder the assurance of your friendship with vs; which we haue formerly signified to our Residents at your Port, but as we verily beleeue, they haue neuer come vnto your eares, which are open to the iust complaints of all strangers: wherof we haue now giuen charge to our seruant and Embassadour to acquaint you with more at large. Vnto whom we desire you to giue protection and credit in what soeuer he shall moue or propound, for the establishing, confirmation, and inlargement in all occasions, of those liberties and priuiledges which our subiects haue antiently enioyed, by the benignitie of your self and of your royall Ancestors; and in all other things and occasions, wherin he hath or shall receiue our commands, as if our self did communicate them with you, which wee doubt not shall redound vnto the great vtilitie and honor of both our Empires. And so we wish you health and true felicitie.

Dated at our royall city of London the sixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1621, and of our reign of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, the nineteenth.

Articles propounded by the Embassador to the grand Signior.

First, his sacred Maiestie of great Brittaine, according to the most noble and renowned League of Amitie betweene your Maiesties, and your Crownes and Dominions, hath commaunded mee to renew the antient Capitulations and Priuiledges granted by your Imperiall Maiestie and your royall Ancestours, and therein to mooue your Maiestie, That you will be pleased to inlarge and extend your fauour vnto our Nation that liue vnder your protection, and to giue remedie to diuers iniuries done vnto them by the Customers of this royall Port, Aleppo, Smyrna, Scio, Patras, and other places, contrary to the iustice and honour of your Maiestie: And to giue order for seuerall commaunds in these places, in all our iust occasions; that both the fame of your justice may bee renowned, and the friendship of your Maiesties confirmed, and the correspondence and commerce betweene your Dominions established and increased.

Secondly, His Maiestie hath commaunded me to offer himselfe as a Mediatour of peace, to accommodate

A *commodate the late breach with the kingdom of Poland: the King of Poland hauing sent his Embassador expresse into England to desire his aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his honor, and to the antient league of friendship, to vse his credit with your Maiestie, to procure the generall quiet and peace of the princes of Christendom; desiring your Maiesty to consider his interest in the publique cause, and not to despise the forces of so many as may partake in the quarrell: which if your Maiesty shal hearken vnto the rather for his sake, as your royall Ancestor hath done in the like occasion, his Maiesty will accept it as a respect of your loue, which will assure and increase the commerce and friendship of your Dominions; in which his Maiestie hath giuen me more particular and full Instructions to treat and mediate in this businesse.*

Thirdly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to moue your Imperiall Maiesty for the release of diuers of III.
B *the Polish Nobilitie, now your captiues; and for one Scottish gentleman, a subiect of his Maiesty my royall Master.*

Fourthly, his Maiestie desires that you will take some order with the pyrats of Tunes and Algiers, who IV.
shelter themselues vnder your royall protection (to the great dishonour of your Maiestie) and doe many robberies vpon the subiects of Kings and princes in amitie and league with your Empire, and take euen the ships sent vnto your royall Port. Admonishing your Maiestie to consider, that if they be suffered to continue, they will occasion the dissolution of all commerce and trade; being common enemies to all honest Merchants, by whom the friendship of these kingdoms are maintained and increased. And that if your Imperiall Maiestie please not to exercise your Royall power and authoritie to bridle or destroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Maiestie with other Princes his Allyes, shall make an army to
C *punish both him and all others that receiue and cherish them: which hath hitherto bin forborne onely in respect of your Maiestie; and that the towns where they harbor themselues are or ought to bee vnder your Imperiall command.*

Fiftly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to require justice and restitution of a great sum of money ta- V.
ken from Arthur Garaway, *here imprisoned by force and iniurie in the time of* Achmet Bassa: *wherof his Maiesties former Embassadors haue complained to Sultan* Achmat *your Maiesties renowned father, and to* Mehemet Bassa *Vizier, to* Hussen Bassa, *to the Hoja of the King, and to the Mufti; wherin your Maiesties most noble father gaue commaund for our satisfaction. All the said great Officers hauing heard the cause, vpon examination giuing their testimonies, of the great wrong don vnto him:* Mehemet Bassa *also writing a letter, by the order of your Maiesties royall father, promising justice and restitution:*
D *which his Maiestie doth yet expect, and again demand. And hauing so often written in this cause, his Maiestie will not beleeue, but that in justice and honor this royall court would do right; imputing the fault to his own Ministers and Embassadors, that they neuer complained to your Imperiall Maiesty, according to his Highnesse command. Also his Maiestie hath commaunded mee to require and desire your Maiestie to giue me your Royall answer in all these particulars, by your letters in writing, as shall be fit for your own honor, and conformable to the antient league of amitie and friendship between your Royall Majesties.*

His Maiesties Embassador not many daies after sent to the Vizier, who had promised him an answer vnto these articles: Who returned him this that followeth.

E To the first he said, That the Emperor his Master had giuen him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any such additions as should be requisit, agreeable to their law, & conformable to their antient league; and that therin the Embassador should finde no difficultie: for they honored his Maiestie, and were resolued to giue him assurance of their will to maintain a true friendship; and therfore desired the Embassador to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and send them to him and the Chancellor, who would consider them, and being such as were fit to be granted, he should haue speedy order. *The grand Signiors answer.*

To the second the Vizier answered with great subtilty; First, iustifying the occasion of the war, and imputing the fault to the Cossackes, maintained by the Pole to rob euen at the port of Constantinople: therfore that the Emperor could not in honor but chasten and destroy
F them, hauing first by message demanded justice against them; and now his Master beeing ingaged with great charge, and in his honor, he could make no peace with them who had beguiled him: pretending that they had no other intention but the war, becausse hauing raised his Camp, and dissolued his Army, the Polacks now scorned him, and kept no faith, neither sending Embassadour nor messenger, no not any letter since their returne. That therefore they could

could not hearken to any condition: and that his Maiestie of great Brittain did not value the grand Signiors honor in this motion. G

To the third he replied, That the motion for the prisoners was vnseasonable, because in order it should follow the general treaty and making peace; which if finished, his Maiestie of great Brittain should finde, that for his sake all those mentioned in the Memorial should be free, except only the prince *Coresky*, who had bin the cause of many troubles, and had made escape from prison formerly.

To the fourth he made protestation in the grand Signiors name against the pirats, offring that his Maiesties Embassador should haue what commands, what message he would desire, in company of any Englishman.

To the fifth hee replied, That it was an old obsolete quarrell, and that the Embassador did him injurie to presse him, when in the time of three former Viziers his predecessors could obtaine no reliefe. Therefore he would not looke backe vpon the actions of other men, nor rake among the bones of the dead; but he desired the Embassador should rest satisfied, That while he had the honor to gouerne, there should no wrong be done vnto the English Nation; and that he would heare all complaints, so as no man should need to looke backe vpon his actions. H

This perfunctory answer did not much satisfie his Maiesties Embassador, but that hee desired some other of effect, being loth to accept of generalities; and therfore required a direct reply for his own discharge. Which was promised after much pressing, by the Visier who had first vndertaken the same. I

1622. The long stay of the Duke of Sbaraskie (chosen extraordinarie Embassadour by the King of Poland, to consummate the peace between him and the grand Signior) did much trouble the Emperors court, and especially the Visier, who procured a cessation of arms, but that a letter was writ by the King of Poland, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the mean time the Emperor divulged a pretence to visit Mecha, the tombe of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrary to the counsell and instance of all his Visiers that knew not the secret, and euen to the hasard of a generall reuolt; for they were jealous, that vnder colour of that voyage he had some other designe; and it was feared, the duke would not proceed to follow him at random, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port. For the Polacks seemed in performing and assuring the peace, a little too glorious of their good successe; and the Nobilitie not so obedient to the King as that he could absolutely command. Which did both trouble their agents at the Port, and discontent the Turkes: so that a little motion of the Cossackes or Tartars at that time (spoil being both their liuelyhoods) had kindled new fires, and had disturbed or quite broken off the treaty. K

In the mean space the grand Signior writ his letter to his Maiesty of great Brittaine, in answer to his royal letter by his Embassador; wherin was contained a satisfactorie reply to all the particulars of those fiue articles deliuered to him: & the grand Signior had such demonstration of great care to giue his Maiesty all content and satisfaction, that his letter was presented to his Embassador with ceremonies of honor, requiring that it should bee sent by an expresse messenger, and gaue command for a safe conduct for that purpose. The true translated copy wherof doth immediatly follow. L

Prince *Osman*, euer victorious.

The grand Signiors letter to his Maiesty of great Brittain.

TO the mightie Prince, renowned amongst the Maiesties of the Princes of the Law of Iesus, *obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Messia, the onely Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren people; Soueraigne of the limits of power and honour; Lord of aduancement and authoritie, the most glorious* Iames, *King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland; to whose last dayes Wee wish all felicitie.* M

THis our Imperiall arriuing you shall know, That your honourable and famous Embassadour Sir Thomas Rowe *is with your Royall and acceptable Letter come vnto our happy Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the world. Wherof the sincere contents and substance was, That our antient Capitulations should be renewed, and diuers Articles therein reformed and explained, and*

some

A *some other inserted. And whereas certaine Customers and other officers of our Empire, haue often transgressed our Royall agreements, and done many violences and injuries to the Merchants your subjects, that for the time to come they may be secured from all oppression: and concerning the affaires of the Polacks, that the enmity and war lightly begun betweene vs and them, might be conuerted into peace and friendship; and that there should be established a sincere league and amity, as in the time of our Ancestors. And that diuers Noblemen of Poland, and one of your Majesties Subjects now detained in our captiuity, should be set at liberty. Complaining also against the Inhabitants of Tunes and Algier, That they who haue violated our Imperiall Capitulations, Amity, and League, ought to be duely punished. And lastly, That whereas one of your subjects named* Arthur Garraway, *from whom vpon a pretension there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done vnto his person, you desire that his cause may be with justice*
B *reuewed: All which being made knowne vnto vs, with prudent and mature deliberation we haue both duely weighed, and perfectly conceiued them. Wherefore by the fauour of the great and prosperous God we do promise, that in all these matters propounded, we will apply our Imperiall care and diligence: And we haue already giuen our high and expresse command, that our antient Capitulations shall be renewed and confirmed. And such conditions as are correspondent to the peace, amity, and league betweene vs, shall in due time be granted. And there shall be sent with all expedition, our Royall Edicts to all our*
(a) *Beglerbegs*, (b) *Beghs* (c) *Cadees, Gouernors, Customers, Farmors, Superintendents, and Commissio-*
ners of our Reuenues, that from henceforth none of them shall giue any molestation to any of your Mer-
chants or other Subjects. And insomuch as our happy gates are euer open to any, who with sincerity seeke
our friendship, good will, and fauour; and the table of our liuely Graces is alwaies prepared for all men:
C *Therefore whensoeuer on the behalfe of the Polacks, an Embassadour shall arriue at our high Court, and kisse the hemme of our vesture, and repent of their former errors, and present vnto vs a good friendship and sincere league, and shall desire our fauour and amity; by the mediation of your Resident now in our Imperiall Port, all matters shall be pacified and ended, and with a pen we will blot out all former differences. And the peace being so established your instances and desires for them shall haue gratefull acceptance with vs, and we will giue fit order for the prisoners.*

(a) *Viceroyes.*
(b) *Presidents.*
(c) *Iudges.*

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunes and Algiers, and to all other our slaues in those parts, we will presently send our expresse and high commands, and other orders, that they shal neuer hereafter trasgresse the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, nor commit any injustice, nor do any violence to the Subjects of your Majesty. And concerning the businesse of the Merchant Arthur Garraway, *wherein you haue informed vs,*
D *that there hath beene taken from him by oppression a great estate and faculty, in the time of our father* Achmat Han *of happy memory (the Vizier* Achmat Bassa *being then Deputy here) vpon pretence that diuers Mussulmens goods were found in his hands: which cause being now ouerpassed many yeares, you require a new hearing and inquisition. By the grace of the great God it shall be reuiewed and examined with all Iustice: in the processe and issue whereof you shall be assured to receiue a right and fit answer from your Embassador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we shall neuer permit, that any the least injury or injustice shall be done to any. Giuing you assurance on our behalfe, that the foundation and nerues of peace, friendship, and league betweene vs, are of vs streightly preserued, continued,*
and encreased: and your amity, correspondency, and loue, is euer respected, esteemed, and pretious with vs.
Therefore in the meane time, while our capitulations are making perfect, and that the full conclusion may
E *be certified vnto you; your Embassadour hauing solicited vs for an answer to the propositions made by you; by an expresse Messenger,* Robert Rowe, *this our Imperiall letter is written and sent vnto you. Which arriuing, we hope that as in times past, the antient, perfect, and acceptable course of friendship, amity, and league, adorned with aboundant sincerity, resplendant loue, and benigne correspondency on your part, hath beene alway obserued and maintained; so it is now also requisite, that you preserue the same affections, with all pure, firme, and constant good will, grace, and goodnesse: or rather that you aduance and encrease therein, as we shall euer do by all sincere waies of loyall friendship and holy peace, nourishing it with our perfect intention and affectionate diligence, neuer admitting any occasion that may be thereunto prejudiciall.*

F *Giuen in our Imperiall City of Constantinople, the first day of the Moneth Gemaziel Achir (or Aprill) in the yeare of the departure of our Prophet* Mahomet *1031; that is,* Anno Christi Dei pari, *1622.*

The Grand Signior discontented since his disgrace in Poland, as soone as he ecame to Constantinople, meditating reuenge vpon his souldiers, and finding that his pretence for Sidon did not relish, gaue out that he would passe into Asia to visit Mecha the tombe of his false Prophet; but hauing secret intelligence with *Delauir Bassa*, he prepared a sele & army of his followers to be ready in Asia, to execute his secret designe. G

The Grand Signior destrous of peace with the Polacke.

To make this voyage the more secure in apparance, hee seemed content to accept of any treaty with the Polacks, euen to conditions both of disaduantage and dishonour, for his estates in Hungary, he re-inforced the frontiers with diuers troups; and though he were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germany and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the Transyluanian, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his tribute. From the incursions of the Cossackes he hoped to assure himselfe by the treaty of the Poles; and in occasion of breach, he had the Tartars ready to requite them; and for more security, he added to the number of his gallies appointed to keepe the Blacke Sea. The common people and Visiers of the Port which loued rest, and knew not the designe, were much troubled and discontent at this journy; and made many remonstances to him of the inconuenience and danger, to leaue the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputy, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the Polackes scarcely reconciled to him, and therefore to be mistrusted. Diuers other reasons were made to him, many petitions deliuered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholy reuenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be persuaded to desist. The souldierie passed so far as to threaten publiquely, and to protest they would not follow, but rather set vp another King in his absence, that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction, hauing first commanded away his Armado to the Leuant, and thereby disposed many of his souldiers, vpon Wednesday the seuenth of May, he began to passe ouer his tents and Pauilions to Asia side, with great quantities of treasure. The Ianizaries and Spahies, who had also secret intelligence vpon the King; his owne words and actions betraying some further proiect than a Pilgrimage (for he made preparations to carry away all his iewels and treasure euen defacing his palace, and taking from Churches, and his Ward-robes whatsoeuer could be conuerted to Bullion) suddenly met at the Hippodrome in the city, vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies, cryed out for their King (hauing first taken order to stop the passage of any thing vpon the water.) Who appearing to them, asked, What this insolency meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the monster) demanded first, That he should not proceed in his purpose to go to Mecha, nor into Asia; but that he would abide in the city. Secondly, they required to haue deliuered to their fury, the great Visier *Delauir Bassa*, the Hoja or Confessor of the King, the Caslariaga, Gouernour of the women, the Deftardar or Treasurer, the Caddeleschar or chiefe Iustice, and some others, as enemies to the State, and consenting to this voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted vnto them, promising to giue ouer his journey; but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second he replied, That it was dishonour to him to haue his seruants torne from him without order of Iustice: but persuaded them to haue patience, to stay vntill Saturday, the next Diuan or publique Councell, where they should appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receiue punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their present fury. These fellowes not content with this moderate answer, vndertooke to know that these officers were guilty, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryall, nor judge, but themselues; and with extreame clamor called to haue them rendered. But the King refusing to giue them any other satisfaction, and they vnprepared for force, returned into the city, which now was all in feare, euery house and shop shut vp, expecting a generall sacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and first went into the house of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But not finding him, they proceeded to the great Visiers, who made some defence, and they (being vnarmed) beat them off; and so they separated, being now euening, but yet kept a guard in some parts of the town. H I K L M

That night the King made an attempt to send ouer to Asia side, but was preuented; and to fortifie

A fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was strongly walled about, and had alway in it of houshold seruants about three thousand: but it seemed no man would arme in his cause: for the next morning the Mutiniers assembled againe, and taking their arms, went first to the Mufti, or Arch-priest among them, and inforced him and diuers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded those officers, but with more instance and fury. In the meane time the Hoja, Cadalescher, and Testerdar fled, and were not in long time discouered. The Visier retired to the King, and persuaded him earnestly to go ouer in person in his owne boats (which from his garden he might easily doe) to Asia, and there to take horse, and hee would secure him from all perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him stay, confident and assured that he would punish these Rebels.

The Ianizaries mutiny against the Grand Signior.

B The wise old man seeing this constancy or obstinacy, desired leaue to shift for himselfe; which he tooke or obtained, and so got away to the hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongst them; who (like himselfe) betraied him, yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the multitude, but persuaded and carried him backe to the Kings house. At this time it was disputed in the Seraglio about the deliuery of those officers; the Emperour refusing, the Rebels clamouring and threatening; insomuch as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage do worse than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent, willing to be the peace offering) the braue Visier went out to them, and with a good assuredneese demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended. At first they were amased; but one insolent villaine breaking the generall modesty, they answered C him with their swords, and suddenly cut him in peeces.

The great Visier slaine by the Ianizaries.

The Emperour seeing their fury so outragious, had now more cause to doubt, and retired himselfe, then too late, when he had lost his faithfull Counsellor; and would haue fled into Asia, but could not, yet he conueyed himselfe into a priuate place prepared by his Bostangi Bassa, or chiefe Gardener. The Rebels continued without in their madnesse, asking for the King, and for more sacrifices. But the seruants protesting they knew not where he was, they said they must haue a King, and if he would not appeare, they would make another: and hauing a while attended, they resolued to enter the Palace (but first tooke a generall oath not to sacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their House and their Honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to finde him, they extorted by confession the Caslariaga, and slew D him; and then they demanded for *Mustapha*, vncle to *Osman*, by him formerly deposed, a man esteemed rather holy (that is, franticke) than wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter. The King the first day of this tumult had put *Mustapha* into a vault with two Negro women, without bread or drinke; in which estate these new electors found him, almost naked, and halfe pined. At first sight he thought they had beene the messengers of death: but that feare passed ouer, and his first request was a cup of water. Whom they tooke vp, and instantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loth to accept, in a manner ashamed to be raised to that dignity. How vnstable are the estates of the greatest Princes! for he that was but euen now in the jawes of death, naked, starued, and dying for thirst, is become a great Monarch, may drinke gold, or the bloud of innocents.

The Ianizaries demand Mustapha.

E The souldiers as yet not knowing what was become of *Osman*, and loth to trust *Mustapha* in the palace, carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the sacke of the Visiers house, and so in the euening to their Rendeuous, where they kept both good guard and good order in the city, from fires and other insolencies. Sultan *Osman* amased with these newes, so soone as they had left the court, came out, and called to councell in the night *Huzein Bassa* late Visier in the Polish war, and the Aga of the Ianizaries, both faithfull to him, and demanded their aduice: first hauing sent to the old Seraglio, to practise the women there to strangle *Mustapha*; but some of them taking his part, a new vprore began in the house between that Sex; and the soldiers that kept watch hearing the noise, entred in and rescued him, & from thence remoued him to the chambers of the Ianizaries, where they garF ded him for that night in an ill lodging. All this while, *Osman* consults what course to take. These two his friends, and some others, tell him that the case was desperat, and could not be cured but by a desperat remedy: and therefore they agreed, that the Aga should go and persuade with the Mufti; and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himselfe to

the soldiers at their owne dore, and make experience what his presence, his submission, and his beneuolence promised, could worke, to moue them to loyalty or compassion. Which counsell early in the morning they put in practise. The King accompanied with the Mufti (who neuer consented to his deposing, though he fauoured the souldiers against the Visier) with *Huzein Bassa*, and about twelue horsmen, went directly to the Ianizaries Colledge, where *Mustapha* was kept, and there in teares made them an oration; offering great recompence, repenting of his errour, and finally inuoked them by the merits of his father and all his Ancestors, to haue some pity vpon their true Master. The multitude (*tam prona in misericordiam quam immodica sæuitia fuerat*; sometime as prone to pitty as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a silent murmure ran among them, and they were halfe conuerted: but the Aga of the Ianizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnseasonably for him, with some harsh words of vpbraidure (*vt natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as the nature of the sea is to swell with euery blast of winde) anew moued their fury, so that they cried out *Treason*, and fell vpon him and *Huzein Bassa* and cut them into peeces, euery man taking a part of their flesh to satiate their reuenge. The Mufti would speake, but was withdrawne by some, for respect to his place, and with difficulty conueied away. Now the poore *Osman* saw his friends slaine, and knew not which way to conuert himselfe, but binding vp his eies with a napkin, expected death as the last of their fury. But they carried him first before *Mustapha*, and accused him as the disturber of the peace of the Empire, and demanded sentence against him (*More vulgi suum quisque flagitium alijs obiectans.*) The forsaken Prince pleaded for life, and the new King knew not how to condemne, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At last they consulted with themselues, and put him vpon an horse (an insolent Spahy changing turbants with him) and sent him away prisoner to the seuen towers, vnder good gard (in his passage begging a draught of water at a fountaine) and then returned to their new master, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperiall Throne; where he had need to haue good broaths and nourishment to restore his decayed body.

Daout Bassa strangleth Sultan Osman in prison.

The souldiers now thought all was done, and (only sacking the houses of *Huzein Bassa* and some others their conceiued enemies) returned in quiet to their seuerall lodgings, and had no further malice. But the new Visier *Daout Bassa*, made by *Mustapha*, knew well, if *Osman* liued, that this storme might passe ouer, and he would as easily, and by the same means returne to his estate, as he fell from it (*vulgus vt mos est cuiusque noui motus cupidum:*) Therefore he consulted with some few interessed in *Mustapha's* preferment, and thereby obnoxius to *Osman*, to search how many of the Royall bloud were left aliue, and resolued if there remained two, to make an end of *Osman*. Two of his brothers were found, the one about thirteene, the other about nine yeares of age: and thereupon the Visier went himselfe to the prison with a packe of hangmen, and gaue order to strangle the vnfortunate Prince: who now hauing had no rest in two nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a season, was newly falne asleep: but awaked by the comming of these messengers, asked, *What newes?* and blaming their sudden intrusion, they at first stood amazed, and the King made shew to defend himselfe; but a strong knaue strooke him on the head with the battle-axe, and the rest leaping vpon him, strangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greatest Monarchs in the World was first affronted by mutined troups, his owne slaues, almost vnarmed, and few in number, no man taking vp a sword to defend him: and they who began this madnesse, not meaning to hurt him, by the increase of their owne fury, which had no bounds, deposed him against their owne purpose, and at last exposed his life, against their will, to the counsels of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freshly, as they raged vnreasonably; knowing they had stained their honour, being the first of their Emperors they euer betraied, and that they had set vp another that in all likelihood they must change for disability. *Nunquan tulit documenta fors majora quam fragili loco starent superbi.*

This was the last act of the life of Sultan *Osman*; but his intents and great designes, which drew vpon him this fatall blow, will not be vnworthy the communication: the practises, reasons, secrets, and counsels, of all actions, being the soule of History, and *res gesta* but the bare carkasse: and, as many ages haue not produced so strange an example of the incertainty of humane greatnesse, so in the disposition thereof, and in the waies leading thereunto, there was

seene

A seene euidently the wonderful prouidence of God, in confounding the counsels of the worldly wise, who had laid a foundation of new greatnes, wherby this Prince aspired the vniuersall Monarchy. And the world may see vpon how weake foundations this Monarchy was at first builded, how easily it was now shaken & corrupted; how their Kings are subject to the rage of a few slaues, how Anarchy hath prepared in as easie prey to any able hand that would attempt it. From the inuasion of Poland all these changes tooke their beginning. Sultan *Osman* aduanced to the throne in his youth, full of heat and bloud, being of a great and haughty spirit, very couragious, strong of body, and a mortall hater of Christians, enuious of the glory of his ancestors, and ambitious to raise his name aboue any of theirs, had projected in himselfe the conquest of the remaines of the bordering Europe. But to so great designes, *The Grand Signior his designe to conquer Europe.*

B he had one vice that resisted all hope of prosperity, which was extreme auarice; vnnaturall to youth, and a symptome of the decrepit age of Monarchy: *Vbi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem disciplinam & instituta majorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res militaris melius stetit.* His first enterprise was that of Poland, moued by the incursions of the Cossackes; which then he vndertooke of his owne head, without the counsell of any of his Visiers (who in a tyranny grown to a height by ease, and wealth, are euer corrupt and lazie) and against the liking of all the souldiers, who (contrary to their institution, being married and fathers of families, entered into trades, receiuing nothing in war more than in peace, besides danger and trauell) are not easily drawne from their owne chimnies. This action he thought so easie, as he had disposed of his conquest, and diuided the liue lyons skinne. But being met vpon the

C borders with a poore army in comparison, he was first arrested at Chotyn, a little fortresse; which hee was faine to leaue behinde him vntaken; and then seeking to aduance into the plaine country, by forcing the trenches of the Chancellor of Poland opposed against him, he could neuer procure his Ianizaries to fight, though ingaging his person once or twice beyond the regard of his quality, and his owne troupes ready to mutine against him, or to forsake him; hee was at last enforced shamefully to raise his campe, and to accept of any treaty to saue his outward honour. In this attempt hee lost aboue a hundred thousand horses for want of fodder, and eighty thousand men for want of fighting: for they would rather die running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the enemy. For this disgrace he conceiued so inward, and rooted an indignation against the Ianizaries, and so justly, that he often lamented

D himselfe, and complained, that he was no King that was subject to his own slaues, vpon whom he spent great treasures, and yet they would neither fight in war, nor obey in peace, without exacting new bounties and priuiledges. *Delauir Bassa*, a man of great wit and courage, lately called from the Easterne parts, where he had long gouerned with honor, who came in though late, yet in a very braue and warlike equipage, aboue all other his captains, was suddenly made great Visier, the former *Huzein Bassa* being in the same disgrace common with the souldier, though not in the same fault. This man was neuer bred at Court, but had liued many yeares in action, and so had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but stood vpon himselfe and his owne merit: and being now vnexpectedly aduanced to this high dignity, he wrought vpon the Kings discontent, and nourished it: and in conclusion brake with him, That it was

E true he was no Emperor, nor could be safely aliue, while the Ianizaries had the power which they lately vsurped. Informing him, That they were corrupted from their antient institution, and were lazie cowards, giuen ouer to ease and lust: *Et animi per libidines corrupti nihil honestum remanet.* But if his Majesty would pull vp his spirits, and follow his aduice, hee would prouide him a new soldiery about Damascus, of the Coords, men euer bred in the frontier, with hardnesse and warre, of great courage and experience; and that of them he should erect a new *Militia*, that should wholly depend of him, entertaining forty thousand in pay, which should alway be his guard: and that in the distribution of euery Prouince, he should constitute that the Begler-begh in his gouernment should traine some of the inhabitants, who in all occasions of making a great army, should be in readinesse, and thereby he should spare

F infinite treasures spent vpon these drones that eate vp his estate; and with men of new spirits and hopes, he should be enabled to do greater matters than any of his ancestors: but withall he desired the King to communicate this counsell to no man; nor to trust his life vpon anothers secrecy. *Delauir Bassa* neuer reuealing himselfe to any but the King, who extremely

pleased

pleased with this aduice, that flattered his owne humour, consented, and remitted all to the G
Visiers direction, who was a true souldier, and a very wise man, able by his credit in Asia, to performe all he had vndertaken: for he was exceedingly beloued in those parts, very rich, and had kept Damascus, whereof he was Gouernour, for himselfe in a late rebellion. Vpon this conclusion betweene them, it was first agreed, That the King should pretend to go in person either to visit Mecha, or against the *Emir de Sidon*, who was moued to take armes really to assist in the designe; but they vsed it to colour the departure of the Emperour: which when it was well weighed, was found, that then the army of the Ianizaries must be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the journey of the pilgrimage was divulged, That the King might vnder the shadow of an holy deuotion goe out with a small traine, and disperse those who were suspected to him. And for this, preparation was made, H
but somewhat too grossely, by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of house, Lampes of Churches, and whatsoeuer could more easily be conueied away in mettall, with all the jewels and treasury. This gaue the first suspition, which was confirmed by diuers vnaduised words let fall from the King; of disdaine against the cowardise of the Ianizaries, and that he would shortly finde himselfe souldiers that should whip them: and lastly, dismissing all his household, except some few select; the discontented sort obserued this and betraied him. *Delauir Bassa* kept his own secret, and in the mean time prepared by his friends in Asia twenty thousand men; about Damascus ten thousand, from the Coords as many, besides those in readinesse of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all vpon pretence of defending the borders of Persia, who might take some aduantage of the changes in those parts: and gaue order, That all these I
should meet the King at Damascus, where hee would presently cut off his guard and stay there, vntill he had regulated his new army and discipline, and then to returne triumphant to Constantinople, and vtterly root out the order of Ianizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to exaucthorate all their captaines and officers, to settle a new Gouernment, and to change the name of the city. And these things succeeding, hee then resolued with his new souldiers to attempt the recouery of his honour in Christendome; in the meane time to hold a dissembled friendship there in all parts. Certainely, this was a braue and well grounded designe, and of great consequence for renewing of that decaied Empire, languishing vnder the insolencies of lazie slaues, if God had not destroied it: it being very true, That the Turkish Emperour stands at the deuotion of his owne troupes for peace, or war, life, or death, and is in K
effect nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of the Ianizaries. If this project had taken effect, what euents it might haue produced by a ciuill war, is not easie to judge. For doubtlesse the souldiory would haue set vp another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and the Europeian part had beene in danger to haue beene to me away by the diuision. Besides, *Delauir Bassa* hauing the King and the treasury in his possession, and his owne credit so great, and his inclination *velle imperare*, so willing to beare rule, once discouered, it might well be thought that hee had some ends of his owne to share a part of this mighty estate: if on the other side the Visier had proued true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the discipline of war, and the encrease of treasure consequent to the dismission of the old *Militia*, would haue beene fearefull to all Christendome; but *Vbi est sapiens? vbi disquisitor sæculi hujus? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium.* It is a great L
question whether then were the wiser wish, That these counsels had succeeded, or not: for either diuision or subuersion, or a new prosperity and enlargement of their dominion had necessarily followed.

Obseruations vpon Sultan Osman.

Some obseruations vpon this occasion, will not bee impertinent, to those that desire to know as well the disposition and vse, as the things themselues. First in the purpose of the souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much lesse to depose and murder him; but only to take away those about him whom they thought assistants in this project: yet the fury once on foot, they proceeded by insensible steps, to the vttermost of outrage, against many innocents in that businesse (though otherwise obnoxious) and against the throne and life of M
their owne Emperour, *Vbi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadère*; where rage and fury hath got the vpper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly, in the degrees; that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if first he had not lost that awe and reuerence which

alway

A alway attendeth vpon Majeſty, if it be kept vp; by vnſeemly offices done by him in the ſtreets and Tauernes, apprehending many ſoldiers for petty faults; like a Conſtable, making his perſon common, cheape, and deſpiſed amongſt them; which was wont only to be ſeene and feared, as ſomewhat aboue humane greatneſſe. And this he did alſo in hatred and diſdaine of thoſe that had in the warre forſaken him. And now in this laſt act, if his owne obſtinacy had not plunged him into deſtruction, but that he had ſoftened them by a reaſonable yeelding to time, he had preuailed onely by time. Thirdly in the order, that theſe mutiniers hauing no head or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their fury, in hot bloud, in the Kings yard, not to diſhonour, ſpoile, nor ſacke the Imperiall Throne; neither committed nor ſuffered any inſolence nor violence in the city to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed peace
B and juſtice. Fourthly in the conſequents, that at the third daies end all was quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no ſuch thing had hapned; only the Ianizaries ſuffered no Diuan nor Counceil vntill they had receiued a Donatiue as guerdon of their iniquity. In which alſo the infinite waſte of treaſure is worthy your conſideration, which was exceedingly exhauſted by three changes in foure yeares, and by the late warres in Perſia and Poland; for euery Ianizary, abſent or preſent (whoſe rolle was about forty thouſand) receiued twenty fiue Checquines of gold; beſides the Spahies, Iamoglans, and other Orders, at euery alteration: which amounts in all neer to two millions. And now thoſe fellows that had taſted the ſweet of proſperous mutinies (*haud ignari ſumma ſcelera incipi cum periculo peragi cum præmio*) tooke ſuch a head as could not ſafely be ſuffered on, nor ſecurely be taken off. Fifthly, of certaine preſages
C that fore ran: for *Oſman* dreamed in the night, *That he rid a Camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to goe by faire meanes nor ſtripes: and that then diſcending in a rage to reuenge it with his ſword, the body of the beaſt vaniſhed, and left the bridle and head in the Kings hand.* Who next day troubled at this fancy, ſent to a learned man familiar with him, for the interpretation. He excuſed himſelfe, as vnfit to giue opinion in a matter of that conſequence; but perſuaded *Oſman* to enquire of the Mufti. He alſo craued pardon; but withall ſaid, there was none ſo fit to interpret it as *Muſtapha* the Kings vncle, who was eſteemed a holy man, that had viſions and Angel-like ſpeculations (in plaine tearmes, betweene a mad man and a foole.) The King repaired to *Muſtapha*, who briefely told him, *The* Camell *ſignified his Empire: his* riding, *abuſe in gouernment: his* deſcention *or* alighting, *his depoſing: the* vaniſhing of his Body, *the reuolt of*
D *his Subjects: the* Head remaining in his hand, *only a bare title; and that he ſhould ſhortly die within a few moneths, and loſe his king dome, onely the empty name of Emperour ſhould accompany him to his graue.* A ſecond of leſſe conſequence in the Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*; with whom his Majeſties Embaſſadour hauing contracted particular friendſhip, about ſix daies before this vprore, he went to viſit; and hauing no other buſineſſe but to perſuade him to ſtay the King from this intended pilgrimage, the Embaſſadour gaue him many reaſons in the preſent eſtate of their owne affaires; eſpecially, the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Baſſa replied very grauely. Then the Embaſſadour vrged the feare of ſome tumult, collected from the licentious ſpeeches rumoured in the towne: And he was bold to deale plainely, ſincerely, and friendly, That if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, the fault would be imputed to the Baſſa, as
E being of authority to perſuade the King; whom his quality and youth would excuſe, but all the fury would be diſcharged vpon the greateſt Miniſter: deſiring him to conſider the euent, at leaſt to take his affection in the beſt part.

The Engliſh Embaſſadors aduice to Delauir Baſſa.

The old *Reinard* ſtaied a while from reply: at laſt, ſmiling to himſelfe, that he ſhould be perſuaded againſt that which was his owne counſell, he gaue a finall anſwer, That there was no remedy, he durſt not hazard himſelfe to oppoſe the Kings reſolution: but aſſured him he would ſo order the matter, as this journey ſhould not proceed ſo farre as was expected. The Embaſſadour concluded for himſelfe, deſiring then that he would leaue him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputy as his friend. To which he ſuddenly replied,
F *Trouble not your ſelfe, nor feare; I will neuer remoue ſo farre but that I will leaue one of my legges in this city to ſerue you.* Which the poore man fulfilled; for being murthered within few daies after, one of his legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the moſt publike place of the city.

The Baſſaes reply.

The reading of Hiſtory, to know what is done and paſt, hauing in it no recompence but delight,

delight, vnleſſe it looke foreward to vſe and action, either to correct errours, or by that light G
to gather aduantage in future, it will not be an vnprofitable degreſſion to obſerue what was
like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous alterations. It was feared, by contemplatiue men, that the
ſouldiers in Aſia, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit downe with this affront, but rather
attempt ſome reuenge for the death of the King, who was their martyr: or that ſome great
Baſſa, farre remoued from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an vſurper, ſet
vp by treaſon; and vnder that colour to hide his owne ambition: or laſtly, that the whole
State would fall into combuſtion, and inteſtine warre. This they themſelues foreſaw, and it
came to paſſe, as will appeare in the ſtory; for within few moneths *Abaſſa Baſſa* of Arzirum
declared himſelfe reuenger of his Princes bloud, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the
whole Empire. The Perſian apprehended the opportunity, and recouered the Prouince and H
City of Babylon: and the ſame ſoldiers that had betraied their Prince, were neuer quiet vntill
they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his brother and right heire: only it pleaſed not
God to open the eies of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the inconuenience of their owne vnciuill
quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mighty Empire did inuite to conquer it, and to diuide
it as a proſtituted prey.

A practiſe to murther the brethren of Sultan Oſman.

On Saturday euening the firſt of Iune following, the Capi-Aga or Major Domo of the Se-
raglio, hauing receiued a ſecret order to remoue the brethren of *Oſman* from their lodgings,
and in the night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his command, aided with a few of his
carnifices to carry away the Princes, they cryed out: the Pages running to the noiſe, and in-
couraged by the Caſlariaga, who had ſome ſuſpition, without further examination killed the I
Capi-Aga, now almoſt euery Order hauing riſen againſt his owne head. That night they
ſent ſecretly to the Ianizaries and Spahies, to enforme them what they had done; and in the
morning early hanged his body in the Hippodrome for a publike ſpectacle. The ſouldiers
returned in fury to the Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe that
had conſented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; only this
Muſtapha being left aliue, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not people the World with
ſinners, nor endure any woman neere him. The innocent King proteſted he knew nothing of
this purpoſe: and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was
eaſily beleeued. But his mother, another *Liuia*, and the new Viſier, *Daout Baſſa*, who had her
daughter to wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell; but the ſol- K
diers would ſuffer none, vntill they had an account of this treaſon. The Viſier denied all;
the mother was a woman, and hidden in the houſe: yet it is very likely they both were guil-
ty, to vphold and ſecure their owne authority; it being rumoured, that the Viſier determined
to place ſubditiouſly in the roome of the elder Prince his owne ſonne, and very like him, and
ſo to gouerne *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remoue to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his race for
euer. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the people; therefore *Daout Baſſa* was de-
graded from his office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arriued from the gouernment of Cairo,
aduanced to his place, with promiſe of further examination. But the fury once ouer, there
was no great ſearch nor diſcouery made, for perhaps the Sultana's Chequines quieted the
matter. The new Viſier was a man without friends, yet very rich, of a ſtubborne and obſti- L
nate nature, reported juſt in his waies, but peremptory and vnflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout ani-
mum intendit, pravus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whom all men might expect much
good, or much ill: he began his gouernment roughly, and vndertooke to puniſh inſolencies
early, and profeſſed a reformation, or to be a ſacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were
deſperate: for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure their fury. In the meane time he pro-
cured a little awe, and reſtored the face of juſtice: yet it was thought it could not laſt long,
the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt vntill there were ſome *parentalia* made vnto him. The
nature of the Viſier was vnſupportable; but if he preuailed, and were once ſetled, he reſolued
anew to change the King, and lay an obligation vpon the brethren of *Oſman*; for he did
neuer thinke himſelfe ſecure vnder a man gouerned by an inſolent woman, *dominandi auide*, M
deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could hee haue in that Prince, in whom there was no
judgement, neither loue, nor hatred, but as it was infuſed? and though the particulars could
not be foreſeene, nor where the ſore would breake out, yet the whole body was ſicke, their

King

A King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a child vnfit for action, and all the great men and ſoldiers decayed, mutined, and corrupted.

In the mean time the Duke of Sbarasky came neer vnto the borders of the Turkiſh empire, and ignorant of thoſe great changes which had happened, ſent a ſeruant with a Letter to the dead Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*, with whom only the Poles had treaty. The contents were, That the King of Poland had ſent him to conclude a peace, vpon ſuch conditions as were agreed vpon by the Viſier and the Commiſſioners of Poland, ſigned on both parts; but that it was reported vpon the death of the grand Signior, That the new Gouernment had varied from ſome of them: That he had no other inſtructions to intreat anew, but if he would giue his word to the Engliſh Embaſſador, that there was no alteration in the intents of peace, he was ready to ſet
B forward on his journey. This letter receiued by the new Viſier was Greek to him, who was lately come from Cairo, and vnderſtood no article nor piece of the buſineſſe: Which was ſo ſecretly carried by *Delauir Baſſa*, that Sultan *Oſman* and he being dead, there was no man had ſo much as a copy, or knew the ſubſtance of that agreement. So that the Viſier giuing good words, aſhamed to confeſſe his ignorance, promiſed all things, but knew not what to write in particular anſwer, and therfore was at a ſtand. The meſſenger neuertheleſſe importuned a diſpatch, the which he had in general terms, and ſo returned again to the Duke his Maſter vpon the confines.

With this Nuntio the Duke wrot to Sr *Thomas Rowe*, and being very doubtfull to intangle himſelfe in this vnſetled gouernment, deſired him both to counſell him, and to tel the Viſier
C that he would not aduance, vnleſſe hee might receiue ſuch aſſurance of ſafety and publique faith, as that he might ingage his credit to him: hoping therby to haue both aſſiſtance & witnes in all his proceeding. Which gaue the Viſier occaſion to intreat the Engliſh Embaſſador, both to promiſe for the good vſage of the Duke, and to haſten him, and alſo to informe himſelfe by him, of the ſubſtance of the Treaty of Chotyn. Which being by him vndertaken, it turned to the great aduantage of both, eſpecially of the peace it ſelf.

Prince Coresky ſtrangled in priſon.

The 17 of Iune in the morning, the Prince *Coresky* one of the Lords of Poland, taken priſoner in the late war, recommended by his Maieſtie of great Britaine, who had formerly made an eſcape from the Turks captiuitie, was ſtrangled in priſon after two years of durance. This put all into murmur and deep conſideration, for what politique end this ſhould be don, euen
D when they themſelues deſired a peace with the Pole, and yet neuertheleſſe did that which might vtterly breake it. But it ſeemed they were at that time either caried with a brutiſh furie, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by intimation, that his remuant nature would neuer ſuffer the peace long to continue between the Crowne of Poland and the Grand Signior.

The Viſier attempts to depoſe Muſtapha.

The Viſier (who cauſed this Polack prince to be ſtrangled) vpon ſome ſpleene towards the Aga or chief captain of the Ianizaries, took this occaſion to caſt the fault on him, and to caſſier him, and ſent him to the Iſlands to be ſtrangled; & gaue order to murder ſome other Baſſa's and officers, that therby way being made to depoſe the Emperor *Muſtapha*, to ſet vp *Morat* the child, and brother of *Oſman*, many being of his party. Wherupon the ſoldiers roſe all in
E arms at the Seraglio, taking the alarm at the medling with their Aga, reſcued their Captaine and the reſt, and demanded the head of the Viſier. Wherupon he fled, and order was giuen to kil him where he could firſt be ſound. The ſoldiers alſo required the life of *Morat* Aga cuſtomer, and diuers others: but for feare of other complices they durſt ſearch no further into the conſpiracie; only the Viſiers houſe was ſacked and infinit treaſure taken; ſo as the ſoldier was quieted for a day or two, by making a new Viſier, *Muſtapha Baſſa*, who was of a ſoft nature, and ſcarce durſt do juſtice for fear of offending any man. Now a new faction was made betweene *Muſtapha* and *Morat*, and it was expected hourly when there ſhould be ſome great ſlaughter or maſſacre in the city; for of neceſſitie one ſide muſt fall.

There was then no ſecuritie for any man, when the King and Viſiers and all Officers held
F their liues and dignities at the courteſie of the mutined ſouldier, who had taſted the ſweet of rebellion, and caſt off all awe and reuerence, and could not eaſily be reduced to order, without much bloud and haſard of the whole. Therfore the wiſer men retired from Office and imployment, and the inſufficient did cauſe their owne daily change and ruine. The ſouldier

adhered to the King of their own creation, and hee was in effect their creature, for they did G
wholly gouern him. But the lawyers and church-men made ſecret conuentions, and ſtill pra-
ctiſed ſome great alteration; and feared not to ſay openly, That the foundation of their State
was diſſolued, the king vnlawful, and all that had adhered vnto him lapſed into hereſie, hauing
deſpiſed the inſtitutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wiſe counſels, and held a large corre-
ſpondencie with thoſe of their own coat, and ſpread their confederacie to all parts of the Em-
pire, to procure a faction, and kindle a greater fire than that of the ſoldiers: for at Bagdat the
captain of the Ianizaries roſe and ſlew the Baſſa, burnt the Mufti and all his kin, and gaue his
daughter in mariage to one *Aſlan Begh*, a pretender to the antient inheritance of a bordering
prouince, to cantonize that part. All Aſia was in doubt whom to obey, and Cairo was eaten
vp with oppreſſion: and that which was moſt dangerous, they had no ſence of the ſicknes in H
the court, wherby to cure it, nor any of them ſo wiſe as to diſſemble it.

The Prince of Tranſylvania's Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The 22 of Auguſt the extraordinary Embaſſador of *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſylvania
ariued at Conſtantinople; who amongſt other inſtructions had order to excuſe his Maſter,
and to declare the reaſons why he had made peace with the Emperor without the knowledge
of the Port: which were, That the war had continued three years in the kingdom of Hungarie,
and had ſo conſumed and deſolated the country, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtay longer
in the field and to maintain an army, for the great famin and ſcarcitie of all things which the
ſoldiery ſuffered, and could from no place be ſupplied: ſo that if he had not accepted of peace
offered, he had bin forced to quit the country of neceſſitie, and by his ſeeming flight haue left
the enemy victor. Therfore he was conſtrained to win time, and to return into Tranſylvania I
to refreſh his men of war, and to re-inforce them: as alſo his own preſſing affaires calling him
back, his brother whom he had left Gouernour in his abſence, hauing aduiſed him, That the
king of Poland, by the inſtigation of the emperor, by intelligence with ſome of the principal
Lords, did practiſe a reuolt, and promiſed aid to make a new prince that ſhould wholy depend
vpon the Empire and Poland. Laſtly, ſeeing the grand Signior had ſuddenly concluded a
peace with the Poles, he feared he ſhould be left alone to the burthen of the war, in which the
King of Poland being at eaſe might aſſiſt the Emperor, which he was not able to ſuſtain: ther-
fore he was content to take the opportunitie to accept of that at the inſtance of the emperor,
which he ſhould haue bin forced to do by neceſſitie.

Yet afterward, although he made this apologie for his maſter for concluding a peace, hee K
aſſured the Port, that his maſter meant not long to keep the ſame: informing them, That the
Emperour had made a league (being at that time quiet in Germany) to inuade the *Ottoman*
Empire; perſuading the Port to grant a Commiſſion, with full power and authoritie to him
and the Baſſa of Buda (who had bin twenty years in that charge, and knew all the borders) if
they ſaw it fit, to preuent the Enemy, and to inuade the Empire, or the kingdome of Poland.
This demand was made by *Gabor* to inſinuate with the ſtate of Turky, and to get a power dor-
mant into his hands, to aduance into Hungarie if he ſaw aduantage, or to oblige the Empe-
rour; and to aſſure the peace, by hauing means not to care if it were broken. But the grand
Signior finding himſelfe, by reaſon of Ciuile diſtractions at home, vnfit for a Warre abroad,
and that they ſaw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his owne de- L
ſignes and fortune, his Embaſſadors Propoſitions began to be altogether ſleighted and neg-
lected.

The Poland Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The Duke of Sbarasky, who came to conclude the peace betweene his Maſter the King of
Poland, and the grand Signior, after long delay vpon the confines did at length arriue at the
Port, but they made him ſtay fiue weekes before he could haue audience, forcing him to giue
a Preſent, contrary to his Inſtructions. Notwithſtanding he could not get them to enter in-
to a Treaty, finding nothing but falſehood and vncertaintie amongſt them, no promiſe nor
faith kept, no priſoners deliuered, nor indeed any thing at all performed: for now that they
had him within their liberties, they hoped to worke their owne ends, and to wearie him out,
who had twelue hundred of his ordinary traine. They threatened to keepe him, and to M
denounce a War againſt his Maſter: yet by the mediation of the Engliſh Embaſſadour, the
Miniſters of the Port and he were pieced again, and the peace concluded, as ſhall be herafter
ſet down at large.

After

A After many difficulties to obtaine admiſſion to the preſence of the grand Signior, cauſed by the forwardneſſe of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, then in the place of *Muſtapha* depoſed (who diſcouering that the duke would complain againſt *Tomſha* Vayuod of Valachia, and his creature, endeauored by al fraud, cunning, threatning, and faſtidious delayes, to diuert him from that purpoſe, being loth that the actions of him whom hee had foſtered and maintained in many tyrannies, eſpecially in the occaſion of the laſt Warre, ſhould be examined or layd open to juſtice) when hee ſaw that nothing could preuail, but that he muſt haſard a direct breach, by the diſcontent of the duke; and that the people began to murmur, and the Engliſh Embaſſador to proteſt him; he was admitted, and nobly receiued according to the pompous cuſtom of that court; who with his letter of Credence ſpake theſe following words:

B

The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky to the grand Signior.

SIgiſmund *by the grace of God, King of Poland, Sweden, Gothia, Vandalia, great Duke of Lituania, and of many other prouinces Prince and Lord: To your moſt renowned Maieſty, moſt mighty emperor of Aſia and Europ, and King of many kingdoms and prouinces, euer moſt happy, wiſheth health; and by me his great Embaſſador ſalutes you with all conuenient reuerence and honor: deſiring to your Maieſtie*

C *from the moſt high God, fulneſſe of all proſperitie, happineſſe, long life, triumph aboue your Anceſtours, Princes worthy of all memorie.*

HIs high Maieſty of Poland, *conſidering the depth and highth of the Decrees of the great God, marueling with all the world, and praiſing his high name, doth comfort and ioy himſelfe, beeing more than certaine, That that Eternall power which hath preſerued your Maieſtie from all euill deſtinies of men, and from the bowels of the earth, and hath placed you in this ſhining Throne, hath not done it but for the publique good. And like a wiſe Gardener, who hath weeded out all venomous and noyſom plants, that he hath placed your Maieſtie in their roome, as a noble and ſweet ſmelling floure, full of vertue, clemencie, and peace, deſired of all the world. His Maieſty my Lord and Soueraigne hath alwaies wiſhed,*

D *That not onely the actions of later yeares, but of many Ages paſt, might haue beene forgotten; and that that friendſhip and peace begun with the renowned* Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more yeares ſince, might haue beene without interruption continued. But ſeeing that the great God hath beene pleaſed to chaſtiſe the people of both parts, by the meanes of wicked men, that muſt be accepted for good, which commeth from his Diuine will. And therefore blotting out of memory whatſoeuer is paſt, doth now returne to deſire the continuance of the firſt antient peace, and doth offer himſelfe vnto your high Maieſtie to keepe it inviolable, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan* Amurath *of happy memorie. In*

E *witneſſe of which his ſinceritie, he hath not apprehended the opportunitie of the breach begun by the Perſian, the expiration of the truce with the German Emperour, nor the many reuolts and troubles in Aſia, nor hearkned to the inſtigations of many Chriſtian Princes his friends and allyes, nor to the Tartar diſcontented: but rather hauing refuſed all other wayes, hath with the bloud of his own ſubiects, and the charge of his purſe, regained from the Rebell Valachia, Moldauia, and a part of Tranſyluania, and rendered thoſe Prouinces into the hands of your Maieſties father, and ſuffered no man at any time to diſturbe on that ſide the friends of your Empire; giuing intelligence like a good friend and neighbour to your Anceſtours, of all your Enemies deſignes and machinations, and in as much as was poſſible, endeauoured to preſerue a good peace and friendſhip; which he offereth vnto your ſerene Maieſty; contenting himſelfe with the Capitulations which were treated at Chotyn, and thoſe of your moſt happy father and brother; praying your Maieſty that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Maieſtie will reſtraine the Tartars, as he will do the Coſſackes, and that you will ſuffer no occaſion of kindling new fires, he beſeecheth your Maieſtie to doe what juſtice you thinke meet, vpon* Cantemir *and* Tomſha,

F *who contrary to the agreements and publique faith, hath made ſpoile and new incurſions into Poland, euen ſince my departure from thence, and with many deceits and falſe deuices haue deſired to diſturbe the happie beginnings of accommodation. And ſeeing that by the antient Capitulations made with the moſt warlike Sultan* Solyman, *and his ſucceſſors the father and brother of your Maieſty, the prouinces of Mol-*

dauia, the Bassaes of Silistria, and the Beghes of Ackirman ought to keepe the passages of the Riuers to G
restraine the Tartars; and that those now in possession of those Gouernments are already knowne, and
growne old in their rapine and spoile, the King my Lord desireth your renowmed Majesty, that they may
be dismissed, and their Prouinces giuen to some others more enclined in peace. For Cantemir, *it is a*
true rule obserued, That one Tartar can hardly gouerne another, where both liue vpon spoile: and how
easily vpon any occasion new troubles are apprehended by those who are antient enemies, I leaue to your
Highnesse wisedome; in which his Majesty is so assured, that he doubteth not, that for the publike good,
and for the complaints, and teares of both subiects, you will also vouchsafe to accept the request of your
friend, and a King your neighbor. And if all the World, and the people thereof rejoyce, and praise God of
the friendship and peace betweene your Majesty and the King my Master begun and concluded, he hopeth H
that the poore and miserable prisoner shall participate of your clemency, that they may joyne in the general
care to pray to the eternall God for encrease of your greatnesse. The King my Master doth therefore de-
sire your Majesty to grant liberty to those who are in your captiuity, as he bindeth himselfe to set free all
such of your Majesties subiects, as are now his prisoners; and I do promise on the behalfe of my Master,
that he shall be a friend to your friends, and an enemy to your enemies. In conclusion, he desireth all hap-
pinesse and prosperity to your Majesty from a cleere heart; in signe and testimony whereof, and of the
friendship begun on his part, he honoureth you with a Present, which you may be pleased to receiue with
your accustomed benignity; and shutting your eares to such enformers, enemies of peace, as are found at
your Port, that you will esteeme him a friend and neighbour of the most royall and antient Kings of your
most Princely Family.

I

The souldiers continued still in their mutinous disposition, euen in Constantinople the head city of the Turkish Empire, and grew to that height of insolency, that going in troups to the court, they demanded all offices of gaine; to be Stewards to the reuenues of the Churches, which are great; to take the Farmes of customes; and there committed many other outrages which were vnsufferable. The Visiers durst deny them nothing; they drunke wine in the streets without prohibition, contrary to their law; and stood in companies in the open day exacting mony of all Christians to pay for their wine; and being denied it, stabbed and murthered without any punishment: and when complaint was made to the Visier or Magistrate, they answered, None durst meddle with them, who had murthered their own King; and the Bassaes themselues desired the Complainants patience, and that they would beare a part K
with the generall sufferance.

The Ianizaries assault the houses of the Christian Consuls at Smirna.

About the same time, the Ianizaries in the gallies which rid before Smirna, commanded by the captaine *Halil Bassa*, assaulted against his will the houses of all the Christian Consuls there. The English with all those of the Nation, were forced to runne naked from their lodgings, and to swimme to the Admirals galley to saue their liues: they ransacked the lower part of the house, and carried away to the value of two thousand dollars; the French sustained more losse; and the Venetians at least ten thousand, and one of the subjects of that State cut in peeces. The Generall had much adoe to appease them by threats or persuasions, or to saue the liues of all; insomuch as they miscalled and threatened him, because he would not consent to their madnesse. In conclusion, he was faine presently to put to sea, or else they had L
finished the Trade at that place.

In Asia there was then three open rebellions; one at Babylon, another at Arzirum vpon the borders of Persia neere Tauris, and the third in Mesopotamia. The Visiers at the Port dissembled all this, and durst take no knowledge thereof, nor so much as to send a command thither, for feare of blowing the fire, which would haue put all into combustion: whereupon they held a secret counsell and consented to remooue themselues, to proue if they could recouer the desperate estate of that Empire, and tooke resolution to make *Halil Bassa* (the best souldier and most beloued) great Visier; and in his roome *Daout Bassa* captaine of the Sea; and the present Visier, Chimacham or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they resolued to send the Visier into Asia, with all the force they could make: to which end M
they sent into Greece, to warne all the souldiery to be ready at Adrianople, not daring to make a rendesuous at the Port, for feare of new trouble; and so to passe the Hellespont, wide of the city, to appease (if they could) those reuolts, and by that way to draw the mutiniers from

the

A the Court into action, and to reduce them vnto obedience. And notwithstanding that there was no other symptome or prediction but such as threatned the destruction of that Empire, yet were they neuer prouder, nor more seeming not to distrust themselues, their only securitie being, That they had no enemie but themselues.

The treasurie was far exhausted, the reuenue abated, by the oppression of euery Bassa in his gouernment: the soldier increased both in pay and number, and so impatient of delay, that at euery quarter, (besides borrowing, and taking vp the farmes of the Customes before hand) there were so many intollerable exactions to raise monies, that the apparance of domestique quiet could not long endure betweene two extreames; for meanes could not be found, and the Ianizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred. And this was their general estate at that
B time.

While the Polish Embassadour was treating the peace at the Port (whereof there was no great doubt, because neither side was fit for war) there arriued an Embassador from the great Duke of Muscovia, which gaue some interruption therin, pressing the grand Signior to continue the war seuen years against Poland, according to the promise of Sultan *Osman*: offering that his Master should enter into Poland with an army, and that they would diuide the country between them. But his proposition was reiected, because they had had sufficient triall of his Masters cunning proceedings in the last war; for the Muscouite hauing made peace with Poland (before the inuasion of *Osman*) for fourteen years, and being inuited by him to break it, and to inuade that country, vpon promise that he would continue the war for seuen yeares,
C & make no agreement without their comprehension; first answered, That he could not break the peace, thinking that the other was but a flash of a yong prince. But so soon as he saw the Turks in the field and borders of Poland, then he began to hope he might make aduantage; and therfore promised Sultan *Osman*, on those conditions mentioned to enter into the quarrel. And to that end dispeeded his Embassadour to Poland, with instructions to demand three things. First, That the prince of Poland should renounce the title of elect Duke of Muscouy. The second, That the Poles should restore a territory in the border of Lituania, taken in the late wars. Lastly, That the peace should be perpetuall: threatning, That if they refused those conditions, he would enter into the country with an army and get what he could. This Embassador being arriued in the confines, heard news that the Poles had repulsed the Turke at
D Chotyn, that he was retyred, and a peace treated. Wherupon he feigned himself sick, and sent back a post with this aduice, and his old instructions, desiring in this alteration some new order from home. The gouernor of the town where he lay, suspecting somwhat, intercepted the messenger and his packet, and sent it presently to the King. The man returned to his Master the Embassador as robbed, and was again dispeeded the second time, and sent backe with another stile, to wit, with letters of congratulation, joy, and offers of all help and continuance of the peace: with these the Embassador went forward to the court, and hauing audience, the King answered him, That if his message were sincere it had bin very acceptable; but he knew it to be a sugred treason, and no faith intended by the Muscouite, and therfore commaunded him to depart.

E The Embassador protested, vowed, and vsed all meanes to assure the integritie of his message; vntill hee was confronted by the Chancellour, with his owne Letter, and his Masters instructions. Hereupon was this other dispatched to the Port to hinder the peace, and to offer their concurrence to continue an inuasion. In the meane time the Muscouite neglected no means to secure himself, & by renuing two embassadors obtained a peace with Poland, which was then again confirmed. To which the Poles were the willinger to agree, not knowing what effects the negotiations of the duke of Sbarasky might produce at the Port: and now the Muscouite was forced to dissemble again with the Turk, and make his preparation to depart.

The great Visier *Georgi* enuying the authoritie of *Daout Bassa* the beloued sonne in law of *The great Visier plots the death of Daout Bassa.*
the Queene mother, and brother in law to the Emperour *Mustapha* (who had formerly been
F deposed) who had bin both the instrument and the counsellor to murther Sultan *Osman*, scorning that he should vnder hand gouerne in his reigne, especially because hee countenanced in opposition the Duke of Sbaraskies businesse, he therefore practised to put him to death: but not daring to do it by his owne authoritie, and in vain to procure it from the Court, he

stirred

stirred vp the Spahies to demand justice of him for the death of their last king. This looked farther than the first assent; for the subtil Visier, who was faithful to his true lord, & knowing the rage of an vnguided multitude aimed at a by-reuenge vpon others, whom he hoped would be involved and accused of the murther: and the soldier soon raised and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded *Daout*, who instantly fled: but now that the busines was on foot, if hee were not found, the Visier himself was in danger: but the poore man was brought to the Divan, and there being called to publique justice, hee must excuse himselfe vpon some greater person; wherin the Emperor and his mother ran a new hasard, which was the secret end. Therfore both of them forsook him and left him to the law, and without any trial he was brought before the soldiers, stripped, his turbant taken off, and on his knees ready to receiue the stroke of death. But suddenly the Ianizaries came to his rescue, and carried him away to their chambers. The Spahies who began this action took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would haue him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publique justice. Thus those two mutined factions were ready to come to blowes. *Daout Bassa* now in some hope of life, bribed the Ianizaries, and that day distributed 40000 Chequines of gold, and they promised to protect him. Who did not now think but hee was taken away for safety? But the Spahies followed their first resolution, and to appease the fear of that dissention it was agreed he should die. They that meant to saue him could not, but preserued him for a greater example of justice. They would not now let him lose his head in the Court, for that death was too honorable for him that had murdered his prince. Then the Ianizaries sent him secretly in the same coach wherin he had sent Sultan *Osman* to execution: twice in the way being dry with sorrow, he drank at the same fountains where his late master begged drink, and so was conueyed into the same chamber where he had murthered him. The executioners beginning to tie him, himself shewed the very corner where hee had committed that foule fact, and desired that there he might, if possible, expiate it: and so he was at last miserably strangled. Thus he had his reward, and God was iust also euen for the wicked.

About the 20 of February, the peace after many rubs between the grand Signior and the King of Poland, by the mediation of the English Embassador (who was chosen by the Visiers as Arbitrer of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Bassa* Commissioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke hauing first been forced to send this following remonstrance for his expedition; which much mooued the Visier, and quickened the conclusion.

The Duke of Sbaraskies remonstrance to the great Visiers.

YOur Excellencie may be pleased to remember the happy and honorable treaty made before Chotyn: in which a peace was concluded between the Ottoman *Empire and the kingdom of Poland, signed by Commissioners on both parts; wherin (with reference to other antient Treaties) it was agreed, That a great Embassador should come to the Imperiall Port, as well to confirm and swear the peace, as to set in order some other incident circumstances, as then not fully taken into consideration. Since which, the King and Republique of Poland hauing elected me for that imployment, his Maiesty and my self haue receiued many letters from* Delauir, Daout, Huzein *and* Mustapha, *Bassa's, all great Visiers; not only promising a speedy end and dispatch of the conclusion of peace which on both parts is so much desired, but also a release of our captiues, and all other effects of loue and friendship, according to the antient honor of the Imperiall Port: desiring me vpon that assurance to proceed with alacritie and expedition. And further, it hauing pleased his Maiesty of great Brittain (a friend to both) to mediate in this pious office, by his Embassador resident and sent to that end; who hath giuen me by his letters great incouragement and hopes of a reall and true proceeding in this businesse, agreeable to diuers promises made vnto him, which he accordingly hath informed his own Master; I was very glad of this honorable function, and hoped to haue found as ready performance as is by his Maiesty and all the world expected.*

To this end I am come to the Port, with full power and instructions from his Maiestie and the Republique

A *publique of Poland, to conclude and finish a full and perpetuall peace, with all sinceritie and heartinesse, and in his Maiesties name to swear the same; offering to be friend to the friends, and enemie to the enemies of this Imperiall Port reciprocally, and to be ready to treat and accommodate all or any other circumstances incident to a busines of so great consequence.*

Since my ariuall, notwithstanding that I haue produced both the mentioned treaty at Chotyn, and Letters, how little I haue aduanced in the main affairs, and the doubtfull consequences of a long protraction, I desire you to consider; hauing as yet proceeded no further in substance, than the deliuery of my letters and presents; and to that end there may neuer be imputed to the King and republique of Poland any slacknes in present, or any breach in future; out of a sincere and good desire to establish this treaty sure and firm, and to open a clear and true heart, I am inforced to make this true declaration, and desire your Excellency to

B *weigh maturely the motiues following.*

I do not repine at myne own stay at this Imperiall Port, where I receiue all honour; I do not doubt of the sincere and faithfull meaning of the Emperor to conclude the peace; but the deferring hereof may against our wills breed three inconueniences.

First, your Excellencie doth know, that the Cossacks are a people not easily to be restrained, if they bee once at libertie, and that they liue vpon their arms. They haue ready eight hundred boats to make an inuasion into the black sea: in the winter they canot moue; they attend onely the aduice of the conclusion of peace: therfore now is the season to finish and publish it; for if by long delaies it shal be deferred vnto the Spring, and that jealousie or their own desire set them free, your Excellencie doth know in wisedome how

C *difficult it is, to reduce into order a people of that condition, which for our parts we are now able and readie to preuent; the State hauing ordained to satisfie them, and to buy their boats vpon the first intimation of a conclusion.*

Secondly, It is the order of our Nation euery Spring, to call a parliament for the reglement of all publique affairs; of which assembly I am a member: if I shall be staied here, and not able to render a reason therof, it will breed great suspition and disturbance in the general resolution: you may consider that in all parts there are some vnaduised men, friends of sedition and war; and many that make aduantage of others troubles, who may do ill offices, such as the innosent may be sorry for, but canot help.

Thirdly, The eies of all princes are set vpon the honor and faith kept on both parts in this treaty, and accordingly will gouern their own occasions.

For these reasons I do in his Maiesties name desire your Excellencie to gine me a Dispatch, such as may

D *bring ioy and content to all, by auoiding the miseries of war; and in such time, that the snows and commodities of winter shut me not vp, but that I may return, as well to satisfie his Maiestie and the Republique in our generall assembly, as to retain those who may be cause of much trouble, without our consents.*

There is no difficultie that I vnderstand; I am content to accept the antient and honorable treaties made with the famous Emperor Solyman *and his successors; and now lastly at Chotyn: if there be any other difference, I haue power and am ready to accommodate it.*

My desire then only is, That a present end and conclusion be made of a peace, firme and perpetuall: and that the Emperor will be pleased, according to many promises, to deliuer and set free the captiues taken in the last wars: as I do in his Maiesties name giue my word that all others taken on our part shall haue libertie and pasport to return. And if there haue bin any difficultie made by occasion of my pressure for the

E *reiection of* Tomsha *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I doe make this true protestation, That as it is the request of his Maiestie my King in friendship, so there is no other end nor cause of that desire, but only to remoue all occasion of offence and breach with this Imperiall Port, which those ill neighbours are euer ready to minister. But if that be any inconuenience to this Imperiall Port, I onely then seeke that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may liue quietly, without offence of the publique peace.*

I desire your Excellencie to weigh and consider these my reasons and protestations, which proceed only from a good and sincere heart, to

V *promoue and maintain an inuiolable and good friendship with this Imperiall Port.*

F

Within two dayes after, the Duke of Sbaraskie tooke his leaue of the Emperour, to the great joy of himselfe and his traine, who thereby saw themselues deliuered out of captiuitie.

The

The three great and noble prisoners were set free, and did make a publique acknowledgment of his Maiestie of great Britains fauor; to whom both the Embassadour and they attributed the best part of their good successe, and gaue particular thanks by letter. G

Articles contracted between the grand Signior and the King of Poland.

HIs Maiesty of Poland hauing sent into our happy Port his well deseruing and famous great Embassador the most illustrous Duke of Sbaraskie, to offer vs sincere peace, loyal friendship, and good correspondence, and to seeke that the antient peace and friendship should be of vs anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the time to come there might be established an eternal peace and friendship: his kingly friendship hath bin most pleasing to vs, and the peace and friendship by vs accepted: and wee haue ordained, That all the antient treaties shall be renewed; and at the present haue giuen this our Capitulation with the following Articles. H

I. *FIrst, That neuer vpon our part, nor of any of our Viziers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor soldiers, any harm shall be done to the Prouinces, Cities, Castles, Townes, villages, and other places pertaining to the King and State of Poland. And likewise vpon the part of his Maiesty of Poland, That by his Princes, Ministers, or Cossackes, nor any other his subiects, there shall be no wrong don in any part of our Empire, city, castle, towne, or village, but that both parties shall alwaies remain friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.* I

II. *And seeing that the Tartars of Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, and Silistra, and the people of Moldavia, do enter, inuade, and damnifie the State of Poland: We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of Silistra, and all other Beglerbeghs of Bender, shall take care to keepe all those passages and riuers, to the end that herafter the said Nations shall haue no passage by those waies to damnifie the state of Poland. And whensoeuer it shall be known that the said Ministers haue vsed negligence in keeping those passages, according to the treatie with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy memory, that such Ministers bee degraded and seuerely punished.* K

III. *The Vayuod of Moldauia likewise shall neuer grant any passage to the said Nations. And whensoeuer it shall be known that the said Vayuod hath transgressed in this our will, he shall be degraded and seuerely punished.*

IV. *And whensoeuer the said Tartars and others, contrary to this our will, shall make any inuasion or spoyl in the state of Poland, all our ministers and gouernors shall apprehend and seuerely punish them: and as it is set down in the agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the slaues and prisoners which shall by such malefactors be brought into our dominions, shall bee set at liberty, and their goods restored to them again, and the malefactors punished for hauing transgressed our Imperiall Capitulations.* L

V. *And if any of our Subiects shall buy any person or Polish goods, vniustly taken by such malefactors, and it shall be made knowne vnto vs by the king of Poland; the buyers for hauing bought vnlawfull goods, their estate shall be confiscate, and they themselues seuerely punished.*

VI. *The Prince* Chrim *Tartar shall be obedient vnto vs, and all the Tartarian Nation vnder his commaund.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his bloud, from henceforth shall neuer enter into nor inuade any part of the State of Poland, nor euer do any dam-* M

mage

A mage, either by the way of Moldauia, the open field or desart, nor shall euer enter into or inuade any part or jurisdiction of the same. And at all times that his Majesty of Poland shall giue notice, That the said Prince or others aboue mentioned haue broken this our will and capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their disobedience, the said Prince as well as the others, shall be by vs punished and chastised; and we command that neuer any one, in any part of our Dominion, shall sell either people or goods robbed from the State of Poland; and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy men, or goods, robbed from them, such shall be immediately punished with confiscation. And as before mentioned, the
B Begler beghs of Silistria, with all diligence shall keepe the streights of Osu, and neuer suffer the said people to passe; and if it shall be knowne they haue trangressed they shall be punished with losse of their charge and office.

And whensoeuer the said Prince Crim Tartar, or his Kalka, Emirze, or others shall by VII.
our order be called and commanded in their proper persons, to go to any part of the war in our seruice, if by chance they should passe by the confines of Poland, as it is set downe in the capitulations of my father of happy memory, They shall not enter into any Village, Borough, Castle, or City of Polonia, or do any kinde of dammage to the people thereof; and finding that they haue giuen any molestation or hurt, they shall be corrected, as is aforesaid.

C And in conformity of my fathers said capitulation, euery time that his Majesty of Po- VIII.
land shall inuite and call the said Prince Crim Tartar in his occasion of war whiles he giueth him his annuall stipend, the said Prince with all his forces and army, shall go, helpe, and assist his Majesty in euery such occasion, and shew all friendpshi and sincerity: to which effect we haue giuen order, that our Imperiall Letters be written to the said Prince, in this particular, who shall obserue all according to our will and pleasure.

And for the better establishing of this our peace and amity according to the antient capi- IX.
tulations and obseruance, his Majesty of Poland promiseth to send his great Embassador to
D the said Prince of Tartars; and (beginning from this present, the foure and twentied of the moneth of Iune) to pay yearely to the said Prince his accustomed stipend in this forme following. Euery yeare his Majesty shall send the said stipend into the Castle of Chotyn in Moldauia, and the Vayuod thereof shall certifie the said Prince Crim, who shall presently send his Embassadour to receiue the same, by the hands of the Vayuod. The which Prince shall alwaies obserue this forme, and shall be alwaies obedient to this our Imperiall Will.

And in case that his Majesty of Poland should faile in any yeare to send the said stipend, X.
E the Prince Tartar shall not suddenly rise with his army and inuade Poland; but, according to the agreement of Sultan Solyman, continuing still in his obedience, he shall certifie vs, and we will procure and recouer his right.

His Majesty of Poland doth promise that from henceforward, the Cossackes should not XI.
enter nor come into any part of our Empire by the riuers of Osu or any other, nor make any spoile therein: and if the said Cossackes do enter into any part of our Dominions and doe any hurt, we certifying his Majesty by our Imperiall Letters, he promiseth to correct them seuerely, and to put to death the malefactors for breaking the capitulations, and violating the peace and amity.

F And all our subjects which shall be made slaues, and imprisoned by the said Cossackes, shall XII.
be immediately set at liberty; and the ministers of his Majesty shall alwaies be diligent to punish the transgressors, and wholly restore those persons and goods, which they shall haue taken from our said subjects, and that neuer any subject of the King of Poland shall buy any

stollen goods: and if any haue presumed and bought, that he be seuerely punished: and in generall, all that which we haue promised concerning the Tartars and Moldauians, so his Majesty also doth promise to vs for the Cossackes and other his subjects. G

XIII. *After the conclusion of this Peace, if vpon the confines or open fields, fishers or hunters on either part meeting together, shall happen to fall out or be at difference by their owne occasion, it shall be no disturbance to this our peace and amity.*

XIV. *Alwaies according to the antient agreements, the Princes or Vayuods of Moldauia, shall shew to his Majesty of Poland all due reuerence and respect, good amity and neighbourhood: and seeing that the said Vayuods haue euer beene as it were instruments of preseruation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the said Vayuods, nor other of our Beglerbeghs or ministers, shall build in those confines any new Castle, Fort, or Bridge; and that in those Castles or Forts of those frontiers which are already built, there shall neuer any other garrisons be kept but Moldauians: and according to the antient Capitulations, the Tartars shall not inhabit, dwell, or till within those confines, of both nations.* H

XV. *And to the end this peace and amity may be alwaies kept betweene vs, we sweare by the name of God, and assure by this our Imperiall Article, that all the Embassadors, great or inferiour, which shall be sent from vs to his Majesti, or those great or lesse which shall be sent from his Majesty to vs, shall alwaies be safe and secure, as well in their comming, as their returne; and that there shall neuer be need of any other passport, but that they shall be of vs by all waies honoured and well receiued.* I

XVI. *Concerning merchants, passengers, and other Polacke negotiators, they shall alwaies come safely and securely by sea and land into all the parts of our Empire; and for customes, tolles, and other duties of their merchandise, and in case of debt, credit, suretiship, and such other like accidents concerning the course of Iustice and Law, we command that it shall be alwaies obobserued according to the agreements with our father of happy memory, Sultan* Achmat. *Which Articles we at this present accept and confirme, ratifie, and command that they be of all our subjects for euer punctually obeyed and obserued.* K

XVII. *Furthermore we promise, and in the name of God sweare, to obserue and maintaine for euer, all those couenants and Articles agreed vpon and written in our Capitulations, by our great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and neuer to disanull any of them.*

XVIII. *And whereas to shew greater desire of sincerity concerning this peace, his Majesty of Poland hath sought of vs by his said great Embassador, that the subjects of Poland may safely and securely come by the riuer of Turla with diuers merchandise, and sell, buy, and trafficke in Ackirman, which trafficke being vsed will be of great benefit to both Estates; We ordaine and command from henceforward, that the said Nation may come and negotiate safely and securely in the said Ackirman. And to the end that this businesse be established and concluded in a good manner, we will giue order to our Embassador, whom we intend to send shortly to his Majesty for the ratification thereof.* L

XIX. *Which present Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amity, League, and Correspondency, by the grace of God we promise vndoubtedly to maintaine so long as we liue in this World: and do hereby conclude betweene vs and our posterity, and the Kings and State of Polonia, an euerlasting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with these words,* Friends to Frends, and enemies to Enemies. M

Notwithstanding all this, after the Duke was departed one daies journey, where he staied

20

A to receiue the treaty signed, they altered some of the articles to their own aduantage, without his knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his letters to the Port of the abuse offered vnto him, and made haste rather to escape than returne. But the Cossacks at the same time being stirring about the Blacke sea, the Visier and State (hauing nothing more in care than to shut vp that backe Port, whereby they suffered much losse and dishonour, and could not reuenge it vpon a fugitiue people; which diuided their nauall army, being forced to send a portion of gallies to defend the trade, the best part of reliefe of the city of Constantinople comming from those coasts) resolued to giue content to the Poles, and to assure the Peace; that they might with more security attend their affaires in Asia and Hungary; which
B Poland, with promises of faith, and reparation for the injuries committed by the Tartars; laying the fault of miswriting the treaty vpon the Chancellor, which though they amended not, yet they did explaine and interpret: and for better establishment and security on their behalfs of the peace, they resolued to depose *Iehan-Begh* Prince of Tartaria, and to send *Michmet Gheray* his cousin german and first of the bloud, late prisoner in the Rhodes, to take possession of his dominion; who vndertooke to quiet and restraine that people: which he caused to be signified to Poland, that the King might see, these alterations were only for the full security of the peace of their side, that the Pole might take the like course with the Cossackes, who were not as yet reclaimed.

1623

The soldiers continued still in their height of fury and madnesse, and those that were to
C go vpon the gallies for the defence of the Blacke sea, and other designes, being ready to depart, robbed, slew, brake houses in the face of the Magistrate in the open day: What was it not lawfull for them to do, that had slaine their King, and made and destroied their great Ministers at their will and pleasure, as their Stewards and seruants? and God did so blinde them, that they should not see, that they digged vp their own roots, and were made by his permission the blind instruments of their own ruine. The mint also was remoued into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the saddles, bridles, stirrops, that had any gold or siluer vpon them, with all old plate, to make money to patch vp a quiet, and to satisfie and content the soldiers, and all little enough for the present, to saue the city from a totall sacke.

The soldiers still continue in their fury.

The Embassadours of the Prince of Transyluania departed from the Port.

The Embassador of the Prince of Transyluania, hauing changed their stile of excusing a
D firme peace with the Emperor finding the opportunity of a friend now made great Visier in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated new matter, assuring the Port, that by the troubles of Germany, a faire occasion was giuen to recouer Hungary, and to set the crowne vpon their Masters head; and that therefore if the Grand Signior would be pleased to grant vnto their Prince the aid of the Græcian army, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greatest enemy of that Empire; which they easily obtaining (the ignorance and auarice of the Turke opening a way to credulity, which was the constant aduantage of *Gabor*, who could conuert both ther vnderstandings and forces to his owne ends) being in all fully satisfied, they departed the 20 of Aprill. Which resolution of the Port was much wondred at by all wise men, who knew how vnfit the Turke was at that present for a warre. The Prince was then at
E Cassouia, expecting the issue of his Embassage, and in hope of Turkish aid; which beeing granted and gathered vpon his frontier, and joyned at last with his owne forces, his whole armie was not very great, nor had he any cannon to march withall to besiege any place: his chiefest trust consisting in his intelligence in Hungary, where he expected a generall reuolt, and that all the garrisons would open to him, or at least some diuersion in Silesia (which he was promised) facilitate his waies; and he was not in despaire, that vpon the first appearance of an army, Morauia by the fauour of the Count of Torne, who had assisted his Embassadors in the negotiation of the Port, and his friends would follow the same example; and this was the designe which his Embassadors had so long solicited at the Port, and dissembled at their first comming. Now there was nothing expected but a war: but not long after, there arriued a
F new Embassador from the Prince, without any mention of the affaires of those parts; which made all men inquisitiue, thinking he was either come to hasten the succours, or to change something in the manner and other circumstances depending thereon: but it was found that the States of Transyluania had assembled at Alba-Iulia, and were very loath to entertaine a war, or to breake with the Emperor; and therefore dispeeded two Commissioners towards him

him, who were well receiued and treated at Vienna: and from the Emperor was sent to Transyluania the Bishop of Nitria. Whereupon a new peace was treated, and this Embassador sent to procure the recall of the former commands, giuen to the Bassaes to moue with their armies. Whereby it was suspected he neuer had any purpose to make a war, but only to ballance by the continuance thereof his cares and last agreement with the Emperor. G

The Bassa of Arzirum in rebellion.

All men prophesied (by reason of dayly disorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now *Abassa Bassa* the Bassa of Arzirum who was joyned with diuers others, and had made a great army, was in his march towards Angria, the direct way to Constantinople (Babylon yet resting in rebellion) with a pretence of reformation; he tooke nothing by force, but the treasure of the Empire. He held a generall Counsell in his campe, and sent to the port to require the Mufti, Cadees, Bassaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to punish the traitors that murthered the late King, and to settle a new one lawfully, that should be able to gouerne, to reduce the mutined city souldier to obedience and discipline, and to place about the Emperor some great Visier, chosen by the State, able to direct and apply remedies to the diseases then growne to a desperat height; complaining, that euery three or foure moneths, by the change of the Visier, the Prouinces were destroied (for they placed and displaced the Gouernors according to their owne factions) and so contrary orders were sent abroad dayly, insomuch as no man knew who was King or Visier, nor whom they should obey. These were his pretences, and if the present State would not consent to this assembly, he then resolued to come ro the Port, and settle all things at his pleasure by the sword. The great Officers in possession of the Emperor and gouernment, loth to be called to an account by the souldier, tooke a worse resolution, To make a war; and made choice of *Cicala Bassa* for Generall: which he refused vpon the same pretence, that in his absence alterations would be so frequent, that he should not please, or at least vncertainely, and according to interpretation. Therefore he required an absolute Dictatorship for the time, equall to that of a great Visier, or else he would not stir. This was granted him, and mony giuen out, and order to passe the water speedily; enrolling for his army fifteen thousand Ianizaries, & thirty thousand Spahies. But those did demur, and alledged it was a war against their owne brethren, and sought any excuses rather than to come to blowes. But the secret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their holy Lent, at the end of which they were to receiue their pay; and therefore they would not moue, but pretended religion. Next day after their feast, when they should march, they shewed themselues in their colours, (hauing first held many consultations) and would not moue at all, vnlesse the Emperor or great Visier would go in person. So euery day brought forth new subject of trouble, and the Empire to a great deale of hazard and danger. H I K

Christian Princes at the same time with Morat.

- *Emperours of Germany* — *Ferdinand the second, that now reigneth.*
- *Kings*
  - *Of great Brittain,* — *King Iames.* / *King Charles, that now reigneth.*
  - *Of France* — *Lewis the thirteenth, that now reigneth.*
- *Bishops of Rome* — *Gregory the fifteenth.* / *Vrban the eighth, that now sitteth in the Chaire.*

MORAT

Morat in tender age the Throne aſcends,
For wanton luſt more apt than Princely ends:
Sporting he lies in a luxurious bed,
Whileſt Bagdat is by Perſia conquered;
A greater loſſe than this, who can diuine,
Vnleſſe to loſe the ſeat of *Conſtantine*.
His other Acts, and how he ſtill proceeds,
Shall here enſue in ſtory of his deeds.

THE

THE REIGNE OF *MORAT*, OR *AMVRATH*, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, ELEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS; HE THAT NOW SWAYETH THAT MIGHTY MONARCHIE.

C Vpon the last day of August, Sultan *Mustapha*, brother of *Achmat*, who had beene twice Emperor, was deposed; and Sultan *Morat*, son to *Achmat*, and brother to *Osman* murthered the yeare before, placed in the Throne. But it will not be vntimely nor vnprofitable, to discourse of the causes and reasons of those great mutations, which are the intrinsique part and soule of action.

Sultan Mustapha deposed. & Sultan Morat placed in his Throne.

That State for fifteene moneths after the denth of *Osman*, was a stage of variety, the Souldiery vsurping all gouernment, placing and displacing as the winde of fauour or disfauour moued them. In that time there were three Emperors, seuen great Visiers, two Captiane Bassaes, fiue Aga's of the Ianizaries, three Treasurers, six Bassaes of Cairo, and in proportion as many changes of Gouernors in all the Prouinces; euery new Visier making
D vse of his time, displacing those in possession, and selling their fauour to others: so as the whole Empire was in a manner fined ouer foure or fiue times; such was the exaction for a welcome of euery Bassa to their gouernment. *Huzein Bassa* the last Visier of them (a tyrant hated of all men, and now restored to the dignity by bribing the souldiery) consumed the publique treasure so fast, and exacted mony from priuate men so violently, to maintaine his faction with the Ianizaries, that euen the Receiuers were afraid, and weary, and the wisest of them foresaw their owne ruine in the generall consumption: when there was any murmure against him, he presently silenced it either by gifts or bloud. As soone as he had dispatched away the Generall *Cigala Bassa* with the army for the suppression of the great rebellion in Asia (which vpon the deposition of *Georgi*, and the making of him Visier, was content to
E march) which he did rather to disburden himselfe of feares, by sending out of the way the Spahies, who were his opposites, than for any loue to the State: which Army, what insolencies they committed for thirty daies before their passing the water, euen in the face of Iustice, was as incredible as impossible to relate, he sent priuatly to strangle *Halil Bassa*, *Georgi*, and *Mustapha* late Visiers; hoping thereby he had remoued all concurrents. Whether this gaue the occasion, or that his sin was ripe for reuenge, the Spahies suddenly gathered head, and the old Wolfe fled to his trusty guard, the Ianizaries. The city was almost diuided; but the Spahies sent their resolution plainely, being the weaker in number, That they desired not to come to blowes with their Brethren; but if the Ianizaries would protect him, that they
F should keepe him, Constantinople, and Greece: but they themselues would depart and dispose of Asia. Which was a bold profession, but easie, the forces of the Rebels being of their society. The wisest foresaw the perill, and they all agreed to depose him; and so the Seale was giuen to *Aly Bassa*, a man reputed honest, but melancholy & vntried for so great a charge. Euery one saw those outward wheeles of motion, but the spring within that moued them was not so soon discouered: The army mentioned for Asia, arriuing at Nicomedia, fiue daies

journy

journy from Constantinople, shewed little bedience; many disbanded, and the rest had no G
desire to fight with those of the same profession both in religion and in humour. The newes
came dayly to the Port, of the taking of Forts by *Abassa Bassa* the head of the rebels and of
other defections and combustions in those parts; and that that quarrell was taken vp against
the Ianizaries and the present gouernment, of whom he slew all that fell in his power, as guil-
ty of the bloud of *Osman*. This suddenly wakened and ripened the project of those who had
plotted secretly this alteration to restore *Morat* to the Imperiall crowne. Hereupon the new
Visier *Aly*, with the counsell of the Mufti and some Captaines of the souldiers of both Or-
ders, laied their foundation: they shewed the imminent perill and difficulty to restore or pre-
uent the rebels by armes: the Ianizaries saw that they alone must (as the marke of enuy) beare
the whole burthen; and therefore all resolued, that the easiest and safest way to appease their H
troubles, was to restore the true heire, the present Emperor; hoping that those who pretended
their rising for the loue of his brother, and in reuenge of his cause, would obey that Prince,
and quiet themselues. Vpon this resolution they assembled at the Seraglio without any tu-
mult, and desired to haue Sultan *Mustapha* come forth and speake to the souldiers, and to an-
swer to some questions: which he refusing (as truly vnable) they tooke out Sultan *Morat* and
declared him King, with vniuersall joy and acclamation: insomuch as the Ianizaries (but the
day before his opposites) being shewed the want of treasure and the necessity of the State,
were content to remit their donatiue and encrease of pay, vsuall at euery change: a wonder
that was not like to last long, for many of them did afterwards repent, and demand it freshly.

The new Emperor the next day made his solemne entry into the city, a youth of foureteene I
yeares of age, fat, and of a liuely countenance, and good stature, a Prince of two faire hopes
for such a people; whose actions afterward (though vnder gouernment) shewed that he would
soone know himselfe, and proue of a stirring nature. At the returne of the gallies from the
Blacke sea, who brought some Cossacks prisoners aliue, and some heads of the dead, he would
see them all brought before him, a custome vnusuall. This desire, and some answers he gaue,
made all men judge he would be actiue, and cruell. All seemed then serene and quiet, and
neuer appeared so great a change euen in affections. The most disordered did then assume a
face of obedience (which was once thought to be vanished that city) and chose rather sub-
missiion to lawes than threatened destruction. The calme was as violent as the storme. The
first actions shewed peace, but so, as to prepare for necessity of warre. They sought out, and K
dayly found the treasure, plate, and jewels giuen and conueied away by *Huzein Bassa*, which
returned apace, and many voluntarily rendred them. The last Aga of the Ianizaries, who
was but three moneths before Caja or Lieutenant (afterward Bassa of Cairo) did for his part
receiue, and restore, eight hundred thousand dollars, to buy his place and peace: so that euery
day made new discoueries; onely he that had beene the author of all this was fled away, and
could then by no meanes be found: whose apprehension would haue assured many, and haue
brought backe a great treasure.

Asia in that search for mony, and new settlement of affaires, was almost quite forgotten; so
that the army was staied from proceeding; for it was beleeued, *Abassa Bassa* depended vpon
the new Emperor and would submit. But he had aduanced too far to trust to any safe retreat, L
euen although he was the indirect occasion of the raising of the new Emperor. Yet the way
was not warrantable in the rule of Monarchy, nor perhaps sincere in the intent; for Kings sel-
dome pardon those that are able to be traitors, and haue shewed but a will to reuolt; and that
power is neuer secure which is too much. Sometimes they make vse of traitors as a safegard
for the present, and for the future a subject of their reuenge. And this maxime *Haly Bassa* in
the former great Asian defection approued with the price of his life, being taken into the fa-
uour of Sultan *Achmat* in all priuacy, made Bassa of Buda, and within foure months strangled,
vnder colour of putting on a Vest of honour. Therefore it was doubted, that they who had
discouered so high thoughts, and exasperated the Ianizaries, would not so easily dispose
armes, by which only they might be safe; and it was then feared they had intelligence with M
Persia. There rested one great difficulty, to introduce that awe of Majesty which had beene
trampled vnder foot; and it was a great one, when a people, like the sea, had made a breach in-
to antient reuerence, and prospered; the taste of profitable wickednesse was not so easily lost.
It was imagined that these changes would worke great effects vpon the bordering parts of
Christen-

A Christendom intereſſed; for they intended peace vniuerſally, to recouer mony, and a habit of obedience and ciuil gouernment. To which purpoſe a letter was written to the Baſſa of Buda, to leaue it to his diſcretion in the mouing of arms againſt the Emperor (being lately excited therto by the prince of Tranſylvania) as a man experienced vpon the border, to doe what ſhould moſt conduce to the ſafety and profit of the ſtate: for as they durſt not abſolutely prohibit them and recal the former licence, for fear of diſpleaſing *Gabor* and the Baſſa, who were vnited; ſo they would inſinuat their deſires and fears by counſel, now only tending to peace.

In the midſt of this appearing calm, the Ianizaries, ſome repenting (as was ſaid before) and ſome denying their conſent to remit their donatiue and increaſe of pay, did anew ſharply demand it, with threats of innouation: ſo as they were forced to content them, and euery order
B of men and officers that were not of the ſword, were compelled to contribute to it. The Viſier ſent ſolemnly to the 4 reſident Embaſſadors, to borrow 30000 checquines, as the friends and allyes of the Port, to whom in confidence they durſt open their ſecrets. Many old experienced officers miſliked this betraying their own wants, as diſhonourable, and vnlike to take effect: which indeed it did not, for mony was ſo abaſed, and trades ſo poor, as the ſtranger had no ful purſe. The new emperor to ſerue his turn, gaue out 400000 drams of gold, being his beſt veſſel, to make coin; which was ſtamped baſe, to meet with the inſolencie of the ſouldier, who would take no ſiluer, as falſe mony. Except in this ſearch, the ſtate and city appeared to be at ſome quietnes; only the Baſſa of Cairo (Boſtangi Baſſa to *Oſman*, newly made Baſſa of Buda) ambitiouſly ſeeking the dignitie of grand Viſier, by the gift of 100000 Checquines, his of-
C fer was ſeemingly accepted, part of the mony payd, and he ſent for priuatly into the Seraglio, as to receiue the ſeale. But the Emperors beſt Counſell within ſaw how dangerous it was to giue way to ſuch innouations (beſide a priuat grudge, this man being the inſtrument to ſtrangle the queen-mothers eldeſt ſon, when Sultan *Oſman* went to the Poliſh war) where in ſted of aduancement a hangman took off his head, & his houſe & goods, being very rich, ſeiſed vpon.

Cantemir-Mirza Baſſa of Siliſtra was al this time in diſobedience; whom the late Viſier attempted to diſplace, and gaue order to the Chrim Tartar to remoue him by force. But it was thought fit, not to thruſt him further out, and to make him a dangerous enemy. Wherfore a confirmation of his gouernment was ſent him, a ſword & a Veſt, in all honor; the Poles miſliking of it, he being their mortal enemy, & to be remoued at their inſtance in the late Treaty.

D At the change of the Emperor all men hoped for peace with *Abaſſa Baſſa* the great rebel of Aſia; but he ſhewed that he had further intents than to ſet vp the brethren of *Oſman*; when pretending obedience, hee ſuddenly aſſaulted and took the caſtle of Tocat, which is in the Mint of Aſia, 7 Beglerbegs and 16 Sanzacks being joined with him: all that part of Aſia obeyed him, for he oppreſſed none, only executing his wrath vpon the Ianizaries. This aduice beeing brought by a captain of that Order, made much rumor at the Port; the ſouldiers raiſing a tumult in the Seraglio, demanded to be led out to fight, and to haue thoſe of Aſia declared Rebels: to which end a councel was called, where they receiued ſo cold an anſwer, that they grew into ſome diſorder, accuſing *Halil* and *Georgi Baſſa* to haue correſpondence with them; & ſeeming to doubt that the whole ſtate did conniue at this action, to proſecute the firſt deſigne
E of *Oſman*, To root out that corrupted Order which did diſorder all gouernment: inſomuch as they openly profeſſed, *If we be true Muſſulmen and the Emperors ſlaues, let vs go out and fight with his enemies and ours; if not, and that you maintain them againſt vs, we are reſoluedto die together, and not to be waſted by pieces.* There was much likelihood of this, but that *Abaſſa Baſſa* had proceeded too far: therfore to ſatisfie the ſoldier, the banner was ſet out at the court gate, and that of the Aga of the Ianizaries at their gate, and Warre proclaimed, That all the force of the Empire ſhould be ready to march within four daies. When they ſaw this reſolution in the great ones, (whether diſſembled or in good erneſt) that day being the 18 of October, 1623, the Ianizaries and Spahies held a councel, and changed their minds; alledging, That Winter approching, and no prouiſion made, they would not moue. The Viſiers were glad, reſpecting their owne
F eaſe; and ſo all Aſia was left to the curteſie of the Rebell, and to giue other friends leiſure to declare: of which the Perſian was moſt doubted. In the meane time *Abaſſa Baſſa* aduanced and tooke the city of Angria, which was ſurrendred vnto him as ſoon as hee came before it; but the Caſtle held out againſt him: and it was reported, he wept at the gates thereof, publiſhing the cauſe of his taking vp of armes, which he ſaid was onely in reuenge of the bloud of

Abaſſa aſſaults and takes the caſtle of Tocat.

Osman; desiring such as fauored him to come on his side (diuiding the people) the rest to depart in peace euery man to his own house. He did no harm, nor tooke the value of a penny: his army was very great, and euery Ianizary that he could catch, he sacrificed to the ghost of the dead Emperor. Men report, he was first aduertised by a dream to reuenge: after that, *Osman* appeared vnto him, and lastly *Mahomet*. He called himself the poor *Mechmet*, deputed to reform the world from the great God. The Astrologers publikely augured his prosperitie, and euery mans discourse was ful of fabulous fears and prophecies. It was said he would come to the Port and demand audience by justice, and haue the cause betwixt him and the murtherers of their prince tried by law; and that if he were condemned as a rebell, hee would lay downe his head; if they as traitors, he would execute the reuenge. And it was generally thought, out of the coldnesse of the Emperor and all the Visiers, that he was secretly maintained by them, and came to fulfil *Osmans* designe, to wrest the gouernment from the mutined souldier, and to root out their Order. For all the lawyers and churchmen smiled, and rather rejoiced than feared. The Ianizaries openly murmured, that they were betraied, and accused many, yet they escaped; and now few spoke against him as against a Rebell. Yet the first of Nouember, whether for colour or earnest, the great Visiers tents were past ouer the water in hast, with those of the Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the force which could be then made at the Port, commanded to winter on the other side in Bruscia, to amuse the rebels, and stay them til the spring; perhaps being willing the blow should be taken on the other side, to saue the city from a general sack.

It was afterwards considered, that to preuail against *Abassa Bassa* with arms was a doubtful matter, and therfore the Sultan sent vnto him a Capigi Bassa, with a Vest, sword, and a Letter; giuing him thanks for the loue shewed to his brother and his bloud, but now the reuenge belonged to himself, of which he would take care; and therefore desired him, if he were a true subiect, to return to his gouernment of Arzirum, and to dissolue his army, and there to rest til further occasion of seruice. Vpon this order from the Emperor he excused himself, That the incommoditie of winter would not suffer him to retyre, but promised to liue in peace vntill the Spring, and then he would return in obedience to his gouernment.

The Emir of Sidon takes the city and castle of Damascus.

During these troubles, the Emir of Sidon possessed himselfe of the city and castle of Damascus, with some other places and forts, as it were in an instant; threatning Ierusalem, hauing demanded supplies, or at least neutralitie from the Bassa of Aleppo. This defection was of greatest consequence, because he was a prince of descent, and a pretender in right vnto those Countries; who had four or fiue good ports to let in Christian succors; with whome it was thought he had intelligence, hauing in the time of *Achmat* retyred to Florence and Rome; and that he was in some measure able to subsist of himself, hauing 30000 soldiers in his army, and a good foundation and estate of his own to maintain them. And yet his actions were only lamented at the Port, and no order taken to stop or reduce them, excepting some Letters & promises, the ordinary remedie that was then applied to those manifold troubles. For that State was then in a kind of lethargie, hauing no sence nor wil to make shew to feele the inward diseases consuming it; either because they were vnable for want of money (the treasure being much exhausted) or that they mistrusted their own souldiers, euery day apter to mutine than to fight; or that the neighborhood of *Abassa Bassa* did amuse and confound them: and so many circumstances crossed one another as the symptomes of confusion, all things being equally feared, and nothing thorowly vndertaken. Yet a little more sencible they were of *Abassa* the enemie that was neerest, whose followers took a passage and bridge about foure daies journey from Constantinople, as if he meant either to possesse himself thereof for his own meanes to aduance his army, or to keep it that none suddenly from the other side might assail him: but howsoeuer, it manifested that he was not yet quiet, nor resolued to obey, as he had promised. This new attempt of his was very hotly taken at the Port, and many councels held; but (as all things do there) the fury once past, the warmth cooled by degrees in 3 or 4 daies, so that only a few more Ianizaries were sent away to make garison, and to defend the passages; with whom were imploied the false French regiment and their Colonel, all the force they could then wel spare. No Spahies entred into that quarrell, as if these were purposely exposed to bee cut in pieces: which many beleeued, by the faintnes and disunited maner of their proceedings; or els that they went out of themselues, knowing the danger to be most imminent vpon them, & that the Emperor and his Councel did stil conniue with the actions of that Bassa.

Bechir-

A *Bechir-Subbaſſa* who had reuolted in Babylon, and held that caſtle againſt the Emperor all the laſt ſummer, hauing bin ſtreitly beſieged by *Hafis Achmat Baſſa*, and in danger to be forced, ſent his ſon to *Sha-Abas* the king of Perſia for ſuccors: wherupon he obtained ſome Perſian horſe. Vpon diſcouery of which, the Baſſa fearing he ſhould be compelled to raiſe his ſiege, betook himſelf to diſſimulation, as if he had ſuch authoritie from the grand Signior; he made a compoſition, and not only pardoned *Bechir*, and all offences paſt, but conferred the gouernement of that city and prouince vpon him as Baſſa, and ſo retyred his army. Yet although *Bechir-Subbaſi* was content to free himſelfe from the preſent neceſſity by treaty, yet really hee held the place for the Perſian, and to his vſe; whoſe Agent at the Port demaunded both that and Ahiska, as the antient patrimonie of his Anceſtors.

B *Bethlem Gabor* hauing with great expedition marched ouer Hungary, and reduced moſt part thereof to his obedience, except the townes of Presburgh, Rab, Comoran, and ſome few other forts, his army conſiſting of 33000 Tranſyluanians and Hungars, and almoſt as many Turks and Tartars voluntarily following for booty; met with no ſhew of reſiſtance vntil he approched Tyrnavia, within four daies march of the borders of Auſtria: whither ſending before ſome regiments of his horſe, to the number of foure thouſand, to ſummon the town, they diſcouered ſome Imperiall troupes ſent to make gariſon therein, being ſome 2300 foot and 200 horſe, and ariued within halfan Engliſh mile; betweene whom and the city they thruſt themſelues. Theſe troups perceiuing they were ſuddenly preuented, and not knowing how far the Princes whole army was behind, tooke downe to a ſmall village, and fortified themſelues in a
C church and church-yard walled. The commander of the Hungars diſpatched away a Currier to *Bethlem Gabor*, with aduiſe that he ſhould ſend him ſome foot with expedition; relating the maner how he had incloſed this garriſon. In the mean time he ſummoned the Imperialiſts, and told them that he had taken poſſeſſion of Tyrnavia for his maſter: And at the ſame time ſummoned the town and told them, that their ſuccors ſent had yeelded vnto him; keeping all intelligence one from another, and both from attempting any thing. The next day, the Prince with his Vantgard ariued in ſight, and then this Colonel ſent ſome troups to make gard before one of the ports very neer the wall. Thoſe Germans ſhut vp in the Church-yard, ſeeing the enemies horſe vnder the command of the town, and no ſhot made at them, beleeued that it was true that the place was rendred: ſo before the foot came forth to force them, they
D yeelded themſelues and tooke pay of the Prince, all except ſixe and thirty of the principall, who had licence to depart. Thoſe beeing then won, the Citiſens the next day opened their gates, and receiued *Bethlem Gabor* for their Lord; and thus theſe were gained without any ſtroke. From thence he marched directly toward Moravia, and ſent before him a daies journey, eight thouſand horſe to diſcouer and ſpoile. The Emperor finding theſe beginnings vrgent, ordered the brother of the prince of Licheſtein, to draw downe his garriſons from Bohemia and Moravia to the frontire; and ſent the Marquis of Montenegro, with *Colalto*, *Don Baltheſar de Maradas*, the Count *Slick*, *Walſtein*, *Tiffenbacke*, Count *Torquato* kinſman to the Pope, *Sampack*, and all his principal Captains to meet them, and to form an army for defence. There was gathered together fifteene thouſand beſides the baggage; who being lodged at the foot
E of an hill in the borders of Moravia, and many of their ſouldiers ſtragling to gather grapes, were by the Auantcurriers of *Bethlem Gabor* diſcouered, and preſently beſet, who took & ſlew ſeuen hundred. Some eſcaped and gaue the alarme, or elſe the whole Imperiall Campe had beene ſurpriſed without Sentinell or gard; theſe hauing proued as ſeruiceable as the Geeſe to the Capitol. The Hungars hauing gotten the top of the hil, and ſeeing the Bohemian and German army ſo neer in the bottom, and in ſome confuſion, reſolued to make triall how they were prouided, and made ſhew of a charge; but finding them in better order to receiue them, they retyred: one Captain only aduenturing too neer, was taken priſoner, and carried to the Imperial quarter: who being examined, told them, that the prince with a mighty army would the next night be in ſight; and therefore hee aduiſed them to prepare for their ſafety, for that
F he came with a reſolution to fight, and ouermatching them with their number, there was no poſſibility of other than death or captiuity. The Imperials rather ſcorned than beleeued theſe threatnings; but the captain aſſuring them it was no time to jeſt with his own life and theirs, they remoued the next morning, and marched toward a town called Ghoding, vpon the Riuer

of Moran that diuides Hungary from Morauia, about which was a ſmall trench, and within it a caſtle of ſome defence. The horſe of *Bethlem Gabor* ſeeing them mooue towards that place, preſſed in a gallop before them, and ſet all the houſes on fire, which burned a day and a night, vntill the whole was conſumed. In the meane time *Bethlem Gabor* arriued with his army; and the Imperialiſts ſtood in battalion to expect their fortune: but the fire being ended, gaue them leaue to enter among the ruines and aſhes, and to make the beſt of neceſſitie, where they fortified themſelues, hauing no ſtore of prouiſion. In this eſtate being cloſed about thirteen daies, it was diſcoueted to *Gabor* by a priſoner, that they were in great want, and that the ſoldiers began to mutine; demanding of their captains either to lead them out to fight, and die like men, or to make ſuch a party for them, as their preſent condition would admit. *Don Balthaſar* General of the horſe, in the name of all the commanders, gathered the army together, and acknowledging to them, firſt the great vertue they had ſhewed to abide at once the aſſaults of perill and famine, for their honour; and proteſting that their caſe and their Generals, was all one for matter of allowance, intreated them to ſtrengthen themſelues with hope and conſtancie, and required of them an vniuerſall promiſe, that they would abide with patience, vntill the end of October then at hand: if in that time, neither God nor the Emperour ſent them ſuccours, he would make ſome compoſition for them; not doubting to finde *Bethlem Gabor* a Chriſtian and a ſouldier, though an enemy; and to this propoſition they all gaue their words and faith. The reaſon of this ſhort obtained time, proceeded not from any thought of ſupply from the Emperour, but from an opinion and cuſtome, that the Turks would breake vp their campe vpon Saint *Demetrius* day the ſix and twentieth of the month of October; neuer vſing to ſtay longer in the field for the incommodities of Winter; and that now they ſerued in the nature of voluntaries, and had gotten their prey, it was likely nothing could hold them from riſing: but if that hope failed them, they then reſolued to giue the ſoldiers leaue to make quarter for themſelues; the Generals and commanders purpoſing to retire into the caſtle with ſome competent numbers, which they doubted not to keepe vntill ſupplies or weather ſhould force the enemy to diſlodge. The Prince of Tranſyluania knowing likewiſe that at that time he ſhould haue trouble enouh to ſtay his ſuccours, and if they ſtaied, hee feared they would prooue ill Winter gueſts, and diſcredit him with his Hungars, whom they indifferently ſpoyled, tooke counſell either to force the enemie by that day, or to winne them by policie; but the later was the ſafer way: for it ſeemed he had no deſire to put ſo many perſons of qualitie into the power of the Turks, whoſe priſoners by agreement they muſt remaine; and hauing alſo intelligence, vpon what hopes the Imperialiſts held out, hee counterwrought with the Turks, to giue him a promiſe to abide with him fifteene daies after Saint *Demetrius*; in which time he pretended to deliuer the Fort and all into their hands; conjecturing as it ſeemed, that before that day the Germanes would make ſome ouerture, out of which hee might worke his owne aduantage, and obtaine his owne ends, and they would admire and feare his power and credit in the Turkiſh army: for doubtleſſe hee might haue forced them if he had pleaſed, but then he had made his eſtate deſperat of any reconciliation with the Emperour, and muſt reſolue to continue the warre; vncertaine of the conſtancie of the Turks, aſſured, they being once retired, would very late draw againe into the field; and perhaps hee doubted the various ſucceſſe of warre, and of the ſetling of the State of the Grand Signior in Aſia, where all things were in diſtemper; and was ſomewhat carefull of his reputation in Chriſtendome, which he knew was farre aduentured in this action: for which aboue twenty thouſand poore ſoules loſt their libertie, and endangered their faith. Therfore he made vſe of his time and his wit, and the Imperials finding themſelues deceiued in the hope of breaking vp of the camp, now no longer able to ſuſtain their wants, ſent Commiſſioners to him in the Emperors name, to treat ſome agreement. Hee ſeeing his fifteene dayes weare out apace, and the Turks beginning to diſlodge, accepted the offer; and that very day to giue ſatisfaction to the Port, diſpeeded one of his chamber in poſt to make knowne to the Vizier (a man not vneaſie to abuſe) that hee had done his vtmoſt, to detaine the Turks to winter in Hungarie; but being not able longer to hold them together, hee was forced to come to a treaty: for to venture to aſſault the trenches, was full of perill; to riſe without ſome concluſion, were to quit the place, to honour the enemie, and to weaken his owne reputation: to continue the ſiege after the departure

A ture of his ſuccours, would hazard his owne Army into mutinie: therefore he was reſolued to make a truce for eight moneths; that ſeeing the grand Signior had conſented to receiue the Emperors Embaſſadour, time might be allowed for treaty and final concluſion. He gaue him inſtruction to ſay, That as then he had not fully agreed, but that it was reſolued on to be don, onely with a formall reſeruation of the approuement of the Viſiers, without which it ſhould be held as not done. That he ſhould require the finall reſolution of the Port, Whether the grand Signior would continue conſtant, and maintain him in the war or not: If they reſolued vpon Warre, then to demand prouiſion of munition, money, ſouldiers, and all other neceſſaries, in ſeaſon and in a meaſure; in thoſe times impoſſible. If they deſired peace, that they ſhould giue a draught of what conditions they affected. But withall, an abſolute power vnto
B himſelfe to mitigate them, and to make ſuch other at his diſcretion, as the neceſſity of the affairs and time required for the profit of the Empire. The Prince at the firſt arriuall of the Commiſſioners of the beſieged at his Quarter, diſcouered ſome jealouſie and diſcontent in ſome of his followers: Wherupon he called before him moſt of his Commanders, and deſired them not to miſtruſt him; he ſhewed ſome reaſons why he might be inforced to make a truce, but proteſted he would neuer depoſe armes, nor conclude a finall peace with the Emperour, except he would alſo diſarm, and leaue thoſe prouinces and the Empire in quiet. For though it were a hard choice for him to be bitten by a Wolfe or by a Dog, (which were his owne words) yet ſeeing he could better truſt the one than the other, hee would make vſe of one to curb the other. This gaue not full ſatisfaction; but the words of a Prince muſt bee currant
C payment, becauſe they beare his ſtampe; for his meaning, or what he treated, he truſted none withall but his own breſt. The meſſenger hee ſent vnto the Port, played his part ſo well and ſecretly, as he gaue ſatisfaction to that State, ready enough to beleeue well, and procured a ratification of the Truce ſuppoſed then to be made: and for inſtructions in the intended treaty, he propounded in his maſters name three articles, and one Commiſſion. Firſt, That the Emperor ſhould diſclaime all right and title to Hungary, and ſhould leaue the people free, and the Prince of Tranſylvania to gouern them. Secondly, That the Princes and all the prouinces that had ſent their Embaſſadours and preſents to the Port, and had made league with him, and had taken the Imperial protection, ſhould bee reſtored to their priſtine liberty and eſtates. Thirdly, That the emperor ſhould pay a tribute of forty thouſand dollars for Auſtria,
D pretended to be granted in the daies of Sultan *Solyman*. But the Commiſſion was the key of the work, wherby the Prince, with the counſel of the Baſſa of Buda, obtained ful power at his own diſcretion, if he found peace conuenient, to make and conclude it; this laſt being (as was ſuppoſed) the end and ſcope of *Bethlem Gabors* deſires: the other propoſitions onely a garniſhing, to make the Turks beleeue that he was careful of their honor and ſeruice; and the Emperor, that he was very powerfull, and much eſteemed at the Port. Which all men imagined would produce an end of thoſe wars: for the prince of Tranſylvania confeſſed, That hee drew not in the Turkes for any need he had of their ſuccours, nor for any benefit intended to them, but to make a glorious ſhew to the Emperour, of his credit with the grand Signior, therby to facilitate his ends.

E After ſome time ſpent in treaty with the Commiſſioners of the army, a truce was taken be- *A truce between the Emperor and the Prince of Tranſylvania.* tween the prince of Tranſylvania and the Marquis *de Monte Negro*, General for his Imperiall Maieſty, before the town of Ghoding on the frontier of Moravia, where the Germans were beſieged; and letters preſently written therof by the prince to the great Viſier, which were dated the tenth of Nouember. The mediator between them was the Palatine *Staniſlaus Turzow* an Hungarian. The articles of greateſt importance, or that were then publiſhed to the world, were foure:

I. *The Articles of the truce.*

F *That on both parts armes ſhould be depoſed for ten months (ending the ſixt of September 1624.) and all other acts of hoſtility giuen ouer. That there ſhould of neither ſide any attempt be made, nor by force nor fraud to take any caſtles, forts, cities, or places of defence during this time; and that both Germans, Hungars, and Turks ſhould be alike comprehended.*

II. *That if the Emperour were deſirous to treat and conclude a finall peace with the Graund Signior,*

Signior, he should vse Bethlem Gabor *as the mediator, and doe nothing therein without his priuitie.* G

III. *That all the places and forts taken in by the Prince of Transylvania in his late expedition, should rest quiet in his possession vntil the time expired. And that all cities and castles now in the possession of either, should so remain without any alteration.*

IV. *That all passages should be open for free trade and secure intercourse of Merchants, and all other the subiects and friends of either side.*

This done, the Prince of Transylvania made a shew of redeeming all the poor captiues ta- H
ken by the Turks, at his own charge, with some help from the Imperials, vpon whom hee layd the blame, as hauing failed to meet him vpon a passage of water, where hee entertained the Turkish army; but they not comming, he pretended the Turkes rose in the night and carried them all away, to the number of twenty thousand.

The Prince warned the Turks to keepe in order, and not to straggle in their retreit, nor to commit any insolencie and spoil, the country being all in arms, and already inraged. But they followed not his counsel; which caused some 2000 Hungarian horse to set vpon them as they were diuided, and slew fiue or six hundred of them, and recouered some prisoners: whereupon the Turks vnited and returned, and killed as many of the Hungars, took one man of qualitie, and many other slaues.

Vpon aduice from *Hafis Bassa* General of the prouince of Babylon, That the King of Persia I
The King of Persia innades the prouince of Babylon. with a powerful army had entred those quarters, and that both the city & that country would be lost, if aids did not ariue very speedily; and the rebels in Asia continuing their insolencie, a War was suddenly proclaimed at the Port, in such termes as neuer had bin heard of in former times, to say, That whosoeuer took pay of the grand Signior in any kinde as a souldier, if he came not to the rendevous appointed, with his arms, he should be confiscated, esteemed as a Rebel, and his wife and children sold for slaues. This was sent into Greece, Natolia, Trabizond, and all the vtmost confines of the Turkish Empire. Herupon the grand Signior and the wisest of the Bassa's inclined to buy *Abassa Bassa*, and to send him a generall pardon and grant of all his demands, vpon condition, That he would presently march and turn his army against K
the common enemy: fearing either the doubtfulnes of a battel with desperat men, or to force him to retyre and join with the Persian, where he might be wel receiued. And as the present condition of the state then stood, the counsel was good: but the Ianizaries would not consent nor hearken to any reconcilement with their profest enemy; but required to be led out against *Abassa Bassa* first, and so to proceed in the war: and becaus their own Aga, brother in law vnto the Emperour, did not concurre with them in opinion, they mutined against him, who wisely gaue way to the storm, and surrendred his charge, to which a Page of the court was presently aduanced. Thus whilst it was vnresolued how to proceed against the Persian and *Abassa Bassa* jointly, who continued to spoil and put to ransom all the lesser Asia, and could not be reconciled for the Ianizaries, nor safely attempted for the Spahies (between which two orders there L
was as yet bad intelligence and emulation) the king of Persia conquered the prouince and city of Babylon, put to flight *Hafis Achmet Bassa* the General of that defensiue war, & tooke prisoner *Chur Haffen Bassa* a renowned old souldier, cut in pieces all that opposed him, possessed
* *Niniue.* himself of * Mosul, and Leska on the Persian sea, and diuiding his army, sent part toward Van and Diarbeck, and the other toward Mecha; as if he had hope and designe to share all the Eastern part of the Turkish empire.

His Maiestie the King of great Brittain hauing by his first letters in 1621, complained to the grand Signior, and commanded his Embassador to seek redresse against the piracies and insolencies of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, who in the two former yeares had ta- M
ken aboue an hundred ships and Vessells of all sorts, and had made slaues of aboue twelue hundred of his Maiesties subiects, and had then vpon their wharfes a thousand pieces of iron ordnance, besides those in their shipping, taken from the English and Dutch: The Embassadour pressing to obtain justice against them, or that they might be abandoned and left to the

justice

A iuſtice of his Maieſty, without offence of the Port; the great Viſier offred to giue what commands ſhould be required. But he knowing how weake effect thoſe letters of courſe had produced in other occaſions, and how little obedience and reſpect thoſe common Theeues did beare vnto the Port (the Baſſa's themſelues conniuing, and nouriſhing therby their own gain) eſpecially conſidering, that what face and ſeeming diſlike ſoeuer was ſhewed and pretended, yet inwardly the Turks did take pleaſure and glory, that the Chriſtian was robbed, weakned, and ſpoiled, vnder the ſhadow of peace; did vtterly refuſe to accept of ſuch feigned remedies, but inſiſted vpon two points, wherby only there might be ſome hope of redreſſe in that affaire.

Firſt, That the grand Signior would ſend an expreſſe Chiaus to Algier and Tunes, to call
B to the Port ſome of the principal inhabitants and aduenturers of all the Orders of thoſe Cities, ſuch as ſent and armed out the ſhips of courſe; that being conuented face to face, and accuſed & conuinced of the fact, the State might be truly informed of the conſequence of their outragious theeuery, and prouide ſuch remedie as ſhould be requiſite and ſufficient in the future, to ſecure the commerce and free nauigation in thoſe ſeas.

Secondly, That the Baſſa's who were ſent from the Port rather for cuſtome and pretence of dominion, than for any great fruit or hope of obedience (yet becauſe they returned at the end of their gouernment, they might be reſponſible for matters concerning themſelues) might receiue ſtrict and abſolute order, not to take the tenths of the prizes, becauſe being diſ-intereſſed, and ſharing no profit, there might be more hope, by their authoritie, of execution of the
C grand Signiors pleaſure in reſtraint of their robberies.

Theſe propoſitions at firſt found much oppoſition, but the Embaſſador refuſing all other ordinary & vneffectiue means, required either this form of proceeding, or that the grand Signior would declare them out of his protection, and ſtanding neutrall, leaue them to their own defence: proteſting, That this courſe was offered for good reſpect to the Port; yet if really ſome order were not eſtabliſhed, that there was no remedie but to redreſſe theſe injuries by the ſword, and to puniſh thoſe Barbarians as *Inimici humani generis*, publique enemies to mankind. Deſiring the Viſiers to take it to ſerious conſideration, that ſeeing amitie and correſpondence between the kingdom of England and the Turkiſh empire, did principally and almoſt integrally depend vpon commerce and traffique, the whole foundation was ſhaken and
D made vſeleſſe to both, by the interruption of thoſe theeues. Theſe reaſons concurring with the diſtemper of thoſe times, and their own fears, ſo far preuailed, that by a general conſultation it was concluded, to ſatisfie the Embaſſador in his own waies; and accordingly a meſſenger was diſpatched from the Port, to call to iuſtice ſome of all the orders, to anſwer as Deputies for the Cities, before the Viſier and Divan, in ſuch accuſations as ſhould be obiected againſt them.

This negotiation was begun and finiſhed, as much as concerned the authority of the grand Signior, *Anno* 1622; but being not perfected and tranſlated vntil the next, and that time full of various mutations, we haue thought fit to continue the thred of the former hiſtory, and not to mingle and confound it with relations of ſeueral and vnlike ſubiects and relations: and al-
E though this part be found a little out of his own time, yet both wil be the clearer by the diſſeueration.

The Baſſa and inhabitants of Algier hauing receiued letters by *Mehemet Aga*, both reprehending them for inſolencies committed vpon the Engliſh nation, and commanding them to keep the peace of the Empire, and to bring with him ſome of the principall of that gouernement, did elect foure and twenty Commiſſioners (amongſt whom the Mufti was both head and Aduocate) and gaue them inſtructions and order to recriminate and accuſe the Engliſh of many depredations and iniuries: hoping thereby either to extenuate their own offence, or by pretending iuſt cauſe, to leaue themſelues at libertie to continue their piracies. And the Baſſa and city of Tunes hauing receiued by the ſaid meſſenger reprehenſions and commands
F to the like effect, they reſolued to conſult with their fellomes of Algier, and in their paſſage to Conſtantinople, to joyne to them two of their Councell, and gaue them inſtructions to bee aſſiſtant. But with this caution, That they ſhould not declare themſelues openly, but to obſerue the proceedings of thoſe of Algier, and to conforme with them; that if they

were

were inforced to make peace, they ſhould concur and be comprehended; but if it were poſſi- G
ble for both to eſcape, that they ſhould leaue the breach open, and themſelues at libertie.

They arriued together at Conſtantinople in the month of Nouember, in that yeare in the reign of *Muſtapha*, and made their firſt addreſſes priuatly to the Engliſh Embaſſador, ſubtilly pretending to end all differences ſecretly with him, becauſe they were vnwilling to anſwer and diſcouer to juſtice, what infinite ſpoiles they had gotten: and that if they could accommodate with him, and treat without the authoritie of the Port, they reſolued to promiſe any thing, which they meant not to obſerue; and ſo eſcaping for the preſent, they hoped to doe more miſchiefe, by the aduantage of the ſecuritie of the Engliſh, and their owne breach of faith. But the Embaſſador refuſed to treat with them, as being ſubiects, and not *ſui juris*, and to giue them any hearing, but in the preſence and by the mediation of the great Viſier. Wher- H
upon they applied themſelues, and returned to their reſolution of complaint, and the Embaſſador proſecuting their accuſation, after many meetings and diſputes, by the interpoſition of *Halil Baſſa*, there was an *Amneſtia* accepted on both parts, and a peace concluded on the Articles and conditions following; which were ratified by the proper ſignature of the grand Signior *Muſtapha*, and re-confirmed by Sultan *Morat*, proclaimed in Tunes and Algier, and recommended by ſeuerall letters from the Viſier and Captaine Baſſa, to the Baſſa's, Caddees, and Councell of both cities.

Imperiall Commands ſent by the Grand Signior I
to the Baſſa's of Tunes and Algier, Caddees, Aga of the Ianizaries, Dyes, Captaines, Antients, and other gouernors.

*OVr high and Imperiall Firmo being come vnto you, know, That from the time of our great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of happy memory, the Kings of England haue alwaies bin firme and conſtant with all ſinceritie, in friendſhip, league and correſpondencie with the Imperiall Port, our glorious progenitors, and with our Maieſtie. And in conformitie of the Imperiall Capitulations, League, and peace heretofore agreed vpon betweene both parties, and alwaies vntill now obſerued of vs; For aſmuch as the Engliſh nation, their Merchants and ſubiects, with their merchandiſe, ſhips, and goods, K
are free to come and go, traffique and negotiate ſafe and ſecure in all the parts of our Empire; it hauing neuer been our Imperiall will and permiſſion, that by any of our ſubiects or ſlaues they ſhould at any time be troubled, ſpoiled, or damnified. Which Nation, whileſt vnder the ſhadow of our juſtice and protection they paſſe through the ſeas with their ſhippes and goods, for traffique and negotiation, diuers of you my ſlaues of Algier and Tunes, without conſideration or reſpect of the friendſhip, peace, and League betweene vs and the ſaid King, whereſoeuer you meet with the ſhips of the ſaid Nation, either at ſea, or in any port or hauen, take the ſaid Ships, ſpoiling them of their goods and merchandiſe, making ſlaues and killing the men which you finde in their ſhips, a thing not onely vniuſt, but alſo contrary to our Imperiall capitulations. Wherfore that for the time to come the ſaid Nation ſhall not be ſo vniuſtly ſpoiled and indammaged, there haue bin ſent to you diuers times our Imperiall and expreſſe commands: but you ſhewing L
your ſelues arrogant and diſobedient, (as we vnderſtand) do ſtill continue to rob and ſpoile the ſaid Engliſh, contrary to our ſaid capitulations, intention, and will. The concourſe of merchants and traffike being the nutriment and ſplendor of kingdoms; you ſhall vnderſtand, That it is by no means our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Nation, now in league and friendſhip with vs, be any more in like ſort, contrary to our capitulation, will, and promiſe, ſpoiled and moleſted. Which iniuries and other wrongs don vnto them, beeing a great diſhonor to our ſtate and Imperiall Maieſtie, all you haue not only deſeruedly fallen into our iuſt diſpleaſure, but alſo are worthy of all diſgrace, ſhame and puniſhment. And to the end hereafter all things may be performed by you, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, and that all ſuch as haue committed ſuch inſolencies and ſpoiles, be apprehended and worthily puniſhed, we haue at this preſent vnder our Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded, and haue ſent you this our Imperiall commandement by M
this bearer* Mehemet Aga, *who as ſoon as you ſhall be there arriued, we command you that you call together all, great and ſmall, noble and mean, which dwell in the ſaid places of Algier and Tunes, and publikely in the preſence of them all, with a loud voice you ſhall reade this our Imperiall commandement; and after*

that,

A *that, with the assistance and aid of this our Messenger, you haue deliuered into the hands of the Englisſh men, there appointed for the same, without further excuse and delay, all such Englishmen, their goods and merchandises and ships; which haue beene taken, contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations, from the said Nation; all those transgressors and malefectors, whosoeuer they be, who haue committed these outrages, and caused such disturbance to the peace, league, and friendship, you shall without any fauour chastise and punish according to their deserts. And afterward ye shall haue care, that the Nation, Merchants, and subjects of England be not so vnjustly spoiled, hurt, or molested, contrary to our Imperiall promise and will. Therefore you shall publikely protest and declare vnto all, That hereafter no man do trouble or molest them, but rather meeting them in any place whatsoeuer by sea or land, to helpe and succour them, obseruing the termes of true peace and friendship, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations; and*

B *that euery one take heed and beware, that he do, or permit nothing to be done contrary to our will, peace, and Imperiall Capitulations. And especially you shall looke and procure all things to be obserued, conformable to this our Imperiall will. And if, according to the antient custome, the King of England will establish there any Consull, we command, that the said Consull, as also the Merchants, and other subjects, be accepted, assisted, and protected at all times according to the intention of our Imperiall Capitulation. And all of you, with all your care, endeauour, and diligence, shall alwaies prouide that the said Nation may passe free and secure vnder our Imperiall protection and shaddow, and traffique and negotiate, buy and sell through all the parts of our Dominions, to their content and full satisfaction. And if after the date of this our Imperiall Commandement, we shall vnderstand that the said Nation be again robbed and spoiled by you; be you hereof assured, that our true slaues and subjects are those which do obey our Lawes and*

C *Commands, and obserue our will, as also it is written in our Alcaron,* Obey God, the Prophet, and your Souereigne Lord: *But those that doe not obey nor obserue our Lawes and commandements, are not our slaues nor subjects, but rather by their disobedience do fall into our displeasure, disgrace and malediction. For which, our Imperiall Commands shall be sent throughout all the parts of our Empire, especially to Tunes and Algier, and to all the Ports of Natolia and Gracia, and to what places soeuer else they shall come, to be alwaies driuen from thence, abandoned, and punished, and by all our Officers and Gouernors persecuted. Therefore take you heed, that you say not hereafter you were not warned hereof before hand, but giue notice publikely vnto all men, of the effect of this our command, and looke that you cause euery man to be obedient thereunto. By which doing, you shall be blessed of God, and obtaine our fauour: for if the said Englisſh Nation be againe troubled and molested, and the King of England do send*

D *any forces against those transgressors, to chastise and punish them, do you consider that it shall displease vs, that ye are the cause to disturbe the peace and friendship betweene vs. Therefore take heed and beware of all such actions as may any way tend to the disturbance and violating of our said Peace and friendship. And it being our chiefest desire, that this businesse be duely fulfilled and effected when this our Imperiall commandement shall come vnto you, and that you haue performed our will therein, and shall haue deliuered into the hands of the Englisſhmen, all such men, ships, and goods as haue beene taken from them; you shall aduise vs particularly and punctually thereof, and in what manner you haue satisfied and contented them, and send the same to our Imperiall Port. And all this let be knowne vnto you, giuing alwaies credit and obedience to our Imperiall Firmo.*

E Written the last of the Moone *Gemaziel Ahir*, from the departure of the Prophet 1031. Giuen at our Imperiall City of Constantinople.

The Capitulations or agreement of the peace made with Tunes and Algier at Constantinople, and accepted and signed by the Commissioners of Algier and Tunes.

F

LEt infinite laud and praise be alway giuen to the most omnipotent God, who of his great mercy and grace hath blessed this World with peace and tranquility, for the safety and repose of his people: In conformity to whose diuine will and pleasure, the most inuincible

and mighty Emperor hath alwaies entertained peace and amity with all those who haue desired his friendship, that both rich and poore, and all sorts of people might liue at their ease and content, to giue thankes, and serue the diuine Majesty. Which most blessed peace and correspondence hath euer been obserued by all the Ottoman *Emperors. Therefore whereas heretofore in the happy time, of famous memory, of Sultan* Morat Han *now translated into Paradise (vpon whose soule let the diuine mercies be multiplied) the Kings of England, according to that truth and integrity infused into them, hauing alwaies made demonstration of their loue and sincerity to this happy Port, then, on both sides there was concluded and established a true peace and amity, and from that time to this present haue maintained their Embassadors here: And whereas there was then granted and giuen to the English Nation an Imperiall Capitulation and priuiledge (To say) That the subjects and Merchants of England, with their ships and faculties might freely and securely nauigate in our seas, and traffique and negotiate at their owne pleasure and content, in any part of the Imperiall dominion: Notwithstanding, some yeares past there haue hapned some discontents and quarrels betweene the said English Nation and the Souldiery of Tunes and Algier; and thereupon haue succeeded diuers acts of hostility, and mutuall damages, contrary to the honour of the said Imperiall Capitulation: for which cause, the mighty and famous Prince, among the Princes of the faith of Jesus, obeyed of the greatest followers of the Messiah, only Gouernour of the important affaires of the Nazaren Nation, Scuereigne of the limits of honour and power, Lord of greatnesse and authority, the benigne and sincere friend, the glorious* IAMES *King of England, to whose affaires we wish all prosperity, and whose last daies may be filled with honour and felicity, hath sent to this happy and high Port his elect, esteemed, and prudent Embassador Sir* Thomas Rowe, *Knight, with his Royall Letters; complaining vehemently against the said Souldiery of Algier and Tunes. The substance of which Letters being signified to the Imperiall Majesty of our Emperor, he with his owne proper hand Imperiall Seale hath expressely commanded, and giuen his Imperiall order, that the people of Algier and Tunes for the future should alway be obedient and obseruant, according to the Imperiall Capitulations, and should neuer commit nor make shew of any act contrary thereunto. Which Imperiall command and Edict being sent to those cities by one* Mutafaraca, *of the high court, and our esteemed Capigi Bassa* Mahomet Aga; *who arriuing there, and causing the Imperiall Commands to be read with a loud voice, in publique Councell, and in presence of the Beglerbegh and the whole souldiery of the countries, euery one of them with all readinesse and submission did shew themselues obedient to the said Orders and Edicts of his Imperiall Majesty. But withall replied, That while we did remaine constant and firme in the Peace with the English Nation, some of their Ships, contrary to the Capitulation, league, and Frendship long since contracted on both parts, haue done diuers damages and injuries vnto vs. And whereas from vs there shall neuer any action proceed contrary to the said Imperiall Capitulations, the said English Nation oftentimes made warre vpon vs; for which cause wee haue also been inforced to reuenge our selues: but now our desire is, That his Imperiall Majesty may be truely informed of our state and cause in this businesse, and accordingly let his Majesty dispose and order vs at his owne will and pleasure: for we will alwaies remaine, and be obseruant and obedient. To which purpose they haue joyntly and with one consent, chosen the wise and honourable Lord, reuerend among the prudent, the prouinciall Mufti called* Seich Seidi, *and the honourable and discreet, the Mufti of the City,* Seich Salmi, *and the two Caddees, Iudges of the Prouinces, two that haue beene Gouernors, two Colonels of the army, two Captaines of foot, assisted with other Antients, both Burgesses and souldiers, whom they*

haue

A haue with one consent created and established as their Generall Procurators and Commissioners; and in company of the said Mahomet Aga, sent to this happy Port: who being here arriued, and hauing made knowne his petition to his Imperiall Majesty, he and his absolute minister the Grand Visier, haue expressely commanded vs, That we should call before vs the English Embassadour and the said Commissioners, and with all sincerity and justice that we should heare their differences, and make a finall and good conclusion betweene them; to wipe out all distaste and rancor, and for the time to come, to conuert, and in place thereof to plant a firme and holy peace and amity. In obedience to which order, we haue sent for the English
B Embaßador and the said Deputies; betweene both whom, after long and litigious discourses, we, according to the expresse command of his Imperiall Majesty, haue declared and commanded in the name of his Imperiall Majesty, to the said Commissioners of Algier and Tunes, That for the times to come they ought to obey and obserue the tenour of the Imperiall Capitulations, and in this particular to conforme themselues to this Imperiall order and subsequent Articles: viz.

That for euer hereafter, the hostility and enmity betweene them and the English should be I.
anulled and blotted out of memory, and conuerted into a good peace and commerce. And after the date of this present writing, That the English Ships small and great, merchants, and all
C other subjects of England, freely and securely, at their owne will and content, shall and may passe in the seas, and come not only to this our Imperiall City, but also safely go to any part of our Dominion, without any opposition or hinderance, according to the antient vsage, and Imperiall Capitulations granted in behalfe of both parties.

And that his Majesty the King of England, hereupon may giue order through all the cities II.
and ports of his Kingdomes, to publish, That from henceforth euery trauellor or passenger shall securely go in his businesse peaceably, and that they shall receiue neither in their waies outward or returning, any molestation, trouble, or impediment; but that the subjects on both
D parts shall alway obserue and be obedient, conformable to the tenor of the Imperiall Capitulations made from the beginning of the peace vnto this day; and that for the time to come, there may in Algier be established an English Consull, prouided he be a man of quality and credit: to which Consull and his Merchants, and to all his Nation and their goods, neither from those of Algier, nor from any other subjects of the Imperiall Port, shall be offered or suffered to be done, any wrong or injustice whatsoeuer; but arriuing at the Port, the Officers of Algier (as it behoooueth all strangers should be protected and cherished) shall receiue them with all manner of courtesie and honour. And for the time to come, in case any of the English Nation should commit any act contrary to the peace, amity, and Imperiall Capitulations, for
E such offence the publique peace shall not be broken, but the officers of Algier shall certifie the same to the Consull, who (if it lie in his power) shall punish any such offendor; if not, he shall then certifie his cause to his Majesty of England, or else to his Embassador resident in our happy Port, to the end, that the disturbers of the publike peace may be duely punished. In conformity whereof, if for the time to come any of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, shall haue committed any action contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, by continuing to trouble or quarrell with the said English Nation, the said Consull shall make certificate and complaint to the Beglerbeghs and Commanders of the army, who shall alwaies seuerely punish all such ma-
F lefactors, to the end that those of Algier may be carefull, neuer to do any act prejudiciall to this peace and amity.

All those English slaues which shall be found now in Algier shall be set free, who with a III.
note or list of their names shall be deliuered to the said Consull at his arriuall; in exchange

whereof there ſhall be another liſt giuen vnto the ſaid Conſul, of the names of diuers Muſſulmen taken not long ſince by their Engliſh ſhips and made ſlaues: which liſt the ſaid Conſull ſhall ſend to his Majeſty of England to procure their liberty; and in this particular, of either ſide there ſhall be vſed no fraud or deceit. G

IV. For the time to come, all the Merchants and other Engliſh which ſhall arriue at Algier or Tunes, ſhall be receiued, cheriſhed, and protected from all wrong and injury; and as in all other parts of the Empire they do ſafely and ſecurely traffique and trade, ſo alſo they ſhall peaceably, quietly, and ſafely go, come, and negotiate in theſe cities, without any moleſtation, and alway they ſhall liue according to the antient Capitulations.

V. That the ſhips of Algier and Tunes, ſmall and great, meeting with any Engliſh ſhips vpon the ſea, or in any Port, or ſeale, or other where, ſhall alway ſalute one another; and the Engliſh ſhewing their Colours, that they are Engliſh and friends, there ſhall be no diſturbance or quarrell betweene them, but all mutuall courteſie ſhall be ſhewed; and they ſhall do one to the other all ſuch offices of friendſhip as may encreaſe and fortifie this good amity and correſpondence: and there ſhall neuer be don any wrong or outrage one to the other; prouided that the Engliſh Ships ſhall not take part nor aſſiſt the enemies of the Imperiall Port, nor tranſport in their veſſels the armes or faculties of our foes, nor protect nor defend them. And if it ſhall happen after this concluſion, that it ſhall be found that any Engliſh Ship ſhall ſo carry or protect the goods of our enemies, they ſhall ſtand to their perill, and receiue puniſhment; and yet this our accord and Peace ſhall remaine ſafe and vnbroken vntill the day of Iudgement: And that alway on both parts, with all care and reſpect the antient and Imperiall Capitulations and Commands ſhall be preſerued and obeyed. H I

The ceremony of the acceptation of the Peace.

THe Commiſſioners, (to ſay) the two Mufties, Caddees, and other aboue mentioned, in our preſence made anſwer, That, We all in the name and behalfe of our city of Algier, and as the generall Procurators thereof, are content, and do accept of this accord and agreement, and we doe all ſweare and promiſe to obſerue the ſame; and that for the time to come, on our parts, nor on the behalfe of our ſucceſſors and poſterity, there ſhall neuer any act be committed nor ſuffered in prejudice or diſturbance of this peace and agreement. *All which foreſaid Commiſſioners hauing before vs confeſſed, promiſed, and ſworne; the ſaid Engliſh Embaſſador did alſo ſay*, I in the name of my Lord and King, and as his full Procurator, do accept and receiue theſe Conditions; and do promiſe, That the Subjects of his Majeſty my Lord and Maſter, ſhall alway maintaine with the Subjects of his Imperiall Majeſty, peace, according to the antient Capitulations; and that neuer on our parts ſhall be done any act of wrong, injury, or hoſtility: and at all times, when of either ſide there ſhall ariſe any controuerſie, or be done any injuſtice, that this peace ſhall not therefore be broken, but that the malefactors ſhall be ſought out and duely puniſhed. K L

Which declaration made on both parts, it was by vs regiſtred and publiſhed, and this our preſent aſſurance and writing giuen the firſt of the moneth Gemaziel, *in the yeare of* Mahomet 1032, *being the middle of March* 1622. *Signed by the Commiſſioners of the Grand Signior, deputed for the Treaty.* M

A Ratification of the former Treaty and, Peace sent by Sultan *Morat* at his assention into the Imperiall Throne.

The Commands sent to Algier and Tunes by a Capigi *of the Grand Signiors, in company of* Iserug *the new Bassa of Algier.*

[Written by the Grand Signiors owne hand:]

In conformity hereof let it be obeyed of all my Subjects.

To the Diuan of Algier.

THe *Imperiall Command; To the Caddee of Algier, to all the Doctors and Churchmen, to all the Captaines of* Isuph; *to all the Commanders, Elders, and Officers; to all the heads and Antients, and to all the Souldiery of Algier, and many slaues there inhabiting: At the arriuall of the high and Im-*
C *periall* Affirmo, *you shall know; that whereas from the times of happy memory of my Grandfathers and Fathers (entred into mercy, whose Sepulchres let God glorifie) vnto this day, alwaies the Kings of England haue with all sincerity beene in good peace and friendship with this high Port and all my Ancestors; and therefore the Imperiall minde and will alwaies hath beene, That according to the Imperiall Capitulations contracted at the first Treaty betweene both parties, That the Subjects and English Merchants might freely and securely go and come into all parts of this well-gouerned Empire; and that they should neuer be troubled, hindered, nor damnified by any man, and that the said English with all their Ships should haue safe and secure passage in the sea, vnder the Imperiall protection, and to their hearts content and quietnesse they should follow their trades and merchandise; and whereas in all times past, there was neuer done to them any wrong or dammage by any of our subjects: you my slaues of Algier,*
D *or some of you, not respecting the friendship of those with whom the high Port hath peace and correspondence, do whersoeuer you meet their Ships, either in the Sea, or any other Port or harbor, take them and all their goods, doing them many injuries & violonces; and contrary also to the Imperiall Capitulations, do make them slaues, and many others you kill: for which your actions so vnjust, contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations not long since in the time of our brother Sultan* Osman Han *(now in mercy placed in Paradise) his Majesty the King of England hauing sent his expresse Embassador, and his Royall Letter, aduising him of the wrongs and spoiles (so contrary to the League and peace contracted, and the Imperiall will) committed by you: to the end that all you should obey, and with all diligence, care, and respect, should maintaine and obserue the peace and friendship with all the friends of the high Port; that all those who had committed such actions, so contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations,*
E *should be punished; the said our brother did then send you his expresse Imperiall commands, signed with his hand; which was deliuered vnto you by one* Mutafaraga, *of the high Port, called* Mahomet, *whose dignity God encrease. Which commands being read in the presence of you all, euery man did answer, saying, You were ready to obey the Order and Commands of your Lord; but that you had some particulars requisite to be presented to the Imperiall stirrop, and therefore that you did elect certaine of the principall of your Country, and sent them hither to him as your Procurators: who being arriued in the time of the regiment of my honourable Vncle, and hauing made knowne at the foot of the Throne of his Majesty, all those your reasons which you had giuen in instruction; He gaue command, that those said Commissioners, come hither in your behalfe, with the Embassador of England resident in our happy Port, should haue a conference in the presence of my late Visier* Halil, *then Captaine Bassa; and that all things*
F *there should be accommodated and appeased. Which conference being made in the prescribed forme, there all your grieuances were largely repeated, to the end that by reason of the aboue mentioned inconueniences, there should not happen any breach of the antient Peace and friendship, all matters were then anew pacified, and by writing and new treaty accorded, That according to the antient custome there should be sent an English Consul to Algier and Tunes, and that their Merchants should safely and friendly go*

thither

thither, and into all other parts of this well gouerned Empire, and traffique in all parts thereof, and that they ſhould neuer hereafter be any way hindered, offended, or moleſted by any of you; and for more caution and aſſurance, there being written an authenticall Letter, ſent vnto the King of England, he gaue order and hath appointed a Conſul with many rich merchandiſes arriued in thoſe Ports. Which my ſaid Vncle did alſo then ſend you his expreſſe Command, That you ſhould obſerue all the ſaid agreement. But now being newly aduertiſed, That you my ſlaues of Algier, who wholly contrary to the laſt promiſe, contract, and faith giuen, do get, take, and ſpoile the Engliſh Ships, that you meet on the Sea, robbing them of their goods, and making ſlaues of their men, doing them all wrong and damage; and conſidering the King of England is conſtant and ſincere in his Peace and League with vs, and that the protection and cheriſhing of his ſubjects is neceſſary vnto vs; and that for you of Algier, or other of my Beghs whoſoeuer, to take veſſels, goods, or men from the ſaid Engliſh nation, ſo contrary to the laſt agreement made, and faith giuen, is a thing much againſt our will and the Imperiall Capitulations by vs granted; and alſo it being our will, that betweene you and them there ſhould be a good peace and correſpondency, and that the ſaid Engliſh Nation may ſafely and ſecurely traffique in all parts of this our well gouerned Empire, and that no man preſume to do them any dammage or injury, and that for the time to come the tenour of our Imperiall Capitulations in their Land may be duely obſerued, we haue ſent you this our Imperiall Command, and We do command you, G H

That euery one of you, of what condition ſoeuer, do obey according to the tenour of this my Imperiall Command, ſent you on purpoſe for this only reaſon; That whether by ſea, or in any other place where you ſhall meet any Ship of the Engliſh, their people or goods, you do vnto them no violence or wrong whatſoeuer; but alway according to the Capitulations giuen them, and the laſt treaty and agreement made with you, that you hold and keepe a true peace and friendſhip with them; and alſo that you obey according to the commandements formerly ſent to you in this buſineſſe; and that you neuer do nor ſuffer to be done any act contrary vnto them, but that you with all diligence obſerue and obey this my Command ſent you: in doing whereof you ſhall obtaine our fauour and benediction. And ſeeing according to the agreement made betweene you, there were diuers ſlaues ſet free and ſent vnto you from England, you alſo ſhall ſet free all thoſe Engliſh ſlaues that ſhall be found in your hands, and ſhall conſigne them to the Engliſh Conſull. And that whereas the Ship of England which was ſent vnto you with diuers Engliſh goods, hauing beene diſcharged, and receiuing your ſafe conduct, and returning to their Country, being met by ſome of Algier, who had no reſpect to the accord and faith giuen, they did take both the Ship and goods, and make the men ſlaues: therefore that act being very contrary to our louing peace and friendſhip, you ſhall deliuer the ſaid Ship and goods and men to the Engliſh Conſull; and take heed you do not herein ſhew diſobedience to our Command, and that thoſe whoſoeuer, who haue been ſo bold to commit ſuch an offence ſo contrary to the Peace and faith giuen, you ſhall cauſe to be ſeuerely puniſhed. In concluſion, know you, that in no caſe it is our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation hereafter ſhall be any way troubled or damnified, ſo contrary to our Imperiall Capitulation. Therefore let euery one of you be admoniſhed, That according as it is written in our Law, ſaying, Obey the Lord God, the Prophet, and the Emperor; that thereby obeying you ſhall obtaine my bleſſing; you ſhall neuer conſent nor permit that any thing be done contrary to my Imperiall will: for if hereafter it ſhall be made knowne vnto vs, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation ſhall be againe outraged and injuried by you, be aſſured that euery one of you ſhall fall into my indignation and diſgrace, and you ſhall bee puniſhed with all ſeuerity. Therefore be you aduertiſed, that the obeying of my Imperiall Command ſhall be vnto you an aſſurance and ornament both of glory and felicity; and hauing my benediction, euery one of you vndoubtedly ſhall obtaine happineſſe in this World, and glory in the World to come, and you ſhall enjoy all your deſerts. Then you my ſlaues of Algier, according to the tenor of this my command ſent you, be you friends with the Engliſh ſincerely and perfectly, and doe you entirely obſerue the Peace and League, and vſe kindely the Engliſh Conſull among you; and protect and defend their Merchants, and whether by Sea or in Port you ſhall meet any of their Ships, ſhew vnto them all friendſhip, and omit no occaſion to aid, defend, and to ſhew loue vnto them: and this our Imperiall Command, both of the arriuall, and in what ſort you haue accepted and obeyed it, and in what forme you haue eſtabliſhed the Peace, and reſented my will and command, you ſhall aduiſe the whole by your anſwer vnto our high Port. And thus let it be knowne vnto you, giuing alway credit vnto our Imperiall Signature. I K L M

To

A

To the Bassa of Algier.

THe High and Imperiall Affirmo *being arriued, you shall know, Whereas in times past the Gouernorus in that Prouince before you, by receiuing the fifths and tenths of the ships, goods, and men, which the Souldiery of Algier did take and rob from the English Nation, and by giuing them leaue and authority to do such depredations and acts, so contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, the said souldiery haue taken so much boldnesse and daring, that they*
B *continue to do innumerable spoiles and violences vnto the said English Nation: which their insolent actions being made knowne vnto the high Port, and there was instantly written and sent vnto them exspresse and Imperiall Commands, That in no way, nor by no meanes it was not the will nor the Imperiall minde, that the Gouernours should in such sort conniue, and so euidently (contrary to the Imperiall Capitulation) should take any fifths or tenths, nor giue nor permit any licence vnto the said souldiers, to do so injust things; but that in this particular they should all do their diligence & loue, and that they should neuer take any fifths or tenths of the goods of the said English, stollen by the said souldiers, nor that they should permit vpon no*
C *pretence, that the English ships, goods, and men, so contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, should be neither by them nor any other, outraged, molested, or damnified; and that if hereafter it should be knowne, that the said Gouernours should notwithstanding anew haue taken and accepted the fifths and tenths of the ships, goods, or Englishmen, robbed and taken by the said Souldiery, and because they haue consented and suffered the Souldiery to doe such depredations, wrong, and spoiles, and for hauing also beene the cause to violate the Peace, League, and friendship betweene vs and the King of England; that as faulty and guilty men they should be condignely punished. Now being that we are anew informed, That the Souldiers*
D *do not obey the said Commands and Orders sent by vs, and that by you the Gouernors there is leaue giuen them to continue in their injust course of robbery and oppression, and that still you do take the said fifths and tenths, and that you proceed in violating of the Imperiall Capitulations; Know you, That you are fallen into a disgrace, being it is in no sort our Imperiall will, that the said English Nation should be so damnified and outraged. And to the end that all the Commands giuen and sent into those parts for this businesse, may be obserued and obeyed, and that hereafter by no meanes there may neuer be giuen nor permitted any liberty to the said Souldiers to do the like depredations vpon the said Nation, and that neuer you nor any after you, do neuer take any fifth nor tenth, nor any part, but that alway the said Nation*
E *should be protected and defended, We haue giuen this our Imperiall Commandement, and we do command,*

That when this shall be arriued, you shall obserue and do according to this our high and Imperiall Command; onely giuen for this reason, and also in conformity of the former Commands sent in this businesse: which you shall obey with all diligence and care; and that you shall neuer take nor accept any fifth nor other share, of the ships, goods, or men, that the Souldiers of Algiers shall so vnjusty take (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) from the said English Nation: nor neuer hereafter shall giue leaue, nor suffer, that the Souldiers, so contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations, shall doe such spoiles and depredations to the said
F *English Nation; and that in no case you shall neuer permit that Englishmen shall be there sold, but you shall alway protect and defend them. And know of certainty, That if after the arriuall of this our Command, we shall vnderstand, that the said Nation shall be anew outraged and injuried, no excuse from you shall be accepted nor heard; and not only you shall be depriued*

of

of your gouernment, but you ſhall be ſeuerely puniſhed. Therefore be aduiſed, and take heed G
that you commit no act that ſhall be contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations giuen to the ſaid Nation. And in concluſion, take you order that all my ſlaues of Algier may keepe peace and friendſhip with the ſaid Engliſh; becauſe it is my Imperiall deſire, that the ſaid Nation and their Merchants may come, go, and traffike in all parts of our Empire. Therefore do you do all your diligence and endeauour, and to ſee that the Peace be ſetled with the ſaid Engliſh, and take heed that you commit no negligence nor errour whatſoeuer. And thus be it knowne vnto you, gining alway faith to our Imperiall Signature.

H

The like three ſeuerall Commands, only ſome circumſtances altered, according to the requiſites of the place, were written and ſent to the Dye, and Baſſa, and Diuan of Tunes.

This Peace thus concluded and promulged, was well and exactly obſerued for fiue yeares, and not one Engliſh ſhip aſſailed or taken, and at laſt ſix hundred Mariners, ſubjects of his Majeſty, releaſed from a miſerable ſeruitude and captiuity: vntill a ſmall offence was done to them, which they eaſily apprehended, to renew their deſire of ſpoyle, by which onely they liue, as being a people without induſtry or traffique; there being but one way to maintaine a Peace with them who are glad of any occaſion of warre, not to begin, nor to vnbinde their hands; for the ſoule of Wiſedome is Preuention. And ſo we proceed to our generall Story.

I

1624 *Ali Baſſa the great Viſier beheaded.*

On the foure and twentieth of March *Ali Baſſa* the great Viſier, by whoſe meanes Sultan *Morat* was aduanced to the Crowne, was ſent for into the Seraglio; where being queſtioned by the young Emperor about the affaires of the Perſian inuaſion, he was condemned inſtantly to loſe his head, which was executed in the place, and his body throwne out naked into the ſtreets. The occaſion of his ſudden death was attributed to his diſſimulation with the Grand Signior in the loſſe of Babylon, that he had ſuborned falſe aduice that there was no ſuch matter; either for ſloath, or feare to take vpon him the charge of the warre, with an army that would not obey in the city: and the baſe mony which he had cauſed to be coyned, being but one fift ſiluer, with which he made a whole payment to the Souldiery, putting the good K
dollars into his owne purſe. But indeed the true cauſe was his owne ſordid couetouſneſſe, who in ſix moneths had heaped vp an infinite treaſure, by ſale of all Iuſtice and Offices; which in the end weighed him downe to the ground, and ſupplied (like a large ſpunge) their preſent wants for the intended warre in Aſia. To this dignity was aduanced *Cerques Mechemet Baſſa*, an antient Viſier, a man of an honeſt and ſincere nature, and one too good for thoſe times; who after he had enjoyed his place but a ſhort while, laboured to ſurrender it, as vnable to ſupport or content the inſolency of the Spahies in their vnreaſonable demands of impoſſible benefits. In the meane time the preparation for the warre in Aſia was aduanced, though the reſolution to ſet forward was deferred, vpon hope that by the authority of *Cherques Mehemet Baſſa* and other new Miniſters, *Abaſſa Baſſa* might be reduced to obedience, and L
that great feare and impediment remoued; they hauing vndertaken to endeauour it, though it appeared very difficult, being that he yet continued the ſiege of the caſtle of Angria; and that his ſcattered army that wintered abroad, begun to returne to him from all parts, it was iudged he would be loth (although the Grand Signior had ſent him another) to truſt his life vpon a pardon.

The Emperor prepares for a war in Hungary.

While the Grand Signior was thus threatened in Aſia with the King of Perſia and his owne Rebell *Abaſſa Baſſa*, the Emperor of Germany made great preparations for Hungary, to the number of fifty thouſand men, which bred great jealouſie at the Port: But his Embaſſador the Baron of Curcy, lately arriued, to preuent a generall breach, and the expiration of the laſt Treaty made for twenty yeares at Zitwar, in the yeare 1606, diſſembling all the aids giM
uen to *Gabor*, gaue the Grand Signior full aſſurance, that his Maſter had no intent of breach with him; but openly diſſauowed the Truce with the Prince of Tranſyluania, made at Goding: and that *Cæſar* would make warre vpon him, vnleſſe he might haue all the places in Hungary in *Gabors* poſſeſſion reſtored; deſiring only a neutrality from the Port, according to the antient

A antient Treaty. The Prince of Transylvania, who now repented that he had giuen away the vse of his late victorie which he might haue enjoyed, and foreseeing the storme that was like to fall vpon him, sent to the Port for succors: who with much ado obtained some Tartars, and Commands to the Bassa's of Bosna, Buda, Caniza, Agria, and Temizuar, to be ready with all their frontier garrisons to defend and assist him in any motion of the Emperor, or else not to stirre: being vnwilling to abandon him, who was then their chiefest bulwarke toward that part of Christendom, whilst most of their forces should be employed against the Persian in Asia; who had then entred Diarbech, the antient Mesopotamia, and taken Misbin and Merdin, two principall places, and all that prouince, except Hamit the chiefe city, wherin was a Bassa who defended the same with great valor and reputation: and it was not then known where the Per-
B sian would limit his ambition, many other parts fearing him for that which he had alreadie done: for he had separated the Arabia's, and all to the East of the Persian sea, from the Turkish empire: as hauing conquered from Balsara Northward, almost all to his own Derbent vpon the Caspian sea.

Vpon the 18 of April the Victuallers for the Asian army passed ouer the water, but the dispatch of the Vizier and the army was still delaied, and little speech when they should depart. In the mean time the Persian preuailed, without any opposition of consequence: & no man could discern the inward cause of this slowness, only the outward appearance was, a suspition and complaint from the Black sea, the City of Caffa hauing sent their Mufti & other Commissioners to inform the grand Signior, That 400 boats of Cossacks were abroad; That
C they had done great spoiles in the coast of Tartaria and the Turkish Empire, and taken many ships laden with prouision for the Port; and forty thousand more armed and horsed, ready for some land attempt: which put all those parts into great fear; of which they desired that present care and prouision might be taken and ordered for their defence. Whereupon there was held a new Councel, and *Ibrahim Bassa* dispatched with thirteen gallies, to make gard til more aids could be prepared; intending not long after to send a land army, and the Captain Bassa with their whole fleet.

Abassa Bassa (the supposed rebell of Asia) hauing collected his Army together, suddenly rose from Angria, and departed Eastward, hauing done no spoile to the city nor inhabitants, but left behinde him a better fame than any Gouernour sent from the Port: he now accepted
D of the grand Signiors pardon, and in obedience to his command, and shew of his submission, marched directly towards Diarbecher, to vnite himselfe with *Hasis Achmet Bassa*, as was supposed for the defence of that Countrey, who onely made some head against the Persian. This resolution of his departure did much seruice to that State, for thereby the Ianizaries & Spahies were accorded, and incouraged to goe to the Warre, who before could not be drawn out, suspecting one another, and fearing Him more than the common enemy. For it was euident, if he had staid in the way, either the souldiers would neuer haue gone out, or beene subiect to delay, mutinies, and dissentions, by reason of their factions. But now vpon this good fortune to the State, the great Vizier, Treasurer, Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the Officers and Army were passed ouer to Scutari, and mustered the tenth of May, beeing ordained to march the
E twentieth; which was expected with great longing, in respect of the Souldierie, who as yet behaued themselues soberly, and made shew of reformation and obedience to Lawe. They were all about 30000 Ianizaries and 40000 Spahies, many being gon before to make the army compleat, and the place of their rendevous about Brussia.

In the mean time a report was spred, that the king of Persia was dead; but that gained little credit with the Turks, who knew it to be a vsual policie of that King, in hope therby to slacken the hast of their forces sent against him: but it did rather quicken them, insomuch that they said he had bin often dead, bur stil reuiued to some greater mischief.

Biram Bassa was dispatched General of the frontier of Poland & Bugdania, with four thousand soldiers, and order to draw together and command al the Beghs and garisons, and to raise
F forces in that quarter, in preuention of some attempt feared from the Cossackes, who were in arms vpon the border, and had put all into distraction. To the 13 gallies before mentioned, to make a gard in the Black sea, were added ten more; who first transported *Iean Gheray Han*, to re-establish him Prince of the Tartars, and depose *Mechmet* aduanced the year before. That

reſolution was caried very ſecretly, and though there was ſome whiſper, yet he was not declared vntil the day he kiſſed the grand Signiors Veſt, took his leaue, mounted his gally, & departed. The cauſe of this ſudden mutation was pretended, That *Mechmet* was accuſed by the Poles to haue broken the peace, and ſo they would pacifie the Coſſackes on better hopes: but the truth was, he was ſuſpected, becauſe he had excuſed to ſend aid to the Aſian War, being therto required, as fearing the entry of the Coſſacks into his country; and the rather, becauſe his brother *Shachin Gheray*, who fled twelue years before to the Perſian, being in diſgrace with *Achmat*, was now returned into Tartaria, at the inſtant when the Perſian did inuade the Turks dominions, as if there had bin ſome confederacie between them, both thoſe brethren beeing braue ſoldiers: and therfore it was feared that a dangerous reuolt or war would breake out in thoſe parts; for if *Mechmet* were not ſuddenly ſurpriſed, it was thought he would defend himſelf and his poſſeſſion. When the Gallies had performed their ſeruice to the new prince, they were appointed to join with the others, and to diſcharge *Ibrahim Baſſa*; one *Huzein Baſſa* a Vizier of the Bench being ſent to that command: *Biram Baſſa* hauing likewiſe order to haue an eye vpon the Tartars, as well as on the Poles. At the firſt departure of the firſt gallies, as ſoone as they came into the Blacke ſea they met with a ſmall Carmiſal, who reporting, That only forty boats of the Coſſacks were before them, the Ianizaries mutined, and forced their General to retire into the chanel, and demanded more ſtrength; who were ſupplied with more men, and ſo proceeded.

The Pyrats of Tunes and Algier in rebellion

Amongſt other diſtractions and reuolts of the ſubiects of that Empire, the pyrats of Algier and Tunes caſt off all obedience, not only vpon the ſea where they were maſters, but preſuming to do many inſolencies vpon the land, and in the Grand Signiors beſt ports. They began at Rhodes, where the caſtle ſhot at them. Afterward, a fleet of ſix pyrats of Tunes met with a Flemiſh ſhip called the Moon, laden at Alexandria; with whom notwithſtanding their peace, they fought and fired her, not ſauing any thing but ſome of the men, whom they made ſlaues: and after comming into the port of Salines at Cyprus, they found two Flemings more, and two Venetians, able to fight with two ſuch fleets. As ſoone as they came into the Road, they now claimed peace of the Flemings, ſeeing themſelues too weake to ſet vpon all foure; proteſting, That if they would aſſiſt their enemies, the breach was on their parts: who therupon vnworthily promiſed a neutralitie. Then they ſet vpon the Venetians, the captains whereof went aſhore to craue protection of the Caſtle in the graund Signiors port; for which the Begh demanded fifty thouſand Dollars, or elſe they ſhould take their fortune. Which they refuſed, and ſo were expoſed to their own defence; and the pyrats beginning with the ſmaller ſhip, ſhe made a good reſiſtance, but hauing no help, ſhe was thrice fired, and at laſt burnt to the water. The Captaine of the Dolphine (the greater ſhip) not ſhooting a ſhoot, with his men ſtole aſhore and fired her, being a Veſſell of eight hundred tunnes, and armed with forty eight braſſe pieces. The ladings of theſe two were valued at 300000 dollars, of which the Pyrats ſaued nothing: & in euils it was a bleſſing that ſuch a ſhip fel not into their hands, ſeeing the Cowards were not able to hold ſo ſtrong a fort. From thence they ſailed to Scandaron, where finding another Fleming and a Polacra, they ſurpriſed both, and then prepared to land. The Aga of the Scale and all the inhabitants fled, and they ſacked the town, and robbed all ware-houſes: and not therwith content, they ſet it on fire, ſo that nothing remained but ſtone walls, that would not burn. The greateſt loſſe to ſtrangers fell vpon the Dutch and Engliſh; for the former loſt about thirty thouſand, and the later about ten thouſand dollars; and ſo they reigned in the port eight daies and departed. An inſolencie vnſufferable, if that State had any ſence of honor or profit: for by this example there was no Scale of the grand Signior ſecure, and all trade muſt be giuen ouer, if no preſent courſe were taken for a ful redreſſe.

Vpon the laſt of May, after long expectation, the great Vizier *Cerques Mehemet Baſſa* and the Army for Aſia began to march: and *Abaſſa Baſſa* had made ſo many halts on the way, that he was greatly ſuſpected of the Ianizaries, that he lingred vpon purpoſe for them; and at the beſt it was feared, that he would onely returne to Arzirum and keepe the ſame. The Perſians death was no more ſpoken of, but it was rather doubted hee would be found aliue ſuddenly neer Aleppo: and the Emir of Sidon did once more threaten Damaſcus and Ieruſalem. Thus

A the miſchiefs and feares of that State followed one another like claps of thunder: For *Mechmet Gheray*, made Tartar Han the yeare before, being encouraged by his brother *Shachim*, newly come from his baniſhment in Perſia, would not ſubmit to the Grand Signiors Order, and reſigne his Principalitie to his Couſin *Iean Gheray* (not long after ſent and made Prince) and therefore he was againe recalled, fearing to put that countrey to trouble. But before that Order could ouertake him, hee was landed, and *Mechmet Gheray* came downe with a great army to reſiſt him; and the Generall of the gallies in the Blacke Sea was forced to land both his Ianizaries and Artillerie for his defence, and with ſuch power as they could make (not exceeding foure thouſand) to entrench them vnder the countenance of their Ordnance, whence there paſſed ſharpe blowes in three skirmiſhes, and on both ſides about
B two thouſand ſlaine; the Generall diſpatching one galley to the Port with aduice, and requiring preſent ſuccours. Whereupon the eleuenth of Iune a peremptorie Order came from the Grand Signior, That ſeeing his honour was now ingaged, hee would maintaine *Iean Gheray*, and giue him ſpeedy ayds. To which end a Councell was held the ſame day, and reſolution taken to ſend ſupplies, either the Captaine Baſſa, who was then ready for the Mediterran, or by order to the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia. And thoſe brothers, then in poſſeſſion, had no retreit, but muſt maintaine their diſobedience by the ſword, which was a matter of as much danger as euer befell the Turkiſh Empire. Hereupon the Captain Baſſa with ſixteene gallies went into the Blacke Sea in ayd of *Iean Gheray*, made Prince of the Tartars, whom *Mechmet Gheray* had beaten off the land, and forced him to retire to the Grand
C Signiors gallies that carried him thither. The Emperour being ſtill reſolued to giue thoſe people a Prince, ordered all the frontier ſuccours to meet him to place him by force; which was, in the opinion of many that knew the countrey, held a matter of great difficultie, all the Tartars taking part with *Mechmet*, who had in his army neere threeſcore and ten thouſand horſe.

Troubles in Tartary.

In the mean time the great Vizier *Cerques Mehmet Baſſa* marched towards Dierbecker; from whence there was news, That the Arabs, ioyned with ſome of the Grand Segniors forces, had giuen a checque to the Perſian: which did encourage their owne army, who were not yet out of feare of *Abaſſa Baſſa* and his troupes (that ſtayed about Keſarie) earneſtly expecting what part he would take. Yet the ſeaſon being hot, the Perſian aduanced little, but onely forraged
D the countrey.

Vpon the ninth of Iuly, betweene ſeuenty and foureſcore boats of the Coſſackes, with fifty men apeece (rowers and ſouldiers) watching the opportunitie of the Captaine Baſſa's being ingaged in Tartarie, entred the Boſphorus about breake of the day; where diuiding themſelues, they ſackt and burnt almoſt all the villages and houſes of pleaſure on both ſides the Riuer, as farre as the Caſtles, and within foure miles of Conſtantinople. The principall places were Biugdary and Ienicoie, on the Grecian; and Stenia on the Aſiatick ſhore: where hauing made great and rich booty, they ſtayed vntill nine of the clocke in the forenoone; and then all the City hauing taken the alarme, the Grand Signior came downe to the water ſide, the Chimacham to the water Port: *Halil Baſſa* made himſelfe Generall in this tumult,
E and hauing not one galley ready for defence, hee cauſed to be manned and armed all the ſhip-boats, barges, and other ſmall wherries, to the number of foure or fiue hundred, with ſuch people, as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; and diſpatched all the horſe and foot in the city, to the number of ten thouſand, to defend the coaſt from further ſpoyle. Neuer was there ſeen a greater feare and confuſion for the time: yet they expected that thoſe poore Theeues would vpon their preparation preſently retyre. But they ſeeing the Turks boats make towards them, drew themſelues together into the middeſt of the channell, not farre aboue the Caſtles, and ſtayed firme vpon their Oares in battalion (in forme of a Creſcent) expecting the aſſault, the wind and current being againſt them. *Halil Baſſa* cauſed ſome ſhot to bee made afarre off, but they anſwered not with one muſket, onely houered from one
F ſhore to another, without any ſhew of retreit. Hereupon, the Generall ſeeing their forme and reſolution, thought it not fit to aſſaile them with ſuch boats as hee had, but eſteemed it wiſedome enough to keepe them from further attempts; fearing if they had broken his fleet of boats, which was eaſily done, that they would venture downe to Conſtantinople, which was now empty of all defence. And thus theſe few Rouers hauing firſt made great ſpoile, lay

The Coſſacks enter the Boſphorus.

the whole day vntil Sun-set, facing and braving that great and formidable ci ty of the World, G
and all the force it could make, and departed with their booty, with their Colours spred, vn-
fought with or almost resisted.

This small action and bold attempt to affront so great an Empire, made a strange discouerie, how much vnder the reputation the terror and strength of the state was then, how weake and vnprouided they were. But as the Oracle commanded them, first to seat ouer against blind men, it hath bin their fortune euer to haue blind enemies. *Philip* of Macedon had neuer projected, nor his son *Alexander* neuer aduentured with so smal forces, the large enterprise of subduing the Eastern Empire, if they had not discouered the effeminate and taint courage of the Asiatiques, by the admirable retreit of *Xenophon*, & swift incursion of *Agesilaus*. Great armies not daring to oppose the vertue of their small numbers. So we see, of smal beginnings H
oftentimes great matters do arise; for by this attempt of the Cossackes the Poles had absolutely broken the peace with that Empire.

Huzein Bassa strangled in the Court.

Huzein Bassa that had beene twice great Visier, and vpon the tumult of the Souldierie had made an escape the yeare before (a man turbulent and hated of all men) beeing at last taken and carried into the Seraglio; after hee had (by many faire promises) confessed and restored much of the treasure carried away by him, was strangled in the Court, and had the iust reward of his tyrannie. And the present great Visier, sent to make head against the Persian, did yet stay at Iconium, expecting the Soldierie, who did slowly draw to him: so that it was thought he would Winter in Aleppo, being not able to proceed in the war that summer.

The Captain Bassa, sent into the Black sea, to establish *Iean Gheray* Prince of the Tartars, I
was forced to retyre to Caffa, being repulsed from the land; the people retaining *Mechmet* in possession. Wherupon, to cure the wound with as little skar as was possible, he in the Grand Signiors name was constrained to confirme the other, and to be content to accept a curtesie, for which he gaue small thanks. And *Cante-Emir-Emirze* hauing again entred Poland, & done some spoil by the cutting down of some woods, was intercepted in his retreit, and routed with the losse of two thirds of his Army: and the Poles with a very great Campe intrenched neer Chotyn (the fort besieged by Sultan *Osman* in the late war, & surrendred vpon the peace) expecting the euent of the great troubles on that side.

The Cossackes returne to the Bosphorus.

The Cossackes after their first retreit returned again to the mouth of the Bosphorus, with double the number of their first fleet, being an hundred and fifty boats at the least; the supply K
hauing lurked behind, either for succour in case of need, or for some other aduantage. They staied off and on vpon the coast three daies more, burnt the Pharos, and some two or three villages. They threatened to come to the Arsenall, putting all the City in great confusion. Gards were continued and re-inforced in all parts vpon the land; and at last two Gallies, filled with porters and labouring men taken vp in the streets, and about twenty boats, were sent out to keep watch, where they remained at the entrance of the Channels. But the Cossackes with their great booty, and two or three Carmisals taken, retyred; and so the feare was past for that time. But some of the poore Cossacks beeing taken straggling too far vpon the land, confessed vpon examination, that *Mechmet* Prince of the Tartars was confederat with them in this attempt, in reuenge of the offer made to displace him. And this confession hastened L
the death of *Huzein Bassa*, who in the time of his gouernment, of a prisoner made *Mechmet* a Prince, and gaue libertie to the Lords of Poland that were prisoners at the Port, (of whom mention hath bin made before) and dispeeded suddenly the Duke of Sbarasky, who if they had then bin there, without doubt they had been kept hostages; for in this tumult the Agent of Poland ranne some hasard, if by the wisdome of the * Chimacham it had not bin preuented.

* *Lieutenant to the great Vizier.*

About the four and twentieth of Iuly the Prince of Transylvania made an absolute Peace with the Emperor, without the knowledge or warrant of the Port. Which caused great suspition among them, but they bare it both silently and patiently, in respect of their own troubles then in Asia and other places. Therfore the Prince kept the conditions the more secret: M
howsoeuer, it was known that he surrendred and disclaimed all title to Hungary, and consented that the Emperors son should be presently chosen King thereof, and keepe his Court at Presburg: That all the Estates of Hungary should receiue him, and the prince of Transilvania assist and serue him in all his occasions: That *Bethlem Gaber* should remain quietly prince

of

A of Transylvania, and Earle of the Siculi: That he should hold Cassovia, & two or three other Signiories which he formerly possessed, during life; and after, that they should returne absolutely as members to the Crown of Hungary. And this article did trouble the grand Signior, That the Prince at all had mentioned Transylvania without any relation to him, as if that prouince had depended of the Empire. Some other articles there were concerning the estates of priuat men, and mutuall pardons; this which hath bin set downe is the substance of the Treaty.

In the mean time a Chiaus (sent by the grand Signior to the Emperor, with newes of his inauguration, and to offer the continuance of the antient leagues and treaties between them) returned to the Port with the Emperors letter of acceptance, and confirmation of the Treaty
B made at Zitwa, which was the last: wherein it was agreed, That what either side possessed at that time should remain as it was; and if any road should be made, and prisoners taken, or places surprised during the truce, on either part, that restitution and full satisfaction should bee giuen by him that innouated. *Ali Bassa* the Visier before, and *Cerques Bassa* at that present, did both of them consent to the renuing of this treaty, which was often broken: ignorant vtterly of the affaires of those parts, and of the disaduantage to the prince of Transylvania and their own State; for herby the Truce being again in vigor, the grand Signior was bound to surrender Vatz, and many other places of importance, which had bin surprised in a time when there was neither absolute peace nor war between them, and was obliged to make many other restitutions of damage. But the Imperial party did not presse those smaller matters, only demanding Vatz, with all the country depending, held themselues for their limits, strictly vnto that
C treaty, which was then again confirmed on both sides. This conclusion discontented many, who laid the blame on the information of the Bassa of Buda, a suspected pentioner of the emperor: but it was the grand Signiors troubles in Asia that made him silent, and suffer both that losse and many affronts from Tartary and the Cossacks.

Newes of the Turks army ouerthrowne by the Tartars.

There arriued in the mean time from the Black sea two gallies, which brought the bodies of two Visiers, and certain newes of the ouerthrow of the Army, sent vnder the command of the Captaine Bassa to plant the new prince of the Tartars: who hauing landed his forces and artillery, was routed and beaten, himselfe wounded, twenty eight pieces of Ordnance lost, two Visiers of the Bench, and about fiue thousand soldiers slain and taken, the rest saued by flight
D vpon the Gallies; onely the Captaine Bassa with his fleet staied about Varna to receiue new order. There had not happened to that Empire in many Ages a losse of more importance in respect of the consequences; An Imperiall Army beaten, and thereby Tartaria separated from obedience to the Turkish Empire, and that people taught to know, That they were able to make and maintaine their owne Prince. But this was no time to take too much knowledge of that disgrace; Policie teaching them, rather to cure, than to make the breach greater. For the grand Signior after that, dispatched a galley to the Prince of the Tartars, with a Vest, and a Sword for his sonne, and a confirmation to him of his place. Casting all the faults vpon the Captaine Bassa, and disavowing his attempts; though hee was sent with Commission to do it. Which (to make the dissimulation good) was like to cost him his head, being sent for
E in to answer the same. The sudden yeelding on the grand Signiors part shewed a great weakenesse and feare, to flatter a victorious enemy: and it was doubted how the Tartarian would accept a gift which he had gotten by his own strength: for if he stood out hee would proue a dangerous neighbor, the city of Constantinople being alwaies open to him; for Adrianople and the borders did then fear him, and euen some Cossacks did ioyne with him, although before they had been mortall enemies. Yet to make some compensation of this defection, *Abassa Bassa* the strong rebell had made his peace with the great Visier in Asia; and to seale the credit of his faith by another trecherie, sent in the heads and estates of three of his chief followers to redeem his own. Which much raised the dul countenance of that Court; for although the pardon was dishonourable, yet was it seasonable. But they durst not ioyne their
F Armies for fear of new stirres, for he went toward his own gouernment of Arzirum, with promise to keep it safe; and the Visier marched slowly towards Babylon, as then held by the Persian.

About the twentieth of September the great Visier *Cerques Bassa* abiding in Iconium, and

Abassa

Abaſſa Baſſa in Kaiſerie (neer thereunto) he was erneſtly prouoked by the Ianizaries to ſet vpon him. But the Viſier hauing expreſſe order, not to make the breach greater with the rebel, but to vſe all means to appeaſe him, and to reconcile him to them, would not be drawn to conſent therunto: for which cauſe, and ſome other their ſmall diſcontents, they twice ſtoned the tents of the Viſier, and wounded him in the head. Wherupon hee aſſembled the Commanders of the Spahies, declaring vnto them the great truſt the grand Signior had in them; and ſhewing them an abſolute Order giuen him to keepe good tearmes with *Abaſſa*, and neuer to fall to blowes with him, he deſired them to finde ſome way of pacification betweene him and the Ianizaries: who inſtantly promiſed their obediénce and aid to execute all his commands. Then the Viſier called together ſome of the Captaines of the Ianizaries, and perſuaded them ſo to worke with their companions, that a peace might bee concluded betweene them and *Abaſſa Baſſa*. Who finding their fellowes very vnwilling, had much adoe to perſuade them: in the end it was agreed, that the Viſier ſhould treat and accommodate all differences. Who preſently ſent to conferre with *Abaſſa Baſſa*; but he by no means would truſt himſelfe, or giue a meeting, and anſwered, That hee would neuer depart from his Followers and Army; but if he deſired to ſpeake with him in priuate, that he ſhould firſt ſend his brother the Beglerbegh of Caramania, and *Elias* Baſſa of Natolia in hoſtages, and that then he would come vnto him. Which diffidence of his much diſpleaſed, and the Viſier was conſtrained to treat the peace by mediation. Which hauing at the laſt brought to effect, he took his oath three times vpon the Alcaron, To hold him as a friend, and neuer to doe him any violence. The Ianizaries alſo gaue their conſent in publique, promiſing to maintaine the word of the Viſier: and the articles of their reconciliation being drawn in writing, were ſent to *Abaſſa*; who reciprocally made the like oath, and accepted the peace vpon the conditions following, ſigned by the Viſier: That he ſhould be confirmed Baſſa of Arzirum, his ſon Beglerbegh of Orfa, and his Lieutenant of Maras (all on the borders of Perſia) and that he ſhould depart with all his army to the defence and cuſtodie of that prouince, and wait vpon the aduantages of the Enemy.

Abaſſa reconciled to the great Viſier.

While *Abaſſa Baſſa* did treat this accommodation, *Colophon Muſtapha Baſſa* (the principal of his Colleagues in all his rebellion) made ſome ſhew of retyredneſſe from him, and vnderhand to parle with the Viſier apart; and in concluſion wrot vnto him, and promiſed to deliuer or to kill *Abaſſa Baſſa*. Which Letters of his being either intercepted or ſent him, and ſeeing that *Colophon* had reſolued to kil him treacherouſly, he called him into his tent, and asked him plainly, Why he went about to betray him; and withall ſhewing him his own hand, hee drew his ſword and claue his head, deliuering all his goods to ſome ſeruants of the Viſier, to conſigne vnto their maſter. Then it was anew moued to *Abaſſa Baſſa*, That he ſhould aduance with his forces preſently towards Babylon, againſt the Perſian, who had retired his main Army to oppoſe the princes of Vsbecke, who had made ſome incurſion; leauing fiue thouſand garriſon ſouldiers in the city. But *Abaſſa* refuſed to go, vrging, That hee was onely bound by the Treaty to returne and make gard in his gouernment of Arzirum. Whereupon the Viſier, forced to ariſe and aduance, he arriued at a caſtle called Nigda (neere Aleppo) wherein were diuers chiefe followers of *Abaſſa Baſſa*; who hauing vnderſtood of the Pacification made, came out with preſents and victuals to meet the Viſier and his Army, and were of him well receiued. But the Ianizaries enuying to ſee them ſo well vſed and honoured, in a fury fell vpon them and killed them all; and vſing the opportunitie, entred the Caſtle, put to execution their wiues and children, and euery perſon found therin, and all others that could be diſcouered in the bordring villages appertaining to him, to the great diſcontent of the Viſier. Which being known to *Abaſſa*, and ſeeing they had broken their oath and faith, he roſe with his Army, and marched right to the Imperial camp; where arriuing, one of his captains with 400 horſe began the dance, and without delay fell into the Quarter of the Ianizaries, doing ſome execution for an hour and half; in which skirmiſh there fell on both ſides two or three thouſand. The Viſier ſeeing this beginning, partly forced by the Ianizaries, and partly for his honor, drew vp his whole army to come to a battell in their defence. Which *Abaſſa Baſſa* perceiuing, and that which hee expected not (who hoped that the Vizier & Spahies would haue giuen him leaue to reuenge many iniuries vpon the faith-breakers) vnwilling to fight with the

A the grand Signiors General ſounded a retreat, and got himſelf and his army a mile or two diſtance off. The Vizier to ſhew himſelfe faithfull to the Ianizaries, and to keepe in grace with them, ſent four Beglerbeghs with their regiments in purſuit of him; who finding *Abaſſa Baſſa* and his army in good order and firm, made ſome ſhew of skirmiſh to little purpoſe. But they returned to the campe, and told the Vizier, that they had found him in battalion with 40000 men, and that they were not able to deale with him. The next day *Abaſſa* with many great threatnings marched away directly for Arzirum; and the Viſier to Diarbecher, for his hybernation; in great diſpleaſure of the Ianizaries, and the rather for that he was beloued and protected by the Spahies.

The brother of *Mechmet Gheray* in the mean time brake through the prouince of Bugdania *The Tartars make an incurſion into Poland.*
B (*Radula* the Vayuod hauing made eſcape) and entred into Poland, firſt ſpoiling the country, and driuing away all the cattel; and afterward entred Wallachia, and beſieged his ſon prince of that country, in his caſtle of Tergoviſta, notwithſtanding they were ſubiects of the graund Signior. And in ſted of ſending back the artillery loſt in the laſt defeat (which was expected) he entred the caſtle of Caffa, the chief port of the Negropont, and carried away from thence all the cannon and munition, which he tooke vp into the land to his town of Bagchaiſeray, as if he meant to fortifie himſelfe, a practiſe at that time vnknown to the Tartars. Which were ill ſignes of ſubmiſſion, & yet the name of Muſſulmen, at any time when they come to blows doth eaſily accommodate all quarrels.

About the 12 of March following, the Tartar Han ſent an Embaſſador to the Port, with an *Tartar Han ſends an Embaſſadour to the Port.*
C offer of his Maſters ſeruice, which was receiued with great joy; excuſing the entry of the Tartars into the frontier of the Turkiſh empire, as being don in the ſeruice of the grand Signior, only to fetch *Cante-Emir-Emirze* and his followers out of Siliſtria, and to compel them to retyre, to auoid and take away all occaſion from the Poles to lament the injuries don by them; that therby they alſo might take the like order for their Coſſacks, and ſo the peace might be duly obſerued on both ſides. Whereupon a poſt was diſpatched into Poland, aduiſing what was done, and requiring that on both parts the like correſpondence might be obſerued; or els that the grand Signior would vnderſtand, if the Coſſackes made any new attempt, that the peace was broken on that ſide, being they could haue no excuſe to lay the fault vpon the Tartars. This vſe was made of the Embaſſage: yet the Vizier was not without jealouſie of the
D ſinceritie of the meſſenger, but thought he was ſent for exploration, to diſcouer the force, preparation and reſolution of that State; and therefore they made all ſhew of good prouiſion, arms being giuen out to the Boſtangies, and a great fleet dreſſing for the black ſea, wherin the Coſſacks had bin already ſeen, and rumor made them to exceed 300 boats: inſomuch that all the inhabitants of the Boſphorus did daily retyre to Conſtantinople. The fear was generall, which was ſufficient argument of weakneſſe; and the year before had ſhewed what might be don with a ſmall and reſolute force.

Now that the ſeaſon ſerued, the Perſian prepared to continue the inuaſion, and the Vizier 1625
E to oppoſe him. All the Soldierie departed towards the campe, though they intended not to meet, but to make war by diuerſion. *Abaſſa* got ſome credit at the Port, and they eaſily apprehended all occaſion to beleeue his reconciliation. One of the chief commanders in the Perſian army ſent to *Abaſſa*, to perſuade him to deliuer Arzirum his gouernment to the Sha: which he ſeemingly accepted, and trained him on with 8000 men to take poſſeſſion; when in the mean time he drew together his troupes, and ſuddenly ſent them vnder the conduct of a prince of Georgia, and ſet vpon them, who ſuſpected no ſuch treaſon, routed them, and ſlew a thouſand, whoſe heads he diuided and ſent for preſents to the Port and the camp. Vpon which action, by the multitude he was proclaimed to be the beſt ſubiect of the graund Signior, and named to be Vizier. But ſome thought it not ſo great an aſſurance of his fidelitie, becauſe he went not in perſon, nor would come out of his ſtrength, though commanded to draw into the
F field to aſſiſt in the generall ſeruice: excuſing himſelfe vpon the neceſſitie of defending the frontier. Neither could he refuſe to ſend ſome of his followers to this exploit (being vrged therto by ſome of his Captains) without diſcouering himſelf too ſoon; his reſolution vndoubtedly being, That while thoſe two great Oppoſits ſtroue for the whole, he would keepe a part

of

of Asia, and his own head; knowing that hee could make his peace with the surrender to the Conqueror, at pleasure. G

From these parts were not the greatest nor neerest feares: for the Prince of the Tartars hauing made peace with the Poles, and taken the Cossackes into his fellowship, made shew of some designe against the Turkish Empire; and the people were indifferent, many inclining to him. The Cossackes with three hundred Frigots crossed the Black sea, sacked and burnt the suburbs of Trapezond, and all the adioyning coast; and retyring, were receiued into the port of Ghiosleue, belonging to the Tartars; which augmented the iealousie, that they would vnite.

A new rebel in Asia.

At the same time there appeared a little rebel in Natolia, one *Ianet Ogli*, a simple Spahi not aboue 24 years of age, dwelling in the plains of Tyria; who vnder the colour of reformation of the commonwealth, came down to Smyrna with ten thousand soldiers. The city amased, sent to Constantinople for succours, but receiued an answere as cold as their means to helpe them: The Christians fled to their ships, by chance in the Port: the gouernor to the Castle. But it seemed he had priuat quarels with some great men in the towne, whose faction sent out 4000 shot to keep the passage; which being beaten, he came before the city and executed his wil, beheaded two Caddees, punished diuers insolent soldiers, placed and displaced the Officers, and proclaiming peace in the grand Signiors name, offended no man, nor did any spoyle; but giuing a particular protection to the Consuls, and promising them in their quarel, if they were oppressed, to return with his rod of correction, he departed to his own home without any further trouble. The operation of that medicine proued wholesome, though it appeared dangerous; and he pretended to haue had order from the State, a disorderly way: but it was likely they did rather conniue at, than approoue of that rude execution of justice. Howsoeuer, not long after he had disturbed Smyrna, he tooke vp armes again with a greater power; which followed the impunitie or prosperitie of his former attempt; for he marched toward Bursia in Natolia: and the State was forced then to take his actions into consideration, which they would haue ouerseen. There were two Councels held about him, and a resolution taken, while his forces were but new and wauering, to resist the beginnings, and to send out some strength to suppresse him: but who should command, who would obey, or whom to trust, could hardly be agreed. He still vsed the name of the Grand Signior, and the common blind of rebellion, Reformation: but what he would haue, or whither his designs drew him, was the more dangerous for the vncertaintie. H I K

The Armado sent into the Blacke-Sea for suppressing the Cossackes, arriuing at Varna, a garrison towne kept by Gebegies (an inferiour Order of souldiers) there fell out a quarrel betweene them and the Ianizaries. These (after the sway of their insolence) would take from the other their Ouens in their owne Towne: which being not endured, a priuate fray was begun betwixt them; which breaking out into a faction, the fellowes of both Orders became interessed and ingaged, and they fought a sharp battell; many of both sides fell, to the number of a thousand. The Captaine Bassa, who could not preuent this quarrell, sought to appease it, by doing some justice against the Gebegies; but it proued onely enough to inrage them against him as partiall; and too little to satisfie the Ianizaries, who thereupon forsooke the gallies, and kept the land, leauing the Armado without soldiers to gard it, in danger of the Tartars and Cossackes. L

The great Vizier in Asia gaue command, That no soldier should retyre to Winter Garrison, but stay with the army about Babylon, the fittest season being then to make the war; disposing himselfe in the mean time to take in places of lesse import. *Abassa Bassa* moued not, and promised obedience in other things, but to go out of his hold of Arzirum he did peremptorily refuse.

Strange predictions of a great plague insuing.

The yeare and season was full of contagion, which was obserued by some forewarnings, and some extraordinarie disposition of the aire and accidents: For on the eighth of May at midnight there was a great and fearfull earthquake at Constantinople, which indured about six minutes, and crossing the sea, was felt in Greece, Asia, and the Islands. And on Munday being the twenty ninth of Iune, at night there began a most terrible tempest, with so violent and continual thunder & lightning, that al the city of Constantinople shewed as if it had bin M

on

A on fire; at the end whereof fell a ſtorme of haile, that brake tiles and glaſſes, ſo that ſtones by report were taken vp of a hundred and fifty drams; but from credible witneſſe that weighed diuers of them, the next morning there were found of ſixty and ſeuenty drammes apiece, (which is about ſeuen or eight ounces) wherewith many were wounded. On Sunday the third of Iuly, another tempeſt of thunder and lightning began at Conſtantinople, which burned a woman and her childe in their bed, and ſlew much cattell in the field. And the fifth of Iuly the ſickeneſſe was growne to that height, that the Turks proclaimed their publike proceſſion and prayers; which is performed with great ſolemnity by the Mufti and all the Mullaes, accompanied with the Viſiers and chiefe of the city, attended by the people at a little Moſchy on the edge of the plaine of Achmadan, ouer the water on Grecia ſide: which cete-
B mony is neuer vſed vntill the mortality exceed a thouſand a day; which was eaſily knowne by the burials, that were all made without the wals, and account of them were kept at euery Port; and that day was numbered only to go out of the gate of Adrianople nine hundred and ſeuenteene. On the eighth following there died a thouſand thirty foure: by computation of the whole (being many Ports of buriall) there could not die leſſe than two or three thouſand a day, beſides Galata, Pera, and Scutari, the infection being ſpred almoſt into all the villages. The ſame day, Proclamation was made in the city, That no Butcher ſhould kill mutton; a murrion or plague (whither was vncertaine) hauing taken that ſort of cattell ſo violently, that they died in multitudes with ſores in the fields; and it was not knowne what men ſhould eat, nor where ſafely to prouide it.

C Vpon the approch of the great Vizier toward the Prouince of Babylon, there was a moti- *The Perſian feignedly deſires peace, and the Georgians ſend their Embaſſadors.*
on made on the part of the King of Perſia, of peace; but it was vnderſtood by the Vizier to be but an artifice to delay his Army. There came Embaſſadors from the Princes of Georgia, who hauing formerly depended vpon the Perſian, were about nine yeares before betraied and tyranniſed by him: in reuenge whereof they hauing taken protection of the Grand Signior, and the laſt ouerthrow giuen to the Perſian (though attributed to *Abaſſa*) being executed by a Nobleman of that Nation, they then ſent to offer themſelues in a confederacy of that war. The meſſage was acceptable, and the Archbiſhop of Calcedon their countryman appointed to receiue, entertaine, and returne with them as Embaſſador from the Port, to confirme and diſpoſe the whole Nation (who were gouerned by three Princes) to enter into this League,
D and to make warre vpon the King of Perſia. The race of thoſe three Families had long ruled that Countrey, whereof one was accounted the chiefeſt (though the others had ſeuerall juriſdictions) of which the maſculine line was then failed, except only one, who being made Turke young, was a Baſſa neere the Red Sea. The State ſent vnto him, and made meanes to the Vizier, that hee might returne and be their Prince; but on condition that he ſhould become a Chriſtian: but that being denied them, they elected the daughter of their laſt Prince, notwithſtanding their antient Law, that excludes the ſucceſſion and rule of women; and hauing procured therein a diſpenſation from the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, thoſe Embaſſadors had alſo otder for formes ſake, to procure the confirmation from the Grand Signior; which was granted them.

E The Ianizaries mutined in the Blacke-Sea being againe appeaſed, the Captaine Baſſa ſent out *Sackſachi Baſſa*, hauing made a fleet of an hundred and foureſcore frigots, and armed them, to keep the riuers about Oſu, by which the Coſſackes deſcended. *Sackſachi* arriuing at Oſu, and finding all quiet, on the Biram day went aſhore; and being at dinner, was ſurpriſed by the Coſſackes, and hardly eſcaping, loſt all his fleet, and many of his men. The Captaine Baſſa hauing aduice of this ouerthrow, made all haſte to Oſu, and finding no ſhew of enemy, reſolued to go on towards Caffa; but that night the Coſſackes deſcending with their boats by many out-lets, the Baſſa of Oſu ſent to him to returne ſpeedily and make haſte towards Conſtantinople, for that the enemy, growne proud with their late victory, ſuppoſing no other force abroad, were directly gone for the Boſphorus, and were reſolued to aſſault the Imperiall *The Coſſackes returne to the Boſphorus.*
F city, or at leaſt (as they boaſted) to burne the Arſinall. Vpon this aduice, the Captaine Baſſa ſet ſaile, and the next morning by breake of day, and in a fog, fell in with the fleet of the Coſſackes (conſiſting of three hundred and fifty frigots, that catried from forty to foureſcore musketiers apeece) and was ſo mingled with them, that he could neither vſe his ordnance for the danger of his owne gallies, nor auoid them without fight. Thus engaged, the Coſſackes

furiously began the assault, and being three or foure boats to one gally, boorded them: twice they entred the maine mast of the Admirall galley of the Turks, killed three at the helme, and broke the rudder off; which being againe fastened by foure Christian slaues, and the Sunne breaking out, so as the gallies could vse their great shot, and the winde rising, the Cossackes were forced to leaue their fight, and betake them to their oares; where in parting, with the ordnance (as was reported) thirty boats were sunke, and six or seuen hundred men taken vp. The conflict was bloudy on both sides, being come to hand blowes, and therein the Ianizaries almost consumed. The Captaine Bassa sent to the Port for supply of men, and all that tooke pay of the Grand Signior, euen to the old soldiers which were put to pension, were sent away, some to make gard at Chanakchy by land, on the mouth of the Bosphorus; other by water to re-enforce the Armado, and all was filled with trouble and terrour. The feare of the Tartars likewise was not so extinquished that there was not cause to expect some attempt by land, *Shachi Gheray* being in armes; and those motions if not suddenly appeased, would occasion another breach with Poland.

The Plague at that time raged as if it would haue dispeopled the city of Constantinople and the villages adjacent, and the Francke Nations did all feele it; but the Turks and Iewes by Armies, as if they went to conquer hell, if there were no league and confederacy betweene them. On the three and twentieth of Iuly there was Corban or sacrifice made at the gate of the Seraglio, two Beeues and a hundred Sheepe: at euery other Port of the city two Beeues and some Sheepe for the contagion and warre.

Ianet Ogli returned againe towards Smyrna, and the Chaya or Lieutenant of the Bey of the city, raising three thousand souldiers, went out against him, hoping to draw more to follow him: they met at a plaine, and fought valiantly; *Ianet Ogli* remaining victor, with the death of the Chaia, and two thousand of his men: and he was dayly expected at Smyrna, hauing sent before to assure the people that he would do no violence to any Trader or Inhabitant, but only renew the Oath of obedience to him, and punish some that were authors of this enterprise against him. The Merchant-strangers were so confident in him, as they purposed not to stir, but to receiue him as their Protector; and thought the Rebell an honester man, than any Iustice of their Towne. The mystery of this strange course could scarce be penetrated, for he still reported he had authority from the Grand Signior; though it was denied at the Port; for they were glad to know how to quiet him.

Ianet Ogli taken and slaine.

Yet not many daies after, he fought a battell which he lost, and was taken, being betraied by his owne followers; and it was desired that he might be brought aliue to be seene at the Port; but the Ianizaries crucified him, and sent his, and his mothers, and his brethrens heads together, so that the tumor was suddenly allayed.

About the foure and twentieth of September the gallies returned from the Blacke-Sea, with the losse only of foure, by a great storme. The Captaine Bassa brought in triumph two hundred and seuenty poore Cossackes, and was receiued, as if *Pompey* had againe finished the Piratique war, that almost famished Rome. But they did not triumph at the victory, but ouer the conquered people; and they esteemed this sea fight next to that of Lepanto; but the nobler for the escape: for doubtlesse if the winde had not risen too great for the frigots, which were in number neere foure hundred, the whole fleet had beene in danger to haue been towed Northwards euen vnto the jawes of the Enemy.

The great Defterdar strangled and thrown into the streets.

About the same time, the great Defterdar, Treasurer of that Empire, was sent for into the Kings Gardens, and there by the Bustangi Bassa strangled and flung out in his shirt into the streets; an vsuall end of riches and greatnesse in that Court. Otherwise, the State of that Empire did then produce no remarkeable alteration: for the jealousie of the Tartars was somewhat appeased; but the Termes with Poland were vncertaine, while the Cossackes were yet vnrestrained. The Grand Signior vsed all flattery to the Tartar *Han*, to enter Poland in reuenge: Which he promised, and rode as farre as Akyrman; but from thence excused his not proceeding vpon the waters: which was doubtfully interpreted, That he had no will. In the meane time the King of Poland sent an Army against the Cossackes, to shew his sincerity to the Peace; which was very well taken of the Turks.

The Persians ouerthrown by the Georgians.

The Georgians in the meane time gaue a blow to the Persian, and sent many of their heads to the Port by a Nuntio; who was presently dispatched away with the Bishop of Calcedon,

as

A as Embaſſador of the Grand Signior, to enter league with thoſe Princes, to make ſome diuerſion. *Abaſſa* the old Rebell would not yet truſt himſelfe with the Viſier, but pretended he would vnite himſelfe with the Georgians in the ſeruice of that State; although he fortified himſelfe ſtrongly, and diſcharged all his Ianizaries. The Grand Signior to aſſure him, or to preuent that hee ſhould not reuolt, ſent him the dignity of a Viſier, a Sword and a Veſt, and authority to make war in company of the Georgians, in quality of a Generall (ſo well a ſtrong Theefe proſpered there:) and hee arriued not long after with his army at * Moſull, a place recouered from the Perſians in the way to Babylon: who vnderſtanding of ſupply of eight thouſand, ſent thither by the Perſian to re-inforce the garriſon, ſent out a party of Courds, that encountred and broke them, obteining a full victory with the fall of two thou-
B ſand, and the Generall and two young Sultans taken priſoners; who were ſent to the Port, with the heads of their followers. The news of which ouerthrow was receiued with much joy and content in the Court. The Viſier demanded a million and two hundred thouſand Checquines to be ſent before-hand for foure moneths pay of the Army; giuing this reaſon, That foreſeeing he muſt Winter in thoſe parts, and that Babylon would be defended, it was neceſſary to haue mony to hold his ſouldiers together; for if he ſhould diuide them to their Hybernation, it would be Auguſt before they could be drawne into the field, and the Spring loſt: and to hold them that were already almoſt in mutiny, were impoſſible, vpon credit. To this end all waies were vſed to raiſe money; a third of which ſum was ſent from the Port, but the reſt was hardly found (for the ordinary charge far exceeded the reuenue) and fell very heauy
C vpon ſuch as were forced to contribute.

* *Niniue.*

The Perſian King, reported to be taken in his limbes at the ſame time (which did commonly forerunne ſome ſudden enterpriſe) lay with his Army about Tauris, indifferently to ſuccour Babylon, and to attend the Circaſſians, or to make ſome diuerſion when he ſhould ſee the Viſiers Army ſetled and ingaged in a ſiege: Which was not long deferred; for hee beſieged Babylon, wherein was eight thouſand Perſians in defence. His regular army (conſiſting of Ianizaries and Spahies, directly paied from the Grand Signior) were lodged on the one ſide; and the Beghs (which were thirteen) with the Timariots and Souldiers repartited on their gouernments on the other. As they began their approches, in a morning twenty thouſand Perſian horſe fell into the quarter of the Vizier, and did a great execution: but the
D alarme taken by the Beghs, they came to his reſcue, and the Perſians retired. In that faction there fell fiue or ſix thouſand Turks. Whereupon after there was made a generall muſter, and not found aboue foure thouſand Ianizaries of twelue thouſand; nor ten thouſand Spahies, of thirty thouſand that were written for the war: ſo that all the ſtrength did reſt in the Beghs, who were well followed, and little care or obedience in the other Orders. There were ſeuen Princes of the Arabs, who were ſubject to the Grand Signior, and ought to ſerue and aid him when they were commanded; but being ſummoned, they raiſed their forces by common conſent, and ſtaied vpon their owne borders; anſwering, They durſt not diſpleaſe the poſſeſſor of Babylon; but if the victory did returne, they would yeeld their antient obedi-
E ence vnto the Grand Signior: and if the Perſian did hold his recouered right, they alſo would no longer acknowledge any ſuperiour, being (as they pretended) borne of free Anceſtors.

About the fiue and twentieth of March there fell a great ſtorme vpon the Bailo of Venice, for an accidentall fight by a Venetian Veſſell with a Bey of Andry: Many of the Turks were ſlaine, and the Captaine Baſſa pretended great damages; auerring, That their gally was rich and rifled. He anſwered wiſely and ſtoutly, That it was a chance; and would vnderſtand of no compoſition, but onely write to the Senate to examine the cauſe by juſtice. But the Turks ſought to draw an inference, That he, as Procurator of the Republique, was bound to ſtand in Law before the Iudges of the Port (where he was like enough to be heard and condemned
F together) and then to remaine as a Pledge for ſatisfaction. But he would not yeeld ſo much aduantage; inſiſting, that he was an Embaſſador, to expound the ſence of his Prince, and to maintaine the amity: and ſo by his ſtanding mute the buſineſſe reſted in diſcontent. 1626.

The gouernment of the Turkiſh Empire daily declined, and (as a great and ſtrong Body) had violent luctations before it yeelded and waſted. The Ianizaries about the laſt of March mutined *The Ianizaries mutine againſt the Boſtangi Baſſa.*

mutined against the Bostangi Bassa, for beating one of their Order (for disorder in the night) by the Grand Signiors command, and before his window. For by their Canon, they ought to be deliuered to their owne Capes to be judged and punished; yet, though the Emperors Word should be aboue the Law of his slaues, and though he avowed the fact, sent, and wrote vnto them, nothing would appease them; onely his life they pardoned, exacting his displacing, with sentence of incapability euer to beare office. He had beene a good seruant to his Master, carefull of the publique Honour, seuere against the licentiousnesse of the times, and therefore vnfit for them. Afterward (following the example) they began to quarrell with the Vizier, who had fauoured the Bostangi; and with much labour they were silenced for a time, but not quieted. This was their estate: What could then strangers expect, when the Emperor suffered injuries of his owne bondmen? G H

At the same time, an open rupture betweene the Grand Signior and the King of Poland was like to succeed an inuasion made a little before into Podolia by the Tartar *Han*; who returning from thence with a great prey, was met, and lost with a part of it, the greatest part of his Army. Whose brother *Shachin Gheray* refusing to accompany the action, as contrary to the Peace and his Oath, sent the Generall *Koneſpolsky* the copy of the Order from the Port; which being discouered, the Vizier hearkened after any ouerture or meanes to make vp the breach, and to procure a new reconciliation. But the ouerthrow giuen ro the Tartars encouraged the Poles to declare their reuenge, and to auow the attempt of the Cossackes, who were then ready with seuen hundred frigots to fall vpon some part neere Constantinople, munition being allowed them, and a Polish captaine to euery boat. They threatened to fight with the Grand Signiors Armado, and made a vow to inuest and carry away the Admirall galley. All the villages on the Bosphorus to the gates of Constantinople trembled, and the city it selfe was not without feare; softened by certaine prophecies and Astrologians, who foretold a great blow from a Northerne people. Twenty gallies kept the mouth of the channell, and the Captaine Bassa was to depart within ten daies with forty more; almost already conquered with his owne and the common feares. I

The Grand Signiors army besieged before Babylon.

Certaine newes was brought from Babylon, That the King of Persia had besieged the Viziers campe, and that he was lodged vpon his Trenches, and had cut off all accesse and prouision: so that the Grand Signiors care was then greater to saue his Army, than to recouer that City. Yet his Ministers did abate little of their pride, but were more ready to doe a wrong or any insolency than euer; insensible of their owne estate, or dissembling it a peruerse way. K

The King of Poland being yet very loth to breake the peace with the Grand Signior, which had been concluded betweene them chiefely at the instance and mediation of his Majesty of Great Britaine; although the Tartars had entred his countries, and done great spoile, he caused his Minister to write to his Majesties Embassador at the Port, to lay downe their just complaint: which the Embassador did, in confidence of his friendship with the Chimacham; to whom he went, directly pressing him as well to a consideration of his Masters and his owne estate, as of that of the King of Poland: That all the burthen and blame would finally light vpon him; it being the vsuall way of great Princes, to discharge their failings and errours vpon their Ministers. This admonition moued the Chimacham much, and this was the substance of his answer: L

In all Lawes and Religions (said he) *there is nothing more odious than to be esteemed a Lyar; because Law and Religion presuppose truth, especially in great Ministers, vpon whose faith much of the publique quiet doth depend: but most especially at such a time* (for then it was * Ramazan) *separate to deuotion, that it was most abhominable to God to sweare a lye, by whom he swore, and by the life of the King, all whose benefits might be poyson to him in his heart, if euer either he or his Master gaue any order or intimation to the Tartar* Han *to enter Poland, or to doe any act contrary to the Peace: which if he had done he might justifie, seeing the Cossackes the yeare before did make the first breach, and gaue the occasion.* To witnesse this assertion hee called the * Reitzkatab, who made no scruple, *jurare in Verba Magistri*, to sweare to what his Master had said: onely he confessed there were Commands written to *Mehemet Gheray*, by intelligence and consent of the Polish Generall, to enter the country of the Cossacks on both sides, to reduce them to obedience; with restriction of any damage to be done to those comprehended in the Peace: and that M

* *Lent.*

* *Chancellor.*

what-

A whatsoeuer the Tartar Han had don more, was and should be disauowed, as beyond his Commission. Many other matters he repeated, as the remoue of *Caute-Emir*, and the death of *Hagy-Key*, only to auoid any occasion of their parts. And in conclusion, all his discourse tended to an expression of desire to maintaine a good and perfect Peace. His Majesties Embassador asked the Chimacham, what he was willing he should write in answer to the King of Polands Ministers? Who briefely answered, That they had no other intent but to keepe the late Treaty; and that if vpon the Poles part (as they had begun) the Cossackes should be restrained, they would take absolute order with the Tartars; who had no other pretence of quarrell, but a claime of a certaine pension (mentioned in the Treaty) vsually giuen them; which if his Majesty of Poland would establish, there should neuer be more occasion of those
B mutuall laments: that it were a dishonour to the Grand Signior, to seeke and entreat the comming of an Embassador to settle those late disorders; but if the King of Poland pleased to send one, he should be receiued with all rites and respects. To this the English Embassador replied, That he doubted some ill example of the vsage and detention of others, would make the Polacke wary, and difficult to engage any person of Quality. To which he gaue all such assurance of good and free acceptation as words could expresse. All which, the Embassador returned in writing to the Ministers of Poland; entreating both parties to conniue at what was past, and endeauor by all meanes afterward to restraine those mutuall incursions, which were begun anew by the Cossackes, the noise of whom had strucke the Imperiall city with great feare.

C Vpon the third of Iune the Spahies assembled in the Hippodrome; discontent with the gouernment of the old Chimacham *Georgi Mehemet Bassa* (the ablest and wisest man in that State, but to Christians malicious, and of the Poles a continuall persecutor) who had the authority of the great Visier in his absence at the war; and in great fury ran to the house of the Mufti, and demanded of him to pronounce a sentence of death against him, and that hee would rise and informe the Grand Signior of their will; which if he refused, they threatened a generall reuolt, and to doe their owne justice. There was no remedy; the Emperor being enformed, was pleased instantly to displace him, and to giue the office to *Regeb* Captain Bassa, or Admirall, and his office to * *Imbrahor Bassa*; hoping thus to quiet all matters. But this gaue them no satisfaction, they demanded in greater fury his life. The poore old man was
D retyred into the Grand Signiors protection, who vsed all meanes to appease them, offering to banish or confine him: but nothing would content or separate them vntill he had deliuered him vp; who the next day was strangled and throwne into the streets, where the Barbarians vented their spleene vpon his dead body, cutting off his eares and nose, and carrying them in triumph to their fellowes. Presently they demand the life of some others, principally of *Mozat Chiaus* the Customer (odious to all men) whom when they could not finde, they sacked his house. Within a day or two after they began to be quiet, vpon promise, That if he could be found he should be rendred to them, and others be brought to Iustice: but all feared that that Pestilence and Destruction of the city would escape by force of his money, hauing three times before beene in the like danger. That great Minister or Chimacham was ninety six
E yeares old, had been forty fiue yeares Visier, and thrice Chimacham. The great seruices he had done, euen to the preseruation of the Empire, nor any other respect could protect him from this rage. The occasion then taken against him, was, That he did conceale the ill estate of the army in Babylon, flattering the Grand Signior, while their fellowes perished; and certaine Letters written in bloud, pretended from the Campe, produced to accuse him; which afterward were discouered to be written in Constantinople. When the sentence was deliuered to the Bostangi Bassa, he came to the lodging of the Chimacham in the Kings Garden, where he thought himselfe in sanctuary, and for reuerence to his age and place, held it (being written) in his hand, rather to intimate, than to be the messenger. The poore old man perceiuing it, desired an houre to pray; and conjured him to warne the Grand Signior, hereafter, not
F to be so easie to consent to shed innocent bloud, which within few daies he would repent: and lastly he entreated, that he might not die by the foule hands of the Hangman: which cost him deare; for the Bostangies executioners, either for respect, or for want of skill, could not finish his life (so great was his old heart) in one houre: he was buried by a few Rascals, his owne seruants hid, and no man daring to accompany him to his last Bed.

The Spahies cause the Chimacham to be strangled.

* *Maker of the horse.*

The

The immediate foregoing discourse was filled with the injustice and insolency of man; G
but this bringeth with it the example and justice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his enemies and wicked men, vnjustly spilt, to preserue his image euen amongst them that study to destroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldnesse, *Non esse curæ deis securitatem eorum, esse vltionem:* The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the last sedition, or being innocent, vnwilling to participare in the infamy, or rather it was their turne to do somewhat; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Constantinople in the channell, and
The Ianizaries petition against their fellow-mutiniers. came downe to a garden house vpon the sea in the night, where the Emperor priuatly reposed, and began to exclaime against the death of the innocent; protesting they had no share therein, but as obedient slaues they desired the peace of the State, and that Iustice and quietnesse might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accused as H
** Lieutenant to the Aga.* the authors of those tumults, they named their owne **Segmen Bassa* as the principall, and eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Signior gaue them milde words, and promised to do justice, and to punish all such as should be found guilty: but nothing being don to satisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a party to all their counsels, at least his preferment made him obnoxious to that suspition; and it was most true, that the *Segmen Bassa* and his followers & faction were the contriuers of the fall and muther of *Georgi Mehemet Bassa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not protected by the new Minister; the Ianizaries rose againe, and by force brought downe the gallies I
neere the City, and landed and held a Councell very secret in their chambers. This bred much suspition and feare; but the day of publique audience being come, according to the custome, they repaired all to the Seraglio, and waited in their order: their *Segmen Bassa* only did not appeare; and it was thought he absented purposely by agreement with the Chimacham, lest there should be some occasion to examine the past businesse, which would not endure the light. The * Diuan being finished, and the Viziers and * Caddee Leschers com-
** Publike Councell.* ** Chiefe Iustices.* ming towards the gate, they were stopped by the Ianizaries, and told plainely they would speake with the King. Such persuasions as were requisite were vsed; but there was no remedy, they would deliuer their owne message. The young Emperor at first was afraid, and retired; but to auoid greater inconueniences, resolued to come out to them. Order was instant-
** Holy-men.* K
ly giuen to send for the Mufti and the Antients of the Law, and many * Santons, for the *Segmen Bassa*, and others of quality to be present at this action. In the meane time a Throne was brought out, and placed in the great Court, and the Grand Signior came forth and sate in his Majesty, attended and assisted by all the great Ministers and Officers of his Empire, to strike a reuerence and feare into the souldiers, whose purposes were not yet discouered. Contrary to all expectation, an Electo spake for them: *In all humble manner professing their obedience, and lamenting the sickenesse of the State, and the dayly insolencies; and declaring, as they were not guilty of this last mutiny, so they were ready to spend their bloud in defence of their Prince, and for the reformation of those disorders (to which there could be applied no remedy but by the sword of Iustice to cut off all those heads which held Conuenticles, and plotted dayly alterations, onely to gouerne the whole* L
Empire at their will.) They desired their Petition might be accepted, and those disturbers of the peace sought out and executed, in which they would assist: and that new names and titles might be forbidden, which many had taken vp as Heads of Factions; and the Souldiery reduced to their antient discipline: Which if his Majesty would grant and speedily put in practise, they were ready to die in his seruice; otherwise, as there was no hope of quietnesse, so they did foresee greater mischiefes dayly contemplated, which they would oppose as well as they were able. At the end of this Oration (which might haue become a *Cato*) they deliuered a briefe petition in writing, wherein they modestly accused the new Chimacham of confederacy and conniuence with their *Segmen Bassa*, whom they anew appealed, and gaue vp the names of those their owne Officers, and Spahies, vpon whom they layd all the burthen of the dayly tumults. The Emperor gaue them a short, but satis-
M
factory answer; yeelding to their request, yet mingled with some admonition such as became a Prince: and so they departed euery man to their owne rest. But the *Segmen Bassa* hauing some intimation that his name was renewed in that list of death, tooke the first opportunity, fled, and hid himselfe; and diuers others conscious of their owne merits, retyred, and thereby

A thereby condemned themſelues: not one roaring Spahi to be ſeene in the city; all things were ſo calme as if *Aſtræa* were deſcended. There was no diſtemper but in the heart of the Chimacham, who was afraid to bring his complices into triall, and yet was ſure if they were not taken, their eſcape would be his ruine: for the Ianizaries exacted of him an account of the execution. With much diligence the *Segmen Baſſa* was apprehended, and brought to the Court. He was firſt examined, rather to finde his owne treaſure which was infinite (for hee had the ſpoile of Greece in the laſt gathering of tribute-children; and of the Seraglio at the death of Sultan *Oſman*) than to diſcouer other men. The Grand Signior ſent for him, and after few words, gaue ſentence to haue his head ſtrucken off; which was inſtantly performed before the dore. Afterwards diuers of both Orders were taken (as was reported, to the num-
B berof twenty two) priuately ſtrangled, and throwne into the ſea; and ſome (principally branded) were hidden and fled. This trouble turned the Grand Signior to account many waies; for by confiſcations he aduanced a million and two hundred and fifty thouſand Dollars of the *Segmen Baſſa*; by the Scriuano as much; by others, very great ſummes; and, as if peace had riſen out of the graue of the old Chimacham, there was heard no more noiſe: the Spahies ſhrunke, and the Ianizaries as their glory tooke vpon them an auſtere reformation. But there were many inward ſores and diſcontents, which notwithſtanding all this cleere aire, were like to breake out, and one ſtorme could not be ſufficient to cure or purge the corruptions of that State.

The Grand Signiors Army in diſtreſſe.

C While the Grand Signior was thus troubled with appeaſing his diſordered and mutinous Miniſters and ſlaues at home, newes was brought from Babylon, That his campe there was in great extremity, beſieged without by the Perſian, Maſter of the field, and conſequently of their prouiſions; nakednеſſe, famine, and diſeaſes within, were more terrible than the Enemy; and the ſupplies ſent, ſtaied at Dierbeker, not daring to proceed without better gards: inſomuch as if ſpeedy ſuccors were not giuen them, the army muſt diſhonourably and dangerouſly breake and ſteale away. But hereupon there was a publike Councell held, in which all Orders as well ciuill as military aſſiſted; and a preſent ſupply collected, and a Generall choſen to conduct them.

The Grand Signior, becauſe the greateſt part of his land forces were thus buſied and em-
D ployed againſt the Perſian in Aſia, ſent his Letters (at the inſtance of the Prince of Tranſyluania) to diuers Kings and Princes vnited for the liberty of Germany, to encourage them to perſeuerance and conſtancy in ſuch deſignes as were fit for that purpoſe. But this was an art of *Gabor*, to inſinuate (by this ſhew) into the Grand Signior an opinion of great confederacy with thoſe Princes, to make himſelfe more valued and conſiderable at the Port; and on the other ſide to improue his authority in Chriſtendome, by the pretence of ſo much credit, and ſo great aids ready for his ſeruice. The copy whereof doth here immediately follow.

Prince *Morat* euer Victorious;

E

To the moſt glorious amongſt the great Lords of Ieſus, and chiefe amongſt the higheſt of the people of Meſſiah, Directors of all the affaires of Chriſtians, Princes of the limits of power and honour, Lords who direct to greatneſſe and glory, and Kings ouer many Nations, who antiently haue declared themſelues to beare true loue and affection to our high Port: and to all Kings and Princes, glorious Potentates, and other Gouernors of the people of Ieſus, whoſe laſt daies we pray God may euer be happy: but eſpecially to thoſe who haue at the preſent deſired the friendſhip of our moſt happy Port, the ſanctuary and refuge of the Cæſars *and Princes of our age. To them let it be knowne, vpon the ſight of our moſt high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at our happy Port, a meſſenger with a Letter from the moſt glorious amongſt the followers of Ieſus, and the moſt reſpected and honoured amongſt the people*
F *of the Meſſiah, Director of the affaires of the Nazarene people, Patron of the limits of honour and power, and Lord of greatneſſe and glory,* Bethlem Gabor, *Gouernour of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungary, whoſe laſt daies be propitious; being a true ſeruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by the great mercy of the moſt high God euer preſerued; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of Prophets our Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha *(whom God bleſſe) kept ſafe, with a moſt noble, high, and*

continued

continued off-spring: which did signifie, That some of you who in those parts be Kings and great Gouer- G
nors, and chiefest and most glorious of the honoured and famous amongst the Lords that are obedient to the Messiah, haue antiently shewed your selues constant and firme in your affection and sincere good will to our high Port; and that some others of you, being Lords of great Countries, do now desire friendship and acquaintance with our Imperiall Majesty; and that the Gouernour of Transyluania and King of Hungary, holdeth at the present good friendship and correspondence with you, and that you haue vnited your selues with him for good and honourable ends: who letteth vs vnderstand, That you haue sent Messengers and Letters to him; certifying him, That although some of you were antient and vndoubted friends long before of our high Port; yet others of you who haue beene more remote, doe now desire to approch our familiarity; and that he should be the guide and presenter of the sincere Faith and good affection which you pretend to haue with vs. And the said Bethlem Gabor King of Hungary, in obser- H
uance of the perfect obedience and loue to our happy Port, hath enformed vs of the truth of your state, and your offered friendship. Which his Letter, with all the particulars therein contained, we haue caused to be translated by our Visiers, and presented to our Imperiall view; so that nothing therein hath been hidden or vnknowne to vs from the beginning to the end: the particulars whereof hath pleased our happy eies, and the friendship which you haue desired to make with our high Port, hath been accepted of our Imperiall Majesty: and all those things he certified there are most acceptable to our sincere minde; assuring you, That our high Port hath and shall be at all times open to the whole World, but especially to those who by a fresh and new friendship seeke to enter in and receiue it. And as all our Progenitors, and we our Selfe, to all the Friends of our house haue beene euer benigne and courteous, so to you shall be shewed all honour from our Imperiall dignity, and more fauour than to others who are your equals. And in token I
that you may know we do accept of your loue and friendship offered, we giue you safe conduct to send your Embassadors into our high Court; writing this our Letter vnto you, full of all affection and integrity. At the arriuall whereof it is meet, that in conformity of the good affection and sincere friendship which you haue promised and expressed to our high Port, you vse all diligence and care to fulfill and prosecute this worthy and good businesse which you haue begun, hauing your minds attentiue and setled vpon the same, in such sort as they be stable and sure, according to antient custome in like cases. And to other Kings, friends of this Port, you shall send your Embassadors of Honour, that the means of loue and friendship may encrease euery day; and the good effects vpon our part shall be dayly augmented, and the houres of our affection shall go forward and continue: and by the grace of the high God, your Embassadours or other Ministers comming to our happy Port, shall haue assigned them euery one apart their houses; and K
according to the forme and manner of our Imperiall Majesty, shall be entertained and protected; and when it shall be fit for them to returne to you againe, we will take order that they shall haue commodious and safe passage. Therefore rest satisfied in minde, and giue good credit to these our happy lines set downe concerning this affaire: and be you also firme and constant in your friendship, correspondence, and confederacy. And we haue sent to Muhemet Bassa our Visier &c. (whose glory God continue) who at the present is Gouernor of Buda, our expresse Commands, and giuen order, That all the Armies belonging to him, of Buda, Bosnia, Temeswar, Canisia, and Agria, and other places adjoyning thereunto; and besides them, to the most eminent Beglerbeghs of the Prouince of Greece (whose Armies belong vnto him) the most valiant Captaines of all our Empire; and to other personages of eminent ranke, who haue vnder their command many thousands of men; That they repaire to our said Visier and Generall, (whose L
glory God encrease) and being all gathered together, that they make their Musters and Campe at the confines neere Buda, in such a place and part as shall be fit for that purpose. And on the other side also, That Bethlem Gabor (Gouernour of Transyluania, and King of Hungary, shall leauie a good Army, and keepe good correspondence with our said Visier, that they may be in a readinesse and prepared, in case that any Enemy inuade the said King of Hungary, or the Prouince of Transyluania; that then they vse all their diligence and readinesse to repell them, and fulfill all those duties which concerne the honour of our State, and are beseeming the reputation of our Religion. And by the grace of God, after that your Embassadors (honourable and fit personages) shall come here with your Letters, and establish a good Peace and friendship, there shall be no doubt but you and your Countries and Allies shall be protected by vs, and hereafter comprehended in all our Treatise of Peace which we shall conclude and establish. In conclusion, M
All that which our noble minde can expresse or promise, shall be effected: whereof we haue giuen notice at large to all our Ministers. Of euery other particular the Gouernor of Transyluania and King of Hungary will write to you more amply; to whom I desire you to giue faith and credit; and to obserue good correspondence, both with him and our said Visier Muhamet, Bassa of Buda: and you shall write vnto vs

(when

A *(when this our Imperiall letter shall come to your hands) of what other thing shall happen, by your embassadors; which by the grace of God you shall send to our high Port: and you shall be very carefull alwaies, to fulfill the beginnings of this our friendship and amitie.*

Written in the middle of the month of Iuly, 1626. In Constantinople.

About this time there arriued a Letter from the King of great Brittaine to the grand Signior, concerning the Treaty of Algier and Tunes, and complaining of diuers injuries done to
B his subiects, and requiring justice and redresse. Which being respectiuely answered, are worthy of publique communication.

His Majesties Letter to the grand Signior.

CHARLES *by the grace of the most high God, King of great Britain, France and Ireland; Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the high and mighty Emperor Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman *Kingdom, sole & supreme*
C *Monarch of the Eastern Empire, sendeth greeting.*

WE haue vnderstood by our Embassador resident with you, with how much honor and respect the death of our dear Lord and Father of euer-glorious memory was condoled at your Imperiall Port; And if the signification therof, and of our peaceable succession to these Crowns, haue not in all this time come vnto you immediatly from our selfe, it hath not bin through any default of our affection, or respect to you, but many important affaires vpon our first accesse, and the dangerous infection wherewith our royall city of London, and many
D other principall parts of our Kingdom haue been visited, haue diuerted vs, and forced vs to defer these offices longer than we intended or desired. And as we hope you will for these important reasons, readily and freely excuse those omissions which in so weighty occasions may well be dispensed withall; so we pray you to be assured, That wee are desirous that the amitie which hath of long time bin held between our predecessors, may be renued, continued, and confirmed; and the intercourse of trade betweene our subiects and yours, be maintained and preserued, for the good of both our kingdoms and people. And to giue you the better proofe of our reall and sincere intentions therein, we haue ratified, and do ratifie the treaty made by our Embassador *Sir* Thomas Rowe *in that your Imperiall Port, with your Sub-*
E *jects of Algier and Tunes; and we canot doubt, but that you for your part will keep a constancie in the exact performance thereof, and to that end will lay your royall command vpon those your vassals of Algier and Tunes, duly to obserue the articles of that Treaty in all respects toward our subiects. We do likewise recommend vnto you, and pray you, in conformitie to our desire of friendship and good correspondencie, to confirme and ratifie those priuiledges which haue bin formerly granted by your predecessors to our Merchants, and to inlarge the same according to present occasions, and as shall be most conuenient for the good of both our Kingdomes: which as we will study by all good means to keepe vp in full force, and most aduantagious execution; so we may not omit to represent vnto you the grieuances of our subiects when*
F *they are vniustly wronged, contrary to the capitulations between vs, and we presume without your knowledge or consent. That which we haue now to desire your justice in, is, First, for extreame injuries done by inferior officers, and especially by one* Morat Chaus *a Customer of*

that Port, who hath not only broken, but also scorned and contemned the articles of the Capitulation, and that in the publique Divan, to your dishonour, and to the great preiudice of our Merchants. Secondly, an open injustice don to our subiects in Algier, wherin our English Consul and the rest of our Nation were restrained of their liberty, their goods seised vpon, and forced to pay great sums of mony, contrary to justice and the direct terms of the Treaty. But if while we on our behalfe do obserue the Capitulation, and all good tearmes of friendship, such meane persons as Customers and other Officers be suffered and borne out in these vniust insolencies and oppressions vpon our subiects, in a manifest breach of the Capitulations, we canot shut our ears against the petitions of our subiects, but must according to their humble suit, giue order to withdraw their persons and estates from such dangers, wrongs, and injustice; vnlesse vpon this our instance we find a speedy redresse & exemplary punishment inflicted vpon such as haue or shall transgresse the rules of justice, and the amity and contract between vs; which we recommend to your iudgement and care, as a matter wherein the welfare of our and your people and countries is interessed. We do further particularly pray you, to giue expresse order for the vpholding and maintaining of that article of priuiledge, for the paying but only of one Custom within all the ports vnder your jurisdiction, with free liberty to export any commoditie, hauing once payd custom, without further charge, and that our subiects be not exacted vpon contrary to that priuiledge. The further particulars of our subiects grieuances, and what else we desire to be negotiated with you, we haue giuen in charge to our Embassador Sir Thomas Rowe, to whom we pray you to giue credit, and to return vs full answers to the seuerall points of this our letter. Wherin if you shall giue reliefe to our subiects, and punish those that violate the capitulation, we shal receiue it as a singular testimony of your justice, your good intentions toward vs, your constancie in your contracts, and your iudgement in what hath relation to the good of your owne Dominions; and we shall be ready to answer that realtie of yours, in whatsoeuer shall rest on our part to perform.

G H I

Dated the first of March, 1626.

The grand Signiors Answer to his Majesties *Letter of Great Britain.*

L

Prince *Morat*, euer successefull;

TO the mighty Prince, reuerend amongst the Maiesties of the Princes of the Law of Jesus, obeyed of the great Potentates Followers of the Messia, *the onely Director of the important affairs of the Nazaren people, Soueraign of the limits of honor and power, the most glorious* CHARLES *King of Great Britaine; To whose last dayes we wish all felicitie.*

M

TO the sublime and happy Throne of our high Port, the Seat of the perpetuall Vicariat, *the which by the mercy of the Diuine Maiestie of the mighty God, and by the grace of the Lord was the Seale of the Prophets, vpon whom be continuall blessing, and the refuge of the Princes vpon the face of the earth, and the Sanctuarie of the Potentates of the world; your Letter with accustomed sinceritie is arriued,*

A *arriued, by the hands of your Embassador, the elect among the Nation of* Messiah, *Sir* Thomas Rowe, *resident in our happy Port, to whose end we wish blessednesse. The which, according to the antient* Ottoman *custome, and the vsed Imperiall forme, was by our supream Vizier and glorious Vicegerent translated and expounded; and being presented before our State of most ample honour and felicitie, and seene by our Imperiall eies, and considered by our benigne sight, from the beginning to the end, our noble vnderstanding hath intirely perceiued the inserted businesse, and all particulars thereof; and our discreet aspection, from the least to the greatest, hath comprehended all your proposed affaires, all which conduce to loue. The principall whereof is (besides that you haue fully mentioned, and declared the state of the Amitie that between both Dominions hath been preserued by your Fathers and Ancestors) That now your Majestie, after your Father of glorious memorie, being by iust inheritance ascended to the Regalitie of*

B *those Crownes, doth aduise vs, That you also more than your Father, are stable and firme in the same way of friendship, and most constant towards vs, in preseruation of the Peace and good correspondence, and daily attentiue to endeauour the strengthning of the Peace and Amitie with our Port, and resolued to accompliſh the same; and not to faile in any part of louing correspondence. With which your friendly aduice, with most sincere words expressed, are to vs most gratefull; That you in a blessed houre, and a happy time, haue possessed, and begun to reigne in the Kingdomes of your Father; the secret of our purest heart was greatly reioyced, and did conceiue abundance of contentment, and our Imperial Maiesty also hath therfore obtained, and together expressed all manner of gladnesse and loue toward your Majesty, in diuining you all happinesse.*

You haue also aduised vs, That your aboue named Embassador, yet abiding in our blessed Port, hauing

C *formerly treated with those of Tunes and Algier, and contracted concerning your Merchants, and their free traffique and commerce in those partss, and conformably with them agreed, concluded, and confirmed the Peace; the which being very profitable and commodious to both our Kingdomes, that you haue also ratified, and in the whole condiscended thereunto; desiring, That on our behalfe also the same should be obserued: and to the end that for euer hereafter there may be no deuiation from the same Accord, and that to the Merchants, according to the antient Custome, going and comming to those parts to traffique and negotiate, contrary to the Imperiall Capitulation, no iniury may be by them done; That we should send to our Vice Kings our expresse commands. Therefore you shall know, That we haue already sent to our said Vice-Royes, with expresse order, our most efficacious and Imperiall Commandements, and strictly charged them, Neuer to transgresse the same contracted Agreement; and that they take heed, Not to do any wrong or*

D *violence to any of your Merchants (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) trading and vsing those parts.*

And furthermore hauing signified vnto vs, That certaine Magistrates and Customers of some Scales of our well defended Empire, contrary to the Articles and Couenants written in the Imperiall Capitulations, do make diuers demands of grieuances and impositions of your Merchants, and vnder the name of Mesteria, * *and such like, do pretend and exact money from them: and hauing also aduised vs, That conformable to the Imperiall Capitulation, your Merchants hauing paid their due custome, and transporting their goods to other Scales; That they also demand of them a new Custome: Therefore it being in no wise our Imperiall will that in our prosperous days, and iust and peacefull reigne, according to our Imperiall Capitulation, That wrong should be done to any man; We haue giuen vpon this particular, our requisite and*

E *sufficient Imperial Command, and streitly commanded and ordained, That they shall neuer transgresse our Imperiall Capitulation; and that the Nation of your Merchants, in what place or Scale soeuer they shall go, the Magistrates and Customers do all diligence, that the said Merchants may liue quietly, contentedly, and securely; and hauing payd in one Scale the custome of any merchandise, which being not sold, and that they shall transport it to any other Scale, that they take great heed, not to demand nor take of them any new Custome, nor euer, contrary to the Canon, to exact of them any new imposition or other grieuance.*

* Dutch duties.

You haue also further aduised vs, That the late Hussreph Bassa, *while he remained in the charge of Vice-King of Algier, did vniustly take your Consul, resident in Algier, with the Merchants which liued with him, and hauing imprisoned them contrary to the Law, Iustice, and the friendship betweene*

F *vs, did take from them certaine thousands of Dollars, and had done to them other great wrong and damage: therefore, seeing it is more cleere than the Sunne-shine day, that it is not in any sort by our consent, that such injustice and insolent actions should be committed, and there being then present in our happy Port some of the principall persons of the garrison of that place of Algier, who did know the whole proceeding, and we hauing commanded they should bee examined of that businesse, they were presently*

brought to Iustice, and being all of them variously reprehended and affrighted, they did answer, confessing G
and obliging themselues, That all the money taken they would repay from the reuenue of the custome, and
Fifts collected; and as soon as they should arriue in Algier, they would take order that the Consul and all
the Merchants should be set free. In conformity whereof, we also haue written our most effectuall and noble
Command, reprehensiue and threatning, directed to the Vize-Re of Algier, and commanded him, That in
this busines he vse no negligence, but that without further delay he set at liberty the said Consul and Mer-
chants, and restore vnto them entirely all their goods taken from them, and that he know, that hereafter no
such action shall be pardoned; and that your Consul sent into those parts, according to antient custome,
shall be entertained and honoured, and that hee doe punctually obserue and execute the due tearmes of
friendship.

And in the Conclusion, concerning all the included particulars of your Letter; in due forme, and H
befitting our Majestie the Fountaine of Iustice, and conformable to the Tenor of our Imperiall Capitu-
lations, there haue been written diuers our noble Commandements, and consigned to the hands of your
said Embassadour; and for the time to come, in all things which shall lead to the increase of our friend-
ship, and those offices, commodious and profitable to the Merchants of both our Dominions, our Impe-
riall study and attention shall not bee spared: and be you assured, that the termes of our Amitie and
good correspondence which to this day hath been continued, shall bee of vs with excellent endeauor main-
tained.

But being informed from our honorable Gouernor, wise Councellor, and Visier, Haydar Bassa *(whose*
splendor God preserue) whom wee haue assigned and sent to the custodie of the boundlesse Ayman, that
there is come a petition, with a representation and attestation of the principall of that Kingdome, to our I
happy Port, declaring, That in times past, in the gouernment of our Fezeli Bassa, *Vizier, now dead, be-*
ing that certaine men of war appertaining to your Kingdomes, had contrary to the Capitulations, assai-
led the Merchants which with their goods returned from India, and fought and taken their ships, and it
being made knowne to the said Fezeli Bassa, *that our Merchants had been damaged to the value of six*
hundred thousand Dollars: which action being it was contrary to Law, Iustice, and our Imperiall Capitu-
lation, and that it was requisite that the spoylers should be condemned, the said Fezeli Bassa *did collect*
from the Masters of the said men of warre, for the said goods taken from our Merchants, an hundred
thousand Dollars, and did consigne it to the true owners: and whereas there was yet remaining to them
fiue hundred thousand Dollars, the which to this day is not satisfied, the said men of warre not contai-
ning themselues in due forme, haue armed a new seuen ships from your Countrey, and haue come and as- K
sailed fourteen ships of our Merchants, which from India were sailing to the Scale of Ayman, and ha-
uing taken the Masters prisoners, haue made spoyle and depredation of all their facultie; and that now
the Dutch Nation and your men of warre ride at anchor in the Port of Mecha, and do pretend the return
of the hundred thousand Dollars taken by Fezeli Bassa. *Which brute and scandolous wickednesse, in af-*
front of our Imperiall power, to dare to perseuer, and to spoyle and ransacke those parts, being signified to
the feet of our Imperiall Throne, the Ocean of Iustice, and that those robbed Merchants are subjects of
our well defended Dominion. Being in no manner our Imperiall will, that there should be lost one of the
said Vessels, nor any the least part of their goods detained; and being that such an action is very ingrate-
full, and oppugnant to the Peace and friendship between vs contracted, to the end that all the said Mer-
chants may bee set free, and that their goods and faculties taken, may bee entirely restored to the true L
owners; which your Majestie causing to be done, you shall accomplish the requisite termes of true Ami-
tie, and shall fulfill the offices of our sincere Correspondence, and shall strengthen the foundation of our
good and mutuall fidelitie and League, wee haue written you this our present Letter, full of all effectuall
Loue.

At the arriuall whereof it is conuenient, that in conformitie of the great perfect and spotlesse Amitie
between your Ancestors and our happy Port, and the Imperiall house of eternall glory, and the antient
good Concord, Vnion and Correspondence, that also your Maiestie should be firme and stable in all waies,
with iust proceedings to preserue and maintaine the meanes and Orders of friendship descended from
your Fathers and Ancestors. And if your Maiestie desire and will, That the termes of Amitie, and
our good correspondence shall be carefully obserued and kept, you will then bestow your good diligence and M
care, that the aboue mentioned happened action, so discrepant from our Imperiall minde and will, that is,
as is aboue written, That the fourteene ships of our Merchants which came from India to our well de-
fenced Dominion, and Scale of Ayman, and were taken and surprised by the English Men of war, and
the Merchants which were found in them all made slaues, and all their goods and faculties made prize;

that

A *that they may be all set free, and all the goods taken from the said Merchants may be entirely restored to the true owners; and so your Maiestie shall haue conserued our most happy mind and affection, and protected our most honorable and noble desires: the performing of which your friendly office, vndoubtedly will produce to your Kingdomes many beneficiall and profitable effects; and certainly you shall finde, that it will redound to the great honour and fame of your Maiesty. And by the Grace of God, after that this our happy and most loving Letter shall arriue by some honourable person, and to you faithfull; be you pleased to send aduice to our excelse Port, of the manner of your vsed diligence and affection in this businesse, and of the effect of the libertie of our ships and Merchants, and of the full restitution of all the goods taken,*
B *to their right owners; and with what readines you haue expressed your sinceritie and affection to our Imperiall Maiesty. Which businesse we haue also earnestly recommended to your aboue named Embassadour, that when he shall more largely haue enformed you, that you be pleased to giue him credit, and that in the time to come you will attend to apprehend all those means worthy the conseruance of our Friendship, Peace, and Correspondence.*

Written in the fifteenth of the Moon *Gemaziel evell*, in the yeare of the departure of the Prophet, vpon whom be eternall blessing: 1036.

Giuen in our well-defenced City of Constantinople.

C Which is the 20 of Ianuary, 1626.

Vpon the opportunitie of the foresaid troubles within the Turkish Empire, and either to giue reputation to the Armes of the House of Austria in Germany, or to affright *Gabor*, and dissolue the correspondence which he had practised with some Allyes, or perhaps hoping really to obtaine a peace, and by the ease both of expence, and vse of so many souldiers on the the frontier of so great an enemie as the grand Signior, to effect with more expedition their vniuersall ends; there was in the month of Iune, in the yeare 1625, a Gentleman dispatched from the Vice-Re of Naples, in a frigot of the Spanish King, accompanied with six or seuen
D seruants, with Commission to goe to Constantinople, and being there arriued, to deliuer certaine Letters of ouerture of a peace between the grand Signior and the King of Spaine. To assist him in his Negotiation, there was sent by seuerall waies a Benedict Frier called *Padre Beril*, and a Greek brought vp in the colledge at Rome, called *Cannachi Rossi*, both practised in the waies of that court, and formerly imploied in other seruices of intelligence and exploration. Their Instructions were forked; these to practise on the Greek Church to supplant the Patriark; and if both the treaty & their machinations should fail, to attempt to raise the Cossacks, by promise of a sum of mony, to trouble the grand Signior, and to diuert his forces and resolution from assisting the Prince of Transylvania in Hungary, as shall bee at large mentioned in a subsequent discourse. The gentleman was born a Bolognese, and had serued *Gasparo*
E *Gratiani*, late Prince of Walachia, and by that means had some experience and acquaintance at the Port. On the way he gaue himself out for an Embassador: which raised more rumor, and gaue warning to those who were disaffected to the succes of his vndertakings. But before we relate how he proceeded, it will giue some light to later negotiations, to look a little higher, vpon what ground and occasions this enterprise was aduanced.

The State of Spain hauing often (especially when it was pressed with any necessitie) practised to make a peace with the Turkish Empire; particularly by the mediation of a Iew, taking the name of *Gabriel de Buona Ventura*, who was sent with Letters and instructions from *Christophoro de Mora* and *Catagneo* the Secretary in the time of *Rodulphus* the second, who had then war with Sultan *Morat*; whose enterprise being discouered at Vienna, was by the Empe-
F ror interrupted. In the year 1619, the Baron *Molart* being then Embassador for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, he dispatched first a Captaine called *Francisco*, and after him *Padre Antonio Berill*, with instructions of one tenor vnto the Duke of Ossuna, then Vice King of Naples. The substance was, That he found the opportunitie faire, and the Turkes inclined to make a generall peace with the House of Austria: that therfore this season should not be omitted, but that

the

the duke ſhould preſently diſpeed to him ſome man of qualitie and wit to aſſiſt, and fit to ma- G
nage ſo great a buſineſſe: That this man ſo choſen, ſhould not take on him as directly ſent from Spaine, becauſe it would then be expected that hee ſhould appeare as an Embaſſadour; which would require great expence in preſents and traine, and waſte much time in ceremony. Thus the Negotiation would be moſt properly and expeditely perfected by him and the embaſſador of *Cæſar*, becauſe in the Capitulation of 1606, betweene the Emperor and the Grand Signior, it was expreſly cautioned, That it might be lawful for the King of Spain to enter into that Treaty, & to be compriſed, if it pleaſed him. To theſe were added diuers reaſons inſtructions, examples, and accuſations againſt the Venetians and Hollanders: but the cardinall argument was, That by obtaining this peace, the King of Spain might with ſecuritie ſubdue his
Rebels, and finiſh his conqueſts, and defend his Indies from fear of inuaſion, threatned after H
expiration of the Truce in Holland. Some other ouertures were made in theſe inſtructions, and reaſons to inforce them, which the modeſtie of Hiſtorie and reuerence to Princes ought to omit. But this negotiation being involved in that of the Emperour, which ſucceeded not according to their expectation, fell before it was ripe. Yet the reaſon continuing, to ſhut that backe port, when their Armies were buſied with other deſignes, the ſaid practiſe was renued by the mediation of another Portugal Iew called *Cormaro*; who went into Spaine in the year of our Lord 1624, and was thence returned to Naples, and from him and his offers occaſion was taken to ſend this Bologneſe to the Port. Who beeing now arriued at Conſtantinople, tooke firſt ſanctuarie at the houſe of the Agent of the Emperour: where meeting with *Beril* and *Roſſi*, and conſulting which way to lay or begin their buſineſſe, they at laſt reſolued to I
work by the Agent to whom they were adreſſed, and not to diſcouer themſelues vntill they ſaw how the generall propoſition was taſted. Their Inſtructions were framed of fiue articles. 1. To mooue a perpetual peace between the King of Spain and the *Ottoman* Empire. 2. To induce the acceptance wherof, to offer to ſet free all the Turkiſh ſlaues, to the number of four hundred, which were then in the Spaniſh captiuitie. 3. To vndertake and promiſe to ſecure the ſubiects of the grand Signior from all loſſe and ſpoil in the Mediteranian ſea, and to keep the coaſts and ſhores from all inuaſion. 4. To vndertake by the Red ſea to ſerue all the empire with the riches and commodities of Eaſt India, at better rates than they did buy of the Engliſh and Hollander, and in them to aduance the Cuſtoms eighty thouſand Dollars yearly. 5. Laſtly, That the King of Spaine ſhould oblige himſelfe to procure the King of Po- K
land to reſtraine the Coſſacks from their vſuall excurſions in the Euxine ſea. Theſe were amplified with many reaſons, arguments, and accuſations; but in the concluſion reſtrained, That if they ſaw no probabilitie to obtain and aſſure the Peace, that then *Berill* ſhould proceed to prouoke the Coſſackes; and this Gentleman ſhould not appeare in the Negotiation, but reſide in the houſe of the Emperours Agent, vnder the name of his Secretarie, vntill further direction.

When theſe propoſitions were firſt moued, the ſpecious ſhew made them acceptable; but when the particulars were weighed, eſpecially that offer, To keep the ſea and the coaſts of the Mediterran free from any ſpoyl or inuaſion; the Vizier moued a queſtion, Whether the king of Spain were ſoueraign Lord of the Duke of Florence and the grand Maſter of Malta? and L
if not, how he could command and reſtraine the Knights of Saint *Stephano* and Malta, who were Religious Orders, and ſworn enemies to the Port? To this obiection receiuing no clear and ſatisfactorie anſwer, the Vizier began to miſtruſt, and to demurre. But delayes (which are vſuall in that Court) not ſuting with the account which this Bologneſe was bound to render vnto the Duke of Oſſuna, of his ſucceſſe, Either to aſſure the peace, or not to loſe the opportunitie of a diuerſion by the Coſſackes; cauſed him to attempt both at once, and to imploy *Padre Berill* to execute his part. Who beeing taken in Siliſtra vpon ſuſpition, by the Baſſa *Diac Mehemet*, and his Letters opened, the Spaniſh friendſhip was diſcouered; and the Bologneſe ſtole himſelfe out of the Countrey, and as it was reported, was at his returne impriſoned, for the vanitie of intituling himſelfe as a publique Miniſter, and venting his ma- M
ſters name vpon ſo great a Theatre. And the Agent of *Cæſar* aſſiſted to accuſe him, as not able to containe him within the limits of his Commiſſion, but that hee would wilfully break out, and diſpute, That hee ought perſonally in the name of the Vice-Re to treat with the Vizier: threatning, To cauſe his Penſion from Spain to be retrenched, as cold in the ſeruice

of

A of that Crown, the ciuile ſtrife proceeded from heat to blowes: and it was beleeued, that the Agent vnder hand both haſtned his flight, and procured his puniſhment.

The ill and diſgracefull ſucceſſe of this attempt, and the diſſention between miniſters ſo ſtrictly obliged by common ends, made many beleeue, that the wiſe State of Spaine would not again raſhly and ſuddenly ingage their reputation to a ſecond ſcorn. But fear and neceſſitie, that obey no rules, inforced as it ſeemes the Vice-king of Naples (for all theſe practiſes were maſqued vnder his name) to do a ſeruice that would be moſt acceptable when it was done. For the rumor, That the Prince of Tranſylvania did prepare an army, and that the grand Signior had giuen order to the frontier Baſſa's to aſſiſt him, and that the Count of Mansfelt and Duke *Weymar* were expected with their troups to ioyn with him; this collegation appeared terrible, and to threaten Vienna it ſelfe; and therfore it was iudged the beſt counſel, openly to offer a Peace, to amuſe or ſeparate the force of the Turk, or vnder the ſhadow of a treaty, to ſteal away the firſt opportunitie of action. So that contrary to all expectation, ſuddenly in Aprill of this year, it was ſuddenly aduiſed from Raguſa, That there was there arriued in a Galliot of Naples, another *Mercury*, a Spaniſh Gentleman, that openly avowed himſelf to be really ſent from the Vice-Re, to offer a peace to the grand Signior, and to prepare the acceptance of Embaſſadors or Commiſſioners fit to treat it. He was well attended, and furniſhed with exchange, and earneſtly commended by the Vice-King to the Senat of that City. At his firſt landing he made grauitie, and expected ſome ceremonies and reception: but thoſe ſmall States, who are like a grain between two mill-ſtones, thinking their greateſt ſafety conſiſted in taking no notice, and in being on both ſides diſ-intereſſed, would not vnderſtand him; and he finding himſelfe deceiued, was caried in a cloſe chaire to the Monaſterie of the Friar Minors, and kept himſelfe priuat; only ſending another Letter (which was written to a Vizier at the Port) to thoſe Magiſtrats, deſiring them to diſpeed it by Poſts to Conſtantinopole, and to prouide him Guides for his journey thither. Both which were done, and two Turks appointed to conduct him. Before his departure, hee diſpatched another Currior to Belgrade to a Correſpondent there. It was likewiſe aduiſed from Raguſa, That he was laden with preſents, and had order to ſpend freely: which was dangerous in a Court where all things were vendible; and thoſe that fauoured the Deſigne triumphed, and accounted the prize already won; nothing being more diſcourſed, than the Peace between Spaine and Turkey. As a fore-runner of this negotiation, to ſmooth the waies, there was ſpred ſome weekes before this newes, a Letter printed in Spaine, *Cum Licentia*, as written from the grand Signior to the Catholike King; offering Peace, and promiſing to ſeparate from all his Enemies, and to leaue them to iuſt puniſhment, and neuer to aſſiſt or ſupport them: with a Catalogue ioyned, of an infinite preſent that ſhould bee ſent by the Turke to procure the acceptance of this amitie. At the firſt ſight this Letter was deſpiſed as a fiction: only ſome contemplatiue men did make conſtruction, That it was ſpread to encourage the people of Hungarie, and to remooue the feares of the Turke; or to raiſe a jelouſie in *Gabor* and his friends: eſpecially being ſeconded with a concurrent rumor, That a Miniſter really was ſent to treat peace, and an Embaſſador expected to follow him, that at leaſt he ſhould be receiued to gaine time. But theſe were poore ſhifts for ſo great and wiſe a State; yet whatſoeuer the purpoſe was, whether it was a counterfeit, or directed to ſome end, it was taken vp and vſed as an inſtrument to reject the embaſſage and to prohibit the bearer to approch the court. For whether it fel into the hand of a Moore-Franke expelled Spaine, or were made vſe of by any Embaſſadour that deſired to croſſe the concluſion of ſuch a peace, in ſuch a conjunction, ſo dangerous to many princes and ſtates, it was ſhewed the great Viſier and Mufti, commented vpon, and vrged as a great affront to the grand Signior. At which they took ſo high and ſudden diſdain, that they gaue inſtant Commands, and ſent horſmen to beat the waies, with commiſſion to all the Beghs and Caddees to aſſiſt them, That whereſoeuer they did meet or find this gentleman, they ſhould carry him directly back to the ſea ſide, and ſee him ſhipt; with admonition, not to preſume to land on penaltie of death. And other letters to check the Senat of Raguſa, for receiuing any miniſter of their enemy, without asking leaue or conſulting the State.

1626.

The Gentleman was by this time aduanced four daies journey toward the Port, where hee fel and brake his leg, and was caried back in miſerable pain to Raguſa, and returned to his old lodging;

lodging. Where the horſemen found him, and deliuering their letters to the Senat, demaunded to haue him giuen vp into their hands. But they refuſed to break their ſanctuary, and only promiſed to obey the effect of the grand Signiors command, ciuilly to ſhip him & to ſend him back to Naples: which was don in the preſence of thoſe Turks, and letters written by the Senat, both to the Vice-King and the Vizier, to excuſe themſelues, That they durſt diſpleaſe neither party, but deſired to liue in the grace of both princes. G

The grand Signiors Command to all the Sanzacks and Caddees of Greece, to return the Spaniſh Gentleman ſent from the Vice Re of Naples. H

VPon the ſight of this our Imperial Signature, you ſhall take notice, That the Spaniards (being alwaies antient enemies of our happy Port, the Fountaine of felicity) haue of late ſought to aduantage themſelues of ſome princes which keep good friendſhip & correſpondence with vs: To which end the Viceroy of Naples did ſend the laſt yeare a Meſſenger to our Imperial Port, intimating, That the King of Spaine was deſirous to haue a peace with I *vs. But in regard they haue bin euer our enemies, and that the peace which they did then offer was fraudulent, and only to ſerue their own ends; we did not vouchſafe to giue him audience, but rather reiected both himſelfe and his meſſage. And now again we haue notice giuen vs, That there are others come to Raguſa from the ſaid King of Spain, about the ſame buſineſſe, with intent to come forward to our happy Port; Therefore wee haue ſent* Muſtapha *our Capigi with our Imperial Command, That if any ſuch perſons ſhal come within any of your ſeueral juriſdictions, that you ſtay them, and without one houre or moment of delay deliuer them to him, to be caried forth of our dominions, and made return into their own country. This* K *is a buſines of very great importance, and therfore we command you to be very wary and circumſpect in ſearching out for ſuch perſons; and that you vſe no negligence or delay therein, but ſpeedily obey and put in execution this our Imperial Command, not ſuffering any one whatſoeuer, comming either from the Vice-King of Naples, or the King of Spain, to proceed forward toward our happy Port. And you ſhall certifie vs in writing by the ſaid Capigi, how and in what maner you haue executed our Command. And if any ſuch perſons comming from the Vice-King of Naples or King of Spain, haue any letters or writings, you ſhal take them from them, and ſend them to our happy Port. And after you ſhal haue ſeen and vnderſtood this our Commaund, you ſhall giue faith and credit to it, and reſtore it again to our ſlaue* Muſtapha L Capigi.

Giuen at Conſtantinople in the middle of the Moon of Saban, in the year 1035.

Which is in the middle of May, 1626.

Another of the ſame Tenor was ſent by the ſame Meſſenger, vnto the Commonwealth of Raguſa. M

About the ſixth of September the Prince of Tranſylvania ſent a meſſenger in great haſte to the Port, with Letters and Inſtructions to his Agent there; the ſubſtance whereof was reduced to two heads: Firſt, to declare to the grand Signior, That his Eſtates in their Dyet, by

A by his consent, had elected his Lady to the succession of that Principality: and to require the confirmation, according to the antient Rites and Capitulations betweene them. For his sudden resolution, without consulting the Grand Signior, and in excuse of the sex, he proposed many reasons, all directed to one scope: That the encrease of the House of Austria was so dangerous to all Germany, that it was requisite to prouide for Transyluania, to preuent the corruption of an *Inter Regnum*, wherein the Imperials might worke distemper and diuision: and therefore it was necessary that a Successor should be declared, and in possession; and one well allyed and strengthened by the Princes opposite to the Austrians; which conditions meeting in his wife, made her without all exception. That this election was passed with the consent, and in contemplation of his Allyes and friends of the Port, and vnder their assurance
B of protection. And that therefore he should vrge the Grand Signior to concurre and approue his care, employed onely to preuent and humble the Common Enemy. Secondly, That whereas then six yeares past, when hee liued in peace, without offence of the Emperour, he had beene commanded by the Grand Signior to moue his Armes, and to prouoke an enemy, now become irreconcileable: Which Councell had beene continued vntill that time, by the most experienced Ministers of the Turkish Empire; and Letters sent him the yeare before of the same tenour; and that he had lately required a plaine approbation of his prosecu-
C tion of those designes, which being formerly indifferent, were now become necessary; He should now persuade them, not to lose this opportuuity of confining the Emperor for euer within Germany, and setling an assured peace and safety to the Turkish frontier; that was by his conquest of Hungary. That if he found any difficulty in either of these, That the succession were refused to his Lady, or succours to him to prosecute the warre; that he should vnmaske, and plainely protest, That he had been engaged first by the Grand Signior, and made confederation with many friends, with his consent and approbation, too late to be reuoked, and his owne honour so far thereby exposed, that he could not retire, but would prouide for his owne safety. Therefore as he would pay his tribute, and continue his faith; so, if they would leaue him to himself, they must not disdaine the like measure in their occasions, from him and his friends.

His Letters and messages were roundly deliuered to the Ministers of the Grand Signior; and a generall answer giuen, That for the succession they would consult and resolue to his fit
D satisfaction; and that a Letter should be presently written to approue the antient Councels. The Agent not content with that coldnesse, nor well discerning the times, pressed the Vizier to a more direct and particular answer.

The Grand Signiors army flies from Babylon.

But in the instant there arriued newes from Babylon, That the campe was risen and fled, by the fauour of the night, forced to burne their Tents and Prouisions, and to breake their great Artillery, and cast it into the Euphrates; That the miseries in the Army had been such as men in the field neuer suffered (consumed by famin, and suffocated by heat: by this, twelue thousand died in one day; the other might be judged by the price of a bushell of Barly, sold for thirty eight checquines of gold.) That the Great Vizier had beheaded three of the most valiant Bassaes, hoping thereby to cast the enuy of his shame vpon them: and, That retyring
E to * Mosul, the Persian vsed his victory, and following a flying Army, did continuall execution for ten daies vpon the Reare. So great a blow the Turkish Empire neuer receiued; the newes whereof was taken with so much sadnesse, that it was no season to treat of making new warres. The Emperors Agent made vse of this dejection, and opposed all the Transyluanian negotiations diametrally, and promised the present comming of a great Embassadour to ratifie the Peace betweene the Grand Signior and his Master. And the Turke knew not whom to beleeue, weakened in spirit by their successe and the present constitution; *Funturi ambiguus, & magis quid vitaret quàm cui fideret certus*; doubtfull of the future, and rather certaine what to auoid, than whom to trust. Wherefore the Prince of Transyluania's Agent resolued, not to prouoke by an importune pressure, a dispairefull answer; but to giue them
F time to recollect and gather heart, and to accept of their generall Letters, with a promise from the Chimacham annexed, That as soone as a few daies of consultation and prouision for their affaires in Asia were past, that he would enter into a particular consideration of his Master, and giue him ample content in them; and that in the meane time he might proceed cheerefully.

* *Ninivie.*

The Duke of Weymar and Count Mansfelt arriue in Silesia with an Army.

The Bassa of Buda in the meane time sent a Post to the Port, with certaine newes of the G
arriuall of the Duke *Iohn* of Weymar and Count *Mansfelt* in Silesia; and that the Prince of
Transyluania was risen to joyn with them, hauing mutually exchanged and sent some troups
one to the other; and that himselfe was marched neere Vatz, to conferre with the Prince in
his passage, to resolue together of the prosecution of their designes. Whereupon the Em-
perors Agent at the Port made violent exclamations; protested the breach of Peace, and
vsed some scandalous arguments against the Friends of the Prince; begged, threatened, and
enforced all his powers to diuert or affright the Chimacham; who knew no more than was in-
fused into him and for the most part beleeued the last man, or as his feares guided him. This
causèd some stop of the dispatch of the inuestiture of the Princesse of Transyluania, obtained
by Sr *Thomas Rowe*, and other negotiations of the Prince: And the Agent had procured a letter H
from the Grand Signior to his Master the Emperor, of excuse; yet referring all conclusion,
if they sought Peace, to a treaty with the Prince of Transyluania and *Mortesa Bassa* of Buda.
Other Letters were dispatched to the Bassa, to beware of impertinent actions, to occasion an
vnseasonable rupture: yet so mingled and qualified, as that they intimated, any thing would
be accepted that was throughly done. Against the inuestiture the Emperors Agent shewed
all his wit and strength; objecting, That she was a woman, a stranger, and a German. By this
only he hoped to begin a discontent betweene the Grand Signior and the Prince of Tran-
syluania; knowing, that the election once passed, would not be recalled, and that if it were
not confirmed at the Port, the Prince and Estates of Transyluania would finde themselues
wronged, and their liberty encroached vpon, and perhaps seeke other refuge: for the Emperor I
would willingly haue accepted any returne or aspect towards him. But the art, to sow a dis-
sention, or to entice the Prince to depend vpon the Emperor, and to take of him that which
he could not obtaine at the Port, being at large opened to the great Ministers of the Grand
Signior, it was againe resolued to dispatch the Grant, and to send the Embassador with vsu-
all ceremonies: who was to depart within six daies.

The Prince of Transyluania being vnited with *Mortesa Bassa* of Buda, dispatched from his
Campe at Zetzen aboue Nouegrade, a Currier to the Grand Signior; aduising, That *Wal-*
stein, and *Isterhas* Palatine of Hungary, were drawne vp with their Army to oppose his pro-
ceedings, and to keepe him from joyning with Count *Mansfelt*: Who sent to him a Gen-
tleman to know the cause of his entring the Imperiall Dominions; and professing they came K
as friends, and offering many conditions, desired that order might be giuen to both their
Armies to retyre a daies journy, and betweene them a place assigned for Commissioners to
meet and consider of some accommodation. To whom the Prince answered, he had no pur-
pose to vsurpe any thing in Hungary, but only to deliuer them from the tyranny of the Ger-
mans, and to relieue his Allies oppressed, whom he could not betray; nor had he any power
to treat with them. The Armies being neere, and parties abroad, did occasion some blowes,
and great skirmishes for two daies; wherein on both sides some bloud was spilt, the Prince
taking himselfe to haue the better, hauing gotten twenty six German Launciers prisoners,
and some light Hungarian horsemen; and that *Walstein* the third day retyred fiue Dutch
miles, and fortified himselfe at Wiuar. This faction was begun vpon the fifth of October. L
Vpon the Enemies remoue, Messengers did mutually passe betweene the Prince and Count
Mansfelt, and appointment made for their secure meeting the third day after: Vpon which,
Gabor promised to follow the Imperials, and to attempt them. *Mortesa Bassa* made an offer
to set downe before Nouegrade; but was withdrawne by the Prince, not to spend time be-
fore a Towne, and loth to giue it to the Turks. He wrote, That Count *Mansfelt* had made
agreement with the cities of Silesia, all ports being open to him; and that he passed without
any offence, and had brought with him some Deputies from Breslaw and the Nobility of
that Prouince. That all the strong places of Hungary had sent to him, That they would not
aid the Emperor against him, if he committed no spoile; and were ready to receiue and obey
him, if he were Master of the field, and able to protect them: And therefore hee now desi- M
red a Command from the Grand Signior, to the Bassa of Buda, that hee might not retyre
(according to the Turks vse) but Winter with him; lest his Allyes thereby discouraged, the
opportunity of his part should be lost, and a faire entrance opened to the Emperor to fol-
low a reuenge. The Grand Signior, who formerly was so wary and backeward to consent

to

A to any breach, being now vnawares engaged, *Lupum auribus tenens*, holding the Wolfe by the eares, without ſcruple granted his deſire, and the Orders were ſent away; That what was done being paſt recall, *Morteſa* ſhould Winter with the Prince of Tranſyluania, and not retire without his conſent, but in all things follow his direction: yet limited according to their neceſſities and the nature of feare, full of caution, not to aduenture vpon vncertaine grounds; with power and inſinuation to make a Peace, if profitable and ſafe Conditions ſhould be propounded.

At length Count *Mansfelt* joyned with the Prince of Tranſyluania and *Morteſa Baſſa*, hauing vnder his command ſouldiers, but miſerably worne out with a long march (and diuided with the Duke of Weymar, who ſtaied in Sileſia) without any munition or fit armes: which
B diſcouraged *Gabor*, who expected ſuccors, but found (as he pretended) a charge: yet as they were they reſolued to ſet vpon the Army of *Walſtein* neere the riuer Gran, the ſixteenth of October; which retiring continually, vpon the paſſage of the water, they fell on, and made a great diſorder, and tooke many priſoners, whoſe heads they afterwards cut off. *Walſtein* being not able to ſuſteine their fury, after this loſſe plainely fled. Whereupon the Vantgard of the Prince of Tranſyluania followed him, and had ſlaughter of his Reare all the way betweene Gran and Vaghe; which riuer the Enemy paſſing vpon two bridges of boats, there was a new fight begun, and many of the Imperials cut off. The Princes troups entering the bridges peſle meſle with them, got the paſſage, and hauing ſlaine a great many, put all the Army into greater feare: ſo that now they were reſolued to follow them euen to the gates of Preſ-
C burg and Vienna, as they wrote to the Port.

The army of the Imperials defeated by the Prince of Tranſiluanian's troops.

Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſſe of the Prince againſt the Imperialiſts, he in the beginning of Ianuary (by reaſon of the hardneſſe of the Winter, and that he receiued not ſuch ſupplies of contribution from his Allies as he expected, and the Turks very deſirous of a Peace with the Emperor, by reaſon of their wars in Aſia againſt the Perſian) ſent a meſſenger to the Emperor, excuſing his taking vp of Armes, vpon the vnperformance of ſome Articles in his late Treaty, and the not ſending an Embaſſador to the Port; aſſuming the neceſſity of
D obedience, and offering to make a Truce for three moneths, and to diſpatch Commiſſioners to the Emperor, to mediate the concluſion of Peace with the Grand Signior. To which he receiued anſwer, That if firſt he did not diſmiſſe the Turks, and ſeparate himſelfe from Count *Mansfelt* and his Troups (with whom he would admit no parle, nor make any accommodation) he would giue no audience to any that came from him. Vpon which anſwer the Prince returned to Caſſouia, and *Morteſa Baſſa* to Peſth.

Count *Mansfelt* alſo returning toward the State of Venice, in his way thither died at Boſna-Seray neere Spalato in Dalmatia: the newes whereof comming to Duke *Iohn Erneſtus*, already weakened with a Feuer foureteene daies, he alſo fell into an Apoplexy, and died at Turocz in the North part of Hungary, where hee was quartered for the Winter. His body was opened, and not one drop of bloud found, but his heart withered to the ſmalneſſe of a Nut.

The death of Count Mansfelt and Duke Erneſt.

The Agent of the prince of Tranſyluania, in excuſe of his maſter for this ſudden defection,
E had order to declare vnto the Embaſſadors of his Friends and Allies at the Port, That the Truce with the Emperor was not made by his Maſter alone, but by a conſultation, where were preſent a Commiſſioner of the King of Denmarke, Duke *Iohn Erneſt*, Count *Mansfelt*, and diuers Deputies of the Prouinces of Morauia and Sileſia; and the generall conſent of the Councell of War, induced thereunto for theſe reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe the Baſſa of Buda was expreſſely commanded to retyre; who muſt obey, vntill he could better informe the Grand Signior, and if poſſible, incline him to the war. Secondly, Being to enter into conſideration, if the Turks by no meanes could be induced to continue their Aids, that it might be gained to acquaint the Confederates with their eſtate, and to conſult with them, of meanes to proſecute the Enemy with their owne Forces: and to that purpoſe, that Count *Mansfelt* had ta-
F ken his voyage toward Venice. Laſtly, the neceſſity of drawing to garriſon, being a Truce in effect, they thought it no prejudice to aduantage themſelues by one in words. That vpon the eighth day of December the Embaſſador of the King of Denmarke returned to his country, fully ſatisfied and enformed of all their proceedings and Counſels; in which it was concluded to re-inforce their Troups in the Spring, by the aſſiſtance of the Barons of Morauia and

The Prince of Tranſyluania's excuſe for making a Truce with the Emperor.

Sileſia, whoſe Deputies were ſent purpoſely to enter into the Confederacy promiſing to join their forces: and that in Iune following the Prince would draw into the field, and march directly into Auſtria, to make that Prouince the ſeat of the war; where it was promiſed that the King of Denmarke ſhould meet him, and vnite their Armies, by which meanes only they hoped to finiſh the miſeries of Chriſtendome. G

The miniſters of the Grand Signior hauing made a great complaint vnto his Majeſties Embaſſador reſident at the Port, That ſome of his majeſties ſubjects had robbed ſome of the Grand Signiors at the Red Sea, for which they required reſtitution, according to the Capitulations of Peace. Whereupon his Majeſties Embaſſador writ this Letter to them as followeth: H

To all Admirals, Captaines, and other Commauders of Engliſh Ships, Subjects of his moſt ſacred Majeſty, trading or nauigating in the Red-Seas.

After my hearty commendations and greetings; theſe are to let you know, That Haydar Baſſa *of Ayman hath giuen information to the Grand Signior, That ſome Engliſh ſhips in company with Hollanders, haue ſurpriſed diuers Indian Ships, wherein (as they pretend) were many Merchants and Subjects of the Grand Signior; and haue taken their goods, contrary to the Peace and Amity betweene his Majeſty and the Grand Signior. Which Information (we being aſſured of your diſcretion, and well knowing you haue no ſuch authority from his Majeſty, nor any other deriued from his Royall power) although we hope it is falſe, and that you no way haue exceeded your commiſſions and inſtructions; yet the lament of thoſe parts being vehement and many (wherein the Grand Signior hath complained by his Letters to his Majeſty purpoſely written; demanding Iuſtice of ſuch action) and to preuent the proſecution of ſuch courſes, contrary to the Peace, and being thereunto ſolicited by the Chimacham, as a meanes to auoid all occaſion of breach betweene both Nations, I haue thought fit to ſend you theſe our Letters of Aduice, to put you in minde, exhort, and require you, That you be very heedfull, not to giue juſt occaſion of offence and ſcandall, nor that you take or make priſe of any ſhips or goods belonging to any ſubject of the Grand Signior, contrary to the Peace, Amity, and Capitulations of his Majeſty for free commerce. Wherein you are wiſely to conſider the conſequences of this buſineſſe, and of our trade in the Grand Signiors Dominion; and that his Majeſty will do juſtice vpon all ſuch as interrupt the publique Peace. We further deſire you to examine the truth of ſuch accuſation, and to make certificate to me, of all the late proceedings of our Ships in thoſe parts, that I may be able to giue a reaſon, and to anſwer for you, according to my duty; that all our trouble here (which may be a great conſequence) may be auoided: And for the future, exhorting you to do no action or violence to any of the Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to the Peace, for that ſuch is his Majeſties will and pleaſure. And ſo I bid you heartily farewell.* I K

Giuen in Conſtantinople the nineteenth day of Ianuary, 1626.

Although the Prince of Tranſyluania kept his Army in their Hybernation, and that the Grand Signior had giuen order (at the inſtance of ſome of his Miniſters, fauorers of peace) to recall *Morteſa Baſſa* of Buda from his gouernment; yet it was moſt cleere, euident, and vndiſputable, that the Prince did with all ſincerity endeauor to continue the war, notwithſtanding his Treaty, made for neceſſity, and referred for ratification to the Grand Signior. His priuate negotiation with the Capi-Aga and Caſlar-Aga, not communicated to any, and the good effect it wrought, was ſufficient teſtimony of his conſtancy and inward purpoſes: and vpon the death of Duke *Iohn Erneſtus*, that Army being in want and almoſt in mutiny, he relieued them, and gaue them two moneths pay, one in meale, butter, hony, cheeſe, barley, and other victuals, and the other in mony; aſſuring them that they ſhould not want, vntill both meanes and orders came from the Princes, to whom the Count of *Mansfelt* was diſpatched. This the Prince writ to the Port, as a greater argument (becauſe chargeable) of his deſire to confirme the Grand Signior; which if he meant peace, had beene caſt away. But after the death of the old Chimacham (protector of him and all his actions) the Emperours friends L M

wrought

A wrought vpon the pretended patriots, and conuerted their feare into a ſeeming ſincerity and care of auoiding an engagement in a double war: who finding the State entangled in the troubles of Aſia, made that the foundation, not only to diſpute againſt any other, but to threaten the contradictors of their opinion. Theſe for the moſt part were men popular, but vtterly ignorant of the preſent condition and affaires of Hungary; yet they ſo preuailed (*quod in ſeditionibus accedit, vbi plures erant omnes fuere*, which hapneth in tumults where many are, all men run) that the Vizier, to ſatisfie them, was enforced to command the retreit of *Morteſa*. Theſe things hapning in the inſtant when they concluded to diſpatch a new Vizier, and to raiſe the ſoldiery to follow him, there was no time to ſpeake of another enemy, and thoſe wiſe men could do but one thing at once. But the zeale of this Councell laſting no longer than while
B it was blowne by *Cæſars* Miniſters, and that the ſupply of Aſia was reſolued, and the Grand Signior being fully informed by *Gabors* laſt Letters, which threatened as much on the other ſide, That if that opportunity was loſt, and that the houſe of Auſtria ſhould poſſeſſe Germany; or at the beſt, the Princes colleagued take the example and make peace, he muſt expect a ſharpe inuaſion and reuenge, then when he ſhould haue no friends, and their Army buſied in Aſia: vrging the neere alliance of the Emperor with the King of Poland, the inſtigation of the Pope, and whatſoeuer might beget a feare that they ſhould be incloſed with enemies. This admonition taught them the wiſedome to be content to keepe their oppoſites exerciſed at anothers charge; and though as yet they durſt not, or would not ſo openly declare, as to pull the war vpon themſelues, yet they found it neceſſary to be continued, and therefore
C they reſolued to temporiſe, and to auoid a preſent extremity, by the colour of the Truce. In the meane time to leaue *Bethlem Gabor* at his liberty, and to obſerue how the Princes proceeded to maintaine and ſupply their Troups; meaning to ſtep in when they ſhould ſee their Army in the field. To this purpoſe *Morteſa Baſſa* was re-eſtabliſhed in his gouernment, and the buſineſſe ſo carried with him, that he ſhould make no ſhew of mouing, vntill the time fit to take horſe; and that then hee ſhould haue leaue and command to correſpond with *Gabor* according to the occaſion.

The Emperor hauing had notice of theſe counſels and deſignes, diſpatched a Dutch Gen- 1627
tleman toward the Port, with Letters and Inſtructions to his Agent and Friends there; and *A Dutch Gentleman diſpeeded to the Port by the Emperor, diſguiſed in French attire.*
D commanded him to make his journey by the way of Raguſa, giuing it out that hee was a French-man, leſt hee ſhould be diſcouered in the ſhorter way by Buda, and ſtopped, and his Papers and Inſtructions ſearched. Notwithſtanding all this diſguiſe, notice came to the Port beforehand of the comming of this Meſſenger; and the Miniſters of the Grand Signior cauſed him at his arriuall to be confined, not ſuffering him to open a packet, and the Vizier forcing him to decipher his Letter to the Emperours Agent in his preſence, not truſting him with his owne ſecret. The ſubſtance whereof was vehement complaint againſt the Prince of Tranſyluania; accuſing him to be the author of all the troubles and diſcontents of the frontier. That ſince his aduancement it was not poſſible to maintaine the Peace, nor that Amity which was contracted betweene their kingdomes; intimating a deſire to haue him de-
E poſed, as a perturber of the World. Expoſtulating the mouing of thoſe new Armes and the preparations of the Baſſa of Buda. He had Letters likewiſe to the Grand Signior, but was not ſuffered to deliuer them: but they reſolued to ſend him backe to Buda, there to diſcouer his meſſage, and if it ſhould ſeeme fit to *Bethlem Gabor* and the Baſſa to treat peace, that then an Embaſſador from the Emperor ſhould be accepted, but no inferiour perſon, nor querelous Letters. Thus it was plotted to be referred to the aduice of *Gabor*; who gaue this counſell; that he might in all occaſion both know the ſecret, and direct the anſwer, and by making himſelfe ſeeme neceſſary to the Turks, he guided all their reſolutions to his owne ends. On the other ſide, *Morteſa Baſſa* hauing had notice, that a meſſenger was ſtollen by, and arriued and heard at the Port, ſent a Poſt with Letters, complaining, That he ſhould haue any entertain-
F ment there, or was admitted any audience: That if the Grand Signior had with confidence really referred the concluſion of the peace or warre to *Bethlem Gabor* and himſelfe, all other Treaty was impertinent and hurtfull, and might produce vncertaine or contrariety in the reſolution; deſiring that he might be diſmiſſed inſtantly and ſent to him, becauſe one of the Imperiall Commiſſioners being arriued at Comara, had aduertiſed, That they could not

enter

enter into conference vntill the returne of this Messenger. Whereupon the Vizier dispeeded him without any answer to the Emperor, or treaty, or other resolution than that which was formerly mentioned; rather taking from him, than receiuing his Letters; only a *Fede* for his discharge was giuen him, that he had brought and presented them, but comming from the country of an Enemy, they could not be accepted. Thus he was sent to *Mortesa* by a Chiaus, and with him an answer to the Bassa, That his negotiation was wholly referred to him and the Prince of Transyluania; with this caution, That hee should protract, and beware to be rashly ingaged in an open war. G

About the one and twentieth of Aprill news came to the Port from Cairo, signifying the reuolt of Gemen in Arabia, vnder a pretending Prince whom they call an Ayman or Priest: That he had ouerrun the country, and besieged the Bassa in the principall city. To whose reliefe the Bassa of Cairo had sent by Suachin in the Red-Sea three thousand souldiers; but it was aduised, that if more succors were not supplied, that the Holy Country would be lost. This caused frequent Counsels, and did much trouble the State; especially the feare of Mecha, Medina, and the deuotion to their Prophet. The great Vizier arriued at Aleppo, but complained for men, munition, and mony: to raise the first, the Viziers of the Bench were sent abroad; one to Greece, another to Natolia, a third to Tartary, others to other places; insomuch as the City was left desolate. Munition was aduentured by Sea to Scanderone; and mony was extorted from the poorer *(per fas & nefas)* or drawne from rich subjects *(precario)* to concur to assist in the publique want. H

A dead silence now possessed all things; and there was little newes from the Prince of Transyluania, how he proceeded, nor what he purposed: only the tripartite Commissioners were met at Comara, where they treated; and the generall inclination of the Ministers at the Port being wholly bent to peace, they aduised *Mortesa* secretly, and excused themselues to *Gabor* vpon the Mufti; whose feares the Imperials had made the ground of their hopes, and that Councell. But it seemes it was resolued at least, not to breake; the Emperours Commissioners pressing a resolution on the one side, and *Gabor* on the other raising new difficulties, and endeauouring to dissolue the Treaty, and to leaue the occasion of the warre open to time and opportunity. The Turks being driuen vp in a streight how to please both, fell at last vpon the Prince, accusing him, That he had in December before treated apart, and made his owne peace with the Emperour, vpon conditions to his owne aduantage, without consulting the Port: which was true; for vpon the retreat of his Army, and the despaire of the forces of Count *Mansfelt*, (which he found weakened by a long march) and the disunion of the Generals, he had treated and signed Articles; but as he pretended, they were concluded in a Councell, with the consent of his friends or their ministers: which as he could not directly deny, so he did not absolutely confesse; tempering what he had done, with diuers conditions; of the declaration of the consent of his Allies, and the ratification of the Grand Signior. This Treaty was noised and bruted from Vienna, and the copy sent to Constantinople purposely to discredit him: so that it was no more a secret; and thereupon the Prince dispatched a Post to his Embassador, to satisfie those who might except against him: professing not only what he had done apart by necessity, and for want of supplies, but that he would proceed in the generall Treaty: because there was no other way to vnblinde the Ministers of the Grand Signior; who so much affected the assurance of the Border, that they would not beleeue any arguments, as fauouring of other interests, but that he would at the conuention raise so many rockes and impossibilities, as that the breach of the conference should be the beginning of the war, and a bond of necessity in the Turks to partake in it. The Emperor remaining still jealous of delaies, sent another messenger to the Port, with a second plaint against *Bethlem Gabor*, and *Mortesa Bassa*, as the disturbers of the antient Truce; and an expression of his feruent desire to maintaine a good peace with the *Ottoman* Empire, which he said could neuer be secured, vnlesse the Grand Signior should place such Ministers in the frontier gouernments, as were louers of the publique quiet. For the establishing whereof he had sent his Deputies to meet those of the Port, who hauing agreed (as he pretended) vpon Articles, and reconciled all differences, that he was ready to send a great Embassador thither, to confirme whatsoeuer should there be concluded. This was done only to get an acceptance of some person of Quality to be present at the Port; which *Gabor* and *Mortesa Bassa* hindred, to keepe that State I K L M without

A without any light but such as they pleased to giue them. But it being objected to the Messenger by the Vizier, That the Emperour had made a peace apart with the Prince, and that therefore he had obtained his ends without the communication of the Grand Signior, which gaue much suspition of sinister purposes: the Emperours Messenger did not deny but that there was some such thing done; but that his Master did not trust in it, nor could euer rest secure in the word of that Prince, vnlesse the authority of the Port did strengthen it. In conclusion, feare on the one part to lose an opportunity of peace; the death of *Mansfelt*, some disasters of the Friends of the Prince in Germany, and the failing of aids expected, all concurring on the other part, made both parts soften and decline, and resolue to take care only of their owne affaires, and to leaue the World at liberty.

B The Captaine Bassa was sent vp to the Euxine sea with a gallant fleet for flags and streamers, resolute to attempt the shutting in of the Cossacks by building two Forts on the outlets of the Boristhenes: who prepared to resist him, and were intrenched neere his expected descent. The Poles made some braues, That they would assist them, and maintaine their frontier, as Lords of that ground: but it was not beleeued they would hazard their peace with the Grand Signior, by fighting with his Generall, but rather conniue till he should be returned, and then to raze and ouerthrow what was raised, and excuse it vpon their out-lawes. This enterprise was like to cost some knockes; but as matters then stood, the Poles were not in state to make any great progresse, the King of Sueden hauing diuerted them to their owne defence in Prussia: yet how soeuer they resolued in this particular, they must keepe an Army C on foot, least they tempted the enemy to vse the occasion. *The Captaine Bassa dispatched with an Armada into the Blacke Sea.*

While all the Sea forces were imploied in this designe, the Arches were left vngarded, and six gallies of the great Duke of Tuscany came to the mouth of the Hellespont, and took one Gallion, and many lesser ships of the Cairo fleet; the booty whereof by report amounted to some millions of Dollars. This sudden alarme caused the Grand Signior to send into the Blacke-Sea to recall some forces, and instantly from the Armado twelue gallies were spared, and dispatched to seeke the Christians, who were departed with their riches.

There arriued at the same time a Persian Embassador at Aleppo with ouertures of peace: vpon whom the great Vizier put gards, neither accepting nor refusing his message; and sent to the Port to declare, that the State must either furnish him with a million and half of gold, D and store of munition, or else grant him a Commission to entertaine that opportunity and motion of Treaty; for with lesse supplies hee could not proceed. The first was impossible, and the later much against the stomach; but a fresh aduice bringing the report of a great Embassador following the former with rich Presents, and faire offers, made many beleeue or hope a happy conclusion; though men of best judgements esteemed it very difficult, vnlesse Babylon should be surrendred. All men made this conclusion, That if peace could be settled on that side, the Turks had yet spleene enough to reuenge the braues they had endured from the Imperials; who though they sought a Truce, prosecuted it insolently, threatening fire and sword if they obteined not their desires. And thus the Treaty at Comara had ebbs and flouds, heats and colds, as the feare or hope of the affaires of Asia did temper it. *An Embassador from Persia arriueth at Aleppo.*

E This expected Persian Embassador not long after arriued at the Port, with little hope to buy peace at a cheaper rate than the surrender of Babylon. And the gallies of the Grand Signior sent in pursuit of the Florentines, by great diligence ouertooke them in a Port of Morea, and recouered all the prizes, [So their great wealth was like a dreame, when they awaked it vanished:] And vpon the sixteenth of Iune they returned and entered in triumph, towing in all the reprised booty. It seemes they were become too rich to fight, and the Turks, though superiour in strength and number, were content with the gaine, and glad not to force men already spoiled, into dispaire. *The Persian Embassador arriueth at the Port.*

About the first of Iuly the Bassa of Buda sent post to the Port, with aduice, that the Emperors Commissioners at Comaran had presented certaine Articles, containing accounts and F restitutions: which being sent to him, he had receiued, but could not allow them; answering, That the Grand Signior did not treat with Merchants; Which had like to haue bred confusion: but that they were since entered into new conference, and had concluded in the generall, a resolution to peace; with consent that both parties should haue time to send to their Masters for fresh instructions in particulars. Whereupon he had dispatched that Messenger

to

to the Port, to vnderſtand the ſence, and to receiue abſolute directions from thence. By him G
Bethlem Gabor did write a ſharpe Letter; confeſſing plainly (ſeeing he could not longer conceale it) that he had made peace for himſelfe; but accuſed the negligence of thoſe Miniſters as the cauſe thereof: Firſt, That they would neuer conſtantly truſt his aduiſes of the opportunity of the war, but their Mufti and Book men, who were fitter to enterpret their Law, than to judge of the World and matters of State. That he would be true to the Grand Signior, but yet not neglect himſelfe, when he ſaw how little care of him was had, how little authority and credit was giuen to him. That the Letters written to him from the Vizier were ambiguous and irreſolute, but diuers others priuately had threatened him not to be the occaſion of a war. And therefore to proue himſelfe faithfull and true to his owne firſt counſels, he offered, That if the Grand Signior would breake off the Treaty, and reſolue to vſe the time, H
that he was ready to march in ſix daies warning. He amplified the proſperity of the remains of *Mansfelt* Army in Sileſia, the occaſion, and all other fit arguments to moue them to a change of thoſe degenerate counſels of peace. But this was an art to caſt the fault on others, for the concluſion of that which he had ſuffered to proceed, and was beyond his power to remedy. Yet it much perplexed the Vizier, who excuſed himſelfe, and returned all the blame vpon the Lawyers, as men ignorant, by whom he had been ouerborne; and that he neuer conſented to Peace or Treaty in his owne judgement, but had promiſed ſincerely according to his engagement, as far as he durſt, and, that ſo much his continuall Letters witneſſed for him; promiſing, that he would cauſe a Conſultation to anſwer theſe aduices, and that he would not agree to any concluſion without the ſatisfaction of the Prince, and all others that were I
friends to the Port, and the reſtitution of the oppreſſed liberty. Which ſolemnly handled in a full Counſell, Orders were diſpatched away as the finall reſolution of that State, to leaue the power of making Peace, or breaking the Treaty, to the judgement of *Gabor* and the Baſſa of Buda, wholly and without reſtriction.

What effects this would worke was ſomewhat vncertaine; but ſuch appeared the inclination of thoſe into whoſe hands the Treaty was now referred, that there was a ſtrong opinion, the Emperour of Germany ſhould faile of the ſecurity expected: Eſpecially becauſe the ouertures of peace which the Perſian made by his Embaſſador arriued at the Port, together with their neceſſity, had raiſed ſome ſhew of inclination to hearken to accomodation in thoſe parts. But it came aduiſed from the Treaty, That the Commiſſioners being met the ſecond K
time, the Imperials inſiſted vpon high termes, demanding a ratification of the old Peace of Zitwa, then expired, without any addition or diminution; and by vertue thereof, reſtitution of Vatz, ſtollen during that time: declaring they had no authority to proceed to any new negotiation. To which the Turks replied, That ſo much ceremony needed not, to appoint a ſolemne meeting to confirme that which two Letters onely from their Princes might haue done: That that Truce being run out, was no longer in vigor nor in being. If they would treat a new Peace, that they were ready; but to expect any reſtitution, or reuiuing of the old, it was in vaine, and their meeting fruitleſſe. And the Germanes as ſtiffely preſſing their own propoſitions, the Conference was for a while interrupted, and a current rumour ſpread, The Conuention was diſſolued. But *Morteſa Baſſa* diſcouering by diſcourſe, That the Imperials L
ſtood vpon ſo peremptory points, as ſuppoſing that all the forces were drawne into Aſia, and that the Grand Signior could not ſhew an Army on that ſide; ſuddenly gaue order to all the troups that were ready about Buda, and in the frontier to march to Peſth, and to ſhew themſelues in the field. Whereupon the Germans began to mollifie, and were content to renew the Treaty. At a third ſeſſion they reſolued to employ the force of gold, and to win *Morteſa* by corruption; to whom they preſented from the Emperour ſix thouſand Dollars, with promiſe of a greater reward. This Caſt changed all the Game; and he vndertooke both to diſcouer the deſignes of *Bethlem Gabor*, and to croſſe him in his Maſters Court.

The Miniſters of the Grand Signior hauing exhibited a ſecond complaint to his Majeſties Embaſſador, for ſome wrongs done vnto his ſubjects in the Gulph of Perſia, he ſent vnto them M
this enſuing Command, to obſerue the antient Capitulations.

To

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To all Gouernors, Admirals, Commanders of Ships, Or other his Maiesties Subiects trading in the Kingdome or Gulfe of Persia.

After our louing commendations:

B WHereas Aly Bassa of Balsara, hath sent his Letters to this high Port by the hands of two of his seruants inhabiting in those parts, by them informing the Grand Signior, That the English Nation trading in the Persian Gulfe, in Ormus, Iasques, Mumbrun, and other parts of the Kingdome of Persia, do make prize and take the Vessels and Frigots of the Subiects of the Grand Signior dwelling in Balsara, Lasha, and the Coasts of Arabia, trading to Meschit, India, Goa, and Calicut; and that they make Slaues of all the passengers, Merchants or other, that they finde vpon the said Vessels, being Subiects of this Empire. Further, That they do vnite themselues with the Persian (now in warre with the Grand Signior) assisting him not onely with munition, but Vessels and Frigots; and that they help and teach the Persians (enemies of this Port) to build Gallies, Galliots, and other Vessels of warre to arme in those seas; prouiding them of Shipwrights and all other necessaries for the fitting of an Armado, therby to inuade or besiege the Port of Balsara, or Lasha, or to make incursions vpon the territories of this
C Empire. Which actions being alleadged to be contrarie to the Capitulations of his most sacred Majesty, and to the publique Peace and Commerce betweene these Kingdoms; I haue been called before the Chimacham, Deputie to the great Vizier, to make answer to these Obiections, and to prouide some timely remedie, before those proceedings should giue further occasion of discontent. To which accusations, I being able, concerning the fact, to say nothing; but that knowing such actions to be vniust and vnlawfull, and contrary to the will of his sacred Maiestie, and your Commissions and Instructions from the Companie and your Principals, for whom you serue: I do hope that herein you haue not offended, nor giuen any iust occasion of lament, vnlesse you haue been thereunto by like acts of hostilitie prouoked. Notwithstanding being vrged by the great Ministers of this Port; and that it will require so much time to informe his Maiestie, and to seeke redresse by so long a course, (to whom neuertheless the Grand Sig-
D nior will write his Letters of complaint, to require Iustice in such case) and for the preuention of future euils of very great importance to the Subiects of his Maiestie (which you may easily conceiue) and for the declaration of his Maiesties sincere and constant purpose to maintaine a good and iust Peace with the Grand Signior and all his Dominions, which I know to be his Maiesties royall will: and that I make no doubt of your obedience to all his Orders and purposes, like good Subiects that must answer your actions at the Tribunall of his High Iustice; I haue thought fit and very requisite to send you this our Declaration, and in the name of his Maiestie to admonish and require you, That you presume not to take or make prize of any of the Vessels or Subiects of the Grand Signior, trading in the Sea whersoeuer; nor to make any spoyle of their goods, or hurt or detaine their persons: nor that you intermeddle in any in-
E uasion or attempt of the King of Persia, to assist him or his Armies against the Subiects or Dominions of the Grand Signior, neither by Sea nor Land, nor by prouiding them of munition, Shipwrights, or other Artsmen, to teach them the vse of gallies, thereby to inuade the Territories or Subiects of this Empire; but that therein you carry your selues neutrally and indifferently, betweene two Princes both in Peace and Amitie with his Maiestie. Wishing you well to consider, the inconuenience which may arise to others, and the damage in time to your selues, by teaching a powerfull Nation to vse their strength in Sea causes, of which they are now vtterly ignorant, and of which practise wee haue a lamentable example in these Seas. And no way doubting, That like good Subiects, you will conforme your actions and proceedings in those Seas to the rules of his Maiestie (for that such is his will and pleasure, In declaration whereof I haue affixed his Royall Seale) yet I am inforced to protest, That the contrarie will giue occasion of much trouble and danger vnto your selues, and in the end losse and damage to your Prin-
F cipals.

Giuen in Constantinople the third of September, in the yeare of Grace, 1617.

Halil Baſſa made great Vizier vpon the rout of the army mentioned at Babylon, was ſent to the war in the end of the laſt yeare, being arriued at Dierbecher, reſolued to enter Perſia (notwithſtanding that the King had an Embaſſador at the Port treating of peace) and gaue order to certain Beglerbeghs to make another inuaſion by Van; and did endeauour to draw *Abaſſa Baſſa*, with his forces ioyned with the Georgians, to do the like on his frontier, who gaue good words, and hopes of due obedience. Whileſt theſe deſignes were in preparation, the Perſian by his General beſieged Achiska, a city of great importance neer Arzirum: Whereupon *Halil* ſent *Diſlenk* Baſſa of Natolia, with ſix other Baſſaes, to *Abaſſa*, to perſuade him preſently to performe his word, and to riſe and vnite his ſtrength with them. With theſe hee ſent three thouſand Ianizaries vnder twelue Captaines, with his owne Letters; who being arriued neere the City, he appointed them to incamp, and ſent them prouiſion for a day or two, till he could put his affaires for his departure in order. Theſe reſting ſecure, in the night he ſet vpon them, and cut them in pieces, ſome few eſcaping to the Port. *Diſlenk* and another, *Muchmet Baſſa*, were ſlaine; the Captaines that he tooke aliue, or came to him to treat, he ſent to the Perſian: whereby Achiska being in great diſtreſſe, and vnſuccoured, was preſently ſurrendred to the Enemy. This newes being brought to the great Vizier, the next morning hee roſe with all his whole army, laying aſide all deſigne againſt Perſia, and marched right to Arzirum; vowing to puniſh the Rebell, or there to end his life: who was ſtrong, fortified, victualled, prouided, and reſolute.

The Perſian beſiegeth Achiska

Notwithſtanding all the colours, proteſtations, and perturbations of the Prince of Tranſyluania, That hee would finde occaſion and quarrell to diſſolue the treaty of Comaran, or that he would ſeparate himſelfe from the Turks; yet at laſt hee ſent his Embaſſadour *Francis Microferentz* to the Grand Signior, about the later end of October, to acquaint him that the peace was concluded. And within a few dayes after, the Internuntio of the Emperor arriued with a branch of Oliues at the Port: And this Embaſſador and two Agents of *Gabor* went to the Chimacham with a Letter from their Maſter, vnder the Seale, of great ſecrecie; of freſh aduice, That the King of Denmarke was vtterly broken and fled into certaine Iſlands, all his Countrey, and Germany proſtrate at the mercy of the Emperour (which newes the Imperials had formerly ſpread) counſelling the Chimacham to make an end of their peace with the Emperor, and to diſpatch and to accept of any conditions, and to ſend the Internuntio away with ſpeed and content; leſt the Auſtrians puffed vp with thoſe victories, ſhould take the aduantage of their delay, and preſent them worſe termes, or refuſe it abſolutely. Whereupon the Miniſters of the Port reſolued eaſily to peace; changing their former Ænigmaticall letters, and hudled vp a haſty concluſion. They added further, That the Princes of Germany treated a Pacification, which was like alſo to take effect; and either way, that the Emperor would be at liberty to make war vpon him. Whether they feigned the firſt part, to accelerate the ratification; or feared the later, and that their Maſter ſhould therein deſeruedly be left out, was hard to iudge; but they only by this office (which the Turke did beleeue was ſincere) merited of the Emperor the conſummation of what was done; and thereupon they Both made their atonement with the Emperor according to their ſeuerall Capitulations.

Bethlem Gabor certifieth the Port, of peace betweene him and the Emperor.

What was the ſecret cauſe and reaſon of this ſudden alteration, (*Gabor* hauing made all demonſtration, that he would continue the war; hauing proceeded euen to threats and proteſts againſt the Miniſters of the Port; and being irritated anew after the concluſion of his owne Treaty, by the complaints and practiſes of the Emperors Agents, to bring him into diſgrace or ruine; ſo that hee could repoſe no truſt in an enemy newly reconciled, and ſo often prouoked) did breed much inquiſition, and many doubted ſome great myſterie, either of his reuolt wholly to the Imperiall part, or that he had ſome other high deſigne in Poland. But thoſe who were leſſe ſpeculatiue and curious, and looked only vpon euident matter, concluded, That the King of Denmarke being indeed diſtreſſed by *Walſtein*, who vpon the priuat accord of *Gabor*, was let looſe, and was become triumphant in Germany; and finding himſelf betrayed and forſaken by *Morteſa Baſſa*, and that he could no longer diſguiſe his owne ends, which were, To oblige the Emperour to him for the Peace if it were made; and to blinde the Turks, to conuert their force and authoritie to better his conditions in the Peace; and that hee foreſaw ſo much renitencie and inconſtancie in them to proſecute the warre, the vigor whereof depended vpon contingencies and the ſucceſſe of the Viſier in Aſia; that he reſolued to

preuent

A preuent being preuented, and discouered. For certainly if he had not roundly shut vp the occasion, by being the first that seemed to merit of both parts, by reconciling the difficultie hee himselfe had raised, he had bin stript naked, and left in the state of the Constable Count of S. *Pol*, between *Lewis* the 11 of France, and the Duke of Burgondie. This only was obserued by all, That whatsoeuer the ends of *Gabor* and *Mortesa* were while they were vnited in counsel, they did suffer the grand Signior to know no more, than conduced to their own ends; & that they had practised power to change the resolutions of the Port, with euery wind of rumor they pleased to obtrude: And that if *Gabor* had bin countenanced and nourished in his hopes, to wear the crown of Hungarie (which was the scope of all his intentions) that he had credit and wit enough to haue moulded the Turks (who saw the affairs of Christendom only thorow
B the glasse of his relations) to his own designes; and that hee would continue the War at his pleasure, and they at whose costs it had bin made, should haue bin the least and last, to know the internal motiue. For so it often happens, That great Princes and States haue bin involued in troubles, and shut vp with peaces, vnder the specious name of the publique good, by the passions, designes, or ambitions of their Allyes or Ministers, the causes and pretexts being seldom rightly distinguished.

It hath bin formerly intimated, That *Gabor* had secretly treated apart; and now the general peace being concluded, the Articles themselues will most cleerly discouer, either to what streits the Prince was driuen, or what were his intentions: the order of time giuing place to that of Story, we haue chosen this period to publish them.

C

Articles of Peace concluded between the Emperor of Germany, *Ferdinand*, and *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transylvania, in the moneth of December, 1626.

D

THe Prince of Transylvania doth promise by the faith of a Christian, neuer to moue arms, or vse any hostility against the Maiesty of the Emperour, or the House of Austria, or their Successors; much lesse to enter into their dominions with an army: Not to aid his Enemies, nor to keep correspondence with them: Not to plot any innovation in the kingdom of Hungary, or other Christian Countries; neither to stirre vp and prouoke the Turkes or Tartars, or others to inuade them: Not to entertain nor assist in any euill Counsell against his Maiesty, nor to giue ear to the requests and desires of his Enemies; but rather to reueale all
E *their conspiracies and wickednesses which shall be made known vnto him, and by all means to demonstrate and shew a sincere minde, truly desirous of Peace, and solicitous of the Common good.*

That the Prince shall instantly depart with his whole army out of the territories & cities of the Emperor; and that he shall restore as well all goods belonging to the Imperiall Treasure, as those of his faithfull subiects.

That he shall remoue from him the Rebel Mansfelt, *and all other his followers and Adherents desirous to inuade the dominions of the Emperor. And that he shall not aid any stranger whatsoeuer, who at his instance hath entred into the territories of his Maiesty with Count*
F *Mansfelt; to whom letters of publique safety shall be giuen, that they may returne by twenty or thirty in a troup; with condition, That in no place of their retreit they shall ioyne with the enemies of the Emperor.*

IV. *That seeing it is fit for the establishing of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of countries and cities belonging to the Prince, by the consent of the Emperor should remain during his life, in obedience and fidelitie to him; and that those inhabitants should do homage to the Emperour (sauing their corporall oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate these articles: That they should haue leaue by Letters of full authority and power granted them by the Prince, in their first assemblies and conuentions to make such oath of Homage.* G

V. *That at the same time of the performing of the Homage and Oath, besides the Oath before the last War, they shall take a new oath, according to the agreement betweene the Prince and the Commissioners of the Emperor.*

VI. *The Prince shall procure, That all places vpon the confines which were taken by the Turkes in the last war, shall be restored, and that all Captiues on both sides shall be set at liberty: and that the Prince shall procure the freedom of all such the Emperours subiects as shall bee in the Turkish captiuitie.* H

VII. *That all the subiects of the Emperour, lately incited and drawn to the seruice of the Prince, shall be free from their oath; and if the Prince haue any of their letters of obligation in his hands, that he shall restore them: And that these conditions confirmed, all other things formerly treated, shall remain in their former state and vigor.*

VIII. *That if any other difficulties arise, they shall be accommodated with fidelitie and quietnesse, by Commissioners on both parts. And that all those who in the last commotion haue serued the Prince, shall be absolued, according to the treaty and agreement at Vienna.* I

IX. *That all the inhabitants of counties and cities which haue serued the Prince, shall be absolued; only those excepted who haue voluntarily taken vp arms against the Emperor, for whom he shall only intercide: excusing alwaies priuat men which haue done priuat wrongs, for they shall according to law and custom, seek their restitution by Ciuile Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of peace concluded at Nichilsburg and Vienna, shall remain in their former vigor and force; except vpon the behalfe of the Emperor, the paiment of thirty thousand Dollars to the Prince, and the care of the confines granted vnto him. And that all goods of the Emperors Clergy possessed by the Prince, shall be restored, from the year 1619, till this present day: Except the Abbies of Replana, belonging to the Seminarie of Strigonium; for which the Prince shall pay to the Emperor yearly fiue hundred florens.* K

At the arriuall of the Messenger sent from the commissioners of the Emperor, to the Port, with the news of the conclusion of the Treaty, and the ratification on the part of *Cæsar*, he presented this letter. L

The Emperors Letter to the grand Signior, a little before the ratification of the Peace.

FEerdinand *the second, by the grace of God Emperor of Germanie, &c. We giue notice hereby to your Maiesty, That by the diligence and wisdome of our Commissioners on both parts, all controuersies which haue hertofore hapned, are wel accommodated, and all injuries and hostilities for the future preuented. Now for the better and more exact obseruance of this our said Treaty, we haue sent vnto your Maiesty our Internuntio* Stephano Baloco, M

Captain

A *Captain of Tata, to giue you notice of the agreement betweene our said Commissioners, and to present you with the Capitulations, seuerally signed and sealed by them. Which wee pray your Maiesty to accept word for word; and hauing signed them with your Imperiall hand, that you will send them back vnto vs with all expedition: Not doubting but your Maiesty out of you benignitie and greatnesse, will obserue and keep the same, as we vpon our part do promise euer to do.*

Giuen in Prague the 21 of *Zilhege* (or September) in the yeare of the
B Messiah 1627.

Ferdinando:

Count Colalto *Counsellor.*

Sberinger *Secretary.*

C

Articles of peace agreed vpon between *Ferdinand* Emperor of Germany, and the grand Signior Sultan *Morat*, in Comaran, in the moneth of September, 1627.

D I *Sultan* Morat, *King of Kings, &c. To thee* Ferdinand, *honored King of the Romans, Almaines, Bohemians, Hungars, Croats, Austrians, Emperor of Germany, and most glorious Prince amongst Christians: whose last daies be euer happy.*

BY *vertue of our Imperiall Commission granted to* Mortesa Bassa *our magnificent Vizier, vpon the frontiers of Buda; to the Beglerbegh of Agria,* Mehemet; *to the Mufti of Buda,* Issa; *to the Sanzack of Strigonium,* Achmet; *to the Bey of Sonluc,* Muharem; *to the Aga of Assapi,* Ghian; *and to* Michael Todolaghi *Embassador of* Bethlem Gabor, *on our behalfe: And the illustrous Palatine of Hungary, and the Chancellour* Stephano *and others, on the part of the Emperor. Which Commissioners being met in the field of Sona, and*
E *hauing found the peaces which had formerly bin concluded at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, to be disturbed by diuers insolencies and outrages don vpon the subiects of both parties. Wherupon the said Commissioners in the aforesaid place did treat and conclude a good peace for the space of twenty fiue years, in the current year of our great Prophet* Mahomet Mustapha *the Messenger of God,* 1037, *and of the Venerable Christ* 1627, *as appeareth by a sealed Capitulation containing eleuen Articles. And you also desiring and accepting the good peace for so long time, hauing sent the sacred Capitulation to our happy Port, by your esteemed and honored amongst Christians,* Stephano Baloco, *Captaine of Tata; desiring in your Letter,*
F *that it may be obserued word for word. And although we haue declared heretofore vpon our Imperial part, That we would haue made other Capitulations; yet since it hath euer bin our regal custome, affectionatly to correspond with the intentions of those great princes that professe amitie,*

amity, deuotion, and friendſhip to our high Port (by the immenſe fauour of God, the ſtay and refuge of great Lords and Princes;) We declare and demonſtrate our ſingular greatneſſe and magnificence, and approue ſufficiently, and hold lawfull, the confirmation of the Peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares, according to the ſuid Letter, beginning from the yeare 1627. Wherupon our high Order is giuen out in writing, for ratifying and confirming of theſe our new Imperiall Capitulations. G

Thus much is the Preface, according to the ſtile of that Court: That which followeth is the Capitulation, as it was accepted and ſent by the grand Signior; tranſlated out of the Turkiſh word for word, without any alteration. H

THat ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, hath remained in the ſame ſtate, and in the ſame articles, without any alteration, it ſhal not be violated by any new occaſion of contention.

That the difference of Vatz, whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame ſtate that the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall agree.

That the new Forts built vpon the confines of Croatia, contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputy Mehemet, *and our Viſier* Morteſa Baſſa, *ſhall meet vpon the frontiers of Buda with your Deputies, at the time appointed by the Treaty, and there vpon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace: wherin if they find any impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant men to performe and execute the ſaid ſeruice.* I

That after the approbation of this happy Peace, your great Embaſſadour ſhall come to Comar; and ours ſhall repaire with our Imperiall Letters to Strigonium: and there one of them aduiſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall aduance to you. For ſo it is agreed by our Imperiall Order, both carrying with them the new Imperiall Capitulations. K

That all complaints of Villages ſubiect to both parts, ſhall bee layd aſide, and no violences, taxes, or contribution, contrary to our former Conuention, ſhall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common confines ſhall be raſed. And reciprocally it ſhall be made knowne, according to the antient Treaty, what great men doe dwell amongſt our Tributaries. And for the execution of the ſixteenth and ſeuenteenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, the tenth of Vienna, and the fourth of Comar and Chiarman (for ſuch was then the agreement) two Capigi Baſſa's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpeeded, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the Danuby. And vpon your part you ſhall ſend two ſuch qualified perſons to the ſame places: who being met together with the deputies of Morteſa Baſſa *and the Palatine of Hungary ſhall rectifie all diſorders, and ſee that good juſtice be done on both parties: for ſo it is our moſt high pleaſure.* L

That the Slaues which haue been taken during this our Treaty, ſhall be freed and ſet at libertie without any ranſome: and thoſe who were taken before the ſaid Treaty ſhall be exchanged and redeemed, according to their qualities and eſtates; by the interpoſition of Morteſa Baſſa *and the Palatine of Hungary deputed for that purpoſe.* M

For the good of poor people on both ſides, the Commiſſioners haue thought it fit to conclude this renued peace for 25 years, from 1627. Wherunto we haue giuen our Imperial aſſent.

That

A That all Merchants, and other our ſubiects on both parts, ſhall haue ſafe paſſage and conduct through both our Dominions: and we haue giuen command to our Baſſa's, Beglerbegs, Generalls, Beghes, and Captaines, vpon our confines, to apprehend, bring into juſtice, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall any way diſturbe or moleſt them contrary to the peace. As likewiſe the Palatine of Hungary and other your Miniſters ſhall doe on your part, if they finde any ſuch offendors. VIII.

That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Gouernors; and your Generals, Commaunders, and Captaines, ſhall vpon occaſion employ all ſuch perſons as are louers of the peace and common good. IX.

B That there ſhall be no damage or hurt done to any of our ſubiects in any of your Kingdomes or Dominions, neither by ſea nor land: as there ſhall none be done to yours in our Dominions. X.

That all by-paſt wrongs, enmities, and vnkindeneſſes on both parts ſhall be forgotten and layed aſleepe: and that this happy Peace ſhal be ſincerely and firmely continued and kept inviolate. XI.

C Vpon condition that the Emperor performe and obſerue all the aforeſaid Articles, and that there follow no action from any Miniſters, contrary to the ſaid Peace; We promiſe and ſwear by God our Creator, who made the whole world of nothing; and by the honor which we bear to our moſt high Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha, That there ſhall not bee done during the whole term of the ſaid Peace, the leaſt hurt or damage to the Subiects, Countries, Kingdomes, Caſtles, or Forts of the ſaid Emperor, by any of our Miniſters or Armies, nor to any Chriſtian ſlaues ſubiect to our happy Port.

D I haue choſen the Capitulations as they were ſigned by the grand Signior, which though the Articles are very generall, and matters of greateſt moment either referred, or not fully eſtabliſhed; yet being therſore aduantagious for the Turk, who would not deſcend into particular definition, becauſe by the vertue of former treaties, all places ſurpriſed ought to bee reſtored, and depredations ſatisfied, he would neither break, nor yet oblige himſelf to reparation: and indeed the difficulties were inſuperable in reſpect of the Turkiſh Law; for no place can be ſurrendred to the Chriſtian, where a Moſche hath been erected; which was the caſe of Vatz: And the Emperor could not conſent to abandon his claime with charitie and honour, grounded on the articles of Zitwa. So that both ſides were contented to bee appeaſed, rather than righted for the time, and both did thinke that they had the aduantage: The Emperor, In preſuming his title; the Turke, In not declaring. So the one part accepting the ſignature of
E the other, without diſpute, the bodies of the Treaties were very different, if not contrary: yet ſo deſirous they were of peace, that they did wittingly ouerſee one the arts of the other; and in effect there was no firm peace eſtabliſhed, but that either ſide might finde iuſt matter, and ground it on the Capitulation it ſelfe, when occaſion ſhall inuite them to breake. Therfore I obſerue, That it is not the letter but the minde that makes a true peace: and I am perſuaded, That the minds of theſe Princes, how ſoeuer neceſſitie hath reſtrained them, are ſo diſcrepant, that the firſt opportunitie wil diſcouer them in their own colours and nature. And this ſort of concluſion was moſt fit for *Gabor* (not to haue matters ſoundly examined and healed) who was principally ſafe by an il intelligence, and maintaining of jealouſie and ſubiect of new diſcord between thoſe Empires.

F *Halil Baſſa* General of the Army in Aſia, whom we left furiouſly marching to be reuenged of the Rebel, was forced to riſe from the ſiege of Arzirum; and retyring, *Abaſſa* followed him 7 days, and cut off all his rear, and took his treaſure, cannon, and baggage, to the great diſcouragement of the Turkiſh ſtate. The army afterward fel into mutiny, and ſought to ſtone their General,

General. Whereupon he wrot to the grand Signior, That there was no hope of obedience, G
vnleſſe the reuerence of his perſon did reuiue it. Yet he reſted at Tocat, and the ſoldiers diſbanded, and returned naked to the Port, as from an ouerthrow: and it was threatned, that thoſe which did ſtay with the Vizier, would bring him to Conſtantinople perforce; ſo that in the next Spring, much trouble, if not a great deſolation was preſaged. Yet it was reſolued to proſecute the Warre: for though the renitencie of the ſoldier, and many other impediments perſuaded againſt it, yet not to haue moued at all, was thought too plain a diſcouery of their owne infirmitie, and would too much encourage the Enemy, eſpecially *Abaſſa Baſſa*, who had practiſed both the Tartars, Poles, and Coſſackes. Whereupon *Huſſeruph Baſſa* a Vizier, and late Aga of the Ianizaries, was choſen Conductor of the *Militia*, and ſent ouer the water to Aſia ſide with all prouiſion. Much new Ordnance was caſt, which the grand Signior H
went in perſon to ſee in the Founders office. And from thence to the Arſenall, to giue order for the gallies. And it was concluded, That the new Generall ſhould march directly to Diarbecher, to oppoſe the Perſian, and there remaine as Baſſa of the prouince, with one diuiſion of the Army. But ſecretly he was made great Vizier, and the Seale appointed to bee giuen him when he ſhould be vpon the way. This was done partly to ſaue charges, becauſe to that great degree appertained great expence in ſetting out; and partly for reſpect of *Halil Baſſa* in Tocat, that he might not ſeeme to be diſplaced in diſgrace, but that he ſhould ſurrender to the other, and retyre to the Port, *ſalvo Honore*. And when *Huſſeruph* ſhould be declared prime Vizier, he had order alſo to change his wayes, but whither, was not divulged. Howſoeuer it was iudged they could not attempt much that year, but only make ſhew to keep the field, and the I
reputation of an army.

1628. About the fift of April *Huſſruph Baſſa* was declared Vizier; who intended to march directly towards Babylon, for of *Abaſſa* they had enough the laſt year; who had writ a letter to the grand Signior, That he was his ſeruant and ſlaue, & would hold the prouince for him: but if he ſought to force more, plainly that he would deliuer the poſſeſſion to the Perſian, againſt whom as the great Enemy, if they would proſecute the war, that he would doe all ſeruice hee could with his ſafety. And this was accepted as a full ſubmiſſion.

Whilſt the grand Signior was thus buſied to ſettle the affaires of Aſia, and to reduce *Abaſſa Baſſa* to obedience; the Tartar *Han* was openly declared a Rebel, and Enemy to the Turkiſh Empire: and his brother *Shachin Gheray* hauing exacted a tribute of the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia, had receiued an ouerthrow of *Cante-Emir* a Tartar, his Æmulous, but obedient to the grand Signior. Whereupon it was ſuddenly reſolued to take *Ghian Gheray* (formerly depoſed) out of the Rhodes, and to ſend the Captaine Baſſa with the whole Armado to eſtabliſh him Prince, and to diſplace the other. So that for that year the Mediterran was like to be free, and the Turkiſh Empire ingaged in ſo many troubles, that euerie thing ſeemed to worke toward their ſubuerſion. But great bodies haue ſtrong luctations, and die not with one fit, or by one blow; and ſuch was the miſerie and iniquitie of the times, that while Chriſtian princes contended for ambitious and enuious, rather than iuſt quarels; that L
none of them had leiſure to help to puſh down that enemy, who tottered by his own weight; nor to vindicate the Chriſtian Honour; nor the Holy Land, oppreſſed and poſſeſſed by a Tyrant, that onely ſubſiſted by their diſſentions: and I feare, the loſſe of the opportunitie hath loſt the Grace that gaue it; and that a common repentance will requite a common ſinne and folly.

Hauing drawn our Hiſtorie for matters concerning the Tempotal eſtate, and the revolutions therin, vnto a period, of our own knowledge or practiſe, it will not be impertinent nor vnprofitable, to make ſome relation of the Greek Church, and the affaires therof, which ſuffered many perturbations and aſſaults during theſe times; as if one influence had diſpoſed all things to vniuerſall trouble: but the cauſes were far differing. There are yet remaining vnder M
the Patriark of Conſtantinople 111 Metropolitans and Biſhops, who liue with freedome of conſcience and Religion vnder the grand Signior, and gouerne the Chriſtian Flocke vnder their ſeuerall Iuriſdictions. Who haue their antient Churches, with ſome competent

reuenue

A reuenue in their owne poſſeſſion, teaching, preaching, and adminiſtring of the holy Sacraments according to their owne Rites, without any moleſtation for matters of Religion. The preſent Patriarch is called *Cyrillus*, formerly gouerning the See of Alexandria, a reuerend and learned man, who hath deſired to reforme many errors, and to enlighten much of the blindeneſſe of his Church; inſenſibly preuailing, for want of Lectures, Schooles, and Books, and by the mixture of Barbariſme. His reuenue, (though very good) and that of his Biſhops, not ariſing wholly out of viſible lands and rents, but by ſecret contribution, and other duties; and the ſimplicity of their life and habit, without ſhew or pompe, giuing no occaſion formerly to the Turks, to expect any profit by vexing them, as is vſually practiſed vpon other lay Chriſtians, they liued in great peace and tranquility; vntill of late yeares the Church of Rome, ho-
B ping either by the pouerty of the one, and the greatneſſe of the other, to force the Greeks to a ſubmiſſion, or perhaps, enuious of their quiet, to weary them by trouble, or to ſubuert them. To this end a Greeke Colledge was by the laſt *Gregory* erected in Rome, to breed vp the Youth of that Nation; where they had liberty of all their owne Rites, only acknowledging the ſupremacy of the Pope, which they muſt do, or not be admitted: and that ground being layd, for point of doctrine it matters not; there is enough gained to make him that had ſworne obedience, to accept of all the reſt. By this foundation the Pope hoped to breed Proſelites enow in time to poſſeſſe all the Biſhoprickes, and to ſubdue the whole Church. For theſe Students returned admired men for their education and knowledge, and wanted not meanes to promoue their preferment; which was a great aduantage ouer the ignorant
C breeding and diſcipline of the meere Greeke. But by the foreſight and wiſedome of *Cyrillus* this plot taking little effect, as it did irritate the Pope and Cardinals againſt his perſon, ſo it did incite them to ſeeke other more powerfull meanes of corruption, or to ruine him. And both were put in practiſe. To this end a Congregation was erected to take care of the Eaſterne Church, and to direct the practiſes vpon it; whereof a principall Cardinall was made Protector: and many Conſiſtories were held, by which way to reduce the Greeke Church to obedience, or to root out all thoſe that oppoſed it. It was reſolued to make titular Biſhops of almoſt all the Sees (eſpecially in the Iſlands) where any Greeke Biſhop had reſidence; ſo that there were many Paſtors without a flocke. But theſe Emiſſaries being diſcouered to be ſupplanters and diſturbers of the poor Church, were alſo reſiſted, and ſome caſt
D into priſon; and ſome aſhamed of their empty honour, voluntarily returned. But all theſe deuiſes failing, they fell at laſt vpon the round and moſt aſſured way of force, to worke their ends by the Embaſſadors of Chriſtian princes of the Romiſh Religion reſiding at Conſtantinople; and the moſt potent, of bribery and corruption: making vſe of the impotency of the Turkiſh Miniſters, who they knew would ſell *Mahomet* himſelfe for gold: *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta mouebo.* From this reſolution did all the danger and miſchiefe ſpring: and certainely the zeale of the Romiſh Church is cloathed with ſo much honour and ſolicitouſnes, that in that only it prouoketh enuy. But whether they haue in this purſuit and cauſe proceeded with the rules of Chriſtian charity, in that place, among Falſe-Beleeuers, where euery ſcandall did concern the honour of Chriſt himſelf, or not; I leaue to the iudgement of
E euery ingenious man. And becauſe this Part, of the quarrels betweene the Roman and Greeke Church, though acted in ſeuerell yeres, hath beene related entirely by a ſincere Pen, in a Letter directed to a noble Senator of Venice, whereby the paſſages will be more cleere and continuous, than if they had beene mingled and interrupted with other affaires; I haue rather choſen mine owne eaſe and the Readers profit, by tranſlating that Letter, to ſerue it in all at once, than by peeces and fragments. The occaſion whereof ariſing (as I am informed) from the variety of reports and Printed pamphlets, of the laſt Act concerning the banriſhment of the Ieſuits, and a rumor ſpread, that they were reſtored: the truth whereof it ſeemes that Senator did deſire to know, and therefore prouoked ſome Friends to ſatisfie him. And ſo without other prejudice, I referre the Reader to the Text it ſelfe following.

G

The Copy of a Letter written to a Senator of Venice, concerning the contentions betweene the Roman and Greeke Churches in Constantinople.

My Lord,

H *YOur Letter hath laied vpon me a charge, that (if I were able to performe) is so full of enuy, and subject to diuers censures, according to the preparations of the hearers of a matter of that nature, that I would haue chosen to haue obeyed you in any other way, rather than in that of a Relator. For I perceiue by you, some prejudice is already gone out, and hath taken possession of a part of the World, harder to remoue than to teach a new heresie. But hoping that you seeke the satisfaction of your owne curiosity, and that you purpose not to controuert, I will not refuse, against my owne reason, and little leisure, to returne you assurance, how far you haue power ouer them and me.*

I IT is now ten moneths since this conflict between the Greeke Church, and the Iesuits here fell out, but not the first time they haue been in trouble, imprisonment and oblegation. They were settled in Galata by the Grand Signiors License, vnder the French protection, about twenty fiue yeares since; in which time they had gotten a good Seat, builded much, gathered together a faire Library, and won greatly vpon the weaker Sect, and age, women and children. I speake of the Greeks; for with the Romanists they had least credit, who adhered to their antient Orders of S. *Francis* and *Dominicke*; and were affraid that this new Society would be too busie, and cast them into danger of their old priuiledges: for the Turks are plaine, and yet rash, and easily apprehend euery innouation.

The pretence of this Colledge was, To teach children for nothing, or charity, Grammer, the Arts and Tongues. And there being no open Schoole in those parts, and few bookes for want of Printing, the Greekes (who loue learning best, when it is best cheape) were content K their children should gleane tares in any field, to saue their purses: and their wiues were won by eloquence and affability, to open their sins to them, who had more witty penances than Greekish shrift and fasting, which did decay their beauty, and deject their countenances. But the wiser sort, especially the Patriarch *Cyrillus*, and his Bishops, discouered *Anguem in herba*; and did foresee, That by this seeming benefit, the Youth of their Nation might be corrupted (*Seruabit odorem testa diu*) and their owne bosomes tempted by the Daughters of *Euc*: And they likewise did feare, That vpon this foundation might be nourished Proselites to Rome, that in time would vndermine the whole Church. And therefore did as modestly as they could (to preuent an open dissention) seeke to withdraw both, from this bait of seducement. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*: For when the Iesuits did discouer they were discouered, L they began to practise that by force, which they had long designed in the darke. The first open warre brake out in February 1622; when these Fathers (protected by the French Embassador) attempted to depose the Patriarch, and to place another Greeke in his Chayre, who had secretly submitted to the Pope, and promised to render new obedience to the See of Rome.

Whereupon *Cyrillus* consulted his friends, how to auoyd their enuy. He resolued to proceed with mildenesse and charity; and first to deale with the seduced Bishop, as one of his owne Flocke: and the Sunday following hee preached and published the Counsels held against him, and the danger of his Church; not naming the Iesuits, otherwise than by admonition, to beware of certaine fiery Organs and Instruments, against whom he should be enforced to proceed with more seuerity, if they desisted not. And then being assisted with foure M Archbishops, and the Clergy present, he excommunicated that Greeke joyned with his enemies: hoping by this gentle Exhortation to the one, and Example on the other, to obtaine the blessing of Peace, recommended by Christ to his Church. The pretence of this quarrel

from

A from Rome and preſent diſdaine, was publiſhed by the French Party, to haue root, becauſe that the Patriarch kept company with Lutherans and Heretiques, and therefore muſt needs ſauour of the ſame Leauen. This modeſt courſe of the Patriarch did but exaſperate; for the Ieſuits hauing a Viſier fit for them, in Aprill following, by ſubornation of others, did accuſe *Cyrillus* of a practiſe to betray an Iſland in the * Arches, to the Florentines; and by the promiſe of twenty thouſand Dollars for the eſtabliſhment of the excommunicated Biſhop, they preuailed to haue the Patriarch apprehended, depoſed, and ſent priſoner to Rhodes, where he ſuffered many miſeries and outrages, and their Friend to be placed in his Seat. But the Greeke Church, though they durſt not oppoſe the preſent fury, yet they would neither acknowledge *Paſtorem qui non intrauit per Portam*, nor reſort to the Cathedrall, nor contribute
B any mony to pay the fine due to the Grand Signior vpon remoue, vpon which the French relyed, for though they had promiſe from Rome of aid, yet was it not leuied. Whereby finding themſelues in a ſtreight, they made meanes to a ſilly Archbiſhop of Adrianople, who was rich, to take the charge; the other willingly reſigning vnto him: who accepted the offer, aduanced part of the Symony, and leuied the reſt by force of Turkiſh Commands vpon the poore Greeks; and ſo he was in appearance fully, if not Canonically ſeated. Their purpoſe was not long to ſuffer this man to continue, but only to hold the See full, vntill ſupply came from the Pope, and then to depoſe him, and place one fitted for their deſignes. By this mutation they hoped to recouer all the Greekes to the Catholique Cauſe, and Spaine. And in theſe changes the Patriarchat was robbed of moſt of the antient Manuſcripts, and other Or-
C naments of the Church.

In September following, *Cyrillus* by helpe of friends, and force of money, was reſtored to liberty, and returned to Conſtantinople. Where being arriued, all the Greekes flocked to him: Which the Archbiſhop of Adrianople obſeruing, and knowing himſelfe an Intruder, (the true Patriarch neither reſigning, nor being Canonically depriued) ſecretly and voluntarily came and ſubmitted, and offered to ſurrender the charge to him. But *Cyrillus* not daring to accept it, vntill meanes were made to the State, or that he were recalled by a Synod, was content the Church ſhould be vacant, to ſee what would of it ſelfe emerge. The French Embaſſador hearing of this ſudden defection from him, by the counſell of his Ieſuits fetched their Archbiſhop into his houſe, and encouraged him to reſume his place; promiſing him
D protection from the Pope, from the King his Maſter, and to ſpend forty thouſand Dollars for his ſuſtentation. And thus, partly by faire words abuſing the impotency, and partly by force compelling him, they won the weake man to yeeld: and then the French Embaſſador ſent his Interpreters and Ianizaries to re-ſeat him in the Cathedrall, and in Galata proclaimed him Patriarch, and threatened all thoſe that would not obey and acknowledge him. An inſolence full of proportion to the deſigne, to maintain an ill cauſe by worſe meanes.

But the Clergy and people knowing the vnlawfulneſſe of this intruſion, and the vndue conſecration, and foreſeeing the ruine to come, if ſo pernitious example ſhould preuaile, did ſtill adhere to their old Paſtor. Which the new better weighing in his owne retiredneſſe, than in the French Houſe, where his ambion was fomented; and fearing that if *Cyrillus* ſhould recoE uer his juſt right by the ſame way he had done his liberty, ſome greater diſgrace or puniſhment might fall vpon him; without further conſulting his high Protector, in the night quitted the See, and came to his Patriarch and caſt himſelfe into his mercy, asking abſolution; and vtterly renouncing French, Spaniſh, or Romane Factions, freely reſigned. Herewith *Cyrillus* encouraged, by the ſtrength of money and friends was againe with the Letters of the Grand Signior reſtored, in deſpight of the Enemy, who now found himſelfe ouermatched. But this ſtriſe did coſt the Greeks threeſcore thouſand Dollars, taken at Intereſt, almoſt to the deſtruction of the Church, eſpecially to haue diſcouered to the Turks a way to extort great ſums by changes, from them, who formerly were eſteemed poore Monks: which will neuer be forgotten, and will finally ruine the See. This was the effect of pretended zeale to
F Religion, and a Romiſh charity.

Now all men hoped for Peace; but there brake out another ſtorme. In Ianuary following, a Coloyre was ſent from Rome, called *Archemadrita*, and was receiued by the French into his houſe; who brought a promiſe from the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, That notwithſtanding the firſt faile for want of money, that now twenty thouſand Dollars ſhould be

* Marcellogenum.

ready and returned thither, if they could make ſure the depoſition of *Cyrillus*, and place an G
obedient Sonne in his roome. To this end it was promiſed, that ten thouſand Dollars giuen by a widow in France to charitable vſes, ſhould by the Popes authorty be conuerted. And thus new practiſes and new accuſations were aduanced; but being timely diſcouered, they were preuented: yet againe it coſt the poore Church a round ſumme of mony.

The next yeare the perſecution was calmed in outward appearance, but more ſubtile and cloſe machinations ſupplied it: for it was then reſolued in Rome, to corrupt *Cyrillus*, and ſo to winne him: then to diſcredit him with his friends, and to lay him open and vndo him. To this purpoſe were ſent from Rome about February 1624, two ſeuerall Agents, one called *Padre Berillus*, to ingage the Patriarch in a practiſe with the Coſſackes, which was treaſon: and a Ieſuited Greeke bred in the Colledge at Rome, named *Cannachi Roſſi*. To whom were gi- H
uen inſtructions vnder the hand and ſeale of Cardinall *Bandini*, to make ouerture to *Cyrillus* of reconciliation, with great conditionall promiſes of ſupplies and this following Commiſſion. But Sir, becauſe you will beſt judge of the ſcope of this negotiation, by the copy it ſelfe, the originall vnder the ſeale, remaining with the Engliſh Embaſſador, and from whence this hatred tooke root; I, that haue onely taken vpon me the part of a Relator, haue made it here a Parentheſis, and leaue your judgement to collect your owne ſence.

I

Inſtruttioni per Canacchio Roſſi.

1 *NOn vi eſſendo lettere ne del Patriarcha, ne de' Prelati non le ſi può riſpondere ſe non in voce, conformandoſi alla relatione del meſſo.*

2 *La chieſa Romana ha ſempre deſiderata l'unione & pace con tutte le Chieſe, ſpetialmente con l'Orientali, tanto per altri tempi bene merita della Chieſa Catolica, e non ſolo ne' tempi antichi mà vltimamente ancôra, nel tempo de Patriarcha* Hieremia *ha fato quel che ha potuto per aiutarla, e reunriſela, non perdonando in ciò ne à ſpeſe, ne à fa-* K
tiche, Anzi per queſto ſteſſo fine hà fondato, & mantiene il Collegio de giouani Greci con li ſui renditi, acciò quella natione ſi nobile & ingegnioſa ritorni a fiorire in pietà & in lettere, come altre volte ha fiorito.

3 *Nel particolar propoſto del Patriarcha preſente: Noſtro Seigniore (tanto grand fautore, & Padre della Natione Greca in particolare, come voi ſteſſo ſapete, & hauete veduto cogli occhi) volentaria mente ſpenderebbe ogni gran ſumma di denaro per riunir ſi nobile membro alla Chieſa, & aiutare in particolare quella ſedia dalla quale dipende il rimamente del'Oriente; ma ſuppoſte le relationi, che di Conſtantinopoli ſono venute, & vengono conti-* L
noùamente del Patriarcha, non vede in che maniera ſi poſſa fare.

4 *Di lui ſiamo auiſati, che nega l'Jnuocatione de Santi, il colto & veneratione dell'Jmagini, & Reliquie de Sante, la Preſenza reale de Chriſto nell'Euchariſtia, la Liberta del Arbitrio, l'Autorita de ſacri Concilij, le Traditioni, l'Autorità de Santi* Padri, *la neceſsità della Confeſsione auriculare, & lo ſpiegare in eſſa li Peccati della mente, & che in loco di lei haueſſe introdotto vna certa Confeſsione fatta a Dio publicamente con parole generali, che manda li giouani a ſtudiare nell'Vniuerſità d'Inghilterra, & di Germania, doue s'in-ſegna queſta dottrina; per poter poi per mezzo di loro diſſeminarla per il' Leuante. Che a* M
queſto fine ha fatto ſtampare, & egli ſteſſo diſſemina, dandoli alli Veſcoui, come Chateche-ſi, pieni di queſti, & ſimili errori condannatigià, tanti anni fa, non ſolo dalla fede Apoſtoli-ca & dal Concilio Tridentino, ma dalli ſuoi Predeceſſori anchora, come egli ſteſſo teſtifica

nella

A *nella professione della fede lasciata tanti anni fa in mano del Arciuescouo di Leopoli riconoscendo questa, & simili altre dottrine per heresie & dicendo che per questo era impossibile, che la chiesa Greca s'unisse mai con li Protestanti; che a contemplatione delli Ambasciatori Hugonotti (con li quali liberamente communicá) ha tolto via il Sinodico, & ha lasciato di far riuerenza alla santissima Eucharistia.*

5 *Che desiderarebbe sua Santita che tutte queste cose fossero false & che lui come Capo de si nobile natione fosse tale quale rechiedono li bisogni presenti, e spirituali, & temporali de'suoi subditi per poter con bona faccia, & conscienza, mettere mano ad auitarlo.*

B 6 *Che si queste sono calumnie, & le pare di poter far constare a sua Santita la sua innocenza, ne faccia Capace l'Ambasciatore di Francia, ó dell'Imperatore, che alla relatione loro per essere persone di tanta autorita & virta, si prestera ogni fede, & per mezzo loro mandi a N. S. la confessione della sua fede, nella quale accetti il Concilio Fiorentino, & danni li errori de' Caluinisti & Luterani, dannati prima da suoi Antecessori, che non manachera la sede Apostolica d'ogni diuto & fauore per aiutare & rimettere in piedi la Chiesa di Constantinopoli & tutte l'altre dependenti da lei.*

7 *Che non e per richieder S. Santita ne da lui, ne da gli altri Prelati Greci, altre conditioni, se non quelle che si sono conchiuse & stabilite nel sacro Concilio Fiorentino, per che*
C *come fin hora ha fatta la Chiesa Greca, condanni & anathematizi le biastemie delli heretici Settentrionali, cioè Luterani, Caliuinisti, & simili.*

Roma xxj. Febraro, 1625.

Il Cardinale Bandini.

Locus Sigilli.

D

Translated.

Instructions giuen to *Cannachi Rossi.*

E 1 *HAuing neither brought me Letters from the Patriarch, nor from any other Prelate, we cannot giue an answer other than by word of mouth, conforming to the relation you haue deliuered.*

2 *The Church of Rome hath alwaies desired an vnion and peace with all other Churches, but especially with those of the East, (who haue heretofore so well merited of the Catholique Church) and not only in antient times, but euen lately in the life of the Patriarch* Hieremy, *she hath done what she could possible, to assist and vnite the Greeke Church vnto her: not sparing therein either cost or labour: yea, to effect the same, she hath founded, and doth yet maintaine a Colledge of young Greekes with her owne reuenue, to the end that, that noble and ingenious Nation should flourish in godlinesse and learning, as in former ages it hath done.*

3 *Concerning the proposition of the present Patriarch, our Lord and Master the Pope (a Fauourer*
F *and Father of the Greeke Nation, as particularly your selfe haue knowne and seene) would disburse a round sum of mony to re-anite so noble a Member to the Church of Rome, and assist in particular that See, vpon which the rest of the Easterne Churches doe depend. But considering the reports which haue been spread, and continually do come from Constantinople, of the Patriarch, we do not see in what manner it can possibly be effected.*

4 Con-

4 *Concerning him, we are aduiſed, That he denieth the Inuocation of Saints, the worſhip and veneration of Images and reliques of the Saints, the Reall preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, Free will, the authoritie of Sacred Councels, and Traditions, the authoritie of Holy Fathers, the neceſſitie of Auricular Confeſſion, and in it, the reuealing of ſecret ſinnes: In ſtead of which he hath introduced a publike Confeſſion made to God in generall words. That he ſends young men to ſtudy in the Engliſh and Germane Academies, where this Doctrine is taught and profeſſed: that by their means he may ſpread it in the Leuant. And to this end, that he hath cauſed to be printed, and that he himſelfe hath diſperſed and giuen to ſome Biſhops, certaine Catechiſmes full of this and other like erronious Doctrine, condemned long ago, not only by the Apoſtilique See and the Councell of Trent, but euen of his owne Predeceſſors, as he himſelfe hath teſtified in that Confeſſon of Faith which he left many yeres ſince in the hands of the Archbiſhop of Leopoli, acknowledging this and the like Doctrine for hereſie; and therefore concluding, That it was impoſſible that the Greeke Church ſhould euer vnite it ſelfe with the Proteſtants. And that in contemplation of the Hugonot Embaſſadours (with whom he doth freely conuerſe) he hath taken away the * Sinodicon, and hath laid aſide the reuerenee due to the moſt holy Euchariſt.* G H

* It ſignifieth an Aſſembly: I take it to bee the power of Excommunication. But enquire how it is vſed by the Romiſh Church.

5 *His Holineſſe doth deſire, That all theſe reports were falſe, and that he being the head of ſo nobie a Nation, ſhould be ſuch a one as the preſent condition, both in matters ſpirituall and temporall of the flock vnder his Iuriſdiction doth require; that he might with a cheerfull countenance and ſafe conſcience extend his liberalitie and aid vnto him.*

6 *If theſe ſhal proue calumnies, and that the Patriarch doth think he can make his innocence appeare before his Holineſſe, let him iuſtifie himſelfe to the French or the Emperors Embaſſador: to whoſe relation (being perſons of great vertue and authoritie) credit and faith will be giuen: and by their meanes let him ſend to his Sanctitie the Confeſſion of his Faith, in which he doth accept the Councell of Florence, and condemne the errors of* Caluin *and* Luther, *condemned alreadie by his Predeceſſors. And the Apoſtolique See will not be wanting in all fauour and aſſiſtance, to raiſe vp the Church of Conſtantinople, and all others on it depending.* I

7 *That his Holineſſe will not require either of him or the other Prelates of Greece, any conditions but ſuch as were concluded and eſtabliſhed in the ſacred Florentine Councell; ſo that (according as the Grecian Church hath alway done) hee condemne and anathematiſe the blaſphemie of the Septentrionall Heretiques; to ſay, of Caluiniſts, Lutherans, and ſuch like.*

Rome, the xxj. of February, 1625. K

Cardinall *Bandini.*

The place of his Seale.

This *Channachi Roſſi* arriuing with his Commiſſion at Conſtantinople, became an vndertaker of his owne accord, to merit of the Church of Rome, to conuert the Patriarch: who was amaſed at the boldneſſe, and feared both waies; either to anſwer, and ſo to be ingaged in a penwarre; or to be ſilent, and condemned as ſtanding mute. But at laſt hee reſolued, that ſeeing the Cardinall vouchſafed not to write directly to him, to take no notice; but to ſee how patience would deliuer him out of this ſnare. But the Ieſuits content with no temper but preſent ſubſcription, ſtirred vp ſome Biſhops now made of their faction, anew to depoſe him; and there was offered twenty thouſand Dollars to eſtabliſh one of them. This tempeſt forced *Cyrillus* to retyre and hide, vntill his Friends had reuealed to the State the myſterie of this forked practiſe, and opened the treacherie of both of theſe Miniſters, imploied only to introduce a change aduantagious to the Pope, and dangerous to the Grand Signior. Yet ſuch is the cuſtome of this Court, that his peace was againe bought at the expence of ten thouſand Dollars. L M

Once more the Patriarch expected peace and ſecuritie; but the Congregation at Rome fell vpon a new counſell: Firſt, better to fortifie themſelues before they attempted their enemies. And to this end, vpon diuers pretences, it was reſolued to ſend to Conſtantinople, an

Anti-

A Anti-Patriarch from the Pope, qualified with absolute authority, but vnder the title of *Suffraganeo Apostolico*, and with him a Treasurer for the Church (for Saint *Peter* durst not trust the French Embassador with money) yet with these to ioyne him, for his zeale and countenance, and the Iesuits for their Counsell. To this Triumuirate was giuen all power to plant, displant, to sow, and root out, and finally to do all things that might aduance the Romane cause. For their better strength & abetting, it was also decreed to create new Romish Bishops in Smyrna, Naxia, and many Islands (a shift learned at Trent) to oppose the Greeks, and by aduantage of learning to supplant them. Of this mission there was great expectation.

About December, 1626, the Suffraganeo arriued at Naxia, whither the French embassador sent the Romane Bishop of that place his Chaplein, and two Iesuits to receiue him: who con-
B ducted him as far as Scio, where he was accepted with great Ceremonie. But beginning his office too roughly and too soon (for he should not haue declared himselfe vntill he had crept to Constantinople vnder the French wings, and had bin setled by degrees) many took offence at this noueltie. The Lay-men feared some prejudice in their right of Patronage ouer the Churches: the wisest foresaw the danger of Christian libertie, and that their practises in this innouation would inuolue all others into a suspition of some conspiracie: and if any scandall should from hence arise, the Turks would not distinguish betweene the guilty and the innocent, beeing in one Liuerie by the name of Frankes. Yea, the Friers could not endure a power so neere aboue them, but refused him lodging in their Conuents. The Greeke Clergy began euidently to discouer the subuersion of their authority, and antient Faith. Only the Ieso-
C its triumphed, and thought the prize now their owne. But desperation forced some, and charity others to defend their possessions. Thus encouraged by strong friends to oppose this fatall blow, all the plot was opened to the Vizier, and their design quietly and without scandal frustrated. The Suffraganeo retired without noise; their new Bishops made by subreptitious Licences were imprisoned; their Letters of Priuiledge taken from them, to the extreme anguish and disgrace of their Protector. This last repulse made them furious; but *Infestis animis deerat occasio.*

In Iune, 1627, here arriued vpon an English ship one *Nicodemo Mataxa*, a Coloyte borne in Cephalonia: he brought with him the Greek stamp made at his expence, and diuers bookes printed in London, as he pretended, for the benefit of his Nation, drowned almost in inuinci-
D ble ignorance, especially for want of means to learn and study. As soon as he came ashore, and had spoken with the Patriarch, and made knowne his zeale to that Church, hee was from him by the Archbishop of Corinth recommended to the English Embassador, to assist this pious intention, to passe these heauy commodities through the Custome-house without suspition. In which though he foresaw some trouble, yet he willingly vndertook the protection. But first consulting with *Cyrillus* of Constantinople, and *Gelasius* Patriarch of Alexandria, (then for his priuate affairs at the Port) and with the Resident of the vnited Prouinces, he was of opinion, That in a matter of that nature, which was in it selfe honest and iustifiable, it was requisite to proceed openly, and with leaue: which hauing obtained of the Vizier, tooke vp, and brought both stampe and Bookes to his house. Now supposing all the difficultie had been ouercome,
E and neuer suspecting any scandall from Christians, for that which hee thought did not, nor ought not to offend them, hee gaue countenance and helpe to *Mataxa* to put his industry in order.

The Patriarch desired the Stamp might worke in the English House; but the Embassador for priuate respects would not consent, but offered to take a House, and to giue both it and them his protection. Which he did, not far from his owne, and neerer to the French Embassadors: who pretending the vnion of the two Churches, there appeared no feare of him, that he should enuy a Christian worke, or do any act that might separate them for euer. As soone as *Mataxa* was setled, and his print in order, the French and the Iesuits tooke offence at it, as set vp to publish Bookes against the Church of Rome, or at least to take away their trade of tea-
F ching, and seducing children by his printing of catechisms, *Magna est* Diana *Ephesiorum*. First, they attempted to draw him into their gouernment, inuiting him to their Monasterie, intimating, That adhering to them would take off some ill suspition raised on him for hauing studied in England. When he could not be woon by flatteries, they reported him to be an Heretique and a Lutheran, because he took sanctuarie from the English. Against the stamp they

excepted

excepted, at the Armes of the King of Great Britain, which they said was scandalous, and being in the Frontispeece of euery Booke, was *malum augurium*, and did foreshew, that within they must sauor of heresie: for, What could be expected from an hereticall Fountain, or from the Man that conuersed with Heretiques. G

Melsius, Pat. Alex.

These obloquies little moued the English Embassador, who knew their malice proceeded from the matter of one Author that wrote against the Supremacie. But the rage extended so far, that it was reuealed to *Mataxa*, That he should be murthered in his bed, or in the street, as he passed in the night from the English to his owne house. Whereupon at his great instance the Embassador was content for his person to giue him lodging. So in the day he continued his worke, and at euening retyred vnder protection.

As yet they found no occasion to worke their purpose: but the Patriarch sent a little Treatise to the Presse, made by himself (being an exposition of the Faith, and Tenets of the Greek church, without any mention of controuersie, or censuring the opinions of others; principally to satisfie the world in those calumnies spred, That he had introduced new Doctrines, to the scandall of his own Flocke) which he had resolued to dedicate to the King of England; but now hauing opportunitie to print at home, prepared an Epistle fit for it. This prouoked the Iesuites, who not able to endure any application of the East Church to that Monarch, could no longer containe themselues, but conspired with their Embassadors to ouerthrow both the Author, Worke, and Workman: and hauing gotten another Booke written by the Patriarch, printed in England, and brought by *Mataxa* against the Iews, they found some passages which did modestly condemne the opinions of the Turks. When they had this supposed aduantage, they practised with a Buffone, but a crafty knaue, who had credit with the Vizier, and had bin Vayuod of Galata, to inform him, That this *Mataxa* was a Captain sent hither to raise sedition, and that vnder the colour of printing Bookes for children, hee dispersed others against the Alcaron; That they were brought from England secretly, and that the English Embassador protected him and his designes: That these Bookes were written by the Patriarch, to stir the Greeks, and to draw them into defection; and many of them sent to the Cossacks, to prouoke them to vnite vpon the occasion of the Grand Signiors expedition into Asia, that was then rumored. H I

These accusations were capitall, as they concerned *Cyrillus* and *Mataxa*; and sufficient to impaire the credit of the English Embassador, if not to ruine him in the affairs for which he did reside. K

The Vizier without further consideration resolued to assault the house of *Mataxa*, and surprise him in the act of Sin, of printing against their Law; and gaue order to a Captaine and companie of Ianizaries to execute it. Which was out of course, to set at liberty vnruly soldiers, that seldome containe themselues within their Order, or can be appeased without booty. The exploit should haue bin done on Friday the fourth of Ianuarie: but the French Embassador hearing the English had inuited the Patriarch, & Venetian Baylo, to some entertainment on the day of Epiphanie, he stayd it two daies, as he said, to make sauce to their Feast. On that day at high noone, a hundred and fifty Ianizaries armed beset *Mataxa's* house, and guarded all the passages to the English: all was full of fears and rumor, and no man knew the cause. In this tumult, the English Embassadors Secretarie and *Mataxa* returning from Church at Galata, passed by; and some of the Coloyres seruants that were apprehended, shewed their Master, to free themselues: but he being in a hat, and the Secretarie answering he was one of his Lords Followers, he escaped safely, and got into the English house. The Captaine missing him the Principall, bound all his seruants, brake open his chests, and carried all away, stamp, books, papers, plate, mony, cloths, and whatsoeuer was portable, as the goods of a traitor, to the value of seuen thousand Dollars. And returning thus full, a French * Drogaman told them, That the Offendor was fled to the English Embassador: but the Turk, that had more charity, answered, he had no order to follow him thither. L

* Interpreter.

Now the English Embassador thought himselfe interessed; yet that day not to seeme to bee moued, made as merry as such rumours would beare; That hee had practised against the State; others, That the Stampe was to counterfeit the Grand Signiors Letters; others, To make false money; and other such as Ignorance and Accusation beget among the Multitude. M

The

A The next day the books were examined by two Greek Renegado's, and the Folio by the Iesuits noted where the blasphemy should be: the place was interpreted before the Vizier and some *Mulla's, but there was nothing found that by law could touch the life of the author or printer; yet the Patriark was conuented, and many crimes obiected to him without proof or probabilitie. * Churchmen and Lawyers.

There yet rested some diffidence in the Vizier, at the report, That *Mataxa* was a man of war, and held correspondence with the Cossacks, and that he should liue vnder the English protection; which was nourished by shewing the Armes of England on the frontis-piece of that book. But when the Mufti had giuen sentence, That euery doctrine against their opinions was not blasphemy, nor criminal; and that the grand Signior giuing leaue to Christians to
B teach their own law, and to preach matters contrary to Mahometism, it could not be thought but it was daily don in their Churches, for which they were not punishable; so they could not be culpable of treason for writing the same, so long as they did not scandal their Law, but only oppose it. The main obiection being thus fallen, it was more easie to refell the accessaries grounded vpon it.

The third day the English Embassadour shewed himselfe openly, and went to the Vizier, and professed, That he had receiued that *Mataxa* into his house, to keepe him from the fury; but that he should be ready to maintain his innocencie. He put him in mind, That this businesse and man accused he himselfe knew, that hee was a Gentleman of Coloyre, a subiect of the Senat, and presented vnto him by the Venice Baylo; and that he had giuen leaue to land
C and vse the stamp, and that nothing was done without his communication and consent: That therefore he much admired that he would be so rash to suspect his friends, and so scandalously to assault their houses, to spoile their goods at the instigation of those whom hee had cause to know for enemies; and to be so far transported at the winde of an occasion, without acquainting him, to send souldiors that might haue done mischiefe to bee too late repented.

When the Visier had called to minde the man, and all circumstances, and remembred whom the matter concerned (the English Embassador, with whom he had confidence) hee was ashamed of his precipitation, and protested he had no doubt of him, nor purpose to affront him: That hee wondered at the impudence of those that had so grossely abused him; and
D concluded with this profession (as the English Embassador for his credit did publish) That if against his will he had done him wrong, when he should see all the goods of *Mataxa* restored, their honour repaired, and those that had procured this scandall, fallen into the snare they had made for others, and exemplarily punished, then hee desired to be acquitted of injustice, and to be esteemed still his true friend. By this office the Patriarch was wholly cleared, and restored to the good opinion of the Vizier, and afterward of the Mufti; to whom the English went immediatly, to instruct him of the malice of the one part, and innocencie of the other.

Within few daies, the Vizier sent home to the Embassadors house all the stamp and print, (except some few letters lost in the tumult) and all the books and papers that were seised, in
E publique satisfaction, attended with Officers and souldiers: in which he shewed so much respect and care to recouer euery particular, that there was not much missing of any value. Amongst those books, there was printed Bishop *Iewels* Apologie translated into Greeke, a Catechisme and Confession of the Patriarch, and some new Treatises at the Presse; but one, and one only Iewel was missed, and can neuer be recouered: There was presented to the English Embassador a Manuscript that had with great veneration and care bin preserued in the library of a Bishop, and was averred and beleeued the only copy in the world, of the Lectures and controuersies against the Bishop and Church of Rome; read cathedrally by the most famous and learned *Photius* Patriarch of Constantinople. This booke the Embassador highly esteeming as the raritie of the East, had deliuered to *Mataxa*, to be transcribed by his Deacons
F that attended the correction of the print; that hauing double copies, so great a riches might not perish in one bottom. But this too much care to saue it, lost it: for beeing halfe finished, and in the assault of the Ianizaries amongst other surprised, neither the original nor any leafe could euer be recouered. Such was the diligence of the setters and ouerseers of this conspi-

racie. The Embaſſador mooued the Viſier, who vſed all his power: the Patriarch publiſhed G
an Excommunication for many moneths, if perchance any Greek had bought it of the ſouldiers, to return it: but all in vain. Wherby it was reaſonably concluded, That this book was a principal envy of the Ieſuits, who feared the publication; and that their miniſters beeing Spies and in part Actors of the aſſault, had ſo eſpeciall an eye vpon it, that it fel into their vnredeemable power, and ſo by them either ſent to Purgatorie or the Vatican.

The next day after the fury, *Cannachi Roſſi* the Agent of Cardinall *Bandini*, went to the Patriarch to braue him in aduerſitie: who mildly asking him, How long they would tempt his patience by wicked conſpiracies? and, What had driuen them to this extremitie to ſeek his life? he replied, That they were ſcandaliſed at him for two things; for fauouring *Mataxa*, and ſuffering him to preach, being an heretike, and liuing in the houſe of an heretique. Secondly, H
That he had begun to print a book ful of hereſies, dedicated to the King of England the head of Heretiques. But if he would retract the one and renounce the other, the French Embaſſador ſhould procure his accommodation.

With the next Poſt after this trouble, there came from Rome a copy of a Conſiſtory held in the houſe of Cardinal *Bandini*, entituled for Conſtantinople; wherin this practiſe againſt the Patriark was debated and reſolued: the cauſe grounded vpon his conuerſation with Calviniſts, and ſending of ſtudents to be brought vp in their Schooles; that therfore he ſhould be accuſed of contriuing an inſurrection againſt the *Ottoman* empire. And the execution of this plot commended to the Embaſſadors of the Potentates reſiding in this Court, fauorers of the Catholique cauſe. Which Councel being compared with the laſt practiſe, it did euidently I
appear, that one was dependant on the other. Which the Patriarch wel conſidering, and finding that he had no more ſafety in patience, reſolued to vſe his friends, to ſend them away that would not let him liue in peace. And the Engliſh Embaſſador taking deep offence at the inſolence of *Cannachi Roſſi*, vſed to the name of his king; it is thought that they, together with the help of a good friend no leſſe powerful than either of them, vnited to baniſh the Ieſuites; and to ſhew their Protector, that they had no leſſe power to offend, becauſe they had leſſe malice and deſire to do it.

For the way they wrought (to omit other obſeruable circumſtances) it is true, the Engliſh Embaſſador was angry, and declared; and had good credit, and was ſeen often abroad: but hee was not alone, for the Patriark (that is a wiſe man) knew he ſtriued not now for victory, but for K
life. The Ieſuits guilty of deſeruing a iuſt reuenge, retyred all to the French Embaſſador his houſe, where they lay hid about fourteen daies: but in that time hearing no noiſe, and hoping that all was ſecure, and that the Patriark and Engliſh Embaſſador trauelled onely in their defence, and to recouer their loſſes, they returned to their houſe triumphant; when ſuddenly we heard that a meſſenger came to them, to let them know that ſome Greeke women were come to make confeſſion, and ſtayed for them in their garden. To whom two of them came downe, and were preſently areſted by the Viziers officers, who then entred their lodgings and apprehended another. This was done without any noiſe or ſcandall, and the actors had ſuch care, That their Church was ſealed, all their altars and plate ſaued, and whatſoeuer appertained to them, inviolated: only their perſons and Library, *per Legem Talionis*, were caried to the Viſiers L
houſe, where they were kept in irons about a moneth, and their bookes likewiſe viſited; in which were found much more aduantage to haue drawne them within compaſſe of the Turkiſh law, than their diſcouerie on the Patriark. And the ſame inſtant *Cannachi Roſſi* was alſo taken, and his papers in his lodging, and caried to bear them ſad company. The French Embaſſador deſired audience, but could not obtain it: he viſited euery great mans port, eſpecially the Mufti, where he had no other acceptance, than admonition to carry himſelf with more temper, and to meddle with the buſines for which he was imploied. Hee vſed all meanes, but could no where preuail for relief: he threatned a breach of amitie, and to ſurrender the Capitulations, and interdicted the Traffique; but the Turkes were prouided with anſwers, That they would inform his maſter the French King, and giue him ſatisfaction. In concluſion, the M
Ieſuites weary, and in feare of death (for there was crime enough) the Engliſh Embaſſador, whom they ſuppoſed their Enemy, to auoid ſcandall and the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, interpoſed for them, and obtained their liues; and after many Conſultations, it was agreed to

baniſh

A baniſh their Order out of all the grand Signiors dominions, to deliuer back their books; and this grace at the interceſſion of him, of whom they had not merited that courteſie. That it might clearly appear there was no purpoſe of robbery, nor to take the goods that were innocent, and in the French Kings protection. In proſecution of which Councel there were commands ſent to Scio, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, to diſcharge thoſe places from the practiſe of this fraternitie; who had a deſign to get the Sepulchre at Ieruſalem into their hands, and to ſupplant the Franciſcans (which controuerſie is wel known at Rome, and would make a long Section in this narration:) and finally they were put into a Barque, with good gard, in their irons, and ſent to Scio; with order to ſhip them and their fellowes vpon the next veſſell that went for Chriſtendome, and in the mean time to keep them priſoners. When they came to
B the caſtles on the Helleſpont, the French Embaſſadour had procured, that the Caſtellane would not ſuffer them to paſſe, for want of the Captain Baſſa's Letter; and ſo they were returned to Conſtantinople, but ſtill kept in their Gaol: and ſuddenly it was rumored, they were revoked, and ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. But when the Vizier heard his authoritie was contemned, and this trick put vpon him, he was ſo much inraged, that again their liues were in danger. But the preſent fury appeaſed euen by their ſuppoſed Enemie, they were returned, baniſhed firſt to Scio, and ſo ſhipt for Italy. I muſt confeſſe that I haue not obſerued any one ſorry but the French Embaſſador, ſcarce his houſhold; all other Catholiques, eſpecially the Orders of Friers, and the Franciſcans of Ieruſalem, were glad they were eaſed of their Dominion, and the fears of their deſignes. And I haue heard it reported, That themſelues did ingeC niouſly confeſſe an obligation to the Engliſh Embaſſadour; and in their relations to Rome laid all the fault vpon the precipitation of their Protector.

There was another command ſent to Smyrna, to apprehend a couple that had crept in vnder the French Conſuls protection: who at firſt hid themſelues; but being aduiſed to giue place, and a means opened to them to eſcape, fled ſecretly; there beeing no other purpoſe in their perſecutors, but to be rid of ſuch negotiating fathers.

And thus Sr you haue a true relation of what I haue obſerued, & for your ſatisfaction collected of thoſe that had better means to know particulars than I, who am buſie enough if I do myne own buſineſſe. There reſts only to tell you, That during the Engliſh Embaſſadors ſtay (which was about fiue months after) the French ſate down and ſtirred not. But conſidering
D that his credit in France depended much from Rome, and from an opinion of his zeale to the Catholique cauſe, and his power to ſupport it; hauing made the Colledge of Cardinals beleeue that he would ſubdue the Greek Church (wherein wiſe men thought hee did diſſeruice both to the Cauſe and his Maſter: for the ready way to vndoe the Catholiques, was to innouate any thing in their antient maner of life, gouernment, and priuiledges, which they enjoyed with their conſciences freely) he thought himſelfe vtterly loſt, if he did not do ſomewhat to recouer his reputation there, by a ſeeming reſtitution of the Ieſuites. Vpon which deliberation, hauing yet two of them refuged to his houſe, and hid there a month after the departure of the Engliſh embaſſador; he petitioned the grand Signior, That his Chapleins might haue leaue to bury his Dead, and do other offices of their Function. Which being granted, it was
E publiſhed, That he had reſtored the Ieſuites.

And becauſe you are ſo curious to know all, and in what eſtate that reſtitution now ſtands, I conclude with the true copy of the command obtained, and leaue it to your iudgment, whether the breach be made vp ſo whole as is ſuppoſed. For euery plaiſter is not a ſound cure.

G

The Grand Signiors Command, directed to *Assan Bassa* Captaine of the Sea; and to the Caddee of Galata.

* Petition.

*AT the sight of this our high and Imperial Signature, you shal take notice, That the French Embassador by an * Arz giuen to our happy Port, hath made vs to vnderstand, That (their Law and Religion being not like to that of other Christians which liue in our wel gouerned Empire) they with our Imperiall Licence did procure to come from the kingdome of France certain* Religious *men called Jesuites, who for the space of twenty fiue years haue had their abode in the Church of Saint* Benet *appointed to them in Galata; and lately by finister information made against them, were sent away to their owne countrey: from which time the said Church being shut vp, and hauing no other Religious who could assist in the necessary Offices of men ready to die, or dead; haue therfore petitioned for our noble Command. To which end (excepting alway the aboue named* * Religious, *sent away, and others of other Nations) that he may place in the said Church such persons of Religious French, and French Religion, which are found at this present here, elect, and appointed by him, without molestation or injury to be done vnto them by any whomsoeuer. Therefore in conformitie to his request, this my Command is obtained; and I doe command, That at the sight of this my Imperiall Order it be obeyed and executed: That because, as is before pretended, the French haue not those* * Religious *who can performe the Functions necessary for the Dead (excepting alway those* Religious *already banished, and all others comming from the countries of our Enemies) that they may put into the said Church such persons for Religious men, as are naturall Frenchmen, and of their owne Nation, which at present are found in Galata, and that shall by them bee appointed: and that so long as they commit no faults in their charge, and that they practise nothing contrary to our Imperiall will, that they be of no man molested.*

* In the original it signifies an Order.

* or Orders.

H I K

Vpon the obtaining of this Command, the two Iesuits in the French house were solemnly and with great ostentation caried to S. *Benetto's* Church, and placed there as the Embassadors Chapleins; and an opinion spread, of an absolute re-establishment of their Order, and so it was divulged in Rome. But it was not supposed by the French, that this Copy should bee seene by any but himselfe; and then the Act would haue appeared as truth. But some Criticall and captious men haue made many *Quære's* vpon this matter: First they haue asked, What then is the French Religion, if it differ from all other Christians in the Grand Signiors Dominions; when in Galata there were fiue Romish Churches and Monasteries, with French Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciscans, and others? Secondly they haue asked, What Ceremonies are necessarie to a Frenchman, in danger of death, or after it, that none of these Orders can assist or performe? Again they aske, Who are restored by this priuiledge, if the *Religiosi supra nominati*, and Strangers are excepted? What is meant by French Religion, and the same Religion? To which it is answered first, That this new French Religion is onely Iesuitical, not approued by the most Christian King, improoued by the Sorbons, and reproued by all the louers of the libertie of the Gallican Church. To the second, That they dying must be absolued only by a Iesuite, or buried in his habit, or shut out of Paradice. Again they answer, They finde none restored but a new French Religion, and such men as were personally then in Galata; that is, two Chapleins only to assist in case of death, but no Order of Iesuits. And they finally conclude, That the French Embassador hath more dishonoured his nation, to restraine their Religion to the Iesuites; and the whole Clergy, to renounce all other Orders;

L M

A Orders; that he hath done benefit to the Ieſuites, except he had need of ſome colour in ſtead of truth.

Sir, I will not comment at all; to obey you I haue gon thus far extra provinciam meam: *And now I return home to my ſelfe, to aſſure you that I haue been, and will ſo die,*

Your true, &c.

Galata *ix. Novembr.* 1628.

B

This Trage-Comedie being ended, and a ſeeming peace returning with the Spring; whilſt the new Vizier marched towards Babylon, to ſettle the affaires of thoſe parts, Sir *Thomas Rowe*, then his Maieſties Embaſſador reſident at the Port, procured his leaue to return home, and was recalled. By whom the grand Signior writ this inſuing Letter to his Majeſtie of great Britain.

C

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majeſtie of Great Britaine.

TO the moſt glorious amongſt the greateſt Maieſties of the Princes of Jeſus, moſt reuerenced amongſt the people of the Meſſiah, ſole Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren Nation; Lord of the limits of Honour and Power; and Patron of Grace and Authoritie, CHARLES, *King of Great Britain and Ireland: To whoſe laſt dayes we wiſh all compleat and true happineſſe.*

D

BE it known vnto your Maieſty at the ſight of this Letter, That your Embaſſador Sir Thomas Rowe, *reſpected and beloued amongſt Chriſtians, to whom we wiſh a happy end; (being heretofore ſent to reſide as your Embaſſador at our happy Port, to be watchfull ouer all offices of good correſpondence betweene vs, and that all requiſit terms of honor ſhould be fulfilled; and to renew the Mantle of our affection) hath from his firſt arriuall here, vntill this preſent, moſt perfectly attended vpon the charge impoſed vpon him, and in all his actions proceeded with extraordinary diligence and induſtry, for the high honour and great fame of your Maieſty his Soueraign. And now your Maieſty hauing ſent in his place one of the chiefe*

E

of your moſt eſteemed, Sir Peter Wyche, *to reſide at our Imperiall Port; and that the ſaid Sir* Thomas Rowe *hath taken reſolution to return to your Maieſty with our Imperiall conſent: We ſend them vnto you with theſe our Imperiall Letters; hoping in the moſt high God, that when he is ſafely arriued with you, out of your abundant and innate clemencie, and your ſingular and ſincere goodneſſe, in reſpect of his good and faithfull ſeruice, that you will ſee him honored and rewarded. And to the end that the great affection and loue which we nouriſh to your Maieſtie, may be daily encreaſed; we deſire you readily to imploy your benigne care in the keeping and obſeruing of this our Imperiall Capitulations, with euery Article therein contained; as we on our part will likewiſe do in all things that are meet to bee done concerning their*

F

perfect obſeruation: wherof you ſhall find a good and clear teſtimony by the future effects.

Giuen at Conſtantinople, 1628.

Though

Though impertinent to the Hiſtory of Turky, yet a conflict hapning betweene the ſhip G
which tranſported Sir *Thomas Rowe* to Italy (returning from Conſtantinople) & the gallies of
Malta; I haue thought it would not be an vngrateful concluſion, to obſerue and record the
mighty deliuerance of thoſe whom God is pleaſed to keep; by communicating the copy of
a relation made of that fight.

On the eleuenth of Auguſt, about ten of the Clocke in the forenoone, the *Sampſon* beeing
becalmed before Malta, the ſea as ſmooth as glaſſe, not a breath of winde, wee diſcouered
foure Gallies to rowe from the Towne. They came vp all abreſt, right with the ſtarre-boord
quarter of our ſhip; which warned vs to fit our ſailes and our ſelues to fight, not knowing
their purpoſe. When they came neere, the Admirall Galley, without ſending boat, or ſpea-
king with vs, made a ſhot, which fell ſhort; then rowing neerer, made another which did al- H
moſt reach vs. And comming ſtill on, the Vice-Admiral gaue a third, all demy-Cannon, that
flew ouer vs between our maſts. Theſe we ſuppoſed they made to try the length of their ord-
nance, and to lie there for battery; for they ſtopped, and piked halfe their oares. Whereup-
on wee ſent them a Culverin ſhot, that grazed vnder the Admiralls ſtarre-boord bow; and ſo
we began a ſharpe fight betweene twelue and one. The Gallies were full of Cavagliero's
and ſouldiers as they could ſtand: They lay on that quarter about three houres, changing
ſhot with vs, often hitting one the other. Then Captaine *William Rainsborow* (who behaued
himſelfe with braue courage and temper) finding a breath of winde to giue the ſhip motion;
conſidering that he was a great marke on the broad ſide, and the Gallies very narrow, keeping
their prowes ſharpe toward him, and that he could beare little vpon them, trimmed his ſailes I
before the winde, and brought them to a Sterne fight, where they continued their batterie
two houres more; and the Sampſon could then beare vpon them two whole Culverin in her
Sterne-Chaſe, and two tranſom Culverins in the Gunne-roome, and two Sakers in the great
Cabbin; and by yawing of either ſide both her quarters, and ſome pieces forward on: This
gauled them, and they found it hot. Their manner of fight was, when they were all laden,
they rowed vp, and brought all the maſts of our Ship together, and then gaue all their guns;
hauing fired, they fell aſterne; and this in order, *Alternis vicibus*: but yet we reached them.
The Admirall of the Gallies gaue eight Pieces at once, ſo that ſhe appeared all fire: one
demy-Cannon of twenty fiue pound bullet, two demy-Culverin, fiue Saker and Minion.
All the reſt were alike armed, and they plyed their Ordnance very hard, and often dangerou- K
ſly. Being aſterne at firſt, they ſhot at the maſts and yards of our ſhip, and maimed them
almoſt all in a line; hoping to ſee ſome fall, and then they had layne by vs. But it was ſo
calme that the maſts ſtrained not, though they were almoſt ſpoyled. The Gallies kept a
man on the end of their after-moſt Oare, to obſerue where their ſhot fel; and ſent boats often
off, of which one returned well waſhed. About fiue a clocke they pauſed, and the Admirall
ſent to his fleet; whereupon they tooke a reſolution, either to boord, diſmay, or ſinke vs; and
came vp on our larboord quarter all abreſt, within piſtoll ſhot, and their ſwords drawne, and
Trumpets ſounding; bidding vs Amaine for Malta. The Captaine cauſed one from the
poope to waſt them aboord, and anſwered a point of Warre. Then began an hot fight, and
too hot for them; for the *Sampſon* forbare, and gaue them not a ſhot vntil they were very neer, L
and almoſt vnder vs, and then poured in two Culverin, and two demy-Culverin, and one Sa-
ker with a round ſhot and a caſe, that raked them fore and aft: and they hauing giuen vs all
their Gunnes together, began to fall againe aſterne. But wee tacked and ſent them a broad
ſide at parting; and ſo they lay and renewed their Sterne batterie vntill Sunne-ſet. What
blowes we receiued is in a note following: What harme the Enemie receiued we knew not;
only this we ſaw, the Admirals foremaſt was ſhot by boord, his poop caried away into the ſea,
one culverin round ſhot ond caſe that fel in the bow, and went out in the quarter thorow the
banks of Rowers; and many other that raked them through. The Admiral lay athwart a good
ſpace to men ſomwhat, & let men down her ſides in baskets; and neuer came more vp: for that
ſhot that brake out her poup, made them all at once take in their flags; which being an vnu- M
ſuall thing, we conjectured that their Generall was ſlaine. And ſo they left vs, and hoyſing
their ſailes, and rowing, made all haſte into their port, in ſight whereof they fought. The laſt
ſhot they made came into the gun-roome of the *Sampſon*, the force being ſpent, yet hurt three
men:

A men: and ſhe hauing a Culverin laden, ſent it to take leaue of them; which raked the Admirall. When they came vp with vs, they did not expect ſuch bullets, but hoped to batter vs to the water out of our ſhot. They left vs at halfe houre paſt ſix a clocke, ſo that the fight laſted ſeuen houres. The Gallies gaue the *Sampſon* 400 ſhot, and hit her in the hull, maſts, yards, or rigging, with more than a hundred and twenty; and we ſhot fifty ſix whole Culverin, & ſpent in all aboue ten barrels of pouder. Neuer Gallies had ſo much aduantage of a time, nor did ſo brauely, but they were at their own dores. By Gods grace we had but one man a paſſenger ſlain, four hurt, and ſome bruiſed; but our ſhip terribly battered, her maſts, yards, ſailes, and ropes all torn. That night continued with little winde, and the ſea ſmooth, and wee plugged vp our wounds the beſt we could. The next day we were inforced to ſtand out of the way to
B Southward of the Iſland Lampadoſa, when we found our danger; and there we lay fiue daies without ſail, to fiſh our maſts and yards, and mend our ſailes, and to make firme our breaches by and vnder water. Which we could not haue don if it had not continued calme; for thoſe demy-cannon bullets of twenty fiue pounds made too great holes, and ſplit all plankes and timbers; and the Carpenter was forced to hang like a Tortoiſe vpon the water, and driue many nailes vnder the ſending of the ſea, waſhing him ouer continually; eight ſhot either with, or within three fingers of the water. So if that night or the next day there had bin any ſea, we had neuer made this Relation, for the pumpes of our ſhip were as well exerciſed as the men, But God helped vs.

A Note

G

A Note of the ſhot and dammage receiued by the Sampſon *in fight.*

In the Rigging:

FOur main ſhrouds cut by ſeuerall ſhot.
Main Runner. Main Tye.
Main top-Maſt-ſtay. Main top-gallant Halliers.
Main top-gallant braces.
Three Main top-gallant ſhrouds.
Main tack. Main top-ſail Sheats.
Main Buntlines. Fore back ſtay.
One fore ſhroud.
The chain that ſlung the main yards cut all to pieces.
Three parrels of the main yard.

H

Shot in the Sailes.

Miſen top ſail two ſhot. Miſen one.
Main ſail in the Brailes fourteen. Main top ſail thirteen.
Fore ſail nine. Fore top ſail fiue.

I

In the Maſts and Yards, Demy-cannon of twenty fiue poundweight.

The main Maſt ſhot through halfway between the deck and head.
The main Yard cloſe by the parrels.
The Fore Maſt halfway between the deck and head.

K

Demy Culverin.

The Spritſail yard through by the ſlings, and ſpoiled.

Dangerous ſhot through the Hull; being all Demy-cannon of twenty fiue pound the bullet: beſides many Demy-Culverin, Saker, and Minion, that did not or not much damage vs.

L

Demy Cannon.

Three in the Stern cloſe by the water, through the bread room and bread, into ſacks of wooll.
One in the Stern and the gunne room, vnder the tranſome port, hurt three men.
One through the Cuddy.
Two through the great Cabbin killed a Parrat.
One grazed vpon the ſteeredge, and caried away the Bend.
Two by the maine Maſt: one through the Cabbins killed a Iew a paſſenger: the other brake the larboord ruſter, and three timber heads.
One through the forecaſtle into the furnace, hurt two men.

M

One

A One ouer the fore-caſtle killed two ſheep, and caried away a timber head.
On the ſtar-boord ſide nine; whereof one in the quarter, and three forward on by the edge of the water. Fiue between decks, among our men and ordnance.
On the Larboord ſide four all below the deck; wherof two between wind and water, the other two not much aboue: and one between Decks, that ſplit the bits.
One ſhot that crackt the ſheat anchor at the flouk.
One that ſtaued the Ladder in the chaines.

B These eight ſhot between wind & water were all dangerous, they ſtaued on our lower deck two barrels of beef, two of peaſe, a Butt of wine; ſome of the ſhot paſſing through nineteen inches of plank and timber, pierced into bales of Grograms, and caried one into another: two went thorow all the bread and two ſacks of ſtiued wools: They bare in whole planks, ſhooke and ſplit the timbers, and ſtarted the trunnels, and made vs very leaky.

When we ariued at Ligorn, we vnderſtood of eighteen knights of Malta killed in the fight; but after by an Engliſhman that came from thence it was knowne, That the Generall of the Gallies was ſlain, and thirty ſix Knights and Officers, and two hundred ſixty four ſlaues Rowers and Souldiers. Which was too great an exchange for one Iew. But

C ſuch is the reward of arrogance, & ſhal be the protection euer of a good cauſe, and of them that truſt not in the broken reed of Fleſh, but in Almighty God.

A

A briefe Diſcourſe of the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Empire: As *alſo wherein the greateſt ſtrength thereof conſiſteth: And of what power the bordering Princes, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, are in compariſon of it.*

B

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

THe Hiſtory of the Turks (being indeed nothing elſe but the true Record of the wofull ruines of the greater part of the Chriſtian Commonweale) thus as before paſſed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now vpon earth far the greateſt) as a proud Champion ſtill ſtanding vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I thought it good for the concluſion of this my Labour, to propoſe vnto the view
C of the zealous Chriſtian, the greatneſſe thereof, and ſo neere as I could, to ſet down the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodneſſe of God) as yet contained, together with the ſtrength and power thereof, as alſo in what regard it hath the neighbor princes bordering or confining vpon it; with ſome other particularities tending to the ſame purpoſe. All or the moſt part therof, although it be by the Conſiderat wel to be gathered out of the whole courſe of the hiſtory before going, yet ſhal it more plainly here together in the ful therof appear, than by the long and particular conſideration of the riſing and increaſe therof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrown tree, at the greatneſſe whereof euery man wondereth, no man in the meane time either perceiuing or marking, how by little
D and little in tract of time it grew vp to that bignes, as now to ouertop al the reſt of the wood. The Imperial ſeat of this ſo dreadful an empire, is the moſt famous city of Conſtantinople, ſometime the glory of the Greeke Empire, but now the place where *Achmat* the firſt of that name, and fourteenth of the *Othoman* Emperors, acknowledging no man like himſelfe, triumpheth ouer many nations; a city fatally founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be the beſt ſeated for the Empire of the world. In which city (taken from the Turks by *Mahomet* the ſecond, by the Turks ſyrnamed the Great, and the Greeke Empire by him ſubuerted) as the *Othoman* Emperours haue euer ſince ſeated themſelues, ſo haue they wonderfully, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the World, out of the ruines of that ſo glorious a State, increaſed both their ſtrength and empire, almoſt altogether fixt euen
E in the ſelfe ſame kingdoms, countries, and regions, as was ſomtimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attain to the vttermoſt bounds that that empire ſometimes had, eſpecially in Europ, albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride therof moſt mightily ſwoln, and in ſome few places therof ſomwhat alſo exceeded the ſame. Among the reſt of the *Othoman* emperors, this great Monarch of whom we ſpeak (namely *Achmat* the firſt, which now reigneth in that moſt ſtately and Imperial city) hath at this preſent vnder his command and Empire, the chiefe and moſt fruitful parts of the three firſt known parts of the world: onely America remaining free from him, not more happy in the rich mines therof, than in that it is ſo far from out of his reach; for in Europ hee hath all the ſea coaſt, from the confines of Epidaurus (the vttermoſt bound of his Empire in Europe Weſtward) vnto the mouth of the riuer Tanais, now called Don, with whatſoeuer lieth betwixt Buda in Hungary, and the Imperial City of Conſtantinople: in which ſpace is comprehended the better part of all Hungary, all Boſna, Servia, Bulgaria, with a great part of Dalmatia, Epirus, Macedonia, Grecia, Peloponeſus, Thracia, the Archipelago, with the rich Iſlands contained therin. In Africa he poſſeſſeth all

The bounds of the Turks Empire.

the ſea coaſt from Velex (or as ſome call it Belis) De Gomera, or more truly to ſay, from the Riuer Muluia (the bounder of the Kingdome of Fez) euen vnto the Arabian Gulfe, or Red-Sea Eaſtward, except ſome few places vpon the riuage of the ſea, holden by the king of Spain; *viz.* Merſalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon: and from Alexandria Northward vnto the city of Aſna, called of old Seine, Southward: in which ſpace are contained the famous Kingdomes of Tremizen, Algiers, Tunes, and Ægypt, with diuers other great Cities and Prouinces. In Aſia all is his from the ſtreits of Helleſpontus Weſtward, vnto the great city of Tauris Eaſtward: and from Derbent neer vnto the Caſpian Sea Northward, vnto Adena vpon the Gulfe of Arabia Southward. The greatneſſe of this his Empire may the better be conceiued by the greatneſſe of ſome parts thereof: the Meere of Meotis, which is all at the Turkiſh Emperors command, being in compaſſe a thouſand miles; and the Euxine or Blacke Sea in circuit two thouſand and ſeuen hundred; and the Mediterranean coaſt which is ſubiect vnto him containing in compaſſe about eight thouſand miles. But to ſpeake of his whole territory together; he goeth in his owne dominion from Tauris to Buda, about three thouſand two hundred miles. The like diſtance is from Derbent vnto Adena. From Balſera vpon the Perſian Gulfe vnto Tremiſena in Barbarie, are accounted little leſſe than foure thouſand miles. Hee hath alſo in the Sea the moſt noble Iſlands of Cyprus, Eubœa, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and others of the Archipelago. In this ſo large and ſpacious an Empire are contained many great and large countries, ſometime moſt famous Kingdomes, abounding with all manner of worldly bleſſings and natures ſtore: For what Kingdome or countrey is more fruitfull than Ægypt, Syria, and a great part of Aſia? What countrey more wealthfull or more plentifull of all good things, than was ſometime Hungarie, Grecia, and Thracia? In which countries he hath alſo many rich and famous Cities, but eſpecially foure, which bee of greateſt wealth and trade; namely Conſtantinople, Caire, Aleppo, and Tauris. Conſtantinople for multitude of people exceedeth all the Cities of Europe; wherein are deemed to be aboue ſeuen hundred thouſand men; which if it be ſo, is almoſt equall to two ſuch Cities as Paris in France. Aleppo is the greateſt City of Syria, and as it were the centre whereunto all the merchandiſe of Aſia repaire. Tauris, of late the Royall ſeat of the Perſian Kings, and one of the greateſt Cities of that Kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by *Amurath* the third, hath in it aboue two hundred thouſand men. Caire amongſt all the Cities of Africa is the chief, leauing all others farre behinde it (although that ſome make the City of Cano equall vnto it in greatneſſe) beeing as it were the ſtore-houſe not of Ægypt onely, and of a great part of Africa, but of India alſo; the riches whereof being brought by the Red Sea to Sues, and from thence vpon Camels to Caire, and ſo downe the riuer Nilus to Alexandria, are thence diſperſed into theſe Weſterne parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time been much impaired, and ſo like more to be; the Chriſtians (eſpecially the Portugals) traffiquing into the Eaſt-Indies, and by the vaſt Ocean tranſporting the rich commodities of thoſe Eaſterne Countries into the Weſt, to the great hinderance of the Grand Signior his cuſtomes in Caire.

The foure chief cities for trade in the Turks Empire.

The *Othoman* gouernment in this his ſo great an empire is altogether like the gouernment of the Maſter ouer his ſlaue, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is ſo abſolute a Lord of all things within the compaſſe of his empire, that all his ſubiects and people, be they neuer ſo great, do call themſelues his ſlaues, and not his ſubiects: neither hath any man power ouer himſelfe, much leſſe is hee Lord of the houſe wherein hee dwelleth, or of the land which hee tilleth, except ſome few families in Conſtantinople, to whom ſome few ſuch things were by way of reward, and vpon eſpeciall fauor giuen by *Mahomet* the ſecond, at ſuch time as hee won the ſame. Neither is any man in that empire ſo great, or yet ſo far in fauor with the great Sultan, as that he can aſſure himſelfe of his life, much leſſe of his preſent fortune or ſtate, longer than it pleaſeth the Sultan. In which ſo abſolute a ſoueraignty (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preſerueth himſelfe by two moſt ſpeciall means: firſt, by taking off all armes from his naturall ſubiects; and then by putting the ſame and all things elſe concerning the ſtate and gouernment thereof into the hands of the Apoſtata or Renegate Chriſtians, whom for moſt part, euery third, fourth, or fift yeare (or oftner if his need ſo require) heetaketh in their childehood from their miſerable parents as his tenths or tribute children.

Whereby

A Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: firſt, for that in ſo doing he ſpoyleth the Prouinces, hee moſt feareth, of the floure, ſinues, and ſtrength of the people, choice being ſtill made of the ſtrongeſt youths, and fitteſt for war: then, for that with theſe as with his owne creatures he armeth himſelfe, and by them aſſureth his ſtate; for they in their childehood taken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that purpoſe, quickly and before they be aware become Mahometans; and ſo no more acknowledging father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan; who to make vſe of them, both feeds them and ſoſters them, at whoſe hands onely they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which fry ſo taken from their Chriſtian parents (the only ſeminarie of his wars) ſome become horſmen, ſome footmen, and ſo in time the greateſt Commanders of
B his ſtate and Empire next vnto himſelfe; the naturall Turks in the meane time giuing themſelues wholly vnto the trade of merchandiſe, and other their mechanicall occupations; or elſe to the feeding of cattell, their moſt antient and naturall vocation, not intermedling at all with matters of gouernment or ſtate. So that if vnto theſe his ſouldiers, all of the Chriſtian race, you ioyne alſo his fleet and mony, you haue as it were the whole ſtrength of his Empire: for in theſe foure, his horſemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, eſpecially conſiſteth his great force and power: whereof to ſpeake more particularly, and firſt concerning his money: It is commonly thought, that his ordinary reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and albeit that it might ſeeme, that he might of ſo large an Empire receiue a far greater reuenue, yet doth hee not, for that both hee and his men of warre (in whoſe power all things are) haue *The Turks ordinary reuenues.*
C their greateſt and almoſt onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to waſt and deſtroy countries, than to preſerue and enrich them: inſomuch that for the preſeruation of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they moſt grieuouſly ſpoyle euen their own people and Prouinces whereby they paſſe, ſcarce leauing them neceſſaries wherewith to liue: ſo that the ſubiects deſpairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much leſſe the riches which by their induſtrie and labour they might get vnto themſelues, do now no further endeauour themſelues either to husbandrie or traffique than they needs muſt, yea, than very neceſſity it ſelfe inforceth them. For to what end auaileth it to ſow that another man muſt reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it com-
meth, that in the territories of the *Othoman* countrey, yea euen in the moſt fruitfull countries
D of Macedonia and Greece are ſeen great forreſts, all euery where waſt, few cities well peopled, and the greateſt part of thoſe countries lying deſolate and deſart: ſo that husbandry (in all well ordered commonweales the Princes greateſt ſtore) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her increaſe vnto the painefull husbandman, neither the matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furniſh the Merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay. As for the trade of merchandiſe, it is almoſt all in the hands of the Iewes, or the Chriſtians of Europe, *viz.* the Raguſians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or Engliſh; the naturall Turks hauing therein the leaſt to do, holding in that their ſo large an Empire no other famous Cities for trade, more than the foure above named, *viz.* Conſtantinople, Tauris, Aleppo and Caire: whereunto may be added Caffa and Theſſalonica in Europe; Damaſcus,
E Tripolis, and Aden in Aſia; Alexandria and Algiers in Africke. In our countries here in this Weſt part of Europe, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariſeth dearth; but in many parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground: moſt part of the poore countrey people drawne from their owne dwellings, being inforced with victuals and other neceſſaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom ſcarce one of ten euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way periſhing, if not by the enemies ſword, yet by the wants, the intemperateneſſe of the aire, or immoderate paines taking. But to come neerer to our purpoſe, although the great Turks ordinary reuenues bee no greater than is aforeſaid, yet are his extraordinarie eſcheats to be greatly accounted of, eſpecially his confiſcations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, cuſtoms
F tythes and tenths of all preyes taken by ſea or land, with diuers other ſuch like, far exceeding his ſtanding and certaine reuenue: his Baſſaes and other his great Officers like rauening Harpies as it were ſucking out the bloud of his poore ſubiects, and heaping vp ineſtimable treaſures, which for the moſt part fall againe into the Grand Signior his coffers. *Ibrahim* Vizier Baſſa

Bassa (who liued not long since) is supposed to haue brought with him from Cair to the value of six millions: and *Mahomet* another of the Viziers was thought to haue had a farre greater sum. His presents also amount vnto a great matter; for no Embassadour can come before him without great gifts; no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment without mony, no man may with empty hands come to the presence of him so great a Prince, either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition hee was sent vpon; neither vnto so great and mighty Prince are trifles presented. The Vayuods of Moldavia, Valachia, and Transylvania, before their late reuolt, by gifts preserued themselues in their principalities, being almost daily changed, especially in Valachia and Moldavia: for those Honors were by the grand Signior still giuen to them that would giue most; who to performe what they had offred, miserably oppressed the people, and brought their prouinces into great pouertie. In brief, an easie thing it is for the great Tyrant to find occasion for him at his pleasure to take away any mans life, together with his wealth, be it neuer so great: so that he canot well be said to lack mony, so long as any of his subiects hath it. Neuertheless the late Persian war so emptied the late couetous Sultan *Amurath* his coffers, and exhausted his treasures, that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was beyond all credit inhanced, insomuch that a Chequine was twice so much worth as before. Besides that, the mettal wherof his gold and siluer was made, was so embased, that it gaue occasion vnto the Ianizaries to set fire vpon the city of Constantinople, to the great terror not of the vulgar sort only, but of the grand Signior himself also. And in the city of Aleppo only were in the name of the great Sultan 60000 chequines taken vp in prest of the merchants there, which how wel they were repaid we leaue for them to report.

Now albeit that the Turks reuenues be not so great as the largenesse of his Empire and the fruitfulnesse of his countries might seem to afford, all the soile being his own; yet hath hee in his dominion a commoditie of far greater value and vse than are the reuenues themselues; which is the multitude of the Timariots or Pensioners, which are all horsemen, so called of *Timaro*, that is a stipend which they haue of the great Sultan, *viz.* the possession of certaine villages and towns, which they hold during their life, and for which they stand bound, for euerie threescore ducats they haue of yearely reuenue, to maintaine one horseman, either with bow and arrowes, or else with targuet and Launce, and that as well in time of peace as war: for the *Othoman* Emperors take vnto themselues all such lands as they by the sword winne from their enemies, as well Mahometanes as Christians, all which they diuide into Timars, or as wee call them, Commendams, which they giue vnto their souldiers of good desert for tearm of life, vpon condition that they shall (as is aforesaid) according to the proportion thereof, keepe certaine men and horses fit for seruice alwaies ready whensoeuer they shall bee called vpon. Wherein consisteth the greatest policie of the Turke, and the surest mean for the preseruation of their Empire. For if by this meanes the care of mannuring the ground were not committed vnto the souldier, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plaine painfull husbandman, all would in that so warrelike an Empire lie waste and desolate; the Turkes themselues commonly saying, That wheresoeuer the Grand Seigniours horse setteth his foot, there the Grasse wil grow no more; meaning the destruction that their great Armies bring in all places where they come. The institution of these Timariots, and the taking vp of the Azamoglans (for so they call those children which are taken from their Christian parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two chief pillars of the Turkes Empire, and the strength of their wars; both which seem to be deuised vnto the imitation of the Romans, as are diuers things moe in the Turkish gouernment: for the Romane Emperours vsed their own subiects in the wars, and of them consisted the Prætorian army, which neuer departed from the Emperors side, but were still to gard his person, as doe the Ianizaries the great Turk. And in the Roman empire lands were giuen vnto souldiers of good desert, for them to take the profit of during their liues, in reward of their good seruice and valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as we term them, Benefices, and beneficed men. *Alexander Severus* granted such soldiers, heirs that might injoy those lands & commendams, conditionally that they themselues should serue as had their fathers, els not. *Constantine* the Great also gaue vnto his Captaines that had wel deserued of him, certaine lands

The two chiefe pillars of the Othoman Empire.

for

A for them to liue vpon during the terme of their life. The like fees in France, which they call *Feuda*, were of Temporaries made perpetuities by theſe their late Kings. Theſe Timariot horſemen in the Turkiſh Empire ſerue to two great and moſt notable purpoſes: wherof the firſt is, That by them the Grand Seigniour, as with a bridle, keepes the reſt of his ſubiects in euery part of his great Empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoon mooue, but that they ſhall haue theſe his Timariots as falcons in their neckes; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all ouer his dominion and Empire. The other vſe of them (and no leſſe profitable than the former) is, that out of them he is alwaies able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thouſand horſemen well armed, ready to goe whitherſoeuer hee ſhall commaund them: with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of horſemen cannot conti-
B nually be maintained for leſſe than fourteene millions of duckats yearely. Wherefore it is to bee maruelled, that ſome comparing the Turkes reuenues with the Chriſtians, make no mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* Emperors wealth and ſtrength, ſeruing him firſt for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch tumults as might ariſe in his Empire, and then as a moſt principall ſtrength of his continuall Warres, alwayes ready to ſerue him in his greateſt expeditions. The number of theſe Timariot horſemen is now grown very great, taking increaſe together with the Turks Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the third, grandfather vnto *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late warres againſt the Perſian, ſubdued ſo much territorie as ſerued him to erect therein forty thouſand Timariots; and appointed at Tauris a new Receit, which was yearely worth vnto him a million of gold. Theſe Timariots are in al accoun-
C ted to bee ſeuen hundred and nineteene thouſand fighting men; of whom 257000 haue their dwelling in Europ, and 462000 in Aſia and Africk.

The number of the Timariots.

Beſides theſe Timariots, the grand Seigniour hath a great number of other horſemen vnto whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurſeries and ſeminaries of the great officers and gouernors of his Empire; for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards through their good deſerts or the Sultans great fauour, become Viziers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſa's, the chiefe rulers of that ſo mighty a monarchy.

The Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici.

He hath alſo ſtil in his army a great multitude of other horſemen, called Acanzij, being in-
D deed but rural clowns, yet for certain priuiledges which they haue, are bound to goe vnto the wars, being euen of the Turks themſelues accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon of the Timariots. Hee receiueth great aid alſo from the Tartar in his wars, as alſo from the Valachians and Moldavians (vntil that by the example of the Tranſylvanians, they to the great benefit of the reſt of that ſide of Chriſtendom reuolted from him) all which are to bee accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſſiſt him. And thus much for his horſemen.

The Acanzij.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his footmen, and eſpecially in his Ianiza-
E ries: in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation, and dexteritie in Armes. Concerning their Nation, ſuch of the Azamoglans as are born in Aſia are not ordinarily inrolled in the number of the Ianizaries, but ſuch as are borne in Europ; for they of Aſia are accounted more effeminat, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight. Wheras the people of Europ haue euen in the Eaſt been accounted for better and more valiant ſouldiers, hauing there to their immortal glory, ſet vp the notable trophies of their moſt glorious victories. The ſouldiers of Aſia be called Turkes, after the name of their Nation, and not of their Countrey, (no countrey being indeed ſo properly called) and they of Europe, Rumi, that is to ſay, *Romani*, or Romans; as the Country, eſpecially about Conſtantinople, is called by the name of Rum-Ili, that is, the Roman Countrey, as it was in antient time, of the notable Roman Colonies therein, knowne by the name of Romania. Now as concerning their dexteri-
F tie, ſuch male children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the greateſt ſignes of ſtrength, actiuitie, and courage; for theſe three qualities are in a ſouldier eſpecially required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except neceſſitie inforce it to bee made ſooner; as it happened in the late Perſian Warre, wherein not onely oftner choice was made, but they were glad to vſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing neuer before by them done. For thoſe Youths (the Children of Chriſtian parents) beeing by them that haue taken them vp,

The Ianizaries.

vp, brought to Constantinople, are taken view of by the Aga of the Ianizaries, who causeth to be registred the name of the youth, with the name of his father and the countrey wherein hee was born. Which done, part of them are sent into the lesser Asia (now called Natolia) and other prouinces; where learning the Turkish language and law, they are infected with the vices and manners of them with whom they liue, and so in short time become true Mahometans. Another part of them, and those of the most towardliest, is diuided into Cloisters which the grand Seigniour hath at Constantinople and Pera, of whom the faireſt and most handsome are appointed for the Seraglio of the great Sultan himselfe. All the time that these Youths thus sent abroad liue in the lesser Asia, or other the Turkes prouinces, they are not appointed to any certain exercise, but still kept busied, some at husbandry, some in gardening, some in building, some in other domestical seruices, neuer suffred to be idle, but alwaies occupied in painful labor: where after certain years they haue bin thus inured to labour and pains taking, they are called into the Cloisters of the Azamoglans (for so they are called all the time vntil they be inrolled into the number of the Ianizaries) and are there deliuered vnto certain speciall gouernors appointed to take charge of them; who keep them still exercised in painfull worke and labour, intreating them euill enough, as well in their dyet, as in their apparell and lodging: they sleep together in large roomes, like vnto the religious Dormitories, wherein are Lampes still burning, and Tutors attending, without whose leaue they may not stirre out of their places. There they learn to shoot both in the bow and piece, the vse of the Scimiter, with many feats of actiuitie; and beeing well trained in those exercises, are inrolled amongst the Ianizaries and Spahi; of whom the Ianizaries receiue no lesse than fiue aspers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Beeing recorded amongst the Ianizaries, they are either sent away into the wars, or into some Garrison, or else attend at the Court. These last haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto three Monasteries in the City of Constantinople. There they liue vnder their Gouernours to them deputed, the younger with great obedience and silence seruing the elder, in buying of things for them, in dressing their meat, and such like seruices. They that be of one seat or calling liue together at one table, and sleep in long walkes. If any of them vpon occasion chance to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next euening he is notably beaten, with such nurture and discipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kisseth the Gouernours hands that so corrected him. These Ianizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honoured, although they bee most insolent, and are feared of all men, yea euen of the grand Sultan himselfe, who is still glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions and trauels they rob the poore Christians cottages and houses, who must not say one word to the contrary. When they buy any thing, they giue for it but what they list themselues: they can be iudged by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an insurrection; and therfore such execution is very seldom done, and that very secretly. They haue a thousand royalties: some of them are appointed to the keeping of Embassadours sent from forreine princes: other some of them are assigned to accompany Strangers Trauellers, especially them that be men of the better sort, to the intent they may safely passe in the Turks dominions; for which seruice they are commonly wel rewarded. They haue made choice of their prince, namely *Selymus* the first, his father *Bajazet* yet liuing. Neither can any the Turks Sultans account themselues fully inuested in the Imperiall dignitie, or assured of their estate, vntill they be by them approoued and proclaimed. Euerie one of their Sultans at his first comming to the Empire doth giue them some great largesse; and sometime the better to please them, increaseth also their pay. In euery great expedition some of them goe forth with their Aga or his Lieutenant, and are the last of all that fight. There is no office among the Turks that moe enuy at, than at the office of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the greatnesse of his authoritie and command: onely he and the Beglerbeg of Grecia chuse not their owne lieurenant, but haue them nominated vnto them by the grand Signior. Vnto this great man the Aga of the Ianizaries nothing can portend a more certain destruction than to be of them beloued; for then is he of the great Sultan straitway feared or mistrusted, and so occasion sought to take him out of the way. The number of the court Ianizaries is betwixt ten and 14000. This warrelike Order of souldiers is in these our daies much imbased; for now naturall Turks are taken in for Ianizaries, as are also

The Ianizaries great priuiledges.

A ſo the people of Aſia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Chriſtians of Europe only: beſide that, they marry wiues alſo, contrary to their antient cuſtome, which is not now forbidden them. And becauſe of their long lying ſtill at Conſtantinople (a city abounding with all manner of pleaſure) they are become much more effeminate and ſloathfull, but withall moſt inſolent, or more truely to ſay, intollerable. It is commonly reported, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire to conſiſt in this Order of the Ianizaries: which is not altogether ſo; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks beſt footmen, and ſureſt gard of the great Sultans perſon, yet vndoubtedly the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate and empire reſteth nothing ſo much in them, as in the great multitude of his horſmen, eſpecially his Timariots. Beſide theſe Ianizaries, the Turkiſh Emperour hath a great number of baſe footmen, whom
B the Turks call Aſapi, better acquainted with the ſpade than with the ſword, ſeruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquiſhing of them with their valour: with whoſe dead bodies the Ianizaries vſe to fill vp the ditches of towns beſieged, or to ſerue them for ladders to clime ouer the enemies walls vpon. But as the Romans had both their old Legionary, and other vntrained ſouldiers which they called Tirones; of whom the firſt were the chiefe ſtrength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and ſupply: euen ſo the Turke accounteth his Timariot horſemen the ſtrength of his army, and the Acanzij (which is another ſort of baſe and common horſemen) but as an acceſſory: and ſo amongſt his footmen he eſteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romans of the Prætorian le-
C gions, but of his Aſapi as of ſhadows. The Ianizaries are by none to be commanded, more than by the great Sultan himſelfe, and their Aga: as for the Baſſaes, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes ſoule entreat euen the greateſt of them. The Aſapi, as they are but baſe and common ſouldiers, ſo haue they alſo their ordinary captains and commanders, men of no great place or marke.

The great commanders of the Turkes Empire.

The whole ſtate of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counſell of the Vizier Baſſaes, which were not wont to be in number aboue foure, ſo prouiding for the ſecrecy of his high deſignes or important reſolutions, hardly by a great multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later time haue had ſometimes moe, ſometimes fewer, as their pleaſure was. Theſe men are of all others in that Empire the greateſt, and for their high places moſt honoured: vnto them euen the greateſt
D Princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, ſue and ſend their honourable preſents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his war in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the Embaſſadours of forreine Princes, who from them receiue their diſpatch. The greateſt honors and preferments (which are many in that ſo great and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be ſought vnto. Some one or other of them are ſtill Generals ouer the great armies of the Turks, eſpecially in theſe their late wars, their three laſt Emperors neuer themſelues going forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit with his men of war, came downe into Hungary, and there won the city of Agria:) which leading of ſuch mighty armies is ſtill with great emulation and ambition of the Viſier Baſ-
E ſaes amongſt themſelues ſought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them ariſing, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greateſt. But leauing theſe great ones, the chiefe counſellors for his ſtate; the whole body of his ſo large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of martall men) is gouerned by other great Baſſaes, whom they by a moſt proud barbarous name call Beglerbegs, that is to ſay, Lords of Lords, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzacks, who are lords and rulers alſo ouer ſome particular Cities and Countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all ſtill at the command and becke of their Beglerbeg. In antient time there was wont to be but two of theſe proud Beglerbegs in all the Turks Empire: the one commanding ouer all the Prouinces the Turke had in Europe; and the other ouer all that he had in the leſſer Aſia, now of the Turks called Natolia. But
F the Turkiſh Empire greatly augmented in Aſia by *Selymus* the firſt, and alſo afterward much enlarged both in Europe and Aſia by *Solyman* his ſon, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him encreaſed, and in ſome ſort alſo changed: who although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (eſpecially in the time of peace) in the managing of his ſoldiers, and affaires

of his country is not ſubject to any other, but is onely at the command of the Great Turke; yet notwithſtanding in the time of war, where the Beglerbeg of Romania is, all are obedient vnto him, as the chiefeſt of the reſt; inſomuch that none of them but only he and the Baſſa of Natolia are called by the ſtately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then only called the Baſſaes of ſuch and ſuch places, as of Buda, Aleppo, and ſuch like; although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and ſo written in their Records. For the more manifeſting of which their gouernment, as alſo that they which come hereafter may by comparing of that which is here written, with the ſtate that then ſhall be, ſee how much this great Empire in the meane time encreaſeth or diminiſheth, I haue thought good here briefely to ſet downe all the ſaid Beglerbegs, with their Sanzacks and Timariots, and as neere as I could (either by reading, or the credible relation of others well trauelled in thoſe countries) together, and as it were at one ſhew, ſet forth the whole ſtrength and power of this ſo mighty an Empire, as alſo in what Countries and Prouinces the ſame is eſpecially placed.

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in EVROPE.

1 *The Beglerbeg of Romania chiefe of the Beglerbegs of the Turks Empire in Europe.*

The firſt and chiefeſt of all the Beglerbegs in the Turkiſh Empire, is the Beglerbeg of Romania or Grecia, called of the Turks Rum-Ili (as we ſay the Roman country) the principal reſidence of whoſe Beglerbegſhip is at Sophia, a city of Bulgaria, ſo appointed for the commodious ſcituation thereof, for the better command of the reſt of the prouinces of Europe; howbeit that he for the moſt part, or rather altogether abideth at the court: which the other Beglerbegs cannot do, for they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of their Prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares only, the great Sultan ſtill changing and altering them at his pleaſure. This Beglerbeg hath vnder his own enſigne and command forty thouſand Timariots alwaies ready at his call, vnder the conduct of theſe and twenty Sanzacks following; namely, the

Sanzack of
1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2 *Nicopolis*.
3 *Cliſſe*, or *Quadraginta Eccleſia*.
4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
5 *Kirmen*
6 *Siliſtria* — all in *Macedonia*.
7 *Giuſtandil*
8 *Bender*, neer vnto the Euxine.
9 *Acherman*, in the confines of *Moldauia*.
10 *Vſcopia*.
11 *Priſrem*
12 *Salonichi* — all in *Theſſalia*.
13 *Trichala*
14 *Miſitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*.
15 *Palæopatra*, in the ſame Prouince.
16 *Ioannina*, in *Ætolia*.
17 *Deluina* — both in *Achaia*.
18 *Elbaſſan*
19 *Auelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20 *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
21 *Iſcodra*, or *Scobra*, in *Albania*.

2 *The Beglerbeg of Buda.*

The Beglerbeg of Buda, who there reſideth in the frontiers of the Turkiſh Empire, hauing vnder his charge eight thouſand Timariots, beſide 12000 other ſoldiers, which in continuall pay lie ſtill ready in gariſon in the confines of Hungary, Croatia, Stiria, and other places bordering vpon the Chriſtians, but eſpecially the territories belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria. He had of late vnder his enſigne and command theſe fifteene Sanzackes, *viz.* the

Sanzack of
1 *Nouegrade*.
2 *Filek*.
3 *Setſchen*.
4 *Zolnock*.
5 *Gran*, or *Strigonium*.
6 *Segedin*.
7 *Alba-Regalis*.
8 *Sexard*.
9 *Simonterna*.
10 *Copan*.
11 *Muhatz*.
12 *Zigeth*, or *Saſwar*.
13 *Petſchen*, or *Quinque-Eccleſia*.
14 *Sirmium*.
15 *Semendria*.

Of which, Filek, Zetſchen, and Strigonium are in theſe late wars won from the Turks by the Imperials, and ſo yet by them holden; as was alſo Alba Regalis, which but of late was by the Turks againe recouered.

The

A The Beglerbegh of Temeſwar in Hungary, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his command ſeuen thouſand Timariots, with theſe eight Sanzackes, the

3 *The Beglerbeg of Temeſwar.*

Sanzacke of
1 *Temeſwar.*
2 *Mudaua.*
3 *Vilaoſwar.*
4 *Tſchinnad.*
5 *Wiſchitirni.*
6 *Iſwornick.*
7 *Vidin.*
8 *Lippa.*

The Beglerbeg of Boſna, who lyeth at Bagnialuca, hath vnder him theſe Sanzackes, the

4 *The Beglerbeg of Boſna.*

Sanzacke of
1 *Bagnialuca.*
2 *Poſchega.*
3 *Cliſſa.*
4 *Hertzegouina.*
5 *Lika.*
6 *Sazeſchna.*
7 *Giula.*
8 *Briſrem.*
9 *Alatſchia-chiſſar.*

B The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha, who there reſideth in Taurica Cherſoneſus, and beſide the Countrey thereabout, commandeth ouer all the Sanzackes neer vnto the great Riuer Tanais, and the Fennes of Mœotis. It was at firſt but a Sanzackeſhip, ſubject to the Beglerbeg of Grecia; and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in name, than in ſtrength and power.

5 *The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha.*

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Aſia.

C

The Beglerbegs of the Turkes empire in Aſia.

1 *Anatolia*, who hath his reſidence in *Cutaie*, the Metropoliticall city of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyai*) and hath vnder his enſigne and command thirty thouſand of the Timariot horſemen, with twelue Sanzackes.

2 *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caiſaria* (in antient time called *Cæſaria*) a City of Cilicia, and hath vnder him ſeuen Sanzackes, with twenty thouſand Timariots.

3 *Siuas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebaſtia*, a city of the leſſer *Armenia*, and hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.

D 4 *Tocatun*, who reſideth at *Amaſia*, the Metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath vnder him fiue Sanzackes.

5 *Dulgadir*, ſometime part of the Kingdome of *Aladeules*, and commandeth ouer foure Sanzackes.

6 *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a City of *Syria*, and one of the moſt famous Marts of the Eaſt, who hath vnder his Regiment fiue and twenty thouſand Timariots.

7 *Sham*, otherwiſe called *Damaſco*, a moſt famous city of *Syria*, who commandeth ouer forty thouſand Timariots.

The Beglerbegh of

8 *Tarapolis*, or *Trapolis*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous city of *Syria*.

9 *Maras*, a city vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Meſopotamia*, who hath vnder his command ten thouſand Timariots.

B 10 *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe called *Meſopotamia*, who making his abode at the city of *Amida*, or as the Turks call it, *Cara hemid*, who commandeth ouer twelue Sanzackes, and thirty thouſand Timariots.

11 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he reſideth, not far from the ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath vnder him forty thouſand Timariots.

12 *Balſara*, not far from *Bagdat*, vpon the Perſian gulfe, who hath vnder his rule or gouernment fifteene thouſand Timariots.

13 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and neere vnto the Perſian, hath vnder his regiment ten thouſand Timariots.

F 14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous cities in *Arabia Fœlix*, vpon the coaſt of the Red-Sea, who hath vnder him thirty thouſand Timariots.

15 *Chebetz*, or *Zebet*, vpon the coaſt of the Arabian gulfe, neere vnto the Kingdome of the great Æthiopian King *Prejanus*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter Iohn*.

16 *Cyprus*, who lieth at *Nicoſia* or *Famaguſta*, commandeth ouer all that great Iſland, ſometime of it ſelfe a Kingdome. G

17 *Scheheruzul* in *Aſſyria*, bordering vpon the Perſian, who hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.

18 *Wan*, a city in the confines of the greater *Armenia* towards *Media*, who hath vnder him twelue thouſand Timariots.

19 *Artzerum*, or *Erzerum* in the borders of *Armenia* toward *Capadocia*, about foure daies journey from *Trapezond*, who commandeth ouer twenty thouſand Timariots.

20 *Teflis*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Muſtapha Baſſa*, Generall of *Amurath* the third his army againſt the Perſian, in the yeare 1578. H

21 *Siruan*, or *Media*, erected by the ſame *Muſtapha*, and at the ſame time, commandeth ouer all that great country, ſometime a famous Kingdome.

22 *Temir-Capi*, or *Derbent*, neere vnto the Caſpian Sea, taken by *Oſman Baſſa* the ſame yeare 1578: who hauing ſlaine *Schehemet Chan* his father in law, reduced that country into the forme of a Beglerſhip.

The Beglerbegh of

23 *Cars*, a city of *Armenia* the greater, diſtant from *Artzerum* foure daies journy, by *Muſtapha Baſſa* made a Beglerbegſhip in the yeare 1578.

24 *Tſchilder* or *Tzilder*, in the confines of the Georgians, erected by the ſame Generall *Muſtapha*, in the yeare 1579.

25 *Faſſa*, or *Phaſis*, in *Mengrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Vluzales*, the Turks Admirall, the ſame yeare 1579. I

26 *Sochum*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan*, in the yeare 1580.

27 *Batin*, there erected alſo by the ſame *Sinan Baſſa*.

28 *Reiuan*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, Generall of the Turks Army, taken from *Tochomac Chan* the Perſian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the firſt Beglerbeg.

29 *Sumachia*, in the Countrey of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the yeare 1583.

30 *Tauris*, a moſt famous city of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the Regall ſeat of the Perſian Kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame yeare 1583. K

But theſe late erected honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of Teflis, Siruan, Temir-Capi, Cars, Tſchilder, Faſſa, and the reſt gained by *Amurath* from the Perſians and the Georgians, although they containe a great territory, are not of themſelues any of them worthy of thoſe proud titles, or yet able to maintaine the ſame (Siruan, Reiuan, and Tauris only excepted) but were by the great Baſſa's, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath* his Lieutenants, for their owne greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend thoſe their new conqueſts, erected; being indeed nothing either in power or ſtrength comparable with the other more antient Beglerbegs either in Europe or Aſia. But hauing thus paſſed through the great Kingdomes and Prouinces by the Turks holden in Europe and Aſia, with their proud honours therein, let vs go forward toward the South, to ſee what great Kingdomes and territories they at this preſent hold in Africke alſo. L

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in AFRICKE.

The Beglerbegh of

1 *Miſſar*, who ſtill making his abode at the great city of *Caire*, hath vnder his command all the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, with ſixteene Sanzackes, and an hundred thouſand Timariots. M

2 *Ceſair*, in antient time called *Iulia Cæſaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbegh ſtill reſiding, commandeth ouer all that Kingdome, wherein are forty thouſand Timariots.

3 *Tunis*

A The Beglerbegh of
3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large Kingdome.
4 *Tripolis*, the ſeat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the Knights of Malta in the yeare 1551.

There are beſide theſe, two other Kingdomes in Africke inrolled in the Turks records as their owne, although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbegſhips, namely the Kindomes of Fez and Moroco, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and Vaſſals.

But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatneſſe and forces of this ſo mighty a monarchs Empire by land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out, let vs conſider alſo his power by
B ſea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of Perſia and Arabia, moſt of his territories lying vpon the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas, or elſe more inwardly into the heart of Aſia neere to no ſea. Now for theſe ſeas, no Prince in the World hath greater or better meanes to ſet forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergrowne woods of Epirus and Cilicia, and more than they, thoſe of Nicomedia and Trapezond, are ſo great and thicke, and ſo full of tall trees fit for the building of ſhips and gallies of all ſorts, as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of ſhipwrites & carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of timber, large pay drawing euen the Chriſtian skilfull carpenters and workmen into his Arſenals at Conſtantinople, Synope, Callipolis, and others. For proofe whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond in our freſh remembrance, the next yeare af-
C ter that notable ouerthrow by him receiued at the Echinades (commonly called the battell of Lepanto) rigged vp a fleet wherewith *Vluzales* his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederate Chriſtian Princes at Cerigo. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good ſtore of expert ſeamen after the manner of thoſe ſeas; for beſide thoſe he hath in ſtore at Callipolis and Sinope, out of his gallies which he hath alwaies in readineſſe at Lesbos, Chios, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and from the pyrats which he continually receiueth into the ports of Tunis, Bugia, Tripolis, and Algiers, he can and doth from them when need is, chuſe captaines, mariners, and rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his fleet. What he is able to do in thoſe ſeas, was well ſeene in our time, by thoſe fleets which he had at Malta, Cyprus, the Echinades, and Guletta. He hath beſide of all neceſſary and war-
D like prouiſion aboundant ſtore, and of great ordnance to furniſh himſelfe withall both by ſea and land an infinite quantity. Out of Hungary he hath cartied away aboue 5000 great pieces, out of Cyprus 500, and few leſſe from Guletta, not to ſpeake what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in diuers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of ſhot and pouder he ſhewed at Malta, where hee diſcharged aboue 60000 great ſhot; at Famaguſta, where hee beſtowed, 118000; and at Guletta, where in the ſpace of 39 daies he by the fury of his great ordnance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Chriſtians had bin 40 yeares in building. So that to returne againe to our purpoſe, the great Turke ſo well prouided of men, mony, ſhipping, and great ordnance, and hauing done ſo great matters at ſea as is before rehearſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of, than as of a moſt mighty and puiſſant Prince as well by ſea as
B land: which to be ſo, the greatneſſe of his Denizi Beglerbeg or great Admirall (commonly called *Capitan Baſſa*, of whom we haue not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great man hauing charge of all the grand Signiors ſtrength at ſea, is alway one of the Viſier Baſſaes, not bound ſtill to follow the court, as the other Viſiers be, but alwaies or for moſt part reſiant at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, ſo to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honourable place is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honorable family of that name in Genoa: who commonly reſiding at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, hath vnder him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great commanders and men of great place: namely, the

The great power of the Turks in the Mediterranean and Euxine ſea.

From whence he hath his cheife ſeamen.

6 *The Denizi Beglerbeg.*

F Sanzack of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Cauala* in the frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napolidi Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

The Princes as well Mahometans as Christians, vpon whom the great Empire of the Turk confideth, and of what power they be in comparison of the Turks.

The greatneſſe, wealth, and ſtrength of this ſo mighty an Empire, as well by ſea as land, G
thus in ſome ſort declared, let vs now ſee vpon what Princes it alſo confineth, and of what
power euery one of them is in compariſon of it ſo great and ouergrown a State. The Turks
toward the Eaſt border vpon the Perſians, according to a right line drawne by imagination
from Tauris to Balſara: vpon the Portugals at the Perſian gulfe, and ſo there likewiſe to-
ward the South: at the Red Sea, vpon the great Æthyopian King *Prejanus*, commonly called
Preſter Iohn: towards the South, in Affricke vpon the King of Moroco; and in Europe, vp-
on the Kingdome of Naples, with ſome part of the Venetian ſigniory: toward the North vp-
on the Polonians, and the teiritories of the houſe of Auſtria. Now to begin with the Perſi-
an, the great Turke no doubt is in field too ſtrong for him, as by proofe hath beene often-
times ſeene; for *Mahomet* the Great, in plaine battell ouercame the valiant *Vſun Caſſanes*: *Se-* H
lymus the firſt, and after, *Solyman* his ſon put to flight the noble *Hyſmael* and *Tamas*, the two
great and famous Perſian Kings: and now of late in our time *Amurath* the third by his Lieu-
tenants hath taken from the Perſians all Media, with the greater Armenia, both ſometimes
famous Kingdomes, together with the regall city of Tauris. That the Turke ſo preuaileth,
is by reaſon of his footmen, which the Perſian wanteth; and of his great ordnance, whereof
the Perſian hath neither ſtore nor vſe: and although the Perſians by valour of their horſemen
haue ſometime in open field foiled the Turk, yet haue they ſtill loſt ſome part of their coun-
try; *Solyman* taking from them Meſopotamia, and *Amurath* Media and Armenia. Neither
did the Perſians alone feele that harme, and loſe their owne, but vndid their Confederates
alſo; *Selymus* the firſt ſpoiling the Mamalukes of Ægypt and Syria, and vtterly rooting them I
from off the face of the earth; and *Amurath* by his Lieutenants hauing brought to a low ebbe
the warlike Georgians, both of them the Perſian Kings friends and confederats. Now is not
the Turke ſo much too ſtrong at land for the Perſian, but that he is as much too weake at ſea
for the Portugals; in thoſe ſeas I meane where their forces haue more than once to the Turks
coſt met together in the Eaſt Indies: the Portugals hauing in thoſe rich but remote countries,
many ſure harbours and ports, yea, faire countries and territories abounding with victuals and
all prouiſion neceſſary for ſhipping, with ſome alſo of thoſe great Eaſterne princes their allies
and confederats: wheras the Turke on the other ſide hath nothing in the Perſian gulfe ſtrong,
beſide Balſara; the ſea coaſt of Arabia which might ſtand him in beſt ſtead, hauing no more
but foure townes, and thoſe but weake and of ſmall worth. So that there, as alſo in the Red K
ſea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficulty for him to ſet out any great fleet into
thoſe ſeas, for that thoſe countries are vtterly deſtitute of wood fit to make ſhips of. For
which cauſe, thoſe few times that hee prepared his fleets in the Red ſea (to haue cut off the
Portugals trade into the Eaſt Indies) being not able to performe the ſame in the Perſian gulf,
he was inforced to bring the timber for the building of his gallies out of the Port of Bithy-
nia and Cilicia (out of another World as it were) vp the Nile vnto Caire, and from thence
vpon camels by land to Sues, where he hath his Arſenall, a thing almoſt incredible. And yet
hauing done what he could, as oft as he hath made any expedition againſt them, he neuer
gained any thing but loſſe and diſhonor: as in the yeare 1538 at the city of Dium; and in the
yeare 1552 at the Iſland of Armuz, and after that at Mombaza, where foure of the Turks L
gallies, with one galliot, which by the fauour of the King of Mombaza had thought to haue
ſtaied in thoſe ſeas, were by the Portugals taken: who ſtill haue a ſpeciall regard and care that
the Turks ſettle not themſelues in thoſe ſeas; but as ſoone as they perceiue them to prepare
any fleet, they forthwith ſet vpon them, and to that end oftentimes without reſiſtance enter
into the Red ſeas. *Preſter Iohn*, of whom although men ſpeake much, yet is he nothing in
ſtrength to be compared vnto the Turke, but far inferior vnto him both for Commanders and
ſoldiers, as alſo for weapons and munition: for that great Prince hath a great kingdome with-
out fortification, and a multitude of ſoldiers without armes: as appeared by the ouerthrow of
Barnagaſſo his Lieutenant towards the Red Sea; who hauing loſt all that Sea coaſt vnto the
Turks, was brought to that extremity, that to haue peace with them, he yeelded to pay vnto M
them a yearely tribute of a thouſand ounces of gold. In Africke the Turke hath more Terri-
tories than hath the King of Moroco, otherwiſe called the *Xerife*; for he poſſeſſeth all that
there lyeth betwixt the Red ſea and the kingdome of Fez: but the *Xerife* hath the better part,
the richer, ſtronger, and more vnited: yet dare neither of them well make war vpon the other,

for

A for the neereneſſe of the King of Spaine, enemie vnto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon the Turke; and firſt the King of Polonia. What theſe two Princes can do the one againſt the other, hath beene ſeene in ſome former expeditions, wherein the Polonian had ſtill the worſe: yet it ſhould ſeeme, that of later time the Turke hath not bin greatly deſirous to moone the Polonian too farre, for that being prouoked by diuers occaſions (namely in the reigne of *Henry* the third, in the warres that *Iohn* the Vayuod of Valachia had with the Turkes, many Polonian horſemen ſerued the ſayd Vayuod, though not indeed ſent from the King: and in the time of *Sigiſmund* the Polonian Coſſacks haue with diuers incurſions not a little troubled them: beſide the late motions of *Iohn Zamoſchy* the great Chancellor, and Generall of the Polonian forces, for the ſtaying of
B the Tartars by the Turks ſent for) he hath bin content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be thereof reuenged, as he hath for far leſſe vpon ſome other princes. And on the other ſide, the Polonians ſince the vnfortunat expedition of King *Ladiſlaus*, neuer tooke vpon them any warres againſt the Turkes, neither gaue ſuch aid as they ſhould, vnto the Valachians their Confederats, but ſuffered to be taken from themſelues whatſoeuer they had toward the Euxine or Blacke Sea: a thing imputed rather vnto the want of courage in their Kings, than in the Nobility of that Kingdome. *Sigiſmund* the firſt being by Pope *Leo* X. inuited to the war againſt the Turks, anſwered them in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian Princes at vnity amongſt themſelues, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the ſecond ſo abhorred the wars, that he not only declined the Turks, but prouoked by
C the Muſcouites, neuer ſought to reuenge the ſame. King *Stephen* (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen King of Polonia) an indifferent eſteemer both of his enemies Forces and his owne, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to joyne battell with the Turke, and yet in priuate talke with his friends, would oftentimes ſay, That with thirty thouſand foot joyned vnto his Polonian horſemen, he durſt well to vndertake an expedition againſt the Turke: which he was ſuppoſed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the Houſe of Auſtria, are by a longer tract of ground joyned vnto this great empire of the Turks, than any one other Prince of the World, and beſtow in fortifications and maintenance of their garriſons, (wherein they haue continually aboue twenty thouſand horſe and foot) the greateſt part of their reuenues euen in the time of peace, much more in theſe
D their long wars: and with the German forces joyned vnto their owne, are more carefull how to defend that they haue yet left, than how to recouer that they haue already loſt, or to enlarge their Empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand* with greater force than ſucceſſe vndertooke the vnfortunate expedition of Buda and Poſſega: which ſo euill fell out, not for that his forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong enough, but for that they wanted agility and dexterity. The truth is, thoſe his armies were ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary, but conſiſted for the moſt part of Germans and Bohemians, ſlow and heauy people, vnfit to encounter with the Turks, a more ready and nimble kinde of ſouldiers. The Venetians alſo confrontier the Turks by many hundred miles, both by ſea and land, and defend themſelues rather by peaceable policy than force of armes: notably fortifying their ſtrong
E Holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all meanes the dangers and charges of war, by Embaſſages and rich preſents, leauing nothing vnattempted (their liberty and ſtate preſerued) rather than to fall to wars. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both coyne and warlike prouiſion ſufficient, yet want they men and victuals anſwerable to ſo great a war againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy. There remaineth onely the King of Spaine, of all other the great Princes either Chriſtians or Mahometans bordering vpon him, the beſt able to deale with him; his yearely reuenues ſo farre exceeding thoſe of the Turks, as that they are alſo probably thought to counteruaile the greateſt part of his Timariots: and his great Dominions in Spaine, Portugall, Naples, Sicilia, Millaine, Sardinia, and the Low Countries (if they were with him at vnity) able to affourd vnto him ſo great and powerfull a ſtrength both by
F ſea and land, as might make him dreadfull euen vnto the Great Turke when hee ſwelleth in his greateſt pride: but conſidering how his Forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his wars at once in diuers places; as alſo for the neceſſary defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed territories, not all the beſt of themſelues affected to the Spaniſh gouern-

The King of Spaine, of all other Princes that border vpon the Turk, beſt able to wage war with him.

ment,

ment, he is not to be thought of himſelf ſtrong enough againſt the vnited forces of the great Turke, whenſoeuer they ſhall chance to be imployed vpon him. So that by this we haue already ſaid, is eaſie to be gathered, how much the Turke is too ſtrong for any one the neighbor Princes, either Mahometans or Chriſtians, bordering vpon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet leſt ſome miſtaking me, might thinke, What, is then the Turke inuincible? Farre be that thought from me, to thinke any enemy of Chriſt Ieſu (be his arme neuer ſo ſtrong) to be able to withſtand his power, either quite to deuoure his little flocke, rage he neuer ſo much about it. As for the Turke, the moſt dangerous and profeſſed enemy of the Chriſtiau Commonweale, be his ſtrength ſo great, yea, and haply greater too than is before declared (the greatneſſe of his Dominion and Empire conſidered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either inuincible, or his power indeed ſo great, as it in ſhew ſeemeth for to be: his Timariot horſmen (his greateſt ſtrength) diſperſed ouer his whole empire, being neuer poſſible the one halfe of them by him to be gathered into the body of one army: neither if they were ſo, poſſible in ſuch a multitude long to be kept together, liuing vpon no pay of his, but vpon ſuch ſtore and prouiſion only as they bring with them from their Timari, neuer ſufficient long to maintaine them. Beſides that, the policy of his ſtate hardly or neuer ſuffereth him to draw aboue a third part of his Timariots out of his countries where they dwell, for feare leſt the reſt of the people, by them ſtill kept vnder, ſhould in their abſence take vp arms againſt him in defence of themſelues and their antient liberty: whereafter the greateſt part of thoſe poore oppreſſed Soules, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians in euery Prouince of his Empire, awaiting but the opportunity, moſt deſirouſly longeth. So that more than two parts of them being alwaies to be left at home for the neceſſary defence of the ſpacious borders of his ſo large an Empire, as alſo for the keeping in obedience of ſo many diſcontented Nations; it is a great matter, if he euen in his greateſt warres draw together of theſe kinde of ſouldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, making vp the reſt of his huge multitude with his Acanzij, liuing of no pay of his, but vpon the ſpoile of the enemy onely, the fifth part whereof they pay vnto him alſo. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what valour, not onely the ſmall Armies of the Chriſtians vnder the leading of their worthy Chiefetaines, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others, haue to their immortall glory in former times made good proofe: but euen in this our age, and that as it were but the other day, the Tranſyluanian Prince, with diuers other Captaines and Commanders yet liuing, haue done the like alſo, as well witneſſeth the late battell of Agria, wherein the Chriſtians, in number not halfe ſo many as the Turks, by plaine valour draue the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe, (with *Ibrahim Baſſa* his Lieutenant Generall) out of the field, and had of him had the moſt notable victory that euer was got againſt that Enemy, had they not by too much careleſneſſe and vntimely deſire of ſpoyle, themſelues ſhamefully interrupted the ſame. But thus to let his horſemen paſſe, the chiefe ſtrength of his footmen are his Ianizaries, neuer in number exceeding twelue or foureteene thouſand, yet ſeldome times halfe ſo many euen in his greateſt armies, except he himſelfe be there in perſon preſent in the middeſt of them: who beſide the ſmall number of them, in the time of theſe their late voluptuous and effeminate Emperors, corrupted with the pleaſures of Conſtantinople, and for want of their wonted diſcipline, haue together with their antient obedience and patience, loſt alſo a great part of their former reputation and valour: all the reſt of his footmen filling vp the body of his populous Army, being his Aſapi, rather pioners than ſouldiers, men of ſmall worth, and ſo accounted of both by the Turks and their Enemies alſo. So that all things well conſidered, his beſt ſouldiers being the leaſt part of his greateſt armies, and they alſo farre vnlike their predeceſſours the ſterne followers of the former *Othoman* Kings and Emperours, but men now giuen to pleaſure and delight; it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but that he bringeth into the field farre moe men than good ſouldiers, more brauery than true valour, more ſhew than worth, his multitude being his chiefeſt ſtrength, his ſuppoſed greatneſſe the terrour of his neighbour Princes, and both together the very Majeſty of his Empire. Which although it be indeed very ſtrong, for the reaſons before alledged, yet is it by many probably thought to be now vpon the declining hand, their late Emperors in their owne perſons far degenerating from their warrelike progenitors, their ſouldiers generally

The ſignes of the declining of the Turks Empire.

giuing

A giuing themſelues to vnwonted pleaſures, their antient diſcipline of war neglected, their ſuperſtition not with ſo much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported: all the ſignes of a declining State. Which were they not at all to be ſeene, as indeed they be very pregnant; yet the greatneſſe of the Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth nothing more than with the weightineſſe of it ſelfe, it muſt needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it ſelfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when nor how ſo great a worke ſhould be brought to paſſe, but he in whoſe deepe counſels all theſe great reuolutions of Empires and Kingdomes are from eternity ſhut vp: who at his pleaſure ſhall in due time by ſuch meanes as he ſeeth beſt, accompliſh the ſame, to the vnſpeakeable comfort of his poore affiicted flocke, in one place or
B other ſtill in danger to be by this roaring Lyon deuoured. Which worke of ſo great wonder, He for his ſonne our Sauior Chriſt his ſake, the glory of his name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians, fed with the bread of carefulneſſe amidſt the furnace of tribulation, in mercy haſten, that we with them, and they with vs, all as members of one body, may continually ſing, *Vnto him be all honour and praiſe World without end.*

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TO THE HONORABLE
Sr THOMAS ROWE.

Sir,

AS your Vertues haue made you eminent, ſo your Fortunes haue confirmed that eminence, not only with knowing diſcerners, but others the moſt ignorant, that informe themſelues from mens outſides, and the Gloſſe which ſucceſſe ſets vpon their actions. Amongſt thoſe vertues, your φιλανθρωπία with all it's ſignifications, hath not the leaſt place; being one free to cheriſh worthy endeauors in others, by condeſcending to their defects: And in this aſſurance, I (a ſtranger) am bold to preſent my following labors to be judged of by you; and to the ſentence you paſſe vpon them, all other cenſures ſhall ſubſcribe. I confeſſe I wiſh ſome of my few yeares had been ſpent abroad, where I might haue informed my ſelfe better from obſeruation, than from report: for my contemplatiue knowledge renders me more ſubject to errors, than a practiue would haue done. Yet if the enſuing hath an allowance from you, your known judgemnt will command in all men a good opinion of it, and my defects herein be made excuſeable, by the ſlenderneſſe of my intelligence. My deſire is to be reckoned amongſt the humbleſt of your Seruants,

THOMAS NABBES.

TO THE HONORABLE

SIR THOMAS ROWE.

SYour Vertues haue made you eminent, your Fortunes haue confirmed that eminence, not only with knowing obser-uers, but others the most ignorant, that informe themselues from meere outsides, and the Glosse which succeeds text vpon their actions. Amongst those vertues, your Valour hath with all it's significations, hath not the least place; being one free to cherish worthy endeauors in others, by condescending to their defects: And in this assurance, I (a stranger) am bold to present my following labors, to be iudged of by you; and to the sentence you passe vpon them, all other censures shall subscribe. I confesse I with some of my few yeares had been spent abroad, where I might haue informed my life better from obseruation, than from report: for my contemplative knowledge renders me more subject to errors, than a practique would haue done. Yet if the suffring backan allowance from you, your known iudgement will command in all men a good opinion of it, and my defects herein be made excusable, by the tenderneſſe of my intelligence. My duetie is to be reckoned amongst the humblest of your Seruants,

THOMAS NABBES.

1628.

A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORIE, FROM THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628, TO THE END OF THE YEARE 1637.

Collected out of the Diſpatches of Sr PETER WYCHE *Knight, Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, and others:*

By THOMAS NABBES.

THAT I begin with a ſeeming impertinencie, if it appear an error, it is voluntarie and conſideratiue; and therfore let the following reaſons ſatisfie or excuſe it. Actions that may be preſidents to poſteritie, ought to haue their records, and merit a carefull preſeruation. This (if wee conſider the perſon, deſigne, or ſucceſſe) will be allowed both honorable and imitable, though ſubiect to diuerſitie of cenſures, till clear judgments confirm it from the circumſtances. Why it ſhould or may take place here, is, That the Scene of its execution was in places belonging to the Turkes, and by conſequence had, or at leaſtwiſe required a determination of juſtice by the grand Signior.

SIR *Kenelme Digby* (authoriſed by his Majeſtie of Great Britaines ſpecial Commiſſion vnder the great Seale of England, for a deſigne againſt the French, then his Majeſties enemies (the period of which deſigne pointed at thoſe parts) with ſix ſhips, of which his own went Admirall; after many encounters by the way, vpon the 10 of Iune 1628, came before cape Congure, where hee lay at Hull faire all that night. The Cape is about ten leagues from Scanderon; whence on the morrow in the afternoone he ſent his boat wel armed to deſcry the road, and to bring him ſome intelligence. Which they did the next morning, hauing met with ſome Venetian boats that were fiſhing, with which Venetians they paſſed for Maltæſes: for there were in Sr *Kenelmes* boat both Maltæſes and Greeks. They brought word that there were at anchor in the road two Venetian Galliaſſes, (which the Engliſh call Galligroſſes) two other Gallions, two Engliſh ſhips, and foure French Veſſels, one of which came in but the day before, being very rich, and hauing as yet vnladed nothing. Sir *Kenelme*

1628. ſpent all the night following in ouerſeeing the preparations for fight and firing in his ſeue- G
rall ſhips; for that hee expected a fierce onſet the next day from the Venetians, who had declared themſelues the garders of that Road, and were reported to haue giuen out, They would ſink all the Engliſh men of War they ſhould meet either in their own, or in the grand Signiors ſeas. Which peremptorineſſe, if true, including an intent of diſhonor to the nation, could not but exaſperat any true Engliſh ſpirit, eſpecially of the nobler difference. This mooued not yet Sr *Kenelme* to any violence of paſſion, but that with a carefull temper and diſcreet iudgement, he prepared himſelfe and fitted his ſhips at all points, for all occaſions.

And here though it be a digreſſion, (ſince it may be worth an obſeruation, eſpecially with the Curious) let me inſert a report of his own, with the preface of his proteſtation in the way of caution, That he was neither ſo ſimple or ſuperſtitious, as vainely to builde a faith vpon H
any waies of diuination, ſuch as the *Sortes Virgiliana*, which the Antients much relied vpon, and of which the Romane hiſtories haue many ſtrange examples, that make them ſeeme no leſſe than Oracles: yet thus it hapned to Sr *Kenelme*, that being wearied with cares, and deſirous to ſleep vpon the poup, till the wind might ſerue to bring them in; amongſt other cogitations, the remembrance of theſe *Sortes* intermixt it ſelfe, and by accident one that was neere him was reading *Virgil*. Which Sr *Kenelme* taking, hauing firſt conceiued the chance of a number for the verſe which hee ſhould take; vpon that leafe where hee opened the booke, theſe two following preſented themſelues:

Æneas celſa in puppi jam certus eundi I
Carpebat ſomnos, rebus jam ritè paratis.

In's lofty ſhip *Æneas* bent to goe,
Slept, at all points prepar'd to meet his Foe.

Which falling out ſo fit to the preſent circumſtances, and the relation they had to the Trojans inſuing fortunes, was receiued betwixt jeaſt and earneſt for a very good omen, and became the inſtrument of an encouragement, by being made the concluſion of a ſhort ſpeech to his men. For it ſeemed to confirm their reſolutions, and preuent the diſturbance of them, by any diſpute that might ariſe concerning the iuſtneſſe of Sir *Kenelmes* deſigne and pro- K
ceeding.

But his iudgement took another courſe for the ſtrengthning of his cauſe; and that the iuſtneſſe of it might the better commaund the attendance of ſucceſſe (reſpecting notwithſtanding his Honour, before any politique ſafety which might tend to diſreputation) he ſent his Sattie in before to the Venetian General (the Galliaſſes hauing weighed anchor, and beeing come within halfe a league of his ſhips) with letters; which letters declared to the Venetians, That his voyage of warfare was by his Majeſties Commiſſion; and gaue them aſſurance of all reſpect and friendſhip, and that the French were the onely obiects of his attempts, for which he had ſufficient Warrant. To the two Engliſh ſhips he likewiſe ſent letters, to ſettle the diſquiet he conceiued their fears had put them in, and to giue them ſatisfaction, That his L
buſineſſe was no way to diſturb their negotiations. But before the Satties boat could come aboord to deliuer the anſwer, the Admirall Galliaſſe of the Venetians diſcharged ſeuen or eight ſhots; the firſt of which lighting ſhort, was receiued as a ſalute, and returned with a piece from themwards: but ſome of the reſt hitting his ſhip, and one ſhot at his flag, together with the Satties ariuall and information, their intents were known; and Sr *Kenelm* to let them know, that his long forbearance was no apprehenſion of fear he had of their ſtrength and aduantage, but a ſtrengthning of his Cauſes juſtice, gaue them three or four broad ſides in a verie ſhort ſpace, which did ſo much ſpoyle both to the French and the Venetians, (who found pretence by this time, That their quarrell was the protection of the French, which they had vndertaken) that they were inforced to retyre, and fight at a more wary diſtance. In the mean M
time Sr *Kenelm* playd ſo wel vpon their gallions, that the men ſtowed themſelues vnder hold, and left the Veſſels to their fortune without any guidance. The Galliaſſes then comming vp to their ſuccour, receiued ſuch a rude welcome, that they rowed away, to ſhelter themſelues vnder the Engliſh ſhips which lay in the road. Which policie was a ſure defence to them;

A them; for Sr *Kenelme* was ſo cautious, that he would rather loſe an opportunitie of offending his enemies, than take hold of it to his countrymens offence. The Galliaſſes thus leauing action, to be witneſſes of it only at that ſafe diſtance, the gallions were in great danger, their men being ſtowed vnder hatches; but that Sr *Kenelme* directing all his indeauors againſt the French (from whom hee had receiued the moſt dammage) gaue way to their quiet without much diſturbance, more than what proceeded from their owne feares; and perceiuing the French to come vp cloſe (their ſhips being luſty Veſſels, ſome hauing ſix and twenty pieces of ordnance) he firſt directed his two leſſer ſhips to deal with them: but quickly taking notice of the aduantage, ſent the rere-Admirall to their ſuccor; by which means the three ſhips boorded and took each of them a ſeuerall prize; the fourth French ſhip being run aground at
B the beginning of the fight: to which this ſucceſſe gaue an end after three houres. 1628.

It is remarkable, That in this fight not one of Sr *Kenelmes* men receiued a hurt to death, and of the Venetians and French there were ſlain ninety nine perſons: of whom one was commander of the Venetian land ſoldiers, a braue and generous man, whoſe loſſe was much lamented by them, and pittied by Sr *Kenelme*. The Admirall Galliaſſe of the Venetians was the onely one of thoſe four which the Venetians lent to the King of Spain, that returned from the battel of 88; where ſhe fought with Sr *Martin Frobiſher* in the Triumph of the Queen, whilſt the other three were ſunk or fired. Since when, ſhe hath been preſerued by putting in of new pieces where need required (as they ſay the Athenians did the gally of Salaminco) ſo that now nothing of her was remaining of thoſe times but the mould.

C This action and ſucceſſe of Sr *Kenelme*, though perhaps clear in it ſelfe, became queſtionable by the grand Signiors Miniſters, through the complaints of the French and Venetians; ſo that the Baſſa of Aleppo and the Cadi of Scanderon took hold of the occaſion, to practiſe & exact an Auanea vpon the Engliſh Merchants, taking from the Engliſh Conſul at Aleppo a large ſum, which he through fear of any ſhips retention deliuered without much reſiſtance, and ſo appeaſed and calmed that ruggedneſſe, which notwithſtanding proued afterwards an aggrauation in other cauſes.

For ſhortly after, *William Bundock* captain of an Engliſh ſhip called the Safe Bonaventure, hauing lien ſome time at Zant in harbor, went out to ſea for purchaſe, and fell vpon a ſhip trading betwixt Meſſina and Malta, that belonged to *Haggi Caſſum*, *Coſmo Orlando*, and others,
D ſubiects of the grand Signior, and had letters of ſafe conduct from the Imperiall Port. This ſhip Captain *Bundock* making prize of, the complaint arriued at the Port, to a ſudden diſturbance of Sr *Peter Wyche* the Engliſh Embaſſador there reſiding. Which complaint made the more noiſe, for that the Chimacham, Captaine Baſſa, and other principall miniſters pretended themſelues intereſſed therein, hauing committed monies to the charge of the Captain of the ſhip taken, for the redemption of Turkiſh captiues at Meſſina, Malta, and other places. Which particular pleading, with their aptneſſe to make any thing a cauſe for practiſes vpon ſtrangers, the Vizier ſent his expreſſe commaund for the detention of two Engliſh ſhips then in the Port, called the London and the William, ſo to compell a reſtitution. Vpon which the Embaſſador went to the grand Signiors Court, and after much arguing, and a
E ſecond repair to the principal Miniſters, making it appear what a diſreſpect it would bee to his Majeſty of England, and how vniuſt it would ſeem to the world, obtained a releaſe for the preſent, but without any final determination.

The Embaſſador in this buſineſſe made vſe of all faire endeauors and policies, for the gaining of time, til his delaies bringing him into ſome ſuſpition of a neglect, the Ianizaries anew inſenced the Vizier, by reuiuing it, with a pretence of loſſe which they receiued by *Bundock*; and procured a peremptory order, that all ſhould be made good preſently. Which Order being notified to the Embaſſador by a Chiaus, he replied, and ſent it by a Druggerman: which notwithſtanding gaue no ſatisfaction to the paſſion of the Vizier, who to inſinuate himſelfe with the Ianizaries, gaue way to moſt of their outrages. So that the Embaſſadour
F to preuent his houſe being aſſaulted, was inforced to giue 500 Dollars amongſt the Ianizaries, and ſo all was calmed again, till ſome following accidents of like nature reuiued the memorie of it.

G

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majesty of Great Britaine.

TO the glorious amongst the great Maiesties of the Christian Princes, and reuerenced of the great Potentates of the people of Messiah, *Director of the eminent affaires of the Nation of Nazareth, true Lord of the Robe of Honor and Grace, and Patron of greatnesse and glory;* CHARLES *King of England, whose daies the Lord accomplish with happinesse.* H

AT the arriuall of this our sublime and Imperiall Signet be it informed, That at the blessed Throne of our high Port, which at this present (by the mercy of the Diuine Majestie of the high and iust God, and the celestiall protection and care of our Prophet Mahomet Mustapha, *the Sun of this and the other world) is the true sanctuarie of the Princes of the world, and the refuge of the Emperours of the present Age; there arriued your Maiesties Royall Letters, sent with your Embassadour, the honoured amongst the people of* Messias, *the esteemed and famous Lord, and your trusty Sir* Peter Wyche, *whose* I *end be happy. The intent whereof being by our honoured high Counsellors and Procurators declared and interpreted, and presented at our Imperiall Throne, wee haue entertained euerie particular affaire thereof into our perfect knowledge, and admitted the aforesaid Sir* Peter Wyche, *with your former Embassador Sir* Thomas Rowe, *to be conducted to our Imperiall Diuan, and with all acceptance, Royall curtesie, honour and gratitude, entertained and honoured; both of them being graced and renowned with hauing kissed our Imperiall Vest. The former we haue dispatched to your Maiestie with our Imperiall Letters, and his successor is setled in our blessed Port in charge of his Embassage; both of them be blessed, in regard they haue borne themselues loyally, and alwaies proceeded wisely, in all worthy and commendable* K *wise procuring the continuance of friendship, from both parts, and duely obseruing the Articles of our good Peace: The worthinesse of whom is deriued from your Maiesties most sincere affection; which is also the cause of the increase of our loue and respect. For as when the root of the tree is sound and nourishing, it bringeth forth good and perfect fruit, so the Seruants of gratious and wise Princes are alwaies discreet and prudent.*

The grand Signior remits the custom of English cloath.

The chiefe particular in your Maiesties letters intimated (and of which also your Embassador Sir Peter Wych *hath informed vs) is, That our Visier Bassa* Mustapha *being assigned to examine certaine grieuances in Natolia; ariuing in the parts of Smyrna, hath vniustly ta-* L *ken four thousand Dollars from your Consull. As soone as it arriued at our knowledge, That he had contrary to honourable Iustice, committed so vile an action, wee called him before our blessed throne, and to the example and discipline of others, chastised and gaue him his deserued punishment. For in this time of our blessed reign, it is not our Imperiall will that the least iniurie be committed, as in this particular it shall be manifested, and appear to reason.*

He hath further solicited with vs, That the custome appointed to be imposed vpon cloath, which from your Realme of England is brought into our Dominions, might be disclaimed: which we haue also granted, and whatsoeuer else is due to loue and friendship, or answerable M *to the termes of relation and commerce. From antient times to this we haue beene euer accustomed to obserue and honor those gratious Princes, that with sincere and loyall mindes haue shewn pure loue and affection to our renowned and Imperiall Throne; at whose requests wee*

are

A *are ready to imploy our ſublime care and attention, ſo that whilſt your Maieſtie ſhall continue in the direct way to be conſtant in loue and affection, our friendſhip ſhall certainly be, as it euer hath bin, firm and inviolable.*

Your Majeſty ſhall vnderſtand, That Haggi Caſſum *and* Coſmo, *Owners, inhabitants of our well fortified city of Conſtantinople (the Centre of our Empire) going in their Veſſell from Ligorne in Meßina, towards Malta, to redeeme certain Muſſulman Captiues, were incountred by an Engliſh Captain named* William Bundocke, *who boorded them, and tooke from them in mony, ſilkes, pieces of ordnance, with other goods and merchandiſes belonging to*
B *the ſhip, to the value of* 34000 *Dollars. Of which preſumptuous action (ſo contrary to our good peace and friendſhip) we being informed, haue thought it requiſite and neceſſary to acquaint your Maieſty, and haue therfore expreſſed it in theſe our Imperiall Letters, to the end that your Majeſty may cauſe the* 34000 *Dollars to be reſtored to the aforeſaid* Haggi Caſſum *and* Coſmo *the true Owners. Therefore it is neceſſary at the arriuall hereof, That in*
conformitie to the great loue and ſincere affection which your Majeſty beareth to our ſublime Port, your Majeſty cauſe the aforeſaid Captaine to reſtore the ſaid foure and thirty thouſand dollars to the iuſt owners, & that herafter the conditions and articles of peace and friendſhip
C *betweene vs contracted and obſerued, may be eſtabliſhed and kept inviolable; as on our part the aforeſaid articles and agreements of peace and friendſhip haue bin, and ſhall euer be continued: whereupon peace and good correſpondence ſhal not only increaſe and flouriſh euery day, but produce more good and profitable effects.*

To conclude, Your Maieſty knoweth that in no wiſe it is our conſent, That in the time of our Empire the leaſt iniury be done to any: and therfore if your Maieſty remain conſtant and firm in the friendſhip and ſinceritie profeſſed, and deſire we ſhould obſerue the good peace and correſpondence, your Majeſty will cauſe the ſaid Captaine to reſtore the full value of the money and goods to the wronged Owners; and puniſh the ſaid Captain, that hereafter none ſhal dare
D *to commit the like hoſtile action, ſo contrary to our good peace and friendſhip.*

Written in the middle of the moneth Rebiul Euel (which is November) in the yeare 1038; *which is* 1628.

Giuen in our well fortified and Imperiall City of Conſtantinople.

Vpon the receit of theſe Letters from the grand Signior, his majeſtie returned this anſwer
E following.

CHARLES, by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; the moſt puiſſant Defendor of the true Chriſtian Faith, &c.

F TO *the moſt high and mighty Emperour,* Sultan Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Muſſulman *Kingdome, ſole and ſupream Monarch of the Eaſtern Empire, &c. ſendeth Greeting.*

Right

1628. G

Right high, right excellent, and right mighty Emperour: By your Princely letters, of the tenth of Nouember 1628, *which came not to our hands vntill the month of June last, we haue vnderstood of the receipt of our Letters directed to your Majesty by our faithfull seruant Sir* Peter Wyche, *our Embassadour resident in your Imperiall Port at Constantinople, and with great and singular contentment haue taken notice of your Princely fauours, in the admittance of our said seruant and Embassador to your Imperiall presence, thereby expressing your firme and constant purpose to continue in strict amity with vs; which we do embrace with all Princely entertainement, and shall be ready* H *to performe all good offices which may conduce to the maintenance and preseruation of the same. In our said Letters we recommend vnto your royall Majesties iustice, That restitution and satisfaction might be made vnto our Merchants, trading in your Majesties Port at Constantinople, for Dollars,* 4000, *vnjustly, and with great oppression, extorted from our Consull resident in Smyrna, by* Mustapha Bassa, *vpon whom your Majesty writeth punishment hath been inflicted according to his deserts, but our Merchants haue receiued no satisfaction, as we expected out of your Princely justice they should haue had. And therefore they are againe become humble petitioners to our Majesty, to recommend their said complaint to your* I *Imperiall Majesty, desiring that justice may be done them accordingly. Whereof we shall not doubt, in as much as your Majesty maketh such royall expression of your desire and willingnesse to correspond in amity with vs. And whereas it hath pleased your Majesty, vpon the instance of our Embassador resident in your Imperiall Port, to take off the Narge vpon all such Cloath as shall be brought into your Dominions; therein your Majesty hath expressed your prudent respect to encourage our Merchants, for the inlargement of their trade into your Dominions, for the profit of both our Subjects, and the firme establishment of the loue, friendship, and good correspondency betweene our Kingdomes.*

And to testifie with how great and intire affection we desire to entertaine, and continue K *peace and friendship with your Imperiall Majesty, and as far as is possible and in our power to preuent occasions tending to the contrary, We haue caused that part of your highnesse Letter concerning the complaint made by* Haggi Cassum *and* Cosmo Orlando, *against* William Bundocke *our subject, That he should haue taken a ship belonging to the said* Haggi Cassum *and* Cosmo, *and taken out of her in mony, silks, artillery, and other goods belonging to the ship, to the value of* 34000 *Dollars, to be duely examined in our high Court of Admiralty, and by examination of the said* Bundocke, *and many others of his ships company, and some of the mariners belonging to the ship of* Cosmo, *taken vpon Oath: Thereby it appeareth, That he tooke not in mony and goods, aboue the value of* 8500 *Dollars, which we caused to be deposited immediately vpon the arriuall of the said* Bundocke, *in our Court of Admiralty, where there hath beene a Legall proceeding before our Judge. And for that our merchants trading in your majesties Dominions, vpon whose humble petition we caused the said mony and goods to be staied, had not receiued any authenticall Testimony, or Procura from the Proprietars of the said mony and goods; they wanted meanes to prosecute the suite, and in the meane time one* Almarigo Saluettey, *a subject of the Duke of Florence, hauing receiued a sufficient power and authenticke proofes from* Cosmo Orlando, *hath obtained sentence in our Court of Admiralty for all the said mony and goods, and is in possession of the same,* M *to the vse and behoofe of the said* Cosmo Orlando; *who being an inhabitant within your maiesties royall City of Constantinople, is subject by your majesties justice to be respondent to any others, which may pretend interest in the said mony and goods, and to that purpose our*

Embassador

A Embaſſador is fully inſtructed, and ſhall receiue authenticall Coppies of the whole proceedings in our Court of Admiralty, to whom your maieſty may pleaſe to giue credit. And as it will plainely appeare vnto your Princely maieſty, with what affection and readineſſe we haue expreſſed our care and princely attention to do iuſtice to all your ſubiects, and to entertaine and cheriſh all occaſions to teſtifie our ſincere loue and friendſhip, and to maintaine the termes of our good neighbourhood and correſpondency betweene vs. So if your maieſty ſhall deſire to maintaine and continue the ſaid peace and friendſhip together with vs, we ſhall expect from your highneſſe the like correſpondency of iuſtice to our Subiects. Aſſuring your maieſty it B ſhall be much diſpleaſing vnto vs, when any occaſion ſhall be offered by any our Subiects, to call in queſtion the antient friendſhip inuiolably on our parts continued, betweene our royall Progenitors and the mighty Monarchs of the Othoman Empire. And although we cannot doubt but that your maieſty with like affection and ſincerity, doth embrace our Princely loue and friendſhip; yet our Subiects trading in your highneſſe Dominions, haue lately made humble Petition vnto vs, lamenting their wrongs, and vnſufferable iniuries and damages done vnto them by your Miniſters and Officers in Aleppo, by impriſoning their Conſull, ſealing vp their Warehouſe-dores, and extorting from them 50000 Dollars in mony at the leaſt, no cauſe at all being giuen by our ſaid merchants, or any of them, the particulars where- C of, our Embaſſador is able to informe your maieſty at large, praying your maieſty to take into your Princely conſideration, that ſatisfaction may be giuen for ſo great an oppreſſion, and the Offenders puniſhed, as in iuſtice their offence ſhould deſerue. Conſidering how much it doth import vs in our Princely honour, to take care that our Subiects may be righted in their iuſt grieuances, and that it is alſo neceſſary, in conformity to the loue, and ſincere affection that your maieſty beareth to vs and our friendſhip, that our Subiects may be maintained in their peaceable trade, within your Dominions, and freed from exactions, extortions, and oppreſſions. And that all ſuch as ſhall agrieue them therewith, may be held as contem- D ners and violaters of the ſincere Peace and Amity betweene vs, and receiue puniſhment according to the offence of ſo high a nature. We haue alſo thought good to ſignifie vnto your maieſty, That whereas of late yeares, diuers of our Subiects haue letten out to fraight vnto the Venetians ſome of their ſhipping, both aſwell to, as from your maieſties Ports, and doe therby beare the Colours of the State of Venice, to the great diſhonour of our Perſon and Soueraigntie, contrary to the expreſſe command by vs giuen vnto our Subiects, and do alſo deny to pay vnto our Conſull, ſuch antient duties as hath beene vſuall, and accuſtomed, and belonging vnto vs, by our Capitulations, and Commandements from your maieſtie in that be- E halfe, pretending that your maieſtie hath of late giuen your royall command vnto the Venetian Embaſſador reſident in Conſtantinople, That they ſhall neither pay thoſe antient duties, nor beare our Flags in our owne ſhipping, whileſt they remaine in their ſeruice. The particulars whereof we ſhall referre to our Embaſſador, expecting that your maieſtie, both herein, and in all other cauſes of our Subiects iuſt complaints, will do nothing contrary to the Law of Nations, the diſhonour of our ſelfe, and the preiudice of the amity and friendſhip betweene vs, which on our part ſhall be kept inuiolable. And ſo we wiſh you health and true felicity.

1629.

Giuen at our Royall Honour of Hampton Court, the ele- F uenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1629, and of our reigne of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the fifth.

The

1629. The grand Signior after much debating in counſell, made prouiſion to renew his War in Perſia, as the only deſigne of honor and conſequence. For though the Turkiſh Empire, ingaged in many troubles, required a judicious and more than common prouidence to keepe it vpright where ſo many dangers attempted it, and bearing more ſhew of declination now than euer; yet the diſgrace of *Halil Baſſa's* retyring from Arzirum, and the loſſe of the treaſure and munition there, ſo much inflamed the new choſen Vizier *Huſſeruph Baſſa*, that he minded nothing but a vindication vpon the Perſian. Neither did it want a ground of policie; for had he not declared himſelf ready to attempt ſomthing that way, there was appearance he might haue ſhared in *Halil Baſſa's* puniſhment, which was diſplacing from his great authority of Vizier: which notwithſtanding to *Halil* might not iuſtly be imputed a diſgrace, ſince the fault that drew on this puniſhment might not be want of vertue but fortune.

Huſſeruph Baſſa now great Vizier, hauing made prouiſion the year before, and all things being now in readineſſe, paſſed ouer with the army into the plains of Scutari on Aſia ſide, vpon the 27 of May, 1629; where he remained fourteene daies, and then proceeded in his march towards Babylon. In the mean time the Captaine Baſſa went forth with the gallies into the Mediterranian; where after many incounters by the way to Rhodes, whilſt he remained there in harbor, he ſent *Huſſein* the Sangerbegh of Lemnos with ſome veſſels to diſcouer the Enemies coaſts. Where *Huſſein* incountring with a veſſel of Genoa laden with ſpices, made prize of it, and hauing manned it with twelue Turks, ſent it toward the port. By the way a ſhip of London called the Golden Cocke, of which *Iohn Barker* was maſter, meeting with this Sattia, again repriſed her, and caried her away to Zant. Vpon which the Captaine Baſſa ſent his complaint to the Engliſh Embaſſador, to his great diſturbance, and almoſt a danger of deſtroying all Engliſh trade in the Leuant. For the Captain Baſſa preſently to reuenge & command reſtitution, cauſed an Engliſh ſhip called the Rainbow to be detained and carried into the Port of Scio. Which ſhip by the Embaſſadors endeauors, and the expence of ſome money, being releaſed, was vpon a new aggrauation of the former complaint againe detained: which drew new troubles vpon the Embaſſadour, that could not end in a ſucceſſe, vntill the grand Signior had diſpatched his letters of complaint to his Maieſty of England, drawne from the articles and capitulations of peace concluded vpon, and on the Engliſh part in this particular violated. Which letters had this form following.

The Grand Signiors Letter to his Majeſty of Great Britaine.

TO the glorious amongſt the greateſt Maieſties of Chriſtian Princes, and reuerenced amongſt the great Potentates of the people of the Meſſias, *ſole Director of the eminent occurrences of the Nation of the Nazarits, and true Lord of the habit of Honour and Grace, and Patron of the appearances of Greatneſſe and Glory,* CHARLES *King of England; whoſe laſt days we pray almighty God may end in goodneſſe: Vnto whoſe Royal preſence ſhall be made known by our high and Imperiall Form,*

WHereas from antient time vntill this preſent, the termes of good correſpondence haue alwaies bin obſerued with the happy Port and our Imperiall Houſe, and that the ſtipulated conditions of the Peace and amitie between vs, haue bin kept and obſerued, and that alwaies your Merchants that goe to trade by ſea, and your ſubiects ſhips which come to our bright Port, meeting at ſea with the Turkiſh ſhips and others, they haue not done them any moleſtation or damage; your ſaid ſhips comming and going alwaies in theſe parts with all friendly tearmes, and likewiſe there not being committed by our ſubiects any action or thing contrary to our Imperial Couenant giuen, nor proceeded againſt the conditions of our good Peace, which hath bin euer obſerued by vs in the year paſt: The Sanderbegh of Lemnos, the worſhipful among

A mong the noble Captaines, called Hussein Begh, he being charged by our Imperiall Command, to go and inquire news from the coast and enemies parts, and to get some knowledge of their fortunat actions; being ariued with his Galley neer vnto the said Enemies country, hee hath met with a pinnace of the Enemies which came from the parts of the Indies, laden with pepper, Cinnamon, Sugar, and other Indian commodities; and the men in the same seeing the said Captaine, and not being able to resist him, fled on shore and left the Pinnace empty. The said Captain took her, and made it his prize, and put twelue Turkish men of his into her, without taking any the least thing out of her, and so sent and directed her thus vntoyled, vnto our happy Port; and afterwards he returned to performe the seruice committed to his charge, to inquire after newes. Which twelue Turks conducting and bringing hither the said Prize, beeing arriued neer the Isle of Zant, subiect to the Venetians, an English ship called the Golden Cocke, of which Iohn B Barker was Master, incountred with her, and going vpon her, tooke all the Turks which were in the sayd Pinnace, into his ship, and examined them. They hauing told him the truth of the successe and case iust as it is before related, he permitted ten of them to go away, and with great vexation gaue the torture t o the two remaining; telling them, That they must say the said Pinnace was a prize taken from them of Algier, or otherwise he would cause them to be slain. Which vntruth the two men would not consent to say, but related the same to him in the manner aforesaid. Neuerthelesse he would not beleeue them, but tooke the said Pinnace vniustly out of their hands, and brought her to Zant, and caused to be emptied out of her into his own ship, all the wares and merchandises which were found in her, which goods amounted to 80000 Dollars. And after that, the said Captaine by his Letter to our high Port certified, That the said Master afterwards sold the said Pinnace in the said place of Zant. There came also one of those two that had been C tortured by him, and did tell and relate it all: and there being at that instant one of your Gallions detained here at our happy Port, and that on the behalfe our sea Generall, there were letters written and sent to the Gouernor of Zant, to the end that the said pinnace might be recouered out of his hand; there comming a letter and answer from the said Gouernor of Zant, That before the said letters were arriued, the said ship-master had already emptied all the goods of the said Pinnace into his owne ship, and had sold the said pinnace, and with great speed was departed for England. And this beeing intimated to our Imperiall presence, such deeds of the said ship-master being a thing proceeding much against the good peace and couenants, our Imperiall command was giuen, That your said Gallion should not be permitted to depart. But there being a new petition made to our Imperiall Throne by our aforesaid sea Generall, That your Embassador now here in our happy port prayed, that your aforesaid Gallion might be set at libertie, and that hee D would see the goods and merchandises recouered, that were vniustly taken out of the said Pinnace: We accepted of the petition and request of your said Embassador, and of the surety giuen to our sea Generall, That the ship-master who committed such an act so contrary to our good friendship, shall be punished and chastised, and that all the goods and merchandises which were taken out of the said Pinnace, shall be sent back to our high Port: We gaue our Imperiall command, That your said Gallion should be permitted to depart in manner. Because your Maiesty should be pleased not to consent, that any action be committed by any one, contrary to the same our good peace, we haue writ and sent vnto you this our present Imperial letter; at the arriuall whereof it is required, That according to the sincere friendship and louing affection which your Majesty beareth vnto vs, and vnto our happy House, you would vse your benigne care and fauour in this particular businesse, and to giue order that the said ship-master may be found, who hath violated the E couenants of the good peace contracted between vs; and to do so, that all the goods and merchandises may be wholly recouered, or the monies for the same, which were leuied and taken out of the said Pinnace, and that all of it may be consigned und sent hither to our high Port: and that such deserued punishment and chastisement may be inflicted vpon the said ship-master, who hath bin bold with such indignation to interrupt and cause the disturbance of the good friendship betweene vs, which now for so long time hath beene prosperously aduanced; that he may serue for an euident example, and a good lesson for after ages, that in time to come, not any one in the least maner whatsoeuer, may haue any more inclination, or bee disposed to preiudice our good peace. Finally, Since on our part and our Captains that go to sea, there is not any molestation or wrong done to any the ships or merchants your subiects, but that they go and come safely and securely into our Dominions, and the articles of the good peace and amitie between vs are punctually by vs obserued; it is euident and clear, that such vnreasonable and euill deeds committed by your subiects, shall F neuer be praised or admitted by wise persons. Therefore we remain confident, that your Maiesty will not only shew your loue herein, and not in any maner permit any conditions that shall tend to the preiudice of the good foundation of our said good peace and best correspondence, but also according to our Imperiall desire, will make, that all the aforesaid goods taken out of the said pinnace shall be wholly recouered from the

1629.

1629. *ſaid Shipmaſter, and that the ſame be ſent with the firſt vnto our high Port, aſſuring your ſelfe that by giuing him his due puniſhment, your Majeſty will manifeſt and ſhew your ſincere loue and affection that you haue vnto our high Port. And ſo we reſt, expecting that you will aduiſe vs with the firſt to haue effected it all.* G

Written in the Moneth of December 1629.

The Captaine Baſſa all this while practiſed according to his inclination, with Turkiſh violence and liberty in any vſe of occaſion, according to *Menander* (though I preſume the Captaines learning deriued it not thence) καιρος ισχυει των νομων μαλλον: Occaſion is more powerfull than Lawes. So that whatſoeuer he did, though vnjuſt, his pretences excuſed and gloſſed with a ſhew of lawfulneſſe; vntill his Majeſty of England returned a ſatisfaction to the Grand Signior by his Letters royall, wherein the puniſhment of *Barker* by impriſonment was notified, together with his Majeſties command for reſtitution (which was accordingly performed by the Embaſſador, notwithſtanding, ſome practiſes of the Venetian *Baylo*, who argued to deale vnderhand, and thereby obtaine ſome pretences of his owne, which the Embaſſador conceiued might be prejudiciall to his Majeſties juſtice) ſetled all theſe diſquiets by a releaſe from the Grand Signior. The forme of which releaſe, followeth his Majeſties Letter. H

I

CHARLES, by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the moſt puiſſant Defendor of the true Chriſtian Faith.

TO the moſt high and mighty Emperor, Sultan Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Muſſulman *Kingdome, ſole and ſupreme Monarch of the Eaſterne Empire, ſendeth Greeting.* K

RIght high, right excellent, and right Mighty Emperor, There are now fifty yeares paſt, ſince a friendly correſpondency of peace and amity hath been contracted and continued betweene the Imperiall Othoman *Family, and our Regall State, and is now without intermiſſion deſcended to the preſent time of your Imperiall Majeſty, and our Royall Selfe; which the eternall God continue with length of yeares and all other felicities.*

Now foraſmuch as it is impoſsible that friendſhip betweene States ſo diſtant and remote, ſhould continue ſincere, without caſuall and vnpreuentable miſunderſtandings, vnleſſe there were vſed the interceſſion of interuenient Miniſters for negotiations; We for our parts in proſecution of the laudable proceedings of our Royall Progenitors haue continued our honourable Embaſſadors at your Royall Port, where at this preſent is reſiding for vs our noble Seruant Sir Peter Wyche, *Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our priuy Chamber, being the eighth in number that hath ſucceſſiuely reſided for that purpoſe; whoſe mediations vpon all requiſite occaſions, as they haue beene heretofore, ſo wee haue expected, and do yet hope, that no occurrence, howſoeuer repreſented by ill affected Miniſters, ſhall diſappoint the expectation of ſucceſſefull iſſue of ſo neceſſary a meanes for continuance of peace and friendſhip. Yet we know not how it comes to paſſe, but of late time, wee finde that neither the preſence of our ſaid Embaſſador at your Port, nor other our publike Miniſters elſewhere reſiding in your Dominions, can preuaile to accommodate diſpatches for our honour, nor defend and keepe in ſafety the Perſons, and States of our Subjects the Merchants, from the injuſtice of your ſubordinate Gouernors, but that vpon euery falſe pretence and ſuggeſtion, they are ſo wrongfully troubled, and heauily oppreſſed, that beſides many great and important ſums of mony lately extorted from them, they haue beene generally expoſed to the fury of ſuch, as haue both diſturbed them in the proſecution of their trade, and endangered their liues and perſons.* L M

And

A *And whereas vpon former complaints of our said Subjects, we addressed our Princely Letters of the eleuenth of October last, to your Majesty, thereby representing sundry great and vnsufferable injuries and oppressions imposed vpon them by your Ministers, wherein we no way doubt, but vpon receit of our said Letters, your Majesty in your Princely justice will afford to our said Subjects such reliefe and reparation in their grieuances, as may stand with the league of amity and good correspondency so long and happily continued betweene vs, our kingdomes, and people, and we to settle some effectuall order for the peaceable and quiet trading of our subjects in your Dominions, as they may haue no further cause of lament vnto vs, nor we of representing the same vnto your Imperiall Majesty.* 1629.

Since which time, vpon seuerall and great complaints of our Subjects, we could do no lesse out of the true sence of our owne honour, and justice to our Subjects, than to represent the same by these our second
B *Letters to your Imperiall Majesty, thereby signifying the wrong and damage done them by your Captain Bassa in detayning one of their great Ships, bound for your Imperiall Port; vpon pretence that one* Barker, *a Subject of ours had taken a Sattie pretended to be formerly taken by* Huzein Begh, *Captaine of a Gally belonging to Corone: Herein as we are tender that our Subjects should not suffer vnjustly, so shall it alwaies be our Princely care that they neither offer nor doe wrong to the Subjects of any Prince in amity with vs. And therefore we haue giuen especiall order, That the said businesse be duly examined, and when the truth thereof shall be made manifest, then we shall proceed therein, as may be agreeable to justice, and the mutuall amity betweene your Majesty and Vs; meane while, we haue caused the said* Barker *to be imprisoned, and his person secured to answer the said fact. And because it cannot otherwise fall out during our warre with the King of Spaine, who is likewise in war with your Imperiall Ma-*
C *jesty, but that Ships of our Subjects which by vertue of our Commission, make prizes of such as assist that King with armes or any kinde of munition, or such Ships as are laden with Spanish goods, and for that purpose frequenting the Seas, as well within the Streits as without, may happily vnder that pretence commit some acts which may be offensiue to your Majesty. We in regard thereof, haue of late daies forbidden, and from henceforth do expressely forbid all our Subjects, (Merchants only excepted) to enter with their Shipping within the Steights: whereby may appeare our former intention, to liue in peace and good correspondency with your Majesty.*

And further, we do likewise represent vnto your Majesty a great and insupportable injury of a high nature, done vnto our Merchants by your great Officers at Aleppo; who giuing eare to an vnjust complaint against our people, for a fact done by Sardinians, subjects to the King of Spaine, vpon your Ma-
D *jesties Subjects of Arsoes, and not admitting of any plea or proofe, produced on the behalfe of our Merchants to the contrary, did after many vnsufferable indignities, offered to the person of our publike Minister the Consull, to the great dishonour of Vs, and our Nation, most injuriously, and directly contrary to the Capitulations, imprison our said Subject in a loathsome dungeon for many daies, threatning to take away his life, with the liues of others of our People, to make slaues of the residue, and make seisure of their estates, caused his Druggerman in most bloudy manner to be murthered; and in conclusion, before he could be released, there was great sums of mony extorted from our said Subjects.*

The former vnsufferable injuries (of which as yet we heare not of any satisfaction) and these last intollerable oppressions, all done vpon our Merchants and Subjects, are most displeasing vnto Vs, and we cannot in respect of our own honour, and care of the safety and protection of our said Subjects, passe them
E *ouer without due consideration, and representation to your Imperiall Majesty.*

We do therefore hereby demand, and shall expect by your highnesse Princely order, such ample satisfaction in euery particular, as vnto justice appertaineth, to the end we may as our Predecessors haue formerly done, hold all good correspondency with your highnesse, in maintaining an Embassador our publike representant in your Port, and incouraging our Merchants to continue their trade into your Dominions; which otherwise, neither the respect of honour to our selfe, or profit to our Subjects, will suffer Vs to doe. And for the better satisfying of all complaints and setling of differences, We haue expressely imployed our trusty and welbeloued Seruant Iohn Wandesford *Esquire, vnto your Princely Port vpon this occasion, whom we haue addressed to our Embassador Sir* Peter Wyche *there resident, to be presented to your Imperiall Majesty, with order and instructions to them both more amply, to acquaint your Majesty*
F *with all occasions of complaints and differences, praying your majesty to giue them audience and credence, and to establish some such effectuall order, for the behoofe of our Subjects in the quiet prosecution of their trade in your Dominions for the time to come, as may be agreeable to your high and Princely justice, and the good correspondency continued betweene vs. Giuen at our Royall Pallace of Whitehall, the 21 day of February. An. Dom. 1629, in the fifth yeare of our Reigne, of England, &c.*

1629.

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majesty of Great Britaine.

TO the glorious amongst the famous Princes of IESVS, *honoured among the great Potentates of the people of* Messiah, *Composer of the affaires of the Nazaren Nation, Lord of Honour and Grace, Possessor of Greatnesse and Glory;* CHARLES *King of England, whose end be in happinesse.*

AT the report of this our sublime and noble Seale be it knowne, That heretofore the Vizier Hassan Bassa, *when he was my Generall by sea, hauing declared to our happie Port, That sending the Begh of the Iland of Lemnos, called* Hussein Begh, *towards the Enemies coasts, to take information, and he with his Gally going in pursuit thereof, meeting with a Sattia of the Enemies, laden with Sugar, spicerie, and other Indian commodities, tooke her, and put into her some of his owne men, and sent her towards our most glorious Port: Which in the way comming neere vnto the Island of Zant, was met by* Iohn Barker *Master of the ship called the* Golden Cocke, *and by him taken, and the men that were therein put on land, and he lading the said goods and merchandises in his owne ship, hauing sold the Sattia in the said Island, sailed thence for England. Which act being altogether contrarie to the due termes of peace, friendship, and confederation made betweene vs, was then by vs aduised to your Maiestie by our Imperiall letters; requiring that the authors of such vnworthy action might be punished, and the goods of the said Sattia so taken, might bee recouered and sent to our Imperiall Port. Whereof notice beeing giuen to the most honourable amongst the Christian Lords, Sir* Peter Wyche *your Embassadour, President in our sublime Port, That when our Letter should come vnto you, and that you should vnderstand our Roiall meaning herein, your Majestie in contemplation of the great affection and loue which wee beare vnto you, when the said Master should arriue in your Dominions, would giue order that hee might presently be layd hold on, and for his transgression committed in an action so contrarie to our correspondence and friendship, be seuerely punished, and all diligence vsed for the recouerie of the said goods and merchandises so vniustly taken.*

Now forasmuch as all the said goods and merchandises by the said Iohn Barker *taken out of the said Sattia is recouered, as also the value of the said Sattia, and all intirely arriued at our Imperiall Port, and the same deliuered into our roiall Treasurie by the hands of the sayd Embassadour; and that of the particularities of the said goods and Sattia, there resteth no further pretence or demand against the said* Barker, *hauing receiued for the same an entire and full satisfaction; we haue written and sent you this our most affectionat Letter: The tenor whereof being declared vnto you, it is conuenient, that as your Majestie hath bin pleased to demonstrate in this particular your great loue and sinceritie which you beare vnto our happie Port; so in time to come, in all other our occasions, in contemplation of the good amitie and correspondence betweene vs, you will alwaies yeeld your most noble attention and fauour. For by the grace of the most high God, for our part, the most requisit tearms of our friendship shall be alwaies most readily obserued, and for whatsoeuer shall concern the conseruation of our sincere peace and correspondence, you shall alwaies see our exquisit diligence for the augmentation*

A *tation thereof; applying our desire and Imperiall deuotion to reserue a most affectionate regard to your Majestie. In this particular of the Prize, the Bailo of Venice hath made some small motion, pretending that the lading of the said Prize did belong to Venetian Merchants, and therefore demanded of vs authentique writing, that the goods be consigned vnto them: but in regard that his said pretence was vain and vniust, it was not regarded, neither was there giuen vnto him any such writing, neither were we pleased with his said vnreasonable demands. Therefore in conclusion, all the monie for the value of the said goods and merchandises, as also of the said Sattia, is by your Embassador Sir* Peter Wyche *fully and intirely de-*
B *liuered vnto vs, and all entred in our Imperiall Treasurie, and we rest fully satisfied. For which particular there remaines no further pretence against the said* Iohn Barker: *And so much be known vnto you.*

Written the first day of the moneth called *Ramazan*, in the year 1041.

In the Imperiall city of Constantinople.

C The grand Vizier in October, following his first entrance on the design for Persia, after ma- 1630.
ny vsuall accidents of War, interruptions in his march, and so strong a resistance of his siege to the losse of the third part of his army, together with the approch of Winter (the common hinderer of the Turkes proceedings, as greatest enemy to their constitutions) hee withdrew his forces, and returning by the way of Aleppo, remained there some time to practise his tyrannies. Which had these grounds of policie: The Turks being men that conclude all actions from the successe, and thence allow them merit, grew into some suspition of the great Vizier; besides, their depredations being sometimes hindered by the enemies, other times recouered with the losse of some liues, most of their souldiers returned home poorer than they went forth; a strong motiue to a mutiny. To preuent which, and to keep his scattered troups
D in some order, as also to hinder the Persians further attempts, at Aleppo he vsed a tyranicall seueritie against all Nations during his stay there; the end of which was exaction onely of fines vpon his iudgements, which past vpon euery complaint, iust or vniust, which either malice or couetousnesse could beget vpon inuention; which soon became pregnant vpon obseruance of the grand Viziers disposition. With these exactions he inriched himself, appeased the muttering of his soldiers, and made himselfe popular: and the aspersion thrown vpon his valour, was presently lost in the opinion conceiued of his justice. The English Merchants felt more of this storme than any other nation; for the businesses before declared being reviued, pretences were soon found to imprison the English Consul there, and for the more terror to hang his Druggerman. An insolencie much distastefull to the Embassadour, who not-
E withstanding as yet found not conueniencie for a complaint; the Viziers greatnes and fauor with the grand Signior bearing him out in all his actions.

The Captaine Bassa returning from the Blacke sea, after a dispute vpon his proceedings (some of which wanted a cleare iustification) was dismissed his place vpon the fourteenth of October; and another assigned to it, who was Master of the grand Signiors horse, a man of great esteeme, and reputed for a very good Turke, how rare soeuer it be. For Turkes (as Topographers obserued the Carthaginians to be perfidious *Naturâ loci*) are noted by Historians to be vitious for the most part, *Naturâ populi*.

The great Vizier could now no longer conceal his ill successe before Bagdat, but that it arriued at the Port, and caused the grand Signior to suspect him. For the Vizier had a long
F time by his Instruments filled euery place (especially those remote) with reports of a prosperous proceeding; which multiplied at length to a rumour of certaine victorie. The contrarie of which appearing, his displacing was determined, and the aduancement of the new Captaine Bassa vnto it. Of which the Vizier receiuing a priuate information, strengthened himselfe in Mosul, and hauing won to him the hearts of the Ianizaries, resolued to refuse a

surrender

1630. ſurrender of his authority. Whereupon a new Viſier *Halis Achmat Baſſa* was made; an old man of a pettiſh froward diſpoſition, and very couetous: who was commanded to prepare anew for the war of Perſia, and to be ſetting forward the next Spring. In the meane time, the old Captaine Baſſa was employed in Græcia to raiſe forces and ſend them away for Perſia: which proceeding, his death from ſickeneſſe hindred: an end vnuſuall for great perſons employed in that State, of whoſe leaſt action the State could be jealous. G

The French Embaſſador receiued this yeare a great afront, vpon occaſion of complaints by Turks that were taken by ſome French Ships, and carried to Malta. He appearing before the Chimacham to cleere the buſineſſe, was found ſo weake in his defences, that he was diſmiſſed without any reſpect, and his Druggerman impriſoned before his face in the Baſſa's houſe. On the laſt of September, a French ſhip from Marſeellis arriued at the Port, wherein came a new French Embaſſador, his inſtructions and buſineſſe of the ſame nature and conſequence as formerly were renewed. H

The new Captaine Baſſa made the entrance into his authority with an acceptable preſent; returning to the Port with foure ſhips taken in the Archipelago, three ſmall French ſhips, and one Sauoyard: hauing receiued vſuall coſtomes from all other ſhips he met, according to their ſeuerall values and conditions.

The old Viſier being diſplaced (who was yet abroad with the ſouldiers) there was publiſhed a ceſſation of the war with Perſia for two yeares. Which though really it proceeded from feare in the Grand Signior, yet was it interpreted, to ſaue his honour, a policy: for the ſouldiers by this ceſſation, hauing leaue and order to depart, and returne euery man to his owne home, and place of repoſe, they would be pacified from muttering, and be ſeuered the more eaſily from the late Viſier, if the diſgrace throwne vpon him ſhould exaſperate his high ſpirit to be obſtinate and factious. I

This politicke intention found a contrary end; for after the diſplacing of the great Viſier *Huſſeruph Baſſa*, (who had won the affection of the ſoldiery in generall) a diſcontent began to appeare and breake out amongſt them, and the more, in that they conceiued a diſtaſte againſt the placing of *Haſſis Achmat Baſſa* in that office; a man for his want of liberality towards them in great contempt and hatred. For though couetouſnes in Turks is a vice almoſt neceſſited, yet the ſouldiers finde the differences in their ſeuerall Generals, ſome being ſweet by diſpoſition, others for State ends. But this *Haſſis Achmat Baſſa* was the moſt noted with that marke of infamy, which (according to *Sophocles*) includes in it ſelfe all ſorts of barbariſme. K

This Viſier, endeauouring by many practiſes ſuting with his owne nature (which neither danger nor any thing elſe could alter) to pacifie the muttering of the ſouldiers conceiued, he had laboured effectually, and perfected the way of his owne quiet proceedings. But it hapned otherwiſe: for three daies after, as in this confidence he was riding to the Diuan, diuers Ianizaries and Spahies joyning themſelues ſuddenly together, tooke head towards the Seraglio, where they ſurpriſed him in the firſt yard, and ſtoned him from his horſe: which brunt for the preſent he eſcaped, by the help of ſome Miniſters getting into the Seraglio where the Grand Signior then was. Which notwithſtanding, proued no ſanctuary to the great Viſier, for the ſouldiers proſecuted their ſedition ſo violently, that the Grand Signior was compelled to appeare in perſon before the multitude, preſuming ſo, *Regere dictis animos & pectora mulcere*; queſtioning the cauſe of their inſurrection: which the ſouldiers would neither anſwer, nor receiue any other ſatisfaction from the Grand Segnior to pacifie them, but a deliuery of *Haſſis Achmat Baſſa* into their hands. Who being expoſed by the Grand Signior to their fury (which was the beſt ſecurity the Grand Signior himſelfe could at that ſuddaine make vſe of for his owne ſafety) was preſently by the ſouldiers, without any regard to his age or dignity, euen before the Grand Signiors face moſt barbarouſly torne in pieces. Which ſpectacle reuiued in the memory of the Grand Signior (who then likewiſe found himſelfe at the mercy of the tumult) the manner of the death of his brothe *Oſman*, no way differing from this but only in the difference of the perſon. L M

After their furies had thus ſacrificed the Viſier, the ſouldiers began for the preſent to be a little quiet: but the next morning the torrent of their violence increaſed, and rouled them headlong with more dangerous cateracts of inſolency; for entring the Seraglio in a diſordred

A dered tumult, they brought new feares vpon the Grand Signior, by demanding him in per- 1630.
son to deliuer them likewise the Mufty and the Tefterdar with many other persons in office:
but at the great instance of the Grand Signior, and in a manner submissiue intreaty made to
them, the souldiers mitigated their intended punishment (for the multitude would haue all
their acts called justice) which was death, and desired onely a displacing of those officers;
which through feare of a worse progression in their vnruly course, was presently effected:
which together with putting into the office of great Visier the late Chimacham *Regeb Bassa*,
againe quieted the storme for the present; the souldiers amongst themselues proposing a
condition, That *Regeb* should hold the place of Visier no longer, but till the returne of *Hus-*
reph Bassa, though himselfe and some others hoped it for longer continuance.

B These stormes had now a shew of being calmed, and gaue some liberty to the Grand Sig-
nior for consideration: in which, his reuenge vpon such insolencies guided him to circum-
stances, that concluded *Husreph Bassa* to be the onely instigator of the souldiers to these at-
tempts: the first was his disgrace by being displaced from his office of great Visier, which
might exasperate him, and pricke forward his discontent to such actions, as might aduan-
tage his desire of proceeding to a vindication of his lost honours: another was the opinion
he had amongst the souldiers, to which he had won them by his liberality, and distribution
of those exactions he had practised in Asia: a third was his keeping out vnder pretence of
prouiding for the next Summers war; all which interpreted and wrested to the worst sence,
confirmed the Grand Signior in a resolution for his death. For which *Morteza Bassa* had se-
C cret instructions, that whereseuer he was found, he should be strangled, and his head sent
with all priuacy to the Grand Signior. This command did not long want execution, but
that within few daies after at a place called Tocat, in the Prouince of Amasia on the Asian
side, *Husreph Bassa* yeelded to that fate, against which (though his policy and prouidence were
great) he had not the power of preuention.

This act could not be so closely carried, but that the next day after his head was presen-
ted to the Grand Signior, the Spahies and Ianizaries arriuing from suspition to knowledge
of it, suddenly made vp their many headed monster, full of resolues to take reuenge vpon eue-
ry one that had beene directly or indirectly a mouer in this businesse of the death of their
beloued *Husreph*. Their fury first guided them to the house of the present Visier *Regeb Bassa*,
D where rudely entring, they demanded cause, why *Husreph* was put to death, and who were the
Grand Signiors counsellors to such an worthy fact, towards a man that had so well deserued
of the Grand Signior, and his State; that he had beene the protector of their liberties, and
scourge of their enemies, as it were flattering his memory with many attributes of praise.
To which the Visier *Regeb Bassa* made answer with protestation, that he was wholly ignorant
therof, it being contriued and resolued vpon at such time as he was out of place. Wherupon
the souldiers compelled him to go with them to the Seraglio where the Grand Signior was
that by him they might receiue some satisfying answer, & a grant of leaue to execute justice
vpon the homicides. When they were entred into the first yard of the Seraglio, out of a re-
spect to their King they staied there, sending in *Regeb Bassa* to expostulate the businesse with
E him: who enforced through feare to be their vnwilling agent, did accordingly, and returning
to them somwhat late in the euening, after declarations of the Grand Signiors promises to
satisfie them in all that they demanded, his persuasiue Oratory preuailed for that time, and
won them to withdraw themselues; till the next morning taking head againe, they compel-
led *Regeb Bassa* as before to be their speaker: who yeelding to necessity (which *Valerius* calls,
humanæ imbecilitatis efficasissimum duramentum) seemed to the jealousie of the State, a ring-lea-
der of this seditious faction.

By this time the multitude had fallen vpon new pretences, and from a grounded suspition
of the Aga of the Ianizaries, (who at their first rising by conueying himselfe away had be-
traied some guiltinesse) as also of the late Mufti and Tefterdar, together with an inward ser-
F uant of the Grand Signiors, whose accusation was grounded only vpon the great grace and
fauour he had with the Grand Signior (a misery that no court-minion could euer shun) they
gaue instructions to *Regeb*, that their persons should be demanded of the Grand Signior, who
fearing his own danger (that had now no preuention but the satisfying & appeasing of the tu-
multuant soldiers) answered the demand with protestation, that they were not in his custody.

Where-

1629. Whereupon a new and ſudden rumor paſt amongſt them, that the Grand Signior had murde- G
red his three younger brothers: this kindled a new flame of rage that could not bee quenche
but by preſenting the three brethren before them; which for that night quieted their diſor-
ders.

The next morning they had an early conuention, before the houſe of the great Vizier *Regeb Baſſa*; where after he had a long time endeauoured to pacifie them by his eloquence (a gift he had) but whether he moſt vſed it *ad hominum ſalutem & conſeruationem*, or *ad bonorum peſtem & perniciem* (both which according to *Cicero* may be the vſe or abuſe of eloquence) is much to be doubted, their fury began to attempt farther; to preuent which he preſently deliuered into their hands the fauorite ſeruant, ſent to him the night before: Vpon him they acted a ſecond Scene of their Tragedie, tearing him in pieces as they had formerly the Great Vizier H
Halis Achmat Baſſa. But the day being as yet not halfe ſpent, this was no abſolute pacification; neither had the Vizier or the Grand Signior a power ſufficient for their ſuppreſſion; but that in this height of rage, enforcing againe *Regeb Baſſa* to be their Oratour, they entred the Seraglio: where after ſome expectation they receiued by *Regeb* an anſwer like the former, and no more ſatisfying; notwithſtanding diuers the chiefe Officers endeauoured to appeaſe them, by taking their oathes vpon the Alchoran, That they ſaw the Grand Signior lay his hand vpon the Booke, ſwearing there ſhould be contentment giuen them in whatſoeuer they demanded. They were prompted now to a new ſuſpition, That the Grand Signior the night before had cauſed his three brethren to be made away, after they had been preſented to the ſoldiers. This emboldened them to an inſolence that had ſcarce an example: for no reſiſtance had power to I
repell them from entring the Grand Signiors chamber: vpon which his feares expreſt themſelues, and as *Virgill* ſaid of *Turnus* when the fury appeared to him,

Illi membra nouus ſolvit formidine torpor.
Arrectæque horrore comæ & vox faucibus hæſit.

Which include this ſenſe:

A new amazement made his limbes to ſhake;
His haire ſtood vp, and words his mouth forſake. K

So this ſudden feare proceeding from the apprehenſion of an apparant danger, and preſenting to him anew the manner of his brother *Oſmans* death, expreſſed it ſelfe in a trembling and long ſilence. But as there is in Majeſtie a certaine ſecret vertue that commands ſubiects and awes their actions and attempts by a hidden working, ſo here it begot a rare effect. For no ſooner had the ſouldiers beheld their King; but his preſence woon them to the practiſe of their wonted reuerence, and ſuffered them only to lament the death of *Huſſeruph Baſſa* their loued Generall, finiſhing it with a complaint, That the King would ſo weakly yeeld to the counſels of them that contriued and perpetrated ſuch an euill as his death: deſiring withall, that they might again ſee the three brothers of the grand Signior: for that rumor, (on which the Vul- L
gar feed eagerly, and

—— è minimo ſua per veſtigia creſcit)

had poſſeſt them with a ſuſpition they were made away. The grand Signior finding himſelf diſtreſſed, and in ſuch a ſtreit, ſuffered himſelfe to be humbled ſo farre by his fears, that hee gaue way to all their motions, and ſending for his three brethren preſented them to the ſouldiers. Who ſeeing them, bleſſed them with great acclamations, recommending them to the grand Signiors fauour: but with a peremptorie charge to the chiefe Officers and Miniſters about them (euen before the Kings face) to be carefull of the yong Princes ſafety; for if they M
miſcarried, the ſoldiers threatned to require their liues from thoſe officers.

The ruggedneſſe of this ſtorm began now to be taken off, eſpecially by the grand Signiors command for finding out the Aga of the Ianizaries, and the Teſterdar; with rewards propoſed to the diligent executers of thoſe Commands. So that the next morning following, the

Aga

A Aga being discouered, was by order from the grand Signior deliuered into the hands of the Souldiers; who presently tore him in pieces, and hanged vp diuers parts of his limbs in seuerall places of the city. His death was the catastrophe of this tragedie, which had few spectators more than the actors themselues; for all men, especially strangers, were inforced to secure themselues as wel as they could within their own houses, till the violence of the storm being quite ouer, and a serene skie of peace and order appearing, they might without danger attend their seuerall occasions.

This mutinie left behind it the dregs of many euills, that poisoned the State, and made it breake out into many dangerous impostumes: which seueritie of reuenge on the grand Signiors part, for the losse of his officers and fauorit, durst not venture on to cure by violent in-
B cision, nor the policie of Counsellors practise vpon, by the digestion or purging of peccant humours. For if the grand Signior had anew prouoked the souldiers by punishment, hee had brought vpon himself and the Empire an ineuitable danger: for the soldiers were now grown perfect in the Tenent, *Populus consentiens regnum dat & aufert*; and if the counsell had preuailed, That *Morteſa Baſſa* (because the death of *Huſſeruph Baſſa* being the ground of the mutiny, there could be no perfecter quieting of the mutiniers, than the full reuenge of his death vpon the instruments of his death, the chiefe wherof was *Morteſa Baſſa*) should be deliuered vp to the souldiers; he being a gallant braue fellow, and in charge of General vpon the borders of Persia, would rather haue turned rebell to the grand Signior, and been a scourge to the souldiers, than yeelded vp himselfe a sacrifice to their fury; either of which would haue brought
C the State into a new disorder, and consequently into a new danger of subuersion: For,

Ordine ſeruato, mundus ſeruatur, at illo
Neglecto peſum, totus & orbis abit.

Order being kept, the world is kept, but when
That is neglected, all the world's gone then.

The time now of the Turks Bayram was come, which helpt much to the setling of these disorders, which hauing found succesſe according to their vnruly wils of the souldiers, begot such insolence amongst the generalitie of common people, That all bad actions, thefts, 1632
and murders were coloured vnder the name of the souldiers, and executed many times euen in
D the presence of the Magistrate. And of this danger the Dutch Embassadour very narrowly mist his share; for the souldiers hauing pretended their interest in certaine ships lading with corn (a trading there of the most dangerous consequence) taken in the Archipelago by Flemmings, and by them made prize of, assaulted the Embassadours house; who had no other rescue than to refer it to a tryall of iustice. Vpon which iudgement was giuen by the Captaine Bassa, that a present restitution should be made: but the Embassadour appealing to the great Vizier, it was ordred he should stand to a tryal before the Cadiliskars. The euent wherof, was that some formall restitution to the souldiers and many bribes to the officers (men seldome without that vice of which *Diphilus* saith; *Niſi lucrum faceret, nemo quidem improbus foret*: he purchased a costly peace, and remained for a time in some safety.

E The French Embassador likewise had trouble of the same nature, about a ship of Tripolis in Barbary bound for the Port. Which falling into the hands of some Maltæsi supposed to be French, a French ship that was bound out was detained for restitution; and after the like trouble and expense of mony, released to the Embassador.

Eleas Baſſa about this time, hauing for some time concealed his discontents (the grounds whereof were likewise vnknowne, vnlesse his Ambition, that whetted him to the desire of of honours, which either the grand Signiors jealousie, or the States, refused to bestow vpon him) declared himselfe in open rebellion, and hauing fortified in a towne called Magnesia, but two daies journey from Smyrna, hee much infested the Countrey round about with his outrages and depredations: insomuch that the Consull and merchants at Smyrna were inforF ced for their safety to transport themselues and goods to Scio.

The news of this rebellion no sooner arriued at the Port, but the grand Signior gaue order for the suppressing of it; and forthwith a sufficient strength was sent against the Rebel, vnder the conduct of seuerall Captaines: who falling vpon *Eleas* (being abroad in pursuit of prey) a fierce battel was fought, in which, victory fel to the grand Signiors party, most of the rebels

being ſlain or taken, only *Eleas Baſſa* himſelf flying to Magneſia eſcaped, and hath euer ſince G
kept himſelfe vndiſcouered.

This Victory was the induction to a new tragedy at the Port. For the Grand Signior amongſt other reuolutions, conſidering mens ſeuerall natures, and that ſome hauing ſcapt puniſhment, became the more confirmed in their euils, when contrariwiſe, *quem pœnitet peccaſſe, penè eſt innocens*; and that there were ſo many examples in his State, and amongſt his ſubjects, the memory of the ſouldiers late outrages reuiued, and preſented him *Regeb Baſſa* the great Viſier: who though in himſelfe innocent, yet was ſuſpected to be the firſt mouer in thoſe tumults, whithout whom, the other wheeles muſt of neceſſity haue ſtood ſtill. One argument to conuince him, was his not ſubmitting himſelfe, which had he done it, had beene a voluntary accuſation of himſelfe. But from theſe circumſtances he was condemned, the H
Grand Signior vſing *Dantes* diuiner ſentence, to this bad purpoſe,

Abſoluer non ſi puo, chi non ſi pente.

Vpon this ſentence giuen before his arraignement, he was called to his execution into the Seraglio, vnder pretence of ſome ſerious affaires; where he was inſtantly ſtrangled vpon the ſeuenth day of May, and the ſame day another great Viſier made, named, *Molamet Baſſa*. This act of the Grand Signiors cauſed ſome feares, That the ſouldiers would againe mutiny, to reuenge his death that ſuffered it for their actions. But *Morteſa Baſſa* being abroad in Perſia with ſome part of them, and the rendeuous of the reſt, that went out againſt the Rebell *Eleas Baſſa*, I
not yet fully diſſolued, the want of number to perfect ſuch riotous attempts, might be the occaſion of their quietneſſe; which ſcarce appeared diſturbed in any the leaſt murmuring.

1633. The Captaine Baſſa being a man inſinuated into the very boſome of the Grand Signior, became the chiefe mouer in many actions of this yeare: the firſt had relation to the Engliſh chiefely, and one the moſt lamented for the ill ſucceſſe, which cauſed a loſſe not to be repaired, the order of which followeth. The Captaine Baſſa beeing abroad with the ſquadron of gallies in the Bay of Caſſandra, there lay then at anchor in the ſame Bay two Engliſh ſhips, called the *Hector*, and the *William* and *Raph*, which ſhips were laden with corne. Vpon Whitſunday in the morning, by the breake of day, the ſhips diſcouered thirty ſayle of gal- K
lies to come ſuddenly vpon them: whereupon they weighed anchor, got vp their yardes, and fitted their ſhips, and towed out; ſo that they were two miles from ſhore when the gallies came thwart them, and it being a flat calme went fairely by them; the ſhips ſaluting them peaceably, but receiuing no anſwer, till the Baſſa put forth his bloudy colours, and comming betwixt them and the ſhore, by thoſe ſignals declared his intention of fight, hauing put his gallies in forme of a halfe Moone. The *William* and *Raph* (of which one Maſter *Harris* was Maſter) being the neeremoſt, and diſtant but musket ſhot, the Baſſa diſcharged his prowes twice, the reſt doing ſo likewiſe: when preſently the Bey of Rhodes layd hard aboord with foure gallies that diſcharged their prowes at the boording: with which they did ſo much L
ſpoil, that the Beyes men accounted the ſhip won, and poſſeſt themſelues of the cuddy round houſe, and great cabin, carrying away ſome of the men from the Captaines quarter into their owne gally. By this time the Captaine Baſſa, and the Chiahar, with three other prime gallies, did the like by the other ſhip the *Hector*; who at firſt encounter beat them off, euen from their owne ordnance; and enforced the Captaine Baſſa to leaue his owne gally, and betake him to the maine maſt; that, had there beene men enough in the ſhip, they might haue taken the Admirall gally eaſily. The ordnance of the other ſhip beginning to play againe, there was ſome hope of victory; but the maine ſtrength of the gallies comming vp and encompaſſing them, they were enforced to vſe all their guns at once, which for want of cooling fired their ſhips, the Admirall gally aduantaging it by being faſtned in one of their ports: ſo that ſeeing themſelues in flames (the quenching whereof was but a vaine endeauour) hol- M
ding out to offend the gallies as long as they could, and plying their fireworkes, at length being no longer able to endure it, firing ſome barrels abaft the maſt, to make ſure that nothing ſhould be ſaued to aduantage the enemy, after foure times boording and cleering, all the men that remained aliue, forſooke the flaming veſſels, and yeelded to the mercy of the water or

the

A the enemy, refuſing in this deſperate ſtate, like good Chriſtians, to be their owne executio- 1633.
ners. Some of them were killed as they endeauoured to get to ſhore: The two Captaines, Maſter *Harris* and Maſter *Wilde*, with others to the number of threeſcore, were taken vp and put to the oare: ſo the ſhips (after their decks were burnt) ſinking, the fight ended, which had continued foure houres. There were ſlaine of Turks in this ſea fight, one thouſand and ſeuen hundred: amongſt whom were diuers Beghs of great note; the Captain Baſſa himſelfe eſcaping very narrowly, not without ſome hurts, and the Admirall gally with many others made vnſeruiceable.

The Captaine Baſſa returning to the Port, hauing inſinuated himſelfe into the fauour of the Grand Signior, preferred his complaint, which included a reſtitution from Engliſh Met-
B chants: howbeit the actors in this were largely puniſhed, for thus raſhly ſhewing their Engliſh valour, by the loſſe of their ſhips, and their miſerable captiuities: ſo that they might be conceiued capable of no more, but death: the execution whereof had beene next to liberty, a mercy. There was ſome pretence of plea againſt the Capitulations of Peace on the Engliſh part in this point broken, for that the voyage of the two ſhips was vnlawfull: but the Embaſſadours endeauors preuailed, to haue the ſeuerity of that opinion mitigated, and conſtrued otherwiſe, by declining it to the perſons; who notwithſtanding, had his compaſſion ſo farre, that he laboured earneſtly for their redemption, and procured Letters from his Majeſty of Great Britaine to the grand Signior in their behalfe. The forme whereof followeth.

C

CHARLES, by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the moſt puiſſant Defendor of the true Chriſtian Faith.

D *TO the moſt high and mighty Emperor, Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Muſſulman *Kingdome, ſole and ſupreme Monarch of the Eaſterne Empire, ſendeth Greeting.*

WE haue receiued aduertiſement from our Embaſſadour reſident at your glorious Port, That this Summer your Captaine Baſſa being at Sea, aſſaulted with his whole fleet, two of our Merchants ſhips, and forcing them to their defence, did with the ſpoile of many of his gallies, and with the deſtruction of many hundreds of his men, gaine nothing in the end, but the burning of both the ſhips, and the recouering from the Sea,
E *of a few reſolute men, whom he hath vnworthily made his ſlaues. If they had committed Piracy, or done any violence or wrong to your Subjects, we would not protect or defend them in any ſuch offence, but would our ſelues haue executed ſeuere iuſtice vpon them, as heretofore vpon ſuch like complaints we haue done: But being now aſſured that theſe ſhips proceeded in a faire and peaceable manner, not for ſpoile or ſtealth, but for trade, as Merchants vſe in thoſe parts; and that ſo ſoone as the Baſſa came in ſight, the Sea-men did him honor and ſaluted him with the vſuall reſpect ſhewed to friends; & the Merchants in homage to your Imperiall power, offered him a preſent: We can no other wiſe eſteeme of the Baſſaes ho-*
F *ſtile incurſions, without ſummons, & in fury, but as a moſt vniuſt act, and moſt diſhonourable in a Commander, vnder ſo great a Monarch, whoſe power he diſparaged by ſo vnworthy and vnequall an engagement. That then we expect from your Majeſties Imperiall iuſtice, and whereof we aſſure our ſelues in regard of the antient amity betweene our Crownes, is, That*

1633. *you will make in this case a braue example, both of your clemencie and moderation, in setting free all our subiects; and of your Princely indignation against him, who to so great disparagement of your Magnificence and his owne Honour, committed so vnworthie and so foule an Act.* G

This will assure and fortifie that correspondence which hath so long been profitable to the interests of both our States, and will encourage and encrease more and more the free commerce of our Subjects, to the great inriching of your Customes: And finally, will magnifie in your vertue the lustre of the Othoman *greatnesse in the eyes of all the world. This Wee commend to your Imperiall wisdome, and expect the good successe.* H

Giuen at our Royall Palace of White-Hall, in the yeare of our Lord 1633: being the ninth yeare of our reign of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

These Letters being deliuered by the Embassadour, preuailed but little to the end intended, which was redemption of the Captiues: but rather reuiued the memory of the losse suffred on the grand Signiors part by the action of the two ships, which on the sudden wrought him to a determination of putting them all to death. But the execution was preuented by the diligence of the Embassador, and some of them deliuered to him vpon securitie. In the meane time a Decree was made in his Majestie of great Britaines Court of Starre-Chamber, that prohibited all English from Corn trade in the Levant; thereby to giue the Grand Signior a fuller satisfaction, and to preserue the other Trade from an vtter dissolution. By this the Embassador conceiued new hopes to perfect his worke of Charitie toward the Captiues. But the two Captaines, before any thing could be brought to effect, were made vncapable of any benefit but buriall and memory; the one dying in the English Embassadours house, the other in the Baneo. I K

In this year a sudden fire breaking forth (the original whereof though diuersly suspected, could haue no clear discouerie) made such a gap in that part of the City of Constantinople, that it is left as it were of purpose vnbuilt, to confirme the report which the Turkes giue of it, that it consumed in a very short space seuenty thousand houses. A monument which may aptly authorise that nice Etymon of fire, *quod nihil gignit:*

Nataque de Flammâ corpora nulla vides.

The Persian War was this yeare renewed with much preparation and noise, but little successe: the Persians being so accustomed to victorie, that they seemed to command it, & euen in the beginning of an attempt concluded the euent of a conquest. In this confidence of their fortune (the attendant on Vertue) they besieged Van, a place of great consequence vpon the confines neer Diarbecker. The newes whereof arriuing suddenly at the Port, prouision was made for the succor thereof, as also for a farther progresse to action in Persia: Orders beeing sent to all the Beghs in Asia, that they should repaire to the succour; who should meet at a place appointed for the rendeuous, with eight thousand Ianizaries and Spahies to bee joined with them. L

This resolution of sending the souldiers forth from the Port (by reason of a declaration of the grand Signiors intent to go himselfe in person the next Spring) was not affected; and the keeping of some souldiers at home had another secret ground, of preuenting a danger, in respect that strangers were so much discontented, that their passions betrayed them to some suspition. The grand Signior notwithstanding, some few daies after sent the great Vizier forth with a part of the *Militia*: who after he had proceeded fourteene dayes march, meeting with the report of Vans being taken by the Persians (who were now increased likewise in M

strength

A strength and numbet) his iudgement commanding his valour, hee withdrew himselfe by the way of Aleppo; where hee remained some time, vnder colour of staying the further proceeding of the Persians. And that hee might not returne without the doing of some thing that might render him honourable to opinion, he wrought so, that a notable fearefull iudgement was executed vpon the Cadee there, a man that was learned, and so had practised himselfe to sell justice honourably, to the best aduantage of the buyer, and somewhat cheaper than other Ministers had formerly done. This had so great a shew of an offence, that it caused him to be arrested by the grand Signior, and as he was found, so caried in fetters to be a slaue at Cyprus; his haire being first cut, and the great estate of which he was possessed, seised vpon and confiscate to the vse of the state: who rather complied with the seuere proceedings against this great Iudge for that end; and though his crime were not personall, it was a politique act of state, for the vse which the grand Signior had of his mony, to satisfie the soldiers and preuent a mutiny. 1633

B

The suspition had of strangers, began now to moue the wheeles of some practises vpon them. The first whereof was, the searching of all Christians houses in generall, as well subiects as strangers, that the intention of the State might not so easily be discouered; & the longer they were kept in suspense, the greater their fears would be, and work the more vpon them to the aduanrage of what was intended:

C *—— Multos in summa pericula misit*
Venturi timor ipse mali.

So the fears of all men, joined with their ignorance of what would be the euent, made counsell vseless to the preuention of what they most feared would follow. The officers imploied in this search of houses, sealed vp many, and after three or four dayes continuance of it, a new terror was added to the former, to increase the apprehension by an example. For they hauing taken one that being borne in that countrey, had for many yeares together passed for a Venetian merchant, and had married one of his daughters to a Druggetman of the Venetian Embassadors, (by which he had better conueniencie for his practise in the trade of merchandise)

D they caried him to prison, and on the day following, after some formal triall and a sentence of death were passed vpon him, they returned him home to his owne house, and there vpon a turret which he had made on his house, hanged him; putting forth a red flag for a signall, but of what, the amased beholders were stil ignorant: vntil at length it was vnderstood, that the flag was a signe only, whereby the grand Signior might discern, that the merchant was executed, and his house and goods confiscate, which the next day were seised vpon by the officers, and all things portable caried away.

This entrance being made, the same day they proceeded further, in apprehending all stranger merchants, in whose houses they had found a sword, a gunne, or pistoll, or any the least weapon whatsoeuer; making it so criminall, that judgement was presently giuen for their

E deaths, who would not yeeld to purchase their liues with mony; and but a very short time allowed for confideration. But this was condescended to, and the ransome of euery Merchant of the foure Nations, English, Venetian, French, and Dutch, set at 2000 dollars apiece. The fears still of what end these proceedings would haue, increased by new actions that seconded the former, and had shew of greater consequence; as if they had ordered the mischiefe intended, to haue its gradation, and so conclude. For now the Captaine Bassa sent to the foure Embassadours to conuent them into the Arsenall: Whither they being come, the Bassa appearing, desired their expectance of what he should say when hee returned from the Graund Signior to them. Their doubts questionlesse were great, and they had no time for any other resolution, than

F *—— Gaudet patientia duris.*

forthey were, where they were sure seueritie of justice would be vsed if they were delinquent; and libertie in outrages would find but little suppression by the honorable difference of their persons,

1633. persons, or the not there much regarded Law of Nations. After they had some time expected the Captaine Bassa, returned, and declared, That the Grand Signior hauing had information of a new house with churches joyning thereto, built by one of the Embassadors, required a certaine acknowledgement, which of them was the offender in so high a nature, as to do such an act without a speciall leaue from the Grand Signior. To this the French Embassador after much pausing (thereby shewing his vnwillingnesse to confesse it) gaue answer that the building was his; and the other Embassadors so far as they might, spake in fauour of it. But the Captaine Bassa with much aggrauation of the fact, vrged into what wrath the Grand Signior was fallen, and that he could not be altered from his opinion conceiued of it, that it was a presumptuous contempt in the Embassador of the Grand Signiors authority: the Captaine Bassa declaring likewise that he had vsed many faire endeauors, almost to his owne danger, to pacifie his Master, and settle him in a better conceit, both of the fact, and the Embassador: after which, he dismissed them, and departed. But before the French Embassador could arriue at his house, the people that were appointed by the Grand Signior to pull downe the Chappell, had ouer-done their command, and began to pull downe the whole house: Vpon which the Embassador hastily returned with his complaint, that preuailed with the Captain Bassa, to send an officer for their restraint; but declaring withall, that the Grand Signior would not be satisfied any way, but by pulling downe the Chappell; which the Embassador did the next day by his owne seruants, and hired labourers, to preuent further trouble, and preserue (in what might be) the materials vsefull.

The minds of all men began now to be a little settled in a quiet; presuming, That this particular act of the French Embassador was the only ground of all these troubles: and this submission of his to the Grand Signiors order, would be an absolute pacification of his fury: since, *pro peccato magno paululum supplicij satis est pati*, a small punishment may satisfie a great offence: but the punishment here had the same proportion with the offence, and yet, not thought sufficient. For three daies after, the foure Embassadors were againe conuented by the Captaine Bassa at the Arsenall: whether being come, He shewed an order to them from the Grand Signior; whereby was required vpon paine of death, That the Embassadors should deliuer vp what armes they had in their houses, to an officer appointed for that purpose, which should be sent to them, without reseruing any. The order being peremptory, and the Captaine Bassa intreating them to comply for all good respects sake, it was performed accordingly; the officer receiuing what armes were deliuered to him, without any further search or questioning; only the French Embassadors house throughly examined: which he endeauoured to conceale for his honour. All this while the Merchants lay in prison, some only hauing liberty to prouide mony for their ransomes: which in two daies after was paied in, the proportion belonging to the English amounting to twenty thousand Dollars, by which, the generall may be guessed at. After the Merchants of each Nation were restored to their houses and encouraged againe to go on in their trade, the officers fell vpon all other sorts of people, exacting from them to the vtmost of their ability: so that the end of one misery was the beginning of another: the purchasing of their safeties an impouerishing of their estates. In which confusion many became voluntary sacrifices to preuent (as they conceiued) worse compulsions: neither needed they here to search for instruments;

Mori volenti deesse, nunquam mors potest.

They that were willing, found it readily presented in any forme; and the Grand Signiors inclination was long before discouered to be bloudy. The Ministers besides that serued in this execution, the Captaine Bassa generall of the Sea, the Bostangi Bassa chiefe officer of the Kings gardens, and an executioner of his immediate commands, the Capigi Bassa one of the chiefe Porters of his Seraglio, the Cadi of Gallata, the chiefe justice of that place, with others, were of like disposition; and flattered the Grand Signior in these tyrannicall practises. For

——e son tyranni,
Che dur el sangue & ellauer de piglio.

— they

A 1633.

—— they are tyrants, which
Kill and rob others themselues to enrich.

This being the present state of things in the Imperiall Port, the English Embassador in the behalfe of his King and Nation, did some offices to make knowne the resentment which his Majesty of Great Britain might haue; and that if two small ships had done so much mischiefe, more might be done with two hundred: declaring withall to the chiefe officers of the Port, the ridgednesse of the fact so fully, that not one would stand to the defence or justification of the same, but rather from their owne mouthes condemning it, in so much, that the
B course of the proceeding was knowne to be repented, and the deaths of them threatned that were the projectors of such a disturbance. This gaue some encouragement to the Embassadors to demand a satisfaction by restitution, as also security for future times. To the first, answer was made by the Captaine Bassa in the name of the Grand Signior, That whereas their weapons were brought before the face of the Grand Signior, they could not be with his honor returned againe; but they might haue others freely: and for restoring of the mony extorted from Merchants, the Grand Signior had such vrgent occasions for it, that at the present it could not be well done; but a large recompence should be made in due time. Thus did these Turkish policies when they had no other colour, plainly declare themselues violences; and the Embassadors were now sued to and intreated by the Captaine Bassa in the name
C of the Grand Signior, that they would speake no farther of the businesse, but that all might be forgotten, and no farther resentment had: and it should be confirmed for the future, that all due respect should be giuen to them, and especiall care had of the Merchants. In token whereof he presented them seuerally with vests in the name of the Grand Signior, according to the custome when he honoureth and admitteth any one. The French Embassador only shared not in these testimonies; for the small satisfaction he gaue, was pretended the chiefe cause that a suspition was begotten of others; and their weapons being taken away, was a preuention by disabling them from joyning in any attempts. For the Grand Signiors tyranny had caused all men to feare him; *necesse est vt multos timeat, quem multi timent.*
D But such were the distastes conceiued against the French Embassador by the Grand Signior, that his death was determined; the execution whereof was with much danger to the diswaders deferred, and afterwards vpon aduice changed to another punishment. Yet there was no other knowne reason for this hate of the new Embassador, but what hath formerly beene related; so that it seemed rather an antipathy in the Grand Signior, that would relish nothing of the Embassador *Count de Marchenilles* well, though he could or would answer nothing for his dislike, but like *Catullus*,

Non amo te Volusi, *&c.*

I do not loue thee *Volusius*, but for what,
E Know not: I only know I loue thee not.

Some small time at length made a perfect discouery of the true foundation, on which these practises were built. Which was this; The former Embassador *Mounsieur de Cesy* had declared himselfe ready to comply with occasions, and serue necessity to best aduantage; in which he seemed to haue more regard of his Nations, than his owne particular estate: for during the time of his emploiment, more through the many offences committed by the French, (for which the Grand Signior would haue satisfaction) than through any personall profusenesse, he borrowed so much, that his debts were summed to three hundred thousand Dollars, of which a share belonging to the English was sixty thousand Dollars. This being signified,
F the French King sent his command in an expresse to the towne of Marseilles, that they should comply with this debt, and gaue the towne a priuiledge to leuy three *per centum*, vpon the trade for six yeares: which was accepted of, and to principall men (as Deputies of the towne) arriued soone after at the Port to take order in the businesse; bringing with them thirty six thousand Dollars to repart amongst the Creditors. Which mony the new Embassador,

baſſador *Count de Marcheuilles* ſeized vpon, and conuerted to his owne vſe, without any regard to cleer the old Embaſſador away: ſome of which perhaps was emploied in his new buildings. Vpon this there began a difference betwixt the two Embaſſadors; and the Creditors finding no other reliefe, had recourſe to Turkiſh juſtice. Where hauing entred and proued their debts, the old Embaſſador to diſcharge himſelfe, made the two Deputies liable thereto; who were ſtreight committed to priſon, and the Embaſſador hard put to it, for the reſtitution of the mony. This was the certaine foundation of all the former miſchiefes, which for the preſent ceaſed, three French ſhips being ſtaied in the Port for ſatisfaction, and their goods imbarqued for the payment of theſe debts. G

1634. The Captaine Baſſa had now more and more inſinuated himſelfe into fauour with the Grand Signior, and the great Viſier being yet abroad with the army, the Captaine Baſſa was the only man to impart the ſecret counſels of the grand Signior. Among which, a fear of new inſurrection of the Ianizaries and Spahies, when the army ſhould returne mixing it ſelfe; all waies of preuention were ſcanned, and at length the following practiſed. It was remembred, that in their late rebellion they demanded the liues of the Aga, the fauourite, and the Mufti: the two former wherof they had, but the later being conueied away, was ſanctuaried, and preſerued himſelfe ſecretly, vnder the Grand Signiors protection. Which ſafety became his ruine: for in his confidence of the Kings fauour he was now eaſily taken, and by the command of the Grand Signior put to death. The report whereof arriuing in the campe, gaue ſuch ſatisfaction, that the ſouldiers declared themſelues appeaſed before they had begun any diſturbance. H I

By the prouocation of the Coſſackes and Polackes (who had committed ſome outrages vpon the confines, and in the Blacke Sea) the Grand Signior reſolued vpon a war with Poland; and ſent his Expreſſe to all the Baſſaes on the Europe ſide, to meet him with their forces at Adrianople, where he appointed the rendeuouz. After which, on the nine and twentieth of Aprill, the Grand Signior withdrew himſelfe to his tents, which were pitched two miles out of the towne; where he remained ten daies, and then ſet forward in his march towards Adrianople, where hee remained till all the forces of the Baſſaes were joyned to his army. The Captaine Baſſa in the meane time went forth with the gallies to repreſſe the farther attempts of the Coſſackes, and from thence he had inſtruction to come by land to the generall rendeuouz. The Baſſa of Boſna ſet forward with his troups, conſiſting of almoſt ſeuen thouſand, horſe and foot, and marched to Valliovah, and thence to Belgrade, where the Baſſa of Temeſwar, joyning his forces with thoſe of Belgrade and Boſna, they held themſelues encamped on the South ſide of the towne, giuing notwithſtanding, leaue to the Ianizaries, Spahies, and Venturiers, at their owne diſcretion to go before towards the generall rendeuous. Here they expected *Murath Baſſa*, who fiue daies after came in with a few foot, but foure thouſand horſe of the Spahi Timariots; the moſt braue horſes and dexterous men in the vſe of their armes that the Grand Signior hath. From thence they marched all together to Adrianople, where the Grand Signior hauing remained forty daies, whilſt a meſſenger was ſent into Poland with certaine articles and capitulations, he receiued an anſwer to his ſatisfaction. For conceiuing an honourable peace to be much better than a reuenge by an vncertaine war, the conditions which were ſent by the Grand Signior included ſo much for his owne honour, and ſo little for the King of Polands diſhonor, that they were ſoone agreed vpon on both ſides, with a mutuall liking. Vpon which agreement the army was diſmiſſed, and the Grand Signior returned to Conſtantinople. So the great preparation to a proceeding of a high nature burſt it ſelfe with ſome noyſe, ſcarce leauing behinde it the leaſt impreſſion of an action. K L

So ſoone as the Grand Signior was returned to Conſtantinople, vpon ſome new diſtaſtes conceiued againſt the French Embaſſador *Count de Marcheuilles*, the Captaine Baſſa gaue in an information; which ſo exaſperated the Grand Signior, that he commanded preſently the Embaſſador ſhould be ſent away into France. Whereupon the Captaine Baſſa conuenting him to the Arſenall vnder colour of buſineſſe, an expreſſe order was preſently giuen (without permitting him to ſpeake with the Baſſa) to conduct him into a boat and to carry him aboord one of the aforeſaid French ſhips that were arreſted; which ſhip was commanded M

within

A within three houres after to set saile and depart, in a most confused and disorderly manner; not allowing the Embassador so much time as to dispose of any thing in his house: Neither were any suffered to be imbarqued with him more than two seruants. Yet his Secretary and the rest of his family were suffered to remaine free in the house, till they had accommodated all things to follow him with the stuffes, and to ouertake him at the Castles.

This dishonourable action stirred vp new feares in the other Embassadours, that the like would be practised vpon them. But those feares vanished quickely, by a declaration of the grand Signiors Order, That the Captaine Bassa should satisfie them all seuerally, of the good friendship and correspondence which he would preserue with their Masters, and the esteeme he had of their persons. Requesting them but to vnderstand it truly, that the French Embas-
B sadour onely offending, hee alone should bee punished; and that of the offence the French King should be thorowly informed. It was ordered likewise, that the old Embassador *Monsieur de Cesye* should execute the Charge; which hee condescended vnto, and all the former disturbances were setled in a second quiet. It was expected that this dishonour would cause a great resentment to be had abroad amongst the French, and produce some hostile effects: but it happened otherwise. For the French knowing of what great consequence their Trade in the Levant is, and that it cannot bee maintained but by a peaceable correspondence with the grand Signior, dissembled it so farre, that it scarse became questionable; and in stead of vindicating the Embassadours honour so much as with a complaint, prouided to accommodate the debts of the old Embassador *Monsieur de Cesye*, and then to send another.

C

The Captaine Bassa, who had long preserued himselfe in grace and fauour with his master, 1635
and mannaged the great employments of the State without suspition, ended his office vnusually, by being preferred and sent Bassa to Buda. For amongst Turkes the policie is frequent, to squeese the wealth gotten by any one in office, into the grand Signiors treasurie; & where pretences faile sufficiently to glosse the act, plaine tyrannie shall shew it selfe, rather than their wils want execution. With this Bassa it fell out otherwise; for though he had more inriched himselfe than any other, by his seuere justice, exactions, and interposing himselfe whereseeuer the businesse might assure his profit, yet did hee escape without beeing questioned. And though the grand Signior might know his faults, and conniue at them, yet his dis-
D mission, that should haue beene a punishment, was nothing but a translation vnto another Honour, and a reward for his vertue that found an Opinion; by this fortune as it were confirming,

——— *Sors & virtus miscentur in vnum.*

A resolution began now to settle it selfe in the grand Signiour, to make Persia the onely obiect of his attempts: for his Honour had suffered more by that Enemy than any other, and their succesSe had lessened him both in Fame and Empire. Now as great designes require their counsels, (without which the beginning cannot promise a faire euent) he began to lay
E a foundation for his proceedings, & to order them so, that euery particular should haue some relation to a policie. The ground of the Warre was the same inueterate one which could not yet be remooued, and had for many ages vpheld a quarrell. The Order was, that himselfe would go in person, presuming as *Cæsar* did, that Fortune was bound to attend him. Then his Ianizaries were all designed for the expedition, that in so dangerous an enterprise hee might destroy them politiquely, as men that he had great reason to be jealous of, for that they were almost grown to a militarie Anarchy, like the Prætorian bands of the Romans. Besides, their late vprores were yet vnpunished; for their disobedience would not submit to any justice, and when a sentence had past, their own strength would resist the execution: so that no practise but this, could expresse the grand Signior in his power ouer them. All things being now in
F readinesse, he caused his Tents to be pitched in Scutari on the Asian side; whither after ten dayes he passed ouer himselfe, and thence marched forward to Arzirum, where he appointed the generall Rendevous to be kept. From thence he proceeded with his numerous army, and besieged Reivan, a place of great consequence; where for a time he found a strong resistance, but at length took it, and flushing his souldiers with some spoile, went forwards vp as farre as

Tauris; where finding no resistance (for the Persians made no head against him, preserving their strength for some after-action, of more consequence than preventing the losse of a waste and barren country) he consumed all, pressing it with the vtmost calamities of War. So after he had made a circular progresse, finding the approch of Winter to bring on many inconueniences, and some infirmities growing amongst his souldiers, besides the store of prouision for beasts of cariage failing, and not possibly to be there supplied, he withdrew himself by the same way of Arzirum, returning with more triumph than conquest. G

The Captaine Bassa all this while was abroad in the Mediterranian with a very great fleet of Gallies; pretending that he had information of many English ships that came into the Arches to lade Corn, and carry it to the Enemies of the grand Signior. He imployed diuers in euery Port, with instructions to intrap such ships: and vnder colour of this justice many outrages were committed, many ships made prise of, & great occasion giuen for complaints. But the Captaine Bassa's Cause was alwaies right, and howsoeuer he was to himselfe in conscience, to others he appeared a iust man in opinion, and shunned punishment, his accusers likewise being lesse powerfull, than his judges were partiall. H

1636. The grand Signior was no sooner returned, and made his entrance into the Port, but the strength of the Persians (which during the time of his incursion into their country seemed as it were vtterly dissolued) began now to be sinuated and knit together, making vp the firm bodie of a most powerfull army. When all their forces were conuented and ordered, their hearts payd sacrifices of vowes to *Nemesis*; and confirmed in a resolution of reuenge, they marched I
toward Reivan (which the grand Signior the year before had taken) against which they layd a strong siege. The Garrisons of the Turks which were left within by the grand Signior, to preuent their intrenching neer the towne made many excursions vpon them, where the losse was more on the Turkes part than the Persians: so that they were inforced to trust to their walls and victualling, till they had sent a messenger to the grand Signior, with a declaration of their distresse. Which the grand Signior vnderstanding, he dispatched Bassa's both into Asia and Grecia, to hasten and send away the souldiers to their reliefe. He appointed also the Ianizarie Aga to follow with the Ianizaries. But it was now the time of their Bayram, by reason of which their deuotions delayed them, to the Persians great aduantage. It was also resolued, that the grand Signior should himselfe go in person toward the later end of the year; K
and if the successe were not answerable to their designes, he should Winter at Aleppo, and the Spring following fall againe into Persia. But the Persians taking hold of opportunitie, stayed not to expect famine for their instrument, or any trecherie to betray the town to them, but fiercely assaulted it, and with that violence of battery that they presently took it, putting all the Turks they found therin either to the sword or ransom.

The report of this losse ariuing before the soldiers could be gathered together at the rendeuous, the proceeding stopt, and the grand Signior full of discontent remained at home to consult his own safety, which was now threatned with a storm, that to shun was not thought a possibilitie in humane prouidence. For the souldiers that were abroad began to expresse much discontentment, refusing to receiue their pay, or to be commanded by the grand Vizier: for the Turkes war with the Persians very vnwillingly, there beeing no other cause for a war, but the emulation of greatnesse which hath successively possest the Lords of those two mighty Empires. Besides, they seldome meet in Persia with any plentifull spoiles: so that they are neither incited by their own freenesse, nor allured by the hopes of any large reward; the later of which is the onely whetstone of Endeauor and enterprises. But on the contrary, to the Wars of Hungary and Poland they runne as to some delightfull spectacle; prickt forward therto by zeal, as making Religion a ground for their attempts, and an assurance of large booty, where the countries glory in the fulnesse of many blessings. L

This danger of the Souldiers mutinies abroad reached not yet the Grand Signior, nor put him into any personall feare, till the Ianizaries at home, made him apprehend the immi- M
nence of what they intended against him. For they had, either by the information of some treacherous Statesman, or their owne consideration of circumstances, discouered the Grand Signiors intention of compelling them to the war of Persia: which designe of his failing, first in the Persians not resistance, afterwards in dissoluing of the army before they could

A come to the reliefe of Reivan, they were not yet much weakened, and their knowledge of the Grand Signiors disaffection towards them, instructed their disloyall inclinations to all sorts of agreeable practises. Besides, they had now learned amongst other diuellish secrets since the fleshing of themselues in their Souereignes bloud, Sultan *Osman*, and in the deposing, restoring, and deposing againe of *Mustapha*, how to make and vnmake a King at their pleasure. So that the Grand Signior seemeth a Steward only intrusted with a gouernment, which his slaues exact account of, and transferre as their humours and affections sway them. Euery one amongst these rebellious tumultuants seemed very full of counsels; and none would allow a proceeding to action, till they had ordered the progresse by a rule: which was so diuersly proposed, that it could haue no positiue confirmation. For some aduised to the depo- 1636.
B sition of their Emperor, which others that were not so well affected to innouation opposed, with reasons of satisfaction: and that if the Grand Signior would make amends by some acknowledgement of his il intents towards them, and confirme their order and priuiledges, his gouernment (being one that by experience had made himselfe sensible of their power) might be more profitable to them than euer, whose disposition as yet vndiscouered, might make their courses and liues subject to incertainties. For the Grand Signior in the beginning of his reigne, by reason of his few yeares (which exceeded not fifteene) expresst a natu-
C rall inclination to action, which he hath since continually practised: and this had settled some good opinion of him in the inconstant souldiers, who liue by it; though many of late, (contrary to their first institution, and the long continued course which the former emperors had seuerely tied them to) applyed themselues to merchandise, and other enriching means, neglecting as it were the profession they were ordained to, but at the very instant of imploiment. A third sort whom the thought of reuenge had possest, (to which the worst spirits are most subject;

——Quippe minuti
Semper, & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Vltio) ——

proposed their Souereignes death, who had practised their subuersion. But this relisht not
D so well generally; for their former outrage had made them the subjects of censure so farre, that all States condemned it, and themselues lamented. Many daies were wasted with these conuentions, that dissolued still with new doubts; so that the Grand Signior had time enough for preuention, which was ordered by the great Visiers, remaining at Arzirum with the army, where he wintered, that so the want of number might make their suppression the easier: For if the Spahies that were discontented abroad, had beene joyned to the Ianizaries mutining at home, their addition would haue beene oyle to a flame, and increased an *incendium*, till there had beene left no matter for their fury to feed on. The Grand Signior likewise distributed large sums amongst them, and purchased some part of his safety that way. The great Visier likewise being wanting, they had no object for their outrage: for he was
E onely suspected to practise with the Grand Signior (as *Delauir Bassa* did formerly with *Osman*) to erect a new *Militia*, for the supplanting of the Ianizaries, that should be maintained with lesse charge and danger. In conclusion, there remained not the least *vestigium* of this confused building, but the feare that another might be raised, if the Ianizaries should haue any new prouocations to fall againe to worke. And though their idlenesse at home, might haue giuen occasion of disturbance from the vnsetlednesse of their thoughts, (for

——Variam semper dant otia mentum)

which would be staied if action diuerted them from other objects, there hath beene no de-
F signe thought of since, but the regulating of these Ianizaries, and preseruing them from attempt, by a more free distribution of donatiues amongst them. Only the great Visier made some incursions into Persia, the successe whereof answered not the expectation of so great an vndertaking.

This being the present state of the *Otteman* Emperors, conferred with some other late di-

ſtant accidents, (which haue a relation to that State) and the precedent, giue occaſion to G
theſe following conſiderations.

Firſt, the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Empire, raiſed thereto by continuall action, and preſerued by fortune, more than by reaſon; yet crueltie (which hath beene alwayes obſerued to be an inſtrument, and is as it were hereditarie in their natures) hath a politique allowance. For they haue found it by experience, That mercy toward the Vanquiſhed prooueth many times a motiue to diſcontent; and reuiueth the memory of diſgrace, which often chalks out a way to reuenge. When contrariwiſe crueltie exerciſeth them ſo much in a ſubiection, that the remembrance of all former equalitie in greatneſſe loſeth it ſelfe by degrees, in an humble patience. Beſides, where there is bred a diſcontent from reflection to a high ſtate buried in neceſſities, that diſcontent becommeth the Parent of Curioſitie; as *Plautus* in *Sticho* ſaith, H

Curioſus nemo eſt qui non ſit malevolus.

This curioſitie now buſieth it ſelfe wholly in the diſquiſition of all ſorts of reuenge, and many times will not be ſatisfied but with practiſe. To preuent which, the Turkiſh cruelty ties the hands of all they conquer, that they are left without meanes for the execution of any deſigne that is hatcht by diſcontent. And this cruelty though tyrannical, is allowed of among them *politicè*, though all the world beſides muſt condemn it *Ethicè*: for it includeth an inſulting ouer miſerie, than which, nothing more cleerely expreſſeth a vulgar and an vnprincely nature. I

Corpora magnanimo ſatis eſt proſtraſſe Leoni;
Pugna ſuum finem, cum jacet hoſtis, habet.
At Lupus & turpes inſtant morientibus vrſi,
Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera eſt.

Which haue this ſence:

The valiant Lion, when the Vanquiſhed
Lies at his feet, hath mercie in his eie.
But Wolues and Bears inſult ouer the Dead; K
And beaſts that are of leſſe Nobilitie.

How much this crueltie practiſed by the Turkes hath wrought vpon diuers Nations, the precedent is full of examples; and how far it may bee iuſtified by the effects, as conducing mightily to the preſeruation of that State, may be prooued by the contrary. For the mercie ſhewed by *Achmat* to his brother *Muſtapha*, ſo much differing from the *Ottoman* cuſtome, begot ſuch a diſorder, that it became pernicious, almoſt to the vtter diſſolution of that State.

But as in all actions the ſame thing may produce differing effects, by the diuers application; ſo this crueltie, as it is a meanes of ſecuritie when practiſed by the grand Signior vpon L
thoſe whom Fortune hath made his ſubjects, ſo is it an occaſion for ſeuere cenſure when ſtrangers ſuffer vnder it, ſuch as for trade reſide in his dominions, and ought to haue all immunities and priuiledges, eſpecially of ſafety, according to the ſeuerall capitulations that preſerue their ſeueral correſpondence. Of this the later times produce diuers examples; and though the Turkes colour it with the name of ſeuere juſtice, yet is it in ſubſtance plain crueltie, and the moſt diſhonourable that may warrant a cauſe of reuenge, if Chriſtians would be ſo farre ſencible as to ſtrengthen it by an vnanimous vndertaking.

And here a ſecond conſideration offers it ſelfe, which is the ſhew of the Empires declining from it's priſtine greatneſſe; which may bee two wayes conjectured: By the *Ottoman* Line almoſt extinguiſhed, there remaining beſides the preſent Emperour, but three, and M
thoſe ſubiect to his tyrannie, and cuſtome of the State; vpon the leaſt jealouſie to be made vncapable either of rule or diſturbance.

Secondly, by the ſucceſſe of the Perſian, who hath leſſened the grand Signior much, by contracting the bounds of his Empire in Aſia, and by enlarging his owne, with addition to

it

A it of that which hee hath ſubſtracted from the grand Seigniors. Neither can a ceſſation of ſtrife be euer hoped, where there is nothing but emulation, and two ſuch competitors in greatneſſe equally.

——*miſerâ ambitione laborant.*

There are yet other conſiderations which may inferre a doubt of the empires diſſolution, or at leaſtwiſe alteration, and to ſuch a form as will ſcarce preſerue any footſtep of the other. One of which is the Ianizaries diſloyall diſpoſition, that hath ſo dangerouſly declared it ſelfe of late. Inſomuch that if the diſcontented ſtrangers and Chriſtian ſubjects were but
B as able to doe miſchiefe, as the ſouldiers are to deſire it, queſtionleſſe ſome great euent would ſoone ſhew it ſelfe, and the deſire of libertie eſtabliſh perhaps ſome *Ariſtocraſia* or *Democraſia*, or what the giddineſſe of their humours ſhould fancie. For the *Ottoman* Line failing, the Empire deſcendeth to the Tartar, whom the Turkes ſo innately hate, that they would admit of any innovation, rather than his gouernment. There would be many by-aduancements of this progreſſe, if it were ſet on foot: for euery Baſſa ſubſtituted for his ſeuerall prouince, would with his owne power endeauor to make himſelfe abſolute. The Perſian would compaſſe his ends eaſily; The Egyptians caſt off their bondage, and all the Tributaries ſaue their expences.

Some aid it would receiue by the diuerſities of the many Nations, whoſe Kingdomes are
C ſubject to this Empire: for being many, doubtleſſe they cannot be all ſo regulated by one forme of gouernment, or made ſo abſolute Turkiſh, but that the Natiues of euery Countrey preſerue ſomething of their owne primitiue inſtitutions, which they likewiſe are better affected to, than what they haue learned by a new compulſion. And though it commeth not within an eaſie apprehenſion, how ſo many Kingdomes ſhould be gotten, and preſerued ſo long (which *Auguſtus* diſſuaded his Romanes from, as an apparant indangering of all) yet the preſent Emperor is obſerued to be more valiant than politique; which is dangerous according to *Euripides*,

Ασφαλὲς γὰρ ἐς δύναιτ', ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης

D

Sir *Thomas More* hath theſe following, almoſt to the ſame purpoſe:

Regibus ex multis regnum cui ſufficit vnum,
Vix Rex vnus erit, ſi tamen vnus erit.
Regibus è multis regnum benè qui regat vnum,
Vix tamen vnus erit, ſi tamen vnus erit.

'Tis kingly to deſire many Kingdoms; but better to gouerne one well, than by addition of number make the rule dangerous.

E This might giue aduantage to the Baſſa's, if the graund Seignior ſhould exaſperate them, and by his cruelties (whether they be the effects of his tyrannie or his reaſon) to prouoke them to attempts. For there haue been many late examples of their aptneſſe to know their owne ſtrength, and application of it to any vſe in deſignes of reuenge or ambition. *Abaſſa Baſſa* after the murther of *Oſman*, and *Huſſeruph Baſſa* after his diſgrace, with others, haue ſufficiently teſtified it; the later of whoſe deaths could neuer haue been effected but by a ſecret policie. Yet there is a kinde of preuention, by making the gouernment ſo eaſie to Turkes themſelues, that they ſeeme all in ſeuerall degrees to bee but ſubſtituted Gouernors of the other Nations, which are chiefly the ſubjects of the grand Signiors tyranie; and to that end
F the Turks are mingled with all others that are ſubjected.

A conſideration may be had from another argument, of the declenſion of this great Empire, by its age, and the preſent inſtruments that are practiſed about the weakening of it. For a State is aptly compared to the little world of man, the infancie wherof is weak and ſimple,

the

the Youth increasing, the manhood for a time established and firme, but the old age diseased G
and not able to hold out long, but must of necessitie yeeld to death, where it findes its termination. Now as this aged Empire hath many in-bred diseases, so is it threatned abroad by the Persian on one side, by feare of the Egyptians and Arabs getting head on another; by the Christians on a third, of which the Polander is of most danger, as beeing neereſt in place, and oftenest prouoked. Besides, his successe hath been some weakning to the grand Signior, insomuch that the free proposition of peace on his part, in the yeare 1634, argued a feare, and doubtlesse there is a secret reason that makes the Turke distrust his own state more now than euer.

The Pyrats and Renegadoes of Algier, Tunes, and Sally (whose actions the grand Signior protecteth, though not their persons, leauing them in that point of safety to themselues) H
haue distasted the Christians of late very much, especially our English, by committing diuers outrages on the Westerne coasts of England, as also on the South South-West and West of Ireland, where they aduentured to make some inrodes, and haue carried away much cattel and people for slaues, burning diuers Villages.

Vpon the knowledge whereof, his Majestie of great Brittaine appointed a fleet to goe to the streights for their suppression, and the redemption of his subiects that were in those parts Captiues. Which Fleet returned towards the later end of the last yeare 1637, victorious, bringing along an honourable Embassadour from the Emperour of Moroco, with gratulations for the happy successe which he had against rebels there by this aid of the English. The particulars whereof are of more consequence, than to be made (as they are) the subiects of I
ridiculous pamphlets, and otherwise should haue made a place in this History. For the Morocco being a Mahometan in Religion, is likewise a kinde of Tributarie to the grand Seignior, though perhaps he payeth it voluntarily, and vnder the colour and name of a Present, the which doth make it but a degree more honourable. This Prince, (who hath all the attributes of a good man, and is not so much affected to Turkish libertie) whether particularly obliged for this good seruice of the English, or generally desirous to publish his good inclination, hath from circumstance giuen hope to Christians of aid in any laudable designe, as this of suppressing Theeues and Rebels, and redeeming Captiues was. For the Trade of the Leuant hath not so much danger from the vices of Turkish Ministers, as from those former places, the receptacles of Pyrats, most of which are Renegadoes. K

Now if the grand Signior should haue any resentment of this, and that a Warre should follow betweene him and the Moroco (who is a powerfull Prince and actiue) he must of necessitie, by translating the seat of it so farre Westward, leaue Asia vndefenced against the Persian; and the Emperour of Germanie with the ayd of the Pole, might be able to do something prosperously in Hungary. Besides, the Maltæses and Sicilians, if but for neighbourhoods sake, must of necessitie stirre somewhat, and doe for the honour of the Order, which hath of late vpheld it selfe more by the meere ceremonies of it in Courts of peace, than by woonted action.

But these euents must be doubtfull, in that they are grounded vpon secret and vnreuealed intentions. Certaine it is, that the grand Signior is weakened in his power, by the corrupted L
manners of his souldiers; and hauing so many enemies so diuersly planted on euery hand of him, he cannot at once deale with all throughly, neither can he offend any one much, but that he must leaue himselfe vnarmed, or but weakely defended against the other. For his Souldierie consists now of a far smaller number than it formerly did, and those likewise fallen from their first institution, marrying, and applying themselues to merchandise, more than the practise of their proper discipline; insomuch that his Army (which hertofore hath stupified the amased hearers with a number beyond conceit or almost probabilitie, such as that which was repulsed before Vienna) seldome exceeds eighty or a hundred thousand, though the report sounds it more, to the greater terror of the Enemy.

Some haue formerly thought, That a possible entrance might be made to the dissoluing M
of this so mighty Enemy of the Christians, by making the Ianizaries sencible of their originall, and being the children of Christians. But now it is certaine, that the most of them are naturall Turkes borne, and purchased at easie rates by Christians, to supply the number

of

A of tributary children, by which their own are preſerued to pay the grand Signior tribute and cuſtomes; which if they had bin Ianizaries, ſhould haue bin diſtributed to their owne maintenance. The happineſſe in this great difference is, by making the leſſe part ſubiect to neceſſities, they preſerue the immortall one capable of glory. But thoſe that haue learned a Religion full of libertie, and the end (though vainely) promiſing eternitie, with full fruition of greater pleaſures, would hardly be withdrawn to embrace a ſtrict one, whoſe progreſſe is conſcience and auſteritie.

One thing is moſt remarkeable, and may include ſome apparancie of a change at leaſt in that gouernment; which is, That the Turks begin more and more to leaue their barbariſme, and fall to the ſtudy of Arts: inſomuch that diuers Baſſa's write the Annals of their ſeuerall
B Prouinces, in the Arabick, of which they labour alſo to attaine the elegance. Euery one beſides is inſtructed in the Italian, which is now grown the Court language. It is reported likewiſe by a Gentleman that hath publiſhed his journal, how he had obſerued ſome of them affected to Poetry, and that he had ſeen ſome Sonets of their compoſing: which without doubt wil cauſe ſome alteration in their maners; according to *Ovid*,

Adde, quod inſidiæ ſacris à vatibus abſunt,
Et facit ad mores ars quoque noſtra bonos.

From ſacred Poets fraud is abſent far,
C And manners by our Art much better'd ar'.

Yet perhaps the effects of eaſe and ſoftneſſe will ſhew themſelues, as they grow more Schollers, and leſſe martiall; which many times hapneth where men are beſt inſtructed: And heretofore the liues of the Turks hath bin more practiue than ſpeculatiue, and their actions ordered more from neceſſitie than conſideration.

But as a certain and conſtant fortune is an euill (according to *Sophocles* in *Ajace*;) ſo the long flouriſhing ſtate of this empire hath made it the obiect of greater danger, and the change and diſſolution is imminent; but to what aduantage of others, is in the prouidence onely of him that ordereth all, and hath long ſuffered this to continue a
D ſcourge for Chriſtians, whoſe irreligious negligence of their principal duties, haue deſeruedly drawn down that puniſhment.

FINIS.

A of subiectry children, by which their own are preferred to pay the grand Signior tribute and customes; which if they had bin Iamizares, should haue bin distributed to their owne maintenance. The happinesse in this great difference is, by making the lesse part subiect to necessities, they preserue the immortall one capable of glory. But those that haue learned a Turkish full of liberty, and the sad (though vaine) promising eternitie, with full fruition of greater pleasures, would hardly be withdrawn to embrace a life, whose progresse is contrarie and auerse to it.

One thing is most remarkable, and may include some appearance of a change at least in that gouernment; which is, That the Turkes begin more and more to leaue their barbarisme, and fall to the study of Arts: insomuch that diuers Bassas write the Annals of their seuerall

B Prouinces, in the Arabick, of which they labour also to attaine the elegance. Lately one besides is spoken of in the Italian, which is now grown the Court language. It is reported likewise by a Gentleman that hath published his iournal, how he had obtained some of them affected to Poetry, and that he had seene some Sonets of their composing with by-rymes, and some obseruation in their measures, according to ours.

From sacred Poets fraud is ablest far,
And manners by our Arts much better'd are.

C Perhaps the effects of Arts and Science will shew themselues as they grow more Scholastick and lesse martiall; which many times hath put warre men are best in, to God: And therefore the lines of the Turkes hath on more practise than speculative, and their actions oderiue from vse rather than consideration.

But as a certain and constant fortune is an euill (according to Sophocles in Aiace;) To the long flourishing state of this empire hath made the odio of greater danger, and the change and dissolution is imminent; but to what aduantage of others, is in the prouidence only of him that ordereth all, and hath long suffered this to continue a

D scourge for Christians, which irreligious negligence of their principall Nations, haue doctrinally drawn down that punishment.

FINIS.

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Alis Beg Gouernor of Strigonium comming downe into the lower Towne, is there stayed by the Ianizaries, 1066,k. his resolute answer vnto the message sent him from the Lord Palfi, 1069,e. slaine with a great shot, 1071,e.

Almericus earle of Ioppa after the death of his brother Baldwin chosen sixt K. of Ierusalem, 53,e. with a puissant army entreth Ægypt, and in plaine battell ouerthroweth Dargan the Sultan,e. aideth Sanar the Sultan against Saracon, Noradius Generall, whom he ouerthroweth in Ægypt, 56 i. taketh Alexandria,l. winneth Pelusium, 57, dieth, 58,k.

Aloysius Grittus the Duke of Venice his sonne sent by Solyman as his lieutenant into Hungary, to ouersee King Iohn, 631,f. contemned by Americus, causeth him to be murthred, 633,d. besieged by the Transyluanians, 634,h. taken and beheaded, l. the great riches found about him, 635,a.

Alphonsus King of Naples sendeth ayd vnto Scanderbeg, 369,f. with Alexander Bishop of Rome craueth ayd of Baiazet the Turke against Charles the French king, 451,a.

Alphonsus resigneth his kingdome of Naples vnto his sonne Ferdinand, 453,c.

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Asam-Beg with his army ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner by Scanderbeg, 383,f.
Asmehemed iustly rewarded for his trecherie, 178,k.
Assan Aga derideth the messengers sent vnto him from Charles the Emperor, 719,b. taketh the Spaniards to mercy, 724,k.
Auria with his fleet doth the Turks great harme in Peloponesus, 626,h. besiegeth Corone, and hath it yeelded vnto him, 627,a. taketh and ransacketh Patras with the Castles of Rhium and Molycreum, c. returneth to Genua, e. troubleth the Turks fleet, and taketh twelue of their gallies full of Ianizaries & Solymans other best souldiers, 672,l. braueth Barbarussa in the bay of Ambracia, 688,g. shamefully flyeth with his Fleet, 689,e. dyeth, 787,c.
Austria spoyled by the Turks, 616,i. Altenburg taken,k.
Austria sore wasted by Cason, 621,
Axalla a Christian in great fauor with Tamerlane, and his lieutenant Generall in his warres against the Turke, 214,b. takes Bajazet the great Turke prisoner, 219,d. without resistance taketh Prusa, 221,b. ouerthroweth one of the Turks Bassaes with the slaughter of thirty thousand Turkes, 235,d.

B

Babylon taken and sacked by the Tartars, 113,b. with the countries of Mesopotamia and Assyria yeelded to Solyman, 651,a.
Baiazet the first why syrnamed Gyldenrun or Lightening, 195,f. succeedeth his father Amurath in the Turkish Kingdome, 203,b. inuadeth Sernia, c. by Ferises his Lieutenant spoyleth Valachia, f. oppresseth most of the Mahometane Princes the Successors of Sultan Saladin in the lesser Asia, 204,k. inuadeth Valachia, ouerthroweth the Vayuod, and causeth him to become his Tributarie, 205, a. besiegeth Constantinople eight yeares, c. In a great battell at Nicopolis ouerthroweth Sigismund King of Hungarie with his Confederates, 206,g. returneth againe to the siege of Constantinople, k. marrieth Despina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Despot, 207,a. pretily reproued by his Ieaster, d. in battell ouercommeth Aladin the Caramanian king, and deliuereth him prisoner to Temurtases his Lieutenant, 208,m. subdueth the Caramanian Kingdome, 209,a. hath the great cities of Amasia and Sebastia yeelded vnto him, a. oppresseth the Mahometane Princes of the lesser Asia, d. vnciuilly entertaineth the Embassadours of the Mighty Tamerlane sent vnto him in the behalfe of the poore princes by him oppressed, 211. accounteth a shepheard more happy than himselfe, 216,k. ioineth a great and mortall battel with Tamerlane, 219,b. forsaken of his owne souldiors, c. ouerthrowne and taken prisoner by Axalla, d. brought to Tamerlane, 220. shut vp in a iron cage like a beast, m. dieth miserably, 227,b. his issue, as also his immediate Successor vncertaine, 231,c. his true posterity, 232,g.
Baiazet the second exclued from the succession in the Turkish Empire by his sonne Corcutus, commeth to Constantinople, 437,e. by the mediation of the great Bassa's, obtaineth the Kingdome of Corcutus, 438,g. goeth against his brother Zemes vp in rebellion against him, i. in doubt to haue been betrayed by his souldiers, 441,c. reuiled by the Ianizaries, 444,h. putteth some of them to death, 445, a. purposeth their vtter destruction, b. glad to dissemble his purpose, and to reconcile himself vnto them, f. sendeth Dantius his Embassadour to Alexander Bishop of Rome, 451,d. glad to heare that diuers of the Christian Princes had combined themselues against the French king, 456,i. in danger to haue been slaine by a Dernistar or Turkish Monke, 463,c. Baiazet by nature peaceable, d. his children, 467,k. sendeth Embassadours with presents vnto his sonne Selymus, 480,i. seeking to preferre Achomates his eldest sonne to the Empire, himselfe yet liuing, is mightily withstood by the souldiers of the Court before corrupted by Selymus, 481,b. hee forbiddeth Selymus to come vnto him and threatneth him, 482,h. fearing to lose Constantinople, departeth from Hadrianople, i. his resolute speech vnto the Ianizaries and other souldiers of the Court, 484,l. in plaine battell ouercommeth his sonne Selymus at Tzurulum, 485,d. willing the second time to haue resigned his Empire to Achomates, is againe withstood by his men of warre, 487,b. his resolute answer vnto Mustapha and the other traiterous Bassaes after that Selymus was by their practise, by the souldiers of the Court saluted Emperour, 494,k. poysoned by Hamon his Physitian a Iew, 495,f. dieth 496,g.
Baiazet, Solyman his yonger sonne seeketh to aspire vnto the Empire, his father yet liuing, 768,b. setteth vp a counterfeit Mustapha to make an head to his intended rebellion, k. the subtill and crafty dealing of the supposed Mustapha to deceiue the people, l. forsaken of his followers, is taken and brought to Solyman at Constantinople, 770,g. secretly with his complices drowned, h. Baiazet sent for by his father, goeth vnto him in fear, l. in few words comforted by his mother, 771,a. sharply for his disloyaltie reproued by his father, and so by him pardoned, b. returneth againe to his charge, d. after the death of Roxolana his mother raiseth new stirres, e. admonished of his duty by his father, 772,h. vnwilling to go to Amasia the Prouince appointed him by his father, seeketh delayes, 773,k. by a Chiaus requesteth his father not to intermeddle betwixt his brother and him, 774, h. making shew as if he would go to Amasia, stayeth at Ancyra, and there raiseth his forces, l. his quarrell generally fauoured of the souldiers, 775,b. his purpose, d. hee goeth against his brother towards Iconium, e. fighteth a bloudy battell with his brother Selymus, wherein were forty thousand Turks slaine, 776,g. put to the worse retyreth, and so goeth to Amasia, h. more commended by the Souldiers in his ouerthrow, than was his brother in his victory, i. seeketh againe for his fathers fauour, 777,f. despairing thereof flyeth into Persia, deceiuing by the way the Bassaes of Sebastia and Erzirum, 778,k. at the first well entertained by the Persian King, 779,e. his followers by the cunning of the fearefull Persian dispersed and slaine, 780,k. he himselfe with his sonnes imprisoned, l. his miserable estate in prison, 780,f. with his foure sonnes at the instance of his father by the Persian strangled, 782,b.
Baiazet Bassa sent by Amurath against Mustapha the Rebell, forsaken of his Souldiers, yeeldeth, 255,e. vpon a false surmise executed, f.

Baldwin County of *Edessa*, and Brother to *Godfrey*, second King of *Ierusalem*, 25, *a.* winneth *Cæsarea* from the *Infidels*, *b.* ouerthroweth the *Turks* hard by *Rama*, *c.* besiegeth *Ptolemais*, and in retyring thence is mortally wounded, *e.* besiegeth it again, and hath it by composition yeelded vnto him, *e.* after many sharp assaults winneth *Berythus*, 26, *h.* taketh *Sidon* by composition, and in vaine besiegeth *Tyre*, *i.* maketh an expedition into *Ægypt*, and neere vnto *Laris* dieth, *m.*

Baldwin syrnamed *Brugensis*, County of *Edessa*, besiegeth *Carras*, and there taken prisoner, after fiue yeares captiuitie redeemeth himselfe, 25, *d.* after the death of *Baldwin* the first, chosen King of *Ierusalem*, and called *Baldwin* the second, 27, *a.* ouerthroweth the *Turks*, and ioyneth the Principalitie of *Antioch* to his owne Kingdome, *d.* by *Balac* the *Persian* Sultan ouerthrowne and taken prisoner; after eighteene moneths captiuitie, for the ransome of 100000 Duckets set at libertie, 28, *l.* in three notable battels ouerthroweth the King of *Damasco*, 29, *a.* dieth, *b.*

Baldwin the third of that name crowned King of *Ierusalem*, 31, *a.* hardly distressed by *Noradin* the *Turke*, *b.* he fortifieth *Gaza*, and taketh *Ascalon* by composition, 34, *i.* in a set battell ouerthroweth *Noradin* the King of *Damasco* at the Castle of *Sueta*, 35, *f.* falleth sicke and dieth, 36, *h.*

Baldwin the fourth of that name seuenth King of *Ierusalem*, 58, *l.* with a great slaughter ouerthroweth *Saladin* inuading his Kingdome, 59, *d.* putteth him with his great Army againe to flight, 60, *k.* resigneth the gouernment of his Kingdome to *Guy Lusignan* County of *Ioppa* and *Ascalon*, 61, *b.* sendeth Embassadours vnto the Christian Princes of the *West*, and immediately after dieth, 62, *i.*

Baldwin the fifth of that name, yet but boy, was crowned eighth King of *Ierusalem*, and within seuen months after dieth, 62, *i.*

Baldwin County of *Flaunders* and *Henault* chosen by the *Latines* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and so solemnely crowned, 83, *c.* subdueth *Thracia* and besiegeth *Hadrianople*, 85, *a.* ouerthrowne in a battell by the *Scythians* and taken prisoner, is by the commandement of the barbarous King most cruelly put to death, *d.*

Baldwin the second of that name fift and last Emperour of the *Latines* in *Constantinople*, 79, *a.* pawneth his sonne vnto the *Bruges* Merchants for money, 112, *m.* flyeth out of the City of *Constantinople*, being surprised by *Alexius Strategopulus* sent from *Michael Palæologus* the Greeke Emperour, 124, *m.*

Balabanus sent by *Mahomet* against *Scanderbeg*, 393, *b.* put to flight, taketh diuers of *Scanderbegs* best Captaines prisoners at *Alchria*, 396, *g.* with his army ouerthrowne at *Oronicheum*, *l.* the third time ouerthrown in the battell at *Sfetigrade*, 397, *b.* Ouerthrowne by *Scanderbeg* the fourth time in the battell at *Valcha*, 398, *a.* left by *Mahomet* to continue the siege of *Croia*, 400, *l.* slaine, *c.*

Barbarussa succeedeth his brother *Horruccius* in the Kingdome of *Algiers*, 636, *i.* his wonderfull successe, *k.* sent for by *Solyman*, *l.* enuied in the *Turks* Court, 637, *b.* by *Solyman* himselfe reiected to *Abraham* the great Bassa, *d.* trauelleth by land vnto him into *Syria*, and by him commended to *Solyman*, *e.* his speech to *Solyman* to perswade him to inuade the kingdome of *Tunes*, 638, *g.* he is made *Solymans* great Admirall, 639, *d.* spoyleth the coasts of *Italy*, 640, *m.* passeth ouer into *Africke*, and hath *Bisserta* yeelded vnto him, 643, *b.* commeth to *Guletta*, deceiueth the Citisens, and is receiued into *Tunes*, *f.* discomfiteth the Citisens risen vp against him, *b.* hath the city of *Tunes* yeelded vnto him, 645, *e.* is much discouraged with the comming of *Charles* the Emperour into *Africke*, 656, *h.* in his rage executeth *Aloysius Presenda*, *i.* encourageth his souldiers, *l.* his chiefe Captaines, 657, *b.* the County of *Sarne* his head and right hand by *Salec* sent vnto him for a present, 658, *l.* his fleet taken by *Charles* the Emperour at *Guletta*, 661, *a.* he rageth, *b.* calmed by *Sinan* the Iew, *c.* in field with his army against *Charles* the Emperor, 665, *e.* flyeth to *Tunes*, 666, *g.* dissuaded by *Sinan* the Iew from killing the Christian captiues; who shortly after breaking prison, driue the *Turks* out of the Castle of *Tunes*, 666, *l.* flyeth to *Hippona*, and there comforteth his souldiers, 668, *k.* escapeth to *Algiers*, 669, *b.* sent by *Solyman* against the *Venetians*, 687, *a.* repulsed in *Crete*, *b.* reproued of cowardise by one of the *Turks* Eunuchs, 688, *h.* ieasteth at the flight of *Auria*, 689, *e.* braueth the Christians at *Corcyra*, 690, *g.* suffereth shipwrecke vpon the *Acroceraunian* Rocks, *k.* with a great fleet sent by *Solyman* to aid the French King against *Charles* the Emperour, 735, *a.* burneth *Rhegium*, and taketh the Castle, *b.* becommeth amorous of the Captaine of *Rhegium* his daughter, *c.* maketh them afraid in *Rome*, *d.* commeth to *Marseilles*, *f.* for lacke of imployment groweth discontented, 742, *l.* with the French besiegeth *Nice* in *Prouence*, 743, *c.* rageth against the French, & threatneth *Polinus*, 744, *h.* Gineth ouer the siege of the Castle of *Nice*, and setteth fire on the City, *i.* derided by the *Turks* Captaines, sharply answereth their taunts, 748, *l.* rewarded and discharged by the French King, departeth out of *Prouence*, 749, *d.* requesteth of *Appianus* Gouernour of *Elba*, to haue a sonne of *Sinan* the Iewes there prisoner, deliuered vnto him, *e.* spoyleth the Iland, and hath the young man deliuered vnto him, 750, *g.* in his returne to *Constantinople* doth much harme vpon the coast of *Italie*, *m.* dieth, 751, *c*

Barbadicus the *Venetian* Proueditour a notable man, 874, *l.* slaine in the battell of *Lepanto*, 880, *g.*

Barbarous cruelty, 909, *e.*

the *Barbarous* manner of the *Turkish* Sultans to murther their brethren in the beginning of their reigne, when & by whom first begun, 201, *a.*

Bare shift for money, 345, *e.*

the *Bassa* of *Bosna* and his brother slain, 1002, *i.*

the *Bassa* of *Temeswar* ouerthrowne by the *Rascians* and slaine, 1138, *k.*

the *Bassa* of *Buda* taken prisoner, 1110, *i.*

the *Bassa* of *Bosna* slaine, 1110, *k.*

the *Bassa* of *Natolia* taken prisoner by the Prince of *Sarcan*, 217, *c.* his stout answer to *Tamerlane*, *d.* by *Tamerlane* set at libertie and rewarded, *e.*

the *Bassa* of *Buda* slaine, 1136, *l.*

the *Bassa* of *Agria* with 1000 *Turks* ouerthrowne by *Ferrant Gonzaga*, and chased to the gates of the City, 1141, *g.*

Basilicus a faithful man vnto his prince, 170, *b.*

Battels.

A cruell battell fought betwixt *Solyman* the *Turke* and the Christian Princes going towards the Holy land, 16, *l.* an hundred thousand *Turks* slaine in the battell neere vnto *Antioch*, betwixt *Corbanas* the *Persian* Sultans Lieutenant, and the Christian

an Princes, 20, b. 100000 Turks and Sarasins slain in the great battel not far from Ascalon, fought betwixt Godfrey of Buillon and the Turks and Sarasins, 24, l. the great battell betwixt Amurath the first, and Lazarus the Despot, fought in the plaines of Cossouia, 200, i. The battell of Nicopolis betwixt Baiazet the first and Sigismund king of Hungarie, 206, g. The great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and the great Tamerlane, 219, b. the battell of Vascape betwixt Huniades and Abedin Bassa, 273, c. the wofull battell of Varna betwixt King Vladislaus and Amurath the second, 297, b. the great battell of Cossouia, fought three daies together betwixt Amurath and Huniades, 307, d. the battell betwixt Vsun-Cassanes the Persian King and Mahomet the Great, 410, f. the battell of Tzurulum betwixt Baiazet and his sonne Selymus, 485, d. the great battell betweene Selymus and Hysmael, 510, m. the battell of Singa betwixt Selymus and Campson, 529, e the battell betwixt Sinan Bassa and Gazelles, 535, c. The great battell of Rhodonia betwixt Selymus and Tomombeius, 539, c. The great and dreadfull battell of Caire, fought two dayes together betwixt the Mamalukes and the Turks, 545, c. the battell of Mohatczh betwixt Solyman and King Lewis, 602, k. the battell of Tockaie betwixt the armies of King Iohn and King Ferdinand, 606 b. the memorable battell of Lepanto betwixt Haly Bassa and Don Iohn, 878, b. the battell of Suncazen betwixt the Persian Prince and the Turks, Osman their Generall then lying sicke, 994, m. the battell of Alba-Regalis betwixt the Imperialls & the Turks, 1026, b. the battell of Strigonium, 1068, b. the battell of Agria, betwixt Mahomet the third and Maximilian the Archduke the Emperors brother, 1097, d.

Bedredin the counterfeit Prophet hanged, 251, d.

Begum the Persian Queene made away, 941, a.

Belgrade besieged by Amurath the second, 263, c. notably defended by the Christians, 266, g. againe besieged by Mahomet the Great, 357, b. woon by Solyman, 569, b.

Belgrade in the confines of Epirus besieged by Scanderbeg, 370, h.

Bloudy precepts left by Selymus vnto his sonne Solyman, 563, b.

Bodo constant to King Iohn, 606, k.

Bosna of a kingdome converted to a prouince of the Turks Empire, 365, b.

Bosna with some part of Sernia taken from the Turks by Mathias King of Hungarie, 404, k.

Bragadinus Gouernour of Famagusta encourageth his souldiers, 864, i. yeeldeth vnto the request of the Citizens of Famagusta, in time to deliuer vp the City, not now longer to be defended, 866, k. entreth into parley with the Turks, l. comming to the false Bassa Mustapha vpon his faith, for his safety before giuen, is by him most shamefully and horribly murthered, 867, a.

Buda besieged by the Lord Rogendorff King Ferdinand his lieutenant, 702, i. surprised by Solyman, 710, k. besieged, and the lower city taken by the Lord Palsi, 1105, c. the castle by him battered, undermined, and in vain assaulted, 1105 c. the lower city of Buda againe taken by the Christians, 1146, i. the vpper City and Castle besieged, 1174, b. in vaine assaulted, f. the siege for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Christians, 1149, c.

C

Caffa with the countrey of Taurica Chersonesus subdued by the Turks, 412, l.

Caire described, 542, m. taken by Selymus, 545, i.

Calo Ioannes after the death of Alexius his father succeedeth him in the Empire, 27, c. he taketh Tarsus in Cilicia, besiegeth Antioch, and vpon composition raiseth his siege. 30, g. wounded with a poysoned arrow, dyeth, k.

Calcis the chiefe City of Eubœa besieged by the Turks, 405, d. taken by the Turks, 406, h.

Callipolis taken by the Turks, 186, g.

Caly Bassa dissuadeth Mahomet from the siege of Constantinople, 344, l. Caly Bassa cruelly executed, 350, g.

Calybeius Bassa and Cherseogles after a long and mortall battell taken by Vsbeg, and sent prisoners to Caytbeius, 450, b.

Campson Gaurus with what causes moued to fall out with Selymus, 522, g. his moderate and happy gouernment, 524, l. his answer vnto the Embassadours of Selymus, 525, a. perplexed, 527, b. slaine, 530, i. his dead body layd out to be seene of all men, 531, a.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall doth the Turks great harme, 405, a. with his whole family exiled, 406, l.

Canisa besieged by the Turks, 1131, e. cowardly yeelded, 1132, b. besieged by Ferdinand the Archduke, 1137, b. the siege by reason of tempest and extremitie of weather giuen ouer, 1138, k.

Capcapus Gouernour of Damasco reuolteth from the Tartars to the Turks, 126, i.

Carasina yeelded vnto Orchanes, 184, b.

Caraguza a Turke offereth a challenge vnto any of the souldiers in Scanderbegs army, 312, b.

Caragoses Bassa Beglerbeg of Asia, in a great battell ouerthrowne by Techellis, 472, b. taken prisoner, 473, a. horribly empaled by the high-wayes side, 474, g.

Caramania by Baiazet vnited to the Ottoman Empire, 447, c.

Caracoza the famous pyrat slaine, 881, e.

Carazies Bassa slaine, 357, d.

Cardinall Bathor taketh vpon him the principalitie of Transyluania, 1109, f. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Michael the Vayuod, 1113, c. his head sent for a Present vnto the Emperour, e.

Cassan Bassa slaine, 510, m.

the Castle of Buda by the garrison souldiers without the consent of their captaine yeelded to Solyman, 610, g.

Cassanes the Tartar inuadeth Syria, 125, c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Melcenasey the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, d. repaireth Ierusalem, and giueth it to the Christians, hath Damasco yeelded vnto him, e.

Castronouum taken from the Turks, and by the Imperials vniustly detained from the Venetians, 690, g. recouered againe by Barbarussa, 691, d.

the Catalonians entertained by Andronicus the Emperour, for want of pay spoile his Subiects, 151, a. take the spoile of Calipolis, and there fortifying themselues, do great harme both by sea and land, d. aided by the Turks, ouerthroweth Michael the Emperour in plaine battell, 152, k. spoile a great part of Thracia, 153, a. seat themselues in the Cities of Athens and Thebes, 154, i.

Caytbeius the Ægyptian Sultan sendeth Embassadors to Baiazet in the behalf of Zemes, 440, l. dieth, 450, i.

Cayerbeius Gouernour of Comagena, bearing a grudge to Campson, hath intelligẽce with Selymus, 528, k. plaieth the cunning traitor, 529, d. by Selymus made Gouernour of Cayre and Ægypt, 554, h.

Cazia-

Cazianer Generall of King Ferdinands army against the Turks, 677, e. besiegeth Execke, 680, i. toretyre with more haste, would haue broken his great ordnance, 681, c. a generall fear in his camp, 682, i. his dishonourable flight, 683, e. generally hated, 685, f. breaketh prison, 686, h. shamefully murthered, and his head sent to King Ferdinand, i.

Cephalenia taken from the Turks by the Venetians, 460, k.

Chamuzes Bassa and Catobolinus the Turks Secretarie hanged by Wladus, 361, d.

Charles the French King inuadeth the Kingdome of Naples, 453, d. receiued into the city of Naples, 455, d.

Charles the Emperor his great preparation against Solyman, 616, b. his power at Vienna, 622, l. after the departure of Solyman returneth into Italy, 626, g. his great preparation for the inuasion of Tunes, 654, m. he passeth ouer into Africke, 656, g. landeth his army at Gulletta, 657, e. deserueth the Oken Garland, 663, c. he marcheth towards Tunes, 664, l. content to be commanded by his Lieutenant, 665, d. putteth Barbarussa to flight, f. hath Tunes yeelded vnto him, 667, c restoreth it to Muleasses, now become his tributarie, 669, d. returneth into Italy, e. with the Venetians and the Bishop of Rome entreth into a confederation against Solyman, 686, l. inuadeth Algiers, 718, i. sendeth a messenger to Assan Aga Gouernor of Algiers for Barbarussa, m. his messenger and message scorned by Assan Aga the Eunuch, 719, b. his notable courage in staying the flight of his army, 721, e. most part of his Fleet lost by tempest, 722, h. the miserie of his army, 723, a. horses good meat in his camp, c. raiseth his siege and departeth from Algiers, d. drowneth his horses of great price, to make roome for his common souldiers, 724, b. after many troubles, arriueth at length at new Carthage in Spaine, 725, a. resigneth his Empire vnto his brother Ferdinand, and shortly after dieth, 783, a.

Charles County Mansfelt sent by the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries with 2000 horse and 6000 foot to aid the Emperour in his wars against the Turke, 1061, d. by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant Generall of his army in the lower Hungary vnder Mathias the Archduke, and created one of the Princes of the Empire, 1061, e. with seuerity appeaseth the mutinous Germanes, 1064, g. remoueth suddenly with his army from Doris to Strigonium, 1065, b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Bassa of Buda comming to the reliefe of Strigonium, 1068, i. dieth at Comara, 1070, k.

Chars in three and twenty dayes fortified by the Turks, 943, f.

Chasan Chelife and Schach-Culi two hypocriticall Persians, authors of the sect of the Cusel-Bassa's or Red-heads among the Turks, 495, e. stir vp a great rebellion, 469, e. Chasan Chelife slaine, 474, i.

Chendemus Bassa by many graue reasons dissuadeth Selymus from inuading the Persians, 506, h. he is by the commandement of Selymus vnworthily slaine, 507, b.

Cherseogles Bassa what he was, and why he turned Turke, 484, g. a fauourer of learning, i. the onely of great men faithfull to Baiazet, perswadeth him to giue battell vnto his rebellious son Selymus, 483, d.

Chios taken by the Turks, 819, c.

Chiroche dissuadeth the Bassaes Partan and Haly from giuing battell vnto the Christians at Lepanto, 875, b. encountreth with Contarenus, 800, i. slaine, and his galley taken, l.

Christians fight against Christians, to the confusion of themselues and benefit of the Turke, 340, k. in seeking too greedily after the spoile, ouerthrowne and discomfited in the battell at Karesta, 1089. g.

Cicala Bassa by the appointment of Osman the Visier Bassa commands the Turks great Army after his death, in the returne thereof from Tauris, 995, c. dischargeth the Army at Van, 996, h. afraid to giue aid to Giaffer Bassa at Tauris, 998, l. restoreth the battel before lost at Karesta, 1098. with a great fleet commeth to see his Mother the Lady Lucretia at Messina, 1107, b.

Columnius the Popes Admirall interposeth himselfe as a mediatour betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, and so wel appeaseth the matter, 874, g.

Comparison betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane, 227, c.

Confederation hard to trust vpon, 840, h.

Conrade Marquesse of Montferat slain, by two desperat russians, 17, d.

Conrade the third, Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 31, c. cannot be suffered to enter into Constantinople, but is treacherously dealt withall by the Greeke Emperour, 32. with a notable speech encourageth his Souldiours to aduenture the riuer Meander, 33, a. with a great slaughter ouerthroweth the Turks, 34, g. besiegeth Iconium, and so returneth, h.

Constantins prince of Bulgaria, with the Tartars inuade the territories of Palæologus the Greeke Emperour, and spoileth Thracia, 117, b.

Constantine the Despot sent by the old Emperour Andronicus his Brother, against young Andronicus his Nephew, 163, a. taken prisoner at Thessalonica, and miserably vsed, f.

Constantine the Greeke Emperor in vain craueth aid of the other Christian Princes, 340, h. at the winning of Constantinople by the Turks troden to death, 347, b.

Constantinople built by Pausanias, destroyed by Seuerus, re-edified by Constantine the Great, 342, a. how seated, 340, k. taken and spoiled by the Latines, 83, a. recouered from the Latines by Alexius Strategopulus, 115, d. betraid vnto the young Emperour Andronicus, 171, d. in vaine besieged by Amurath the second, 257, f. againe besieged by Mahomet the Great, 340, k. assaulted by the Turks, 346, k. woon, 347, c.

Contarenus the Venetian Admiral slain 413, c.

Corcutus saluted Emperour before his father Baiazet, 437, d. kindly resigneth the Empire to his father, 438, g. giuen to the study of Philosophie, and therefore not beloued of the Ianizaries, 478, k. commeth to Constantinople, 491, d. his notable speech vnto his father to perswade him to resigne vnto him the Empire before the comming of his brother Selymus, 491, e. comforted by his father, and put in hope of the Empire, 492, m. flieth to Magnesia, 495, a. sought after by Selymus, hideth himselfe in a caue, 501, f. is found and taken, 522, g. by the commandement of Selymus strangled, h.

Corcug-Ogli the pyrat perswadeth Solyman to besiege the Rhodes, 570, g.

Corone, Pylus, and Crisseum Cities of Peloponesus belonging to the Venetians, yeelded vnto the Turks, 460, b.

Corone besieged by the Turks, 627, f. relieued by Auria, 629, d. abandoned and forsaken by the Spaniards, 631, c.

Cornea and Serbellio two antient Spanish Captaines perswade the giuing of battell vnto the Turks at Lepanto, 872, i.

Costly dishes, 745, d.

Cowardise punished, 1093,c.
Crete described, 868,h.
Croia besieged by Amurath the second, 323,b. in vaine assaulted, 324,k. besieged by Mahomet the Great, 400,i. relieued, 401,c. againe besieged by Mahomet, 402,k. the third time besieged, 413,d. yeelded to the Turks, 417,a.
Cubates Selymus his Embassadour commeth to Venice, 839,f. but homely entertained there, 840,f. his speech in the Senat of Venice, k. for feare of the people secretly conueied away, 842,g.
Curzola forsaken by the men, defended by women. 869,c.
Cusabin Bassa of Caramania riseth vp in rebellion against Mahomet the third, 1114, k. ouerthroweth the Sanzacks sent to haue oppressed him, l. at the comming of Mehemet the Visier Bassa sent against him, flieth, 1115,b. forsaken of his followers, is taken and tortured to death at Constantinople,d.
the Cuselbassaes when and how they begun amongst the Turks. 465,f.
Cyprus described, 843,b. how that kingdome came to the Venetians,c. taken from them by Selymus the second, 867,f.
Cyrene yeelded to the Turks, 852,i.
Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks passage ouer the Danubius, into Valachia, 911, d. reuolteth vnto the Turks, 912,k.

D

Damasco betrayed to Saladin Sultan of Ægypt, 58,m. taken and sacked by the Tartars, 1133,e. yeelded to Selymus, 532,m.
Damiata and the description thereof, 89,a. taken by the Christians, being before vnpeopled by the Plague, 92, m.
Dandalus Admirall of the Venetian fleet, 85,a.
Dauid and Alexius Comneni, Nephews to Andronicus the Emperor, erect vnto themselues a new empire in Trapezond, 84,l.
Dauid the last Emperour of Trapezond put to death by Mahomet the Great, and that Empire subuerted, 336,m.
Daut Chan for his good seruice rewarded by Amurath the third, 996,i.
Dearth in the Turks army at Triala, 970,b.
Debreus slain, and his army ouerthrown by Scanderbeg, 367,e.
Dedesmet the Georgian widow, with her son Alexander submit themselues to Mustapha the great Bassa, 937,e.
Delimenthes with fiue thousand Persians pursueth the Turks army, 652, k. assaileth their campe by night and maketh of them a great slaughter, m
Demetrius submitteth himselfe vnto Mahomet the Great, 355,b.
Demetrius the Rhodian Traitor slaine, 239,a.
Desdrot Gouernor of Stellusa, to the terror of the Turks in Sfetigrade, before their faces executed, 287,a.
Didymotichum yeelded vnto the Turks, 189,e.
Diogenes the Emperour discomfiteth the Turks, 8,h. himselfe by the treason of Iohn Ducas by them againe ouerthrowne, 9,e. taken prisoner, 10,g. honourably vsed by the Turks Sultan, h. ouerthrowne and taken prisoner by Andronicus, hath his eies put out, whereof he dieth, m.
Dissention among the Turks, about the succession, after the death of Mahomet the Great, 437, b.
Dissention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, 873, c.
Diuum a castle of the Venetians in the East Indies in vaine assaulted by the Turks, 670,l.
Doganes Aga of the Ianizaries whipt and displaced, 339,b.
Dotis taken by the Turks, 1099,c.
Dragut a most famous Pyrat of the Turks, by Auria driuen out of the City of Africa in the Kingdome of Tunes, 752,i. commeth to the siege of Malta, 797,d. his souldiers inforced shamefully to retyre, 799. slaine, 801,b.
Dracula Vayuod of Valachia dissuadeth King Vladislaus from farther proceeding in his warres against Amurath, 205,e. aideth him with his sonne and 400 horse, 296, b. his last farwell vnto the King, i.
the Drusian people what they are, 982,i.
Dulcigno, Antiuari, and Budua, strong townes of the Venetians vpon the coasts of Epirus and Dalmatia, yeelded to the Turke, 869,a.
the Duke of Muscouie his Letters and Presents sent vnto the Emperour, 1071,a.
Duke Mercury Generall of the Emperours forces in the lower Hungary, commeth in vaine to relieue Canisia, 1131,e. in retyring loseth three thousand of his men with certain pieces of great ordnance and his baggage, 1132 g. besiegeth Alba-Regalis, 1134,m. winneth it, 1135,f. inforceth Hassan the Turks Generall with the losse of 6000 of his Turks to retyre, 1139,l.
Dyrrachium, now called Durazo, taken by the Turks, 461,c.

E

Earthquake most terrible in Constantinople, 476,h.
Edward eldest sonne to Henry the third, King of England, taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land, and arriueth at Tunes, 119,c. arriueth at Ptolemais, 120,g. taketh Nazareth and putteth the Turks to flight, h. by a desperat Sarasin dangerously wounded with an enuenomed knife, k. cured of his wound, maketh peace with the Sultan, and returneth into England, 121,a.
the Egyptians diuersly affected towards the Mamalukes, 542,i.
Einases Bassa hath his eies burnt out, 238,m.
Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan besiegeth Tripolis, and taketh it by force, 122, l. winneth Sidon and Berythus, and raseth them, taketh Tyre by composition, and winneth all the strong Holds in Syria and Palestine from the Christians, except onely the strong city of Ptolemais, 122, m. maketh peace with the remainder of the Christians, m.
Emanuel the Greeke Emperour with a great power inuadeth the Dominions of the Sultan of Iconium, 38, h. loseth a great part of his Army, 39,c. in danger to haue been taken, notably defendeth himselfe, 40,l. in his greatest distresse hath peace offered him by the Sultan, which he gladly accepteth, 42, i. he vanquisheth Atapacke the Sultans Generall, m. falleth sicke and dieth, 43,e.
Emanuel the Greeke Emperour vpon hard conditions obtaines peace of Baiazet the Great Turke, and becommeth his tributary, 206,l. by his Embassadours offereth his Empire vnto Tamerlane, and so to become his vassall, 221, d. commeth himselfe vnto him at Prusa, 222, h. honourably entertaineth him, comming in priuat ouer to Constantinople, i.
Embassadors sent from Tamas the Persian King to Selymus, 836, b. honorably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople, 837, b. the Persian Embassador in going to visit Muhamet the Visier Bassa, in danger to haue been slaine, d. the rich Presents by him giuen to Selymus, 838,g.
Emir-Hamze the Persian Prince commeth into Siruan, 939, c, killeth Caitas Bassa, and recouereth Eres, d. ouerthroweth the Tartars, and taketh

taketh Abdilcheray, 940,g. recouereth Sumachia,i. returneth to Casbin, k. ouerthroweth the vauward of the Turks army, 990,l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Cicala Bassa and the Bassa of Caraemit, 993,b. dareth Osman the Turks Generall to battell, c. with his owne hand killeth the Bassa of Caraemit,f. killeth also the Bassa of Trapezond with twenty thousand Turks moe. 994,g. ouerthroweth 20000 of the Turks at the battell of Sancazan, 995,b. ouercommeth the rebellious Turcomans, and executeth their Leaders, 998, h. sacketh Salmas, 1000,k. putteth the Bassa of Reiuan to flight, l. slaine by one of his Eunuches, 1002,h.

Emir Chan hauing his eies put out, dyeth miserably in prison, 973,c.

the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Polonia intangled in their Leagues with the Turke, refuse to giue aid vnto the Venetians against him, 842,k.

the Empire of Trapezond ouerthrowne and subuerted by Mahomet the Great, 361,a.

Ertogrul with his brother Dunder and foure hundred families of the Turks stay in their returne towards Persia, 133, f. by his good seruice obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Suguta for himselfe, and his Turks to dwell in, 134, k. taketh the Castle of Cara-Chisar from the Christians, 135,a.

Eubœa taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great, 406,k.

Eurenoses his rich Present vnto Amurath at the mariage of his sonne Baiazet, 193,b.

Eudocia the Empresse contrary to her oath, desirous to marry, dealeth cuntingly with the Patriarch to dispense with her oath, 7, d. marrieth Diogenes Romanus a prisoner condemned to die, and maketh him Emperour, f. she is deposed by the traiterous Iohn Ducas, Psellus, and others, and thrust into a Monasterie, 10, i.

Eustace gouernor of the Kingdome of Ierusalem discomfiteth the Sarasins in a great battell, neere vnto Ascalon, and not long after dieth, 28,i.

F

Famagusta besieged by the Turks, 852, k. hath a new supply put into it by Quirinus, 855,e. described, 863, b. the number of the defendants in it, c. twice assaulted and notably defended by the Christians, d,e. vndermined, 865, a. furiously by the Turks assaulted, and valiantly by the Christians defended, b. a great part of the wall blowne vp, and the City againe assaulted, 866, g. yeelded vp to the Turks, m.

Famine in Scodra, 426.g.

Faulconers and huntsmen in great number in the Turks Court, 338, k.

Ferat Bassa sent by Solyman against Alis-Beg the mountaine Prince, 600, i. trecherously murthereth him and his foure sonnes, l.

Ferat Bassa by Amurath chosen General of his Army against the Persians in stead of Sinan, 965, d. in the space of fifteene daies buildeth a Fort at Reiuan, as he was by Amurath commanded, 966, i. breaketh vp his army at Erzirum, 967, d. raiseth a new army, f. fortifieth Lori, 968, k. buildeth a Fort vpon the streit of Tomanis, 969, a. reproueth Veis Bassa of Aleppo, 970, k. is himselfe reuiled by the Ianizaries and Spahi, l. by them disobeyed and threatned, 971, d. his stout answer to his mutinous soldiers, f. his Tents ouerthrowne and he againe threatned, 972, g. disgraced, breaketh vp his army at Ardachan, k. grieuously complained of to Amurath, 973, e. by Amurath againe made Generall against the Persians, 999, b. commeth to Van, 1000, g. putteth succors into Tauris, 1001, d. taketh Genge, 1004, m. sent by Mahomet Generall of his Army into Hungary, 1060, l. disgraced at his first comming to the Army, m. ouerthrowne in Valachia, 1062, h. sent for to Constantinople, and there strangled, 1073, b.

Ferdinand King of Bohemia layeth claime to the Kingdome of Hungarie, 605, b. taketh Buda, c. crowned King of Hungarie, 606, k. seeketh for the fauor of Solyman, 608, is by him reiected and threatned, k. perswaded by the Hungarian fugitiues to inuade Hungarie, 698, g. dissuaded by Lascus, k. sendeth Lascus to Solyman, and other Embassadors to the Queen of Hungarie to demand of her that Kingdome, 699, b. hee inuadeth Hungarie, 700, g. taketh Pesth and Vacia, and besiegeth Buda, h. dieth, 791, d.

Fileck taken by the Christians, 1027, c.

Foscarus a graue Senatour, 693, f. vnworthily disgraced by the multitude, 694, g.

Fourteen waggons loaded with the heads of the slaine Christians, 1017, c.

Francis the French King the more to trouble the Emperour, soliciteth Solyman to inuade his territories, 725, c.

Francis Acciauol Duke of Thebes by the commandment of Mahomet murthered, 354, l.

Frederick the Emperor taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land, 66, h.

Fredericke Duke of Sueuia the Emperours sonne in his fathers stead chosen Generall of the Christians Army, 66, m. hath Antioch deliuered vnto him, 67, d. dieth of the Plague, and is buried by his father in the Cathedrall Church at Tyre, 68, g.

Frederick the Germane Emperor vndertaketh an expedition into the Holy Land, 98, l. crowned King of Ierusalem, which is by him repaired, 99, e.

the Frenchmen and Wallons in mutiny at Pappa, 1116, k. compact with the Turks to deliuer to them the towne, 1117, a. seeking secretly to haue fled, are most of them slaine, and the rest that were taken put to most horrible tortures, 1119, b.

Friuli part of the Venetian Territorie miserably spoyled by the Turks, 414, l. againe spoyled by Scander Bassa and the Turks, 458, b.

the frontiers of the Emperors territories grieuously spoyled by the Turkes, 1150, k.

the frugalitie of the Turks, 713, f.

Fulke County of Turin, Maine, and Anion taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land, 29, b. dieth of a fall off his horse in hunting, and is buried at Ierusalem, 30, m,

Fuscarinus in his absence, by the generall consent of the Venetian State chosen Admirall, 887, f. encourageth the Confederates to giue the Turks battel, 890, l. in vaine perswadeth the Confederates to take the aduantage of the Turks dispersed Fleet, 893, a. earnestly dissuadeth Don Iohn and the Spaniards from returning without giuing the Turks battell, 899, a.

G

Galile spoyled, and the castle of Burie taken by the Turks, 60, i.

Garzias of Toledo Viceroy of Sicilia after long delay at last setteth forward with his fleet to relieue the besieged at Malta, 814, k. by tempest driuen into the Island of Ægusa, 815, e. arriueth at Malta and landeth his men, 816, i.

Gazelles his wholesome counsell vnto Campson, for protracting the warre against Selymus, 527, e. comming

to haue oppressed Sinan Bassa at Gaza, is by him himselfe ouerthrowne, 534, i. his notable speech in submitting himselfe to Selymus, 546, m. by Selymus made gouernor of Siria, 560 l. rebelleth against Solyman, 568, h. slaine, l.

Gaza yeelded vnto Sinan Bassa, 534, g.

George the Despot of Sernia a man of no Religion, 256, i. driuen out of his Kingdome by Amurath, 262, g. restored by King Uladislaus, 289, b. denieth passage vnto Scanderbeg through his country, 295, b. glad to craue aid of Huniades, whom he had before euil intreated, 310, his death, 356, i.

George Bishop of Veradium a notable man, 697, c. murthered in his owne house, 756, i.

Geordiron the phylitian notably deludeth the Ianizaries & Spahi of the court, 252, k.

George Basta by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant Generall for his wars, in the vpper Hungarie, 1104, m. commanded by Matthias the Archduke to giue aid vnto Michael the Vaynod against the Transyluanians, aideth them against him, 1124, h. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Vaynod, 1126, h. his stout speech to the Chiaks and the rest of the Nobilitie of Transyluania, 1129, b. his errour, 1130, g. receiued by the Transyluanians as the Emperours Lieutenant, vntill further order were by him taken for the gouernment of that Prouince, l. suddenly taken prisoner by the Transyluanians, 1139, c. set at libertie, and aided by Michael the Vaynod, ouerthroweth Sigismund the Transyluanian Prince with a great slaughter, and driueth him out of his countrey, 1140, i. conspireth the death of Michael the Vaynod, 1141, a. taketh in most part of the countrey of Transyluania for the Emperour, c. for feare of Sigismund and the Transyluanians, flieth, f. in battell ouerthroweth Zachel Moyses the Transyluanian Princes Lieutenant, and bringeth that country againe vnder the Emperors obeisance, 1143, c.

Geruaise Rogers an English man commended for his good seruice at the siege of the Rhodes, 430, k.

Gerasimus the Patriarch dealeth vnfaithfully with the old Emperor Andronicus, 161, b.

Giaffer Captain of the Ianizaries slaine, 659, f.

Giaffer the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis by Osman Bassa with a garrison of twelue thousand soldiers left Gouernour of Tauris, 994, i. besieged by the Persian Prince, 997, e. prayeth aid of Cicala Bassa, 998, k. put to flight, 1007, a.

Godfrey Duke of Lorrain with other the Christian Princes with an Army of 300000 fighting men vndertaketh the first expedition into the Holy land 14, i. concludeth a league with Alexius the Greeke Emperour, 15, a. besiegeth Nice and taketh it, 16, g. in a great battel ouerthroweth Sultan Solyman with his Turks, taketh Antiochia in Pisidia, Iconium and Heraclea, winneth Cilicia, Armenia, and Capadocia, 17, a, c. putteth the Turks to flight at the riuer Orantes, 18, g. after long siege taketh Antioch in Syria, 20, m. winneth Ierusalem by assault, 22, d. is chosen King of Ierusalem, 23. his Letters to Bohemund King of Antioch, 24, i. in a great and mortall battell ouerthroweth the Turks at Ascalon, 24, l. Crowned King of Ierusalem, and dieth of the plague, m.

the Gouernour of Alba-Regalis taken, 824, k. his sharp answer vnto a Spaniard, l.

Great treasure found by the Turks at the winning of Constantinople, 347, e.

a Greeke Priest his notable speech perswading the great Master of the Rhodes to yeeld vp the City, 594, b. with the most resolute answer of a common soldier to the contrary, 595, a. and that his speech notably refelled by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the city vrged, c.

the Greeke Church by Michael Palæologus the Greeke Emperor subiected to the Church of Rome, and why, 114, l.

the Greeks carelesse of the Turks first small footing in Chersonesus, least thereat, 185, f.

the Guise Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of S. Iohns in France, Admirall of Malta taketh certaine of the Turks gallies, 767, d.

Guletta how scituated, 657, c. besieged by Charles the Emperour, 658, g. furiously battered, 660, k. assaulted and woon, 661, a. besieged by the Turks, 914, l. taken from the Christians, 915, a.

Guy County of Ioppa and Ascalon the ninth and last King of Iernsalem, 62, l. in battell ouerthrown and taken prisoner by Saladin, 63, e. set at libertie besiegeth Ptolemais, and fighteth a great battell with Saladin, 65, f.

H

HAalon brother to Mango the Great Cham of Tartaria, with a great army inuades the Turks, 113, a. his great victories gainst the Turkes, c, d.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turkes, 189, f. by Amurath the first made the royall seat of his Kingdome in Europe, 191, b.

Haider marrieth Martha the daughter of the great King Vsun-Cassanes by Despina, and hath by her Hysmael afterwards King of Persia, 464, l.

Haider murthered by Iacup the Persian King, 484, a.

Haly Bassa slaine, 881, c. his two sons taken in the battell of Lepanto, f. the Greeke that slew him honourably rewarded, 884, g.

Hamon the Iew for his treachery iustly rewarded by Selymus, 496, i.

Hardecke Gouernour of Rab corrupted, yeeldeth the city to the Turks, 1044, l. executed at Vienna, 1046, h.

Hassan Bassa releiueth the distressed Turks in garrison at Teflis, 944, l. breaketh promise with Aliculi Chan, 945, c. rewarded for his good seruice, 946, g. sent by Ferat Bassa to the reliefe of Teflis, 967, a. againe rewarded by Amurath, b. left by Ferat with a garrison of 8000 souldiers in the new fort at Tomanis, 970, h. Generall of Sultan Mahomets army in Hungary, commeth out of season to reliene Alba-Regalis, 1136, i.

Hassan Bassa the Queenes Eunuch sent Gouernour to Caire, 980, h. cast in prison at Constantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiscated, 981, d. his life spared at the intercession of the Queene, and he himselfe set at libertie, e.

Hassan Bassa of Bosna inciteth Amurath to make war vpon the Emperor, 1014, l. taketh Wihitz the metropolitical city of Croatia, 1015. loadeth six wagons with the heads of the slaine Christians, 1016. g. spoyleth Turopolis, l. deceiued by the Abbot of Siseg, 1021, c. his threatning letters vnto the Abbot, d. besiegeth Siseg, 1022, g. in a great battell ouerthrowne, 1023, a. drowned, b.

Hatwan besieged by the Christians, 1093, d. taken by assault, 1094, g. againe forsaken by the Christians, i.

Henry brother to Baldwin chosen second Emperor of the Latines in Constantinople, 58, f.

Henry Duke of Saxony with a great army sent into the Holy Land by Henry the sixt, Emperor of Germany, goeth accompanied with many great Princes, 73, e. falling sicke of a feuer, dieth, 74, h.

Henry the French King by his Embassadour

sadour soliciteth Solyman to inuade the King of Spaine his territories, 767,c.
Heraclius the Greeke Emperour by the helpe of the Arabians recouereth Siria and the Holy City from Chosroë the Persian king, 22,g.
Hoccata the Tartar by his Captaines subdueth Armenia the greater, Cholchis and Iberia, 76,i. succeeding his father Zingis, inuadeth the East and West parts of Asia. subdueth the East Indies, and buildeth Cambalu, 75,e. driueth the Turks out of Persia, and subdueth many countries, 76,g.
Horruccius and Hariadenus how they of base pyrats aspired to the kingdome of Algiers, 635,c. Horruccius his successe, f. slaine, and his head in triumph carried about in Spaine, 636,b.
Hungary diuided into two factions vpon the choice of Vladislaus King of Polonia, 163,a. againe diuided vpon the dissention betwixt King Ferdinand and king Iohn, 605, c. becommeth a prey vnto Solyman, and by him conuerted into the forme of a Prouince of the Turkish Empire, 713,a.
Huniades by king Vladislaus made Vayuod of Transyluania, 266,l. In a great battell ouerthroweth Isa-Beg Amurath his Lieutenant in Seruia, 267, d. ouerthroweth Mesites Bassa and killeth him with twenty thousand Turks moe, 269, e. of the spoile of the Turks sendeth a Present vnto king Vladislaus and the Despot of Seruia, 270, g. his most Christian speech to encourage his souldiers against the Turks, 271, d. in a great and mortall battell ouerthroweth Abedin Bassa with his Army at Vascape, 274, l. with ten thousand horsemen ouerthroweth a great Army of the Turks by night, 277, f. eight times repulseth the Turkes pursuing him in his retreat downe the mountaine Hemus, 279, d. with a great slaughter discomfiteth Carambey the Bassa of Romania, and takes him prisoner, 280, k. flying out of the battell of Varna, taken prisoner by Dracula Vayuod of Valachia, 298, i. by generall consent choseu Gouernor of Hungary in the minoritie of king Ladislaus, 304, l. goeth against the Turks, 305, b. with a notable speech encourageth his soldiers against the Turks, 306, i. fighteth three daies together with Amurath in the Plaines of Cossoua, 307, d. ouercome, flyeth, 309, b. falleth into the hands of two notable theeues, c. in doubt of a sheepheard, is by him relieued, 310, g. taken prisoner by the false Despot, g. set at libertie, reuengeth himselfe vpon him, i. requested, giueth him aid against the Turks, 311, a. his most Christian-like death, 358, l.
Hysmael after the death of his father Haider flyeth to his Fathers friend Pyrchales, 465, b. his behauiour in the time of his exile, 466, g. recouereth his Inheritance, k. taketh Sumachia, l. obtaineth Tauris, 467, b. ouercommeth Eluan the Persian king, and killeth him, 468, g. peaceably receiued into Scyras, h. preacheth his fathers doctrine, i. putteth Moratchamus to flight, and obtaineth the Persian kingdome, 469, b. the inscription of his coyne, d. commeth to his Army at Coy, 508, m. sendeth an Herauld vnto Selymus, 509, b. with 30000 Persians giueth battell to Selymus with 300000 Turks, 510, i. wounded, retyres, 512, g. the cause why he came with so small an Army against Selymus, 517, d. his large territories, 518, h. the reason why he inuaded not Selymus wholly busied in the Æeyptian wars, 560, h.

I

Iacup Arnaut slaine, and his army discomfited by Scanderbeg, 399, d.
the Ianizaries first institutid by Amurath the first. 191, e. stand vpon their gard, and reuiling Bajazet their Emperor, refuse to receiue him among them, 445, f. in mutinie against Selymus, 512, m. vp in armes against Solyman for the vnworthy death of the noble Mustapha, 764, i. vnwilling to go in the quarrell of Selymus against his brother Bajazet, 773, f. their insolent and threatning speech vnto Ferat Bassa their General, 970, l. in a tumult at Constantinople, 1005, d. in an vprore with the Spahi, 1104, b. threaten the deposing of their Emperour, 1115, c. in mutinie at Constantinople, 1142, k.
Iathatines Sultan of Iconium succeedeth his Father Aladin, 86, i. besieging Antiochia, is slaine by Theodorus Lascaris the Greeke Emperour, 87, c.
Iathatines the second of that name Sultan of Iconium, maketh great preparation against the Tartars, 109, b. ouerthrown, flyeth to the Greeke Emperour Theodorus for aid, c. maketh peace with the Tartars, and yeeldeth them a yearely tribute, 109, f. againe by them oppressed, flyeth to Palæologus the Emperour at Nice, 114, l. dyeth in exile, 117, c.
Ibrahim Bassa by Amurath made Gouernour of Caire, 980, l. oppresseth the People, and enricheth himselfe, 981, e. goeth against the Drusians, 982, g. spoyleth the countrey of Man-Ogli the Drusian Lord, 986, h. with fire and sword destroyeth the countrey of Seraphadin, 987, a. createth Aly-Ebne-Carfus Bassa of the Drusians, b. the rich Presents by him giuen to Amurath, and the Ladies of the Court, 988, h. in danger to haue been taken, 1095, d. flieth out of the battell of Agria, 1097, e. sent againe Generall into Hungary, 1104, l. commeth to Buda, 1112, h. purposing warre, entreateth of peace, i. with a great army besiegeth Canisia, 1131, b. hath the towne yeelded vnto him, 1132, h. his letters vnto County Serinus, 1133, b. returneth with his army to Belgrade, c, dieth, 1134, l.
Imailer what men they be amongst the Turks, 477, b.
Imirza stirreth vp Solyman against his brother Tamas the Persian king, 751, d. betrayd to his brother Tamas and by him murthered in prison, 752, g.
Innocencie of great force, 782, i.
Iohn Batazes made Emperour of the Greekes in Asia, 97, d. taketh in many Islands of the Ægaum, and forrageth the countrey of Thracia euen to the gates of Constantinople, being very aged dyeth, 108, g.
Iohn County de Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed King of Ierusalem, 87, e. in derision called Roy sans ville, 88, g.
Iohn Castriot Prince of Epirus for feare giueth his foure sonnes in hostage vnto Amurath, 260, l.
Iohn Sepusius Vayuod of Transyluania chosen and crowned King of Hungarie, 605, a. after the battell of Tocay flyeth into Polonia, 606, i. by Lascus his Embassador craueth aid of Solyman, 607. c. commeth to Solyman at Belgrade, 609, b. by him restored to the Kingdome of Hungary, 614, l. in his old yeares marrieth Isabella the daughter of King Sigismund, 695, d. dyeth, 696, k.
*Don Iohn of Austria General of the confederat Princes forces, 860, k. in a terrible fight encountreth with Haly Bassa in the battell of Lepanto, 881, b. killeth him, c. delayeth the Venetians, 889, d. in doubt whether to send them ayd or not, 890, k. sendeth word vnto the Confederats to meet him at Zacynthus, 893, f. faileth them, 894, i. meeteth them at Corcyra, 895, a. offe-

offereth the Turks battell, d. refuseth to follow the counsell of the Venetian Admirall, 896,k. breaketh promise with him, and returneth to Messana, 901,a.

Iohn the Vayuod of Moldauia falleth into suspition with the Turks, 906,g. his notable speech vnto his Nobilitie and subiects, concerning the Turks demand, 907,a. in vaine craueth aid of the King of Polonia, 908,g. with a great slaughter ouerthroweth the Palatine and the Turks, 909,a. giueth the Turks a second ouerthrow, 910 b. betrayed by Czarnieuich, 911. ouerthrown by the Turks, 912,m. shamefully and perfidiously by them murthered, 913,e.

Ionima Ballabanus his brother, & Hedar his son taken prisoners by Scanderbeg, 401,b.

Ionuses Bassa sent against Techillis, putteth him to flight, 475,e. hurt at the winning of Caire, 545,f. enuieth at the vnworthie preferment of Cayerbeius, 554,l. is himself secretly hated of Selymus, 555,b. put to death, 556,i.

Irene the faire Greeke beheaded by Mahomet the Great, 353,d.

Isa after the captiuity of his father Bajazet seiseth vpon the Citie of Prusa, 232,b. ouerthrowne in battell by his brother Mahomet, 238, i. with a great army sent by his brother Solyman against Mahomet, 240, i. burneth Prusa, l. dyeth in obscuritie, 241,c.

Ismael last of the Isfendiars yeeldeth his principalitie of Castamona & Sinope to Mahomet the Great, 359,f.

Ishender Bassa ouerthrown by Aladules, taken and sent prisoner to Caytbeius to Caire, 383,f.

Islan of a prisoner made a King, 975,e

Ismael the son of King Tæmas saluted King of Persia, 922, l. murthereth eight of his younger brethren, altreth the Persian Religion, and tyrannizeth, m. by the deuice of his Sister Periasoneona himselfe murthered, 922,b.

The Italians left by the emperor for the aid of King Ferdinand in his wars in Hungarie, arise in mutinie, 623,f. eight thousand of them forsake their Captaines and returne into Italie, 625,d.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Lady of Italy put in great feate by Barbarussa, 641,c.

Iulian the Cardinall sent by Pope Vrban to appease the dissention in Hungary, and to stir vp the Hungarians against the Turks, 275, d. his effectuall speech in Parliament to persuade the war, e. cunningly persuadeth King Vladislaus to breake the honourable and solemne League he had before made with Amurath, 290,k. disanulleth the league, absoluing the king and the rest from their oth before giuen to Amurath, 291,i. himself slain, 298,k.

K

the KIngdome of Hungary by Solyman conuerted into a Prouince of the Turkish Empire, 713,a.

the knights of Malta craue aid of Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia, 805,a. his cold answer, b.

Kemara besieged by Sinan Bassa, 1045,b.

Koppan surprised by the Christians, 1002,l.

L

LAdislaus a childe crowned King of Hungarie at Alba Regalis, 236,a.

Lazarus Despot of Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto Amurath the first, 193,e. purposing to make war against Amurath, craueth aid of the King of Bosna, 197,c. in a mortall battel ouerthrowne in the plaines of Cossoua and slaine, 200,i.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turks, 459,c.

Lewis the eight of that name, the Frēch King, making an expedition into the Holy Land, is by the malice of Emanuel the Greek Emperor, therin much hindered, 34 m. he besiegeth Damasco, where by the enuy of the other Christian Princes he was inforced to raise his siege, and so to returne home into his countrey, 35,b.

Lewis the ninth the French King making an expedition towards the Holy Land, arriueth at Damieta, 102,m. taketh the city forsaken by the Turks, 113,b. with his whole army ouerthrowne, and himselfe taken prisoner, 115, e. vndertaketh a second expedition toward the Holy Land, with his sons and most of his Nobilitie, 118,k. ouerthroweth the Moors, and besiegeth Tunes, 119,a. falleth sicke of the bloudy flix and dieth, b.

Lewis the eleuenth the French king giueth aid vnto the Venetians against the Turks, 461,c.

Lewis King of Hungarie with an army of fiue and twenty thousand fondly goeth against Solyman, being two hundred and sixty thousand strong, 602, b. ouerthrowne, in his flight drowned in a ditch, 603,a.

Liscanus the couetous Spaniard dealeth vncourteously with Perenus, 732,k. is himself in like sort serued, and merrily stripped of his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries, 738,l.

Lissa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp, and by them worne for Iewels, 425,e.

Lodronius encourageth his soldiers, 685 h. iested at by an old souldier, k. slain, and his head with the heads of two other Captains in a siluer bason presented to Solyman at Constantinople, 685,e.

M

MAhomet the first sendeth spies into Tamerlane his Campe, 232,l. becommeth famous in Tamerlanes Court, 234,i. in battell ouerthroweth his brother Isa, 238,i. honourably burieth the body of his father Bajazet at Prusa, l. againe ouerthroweth his brother Isa, supported by his brother Solyman, 240,m. giueth him a third ouerthrow, together with the other Mahometan Princes his Confederates, 241,c. besieged by his brother Solyman in Amasia, 242,i. vpon report of his brother Musa his euill gouernment, goeth against him into Europe, 246,k. ouerthrowne, flyeth backe againe into Asia, 247,a. commeth againe into Europe, 248,g. besiegeth Hadrianople, h. ouerthroweth his brother Musa in battel, and causeth him being taken prisoner, to be strangled, 249,c. wholly possesseth the Othoman Kingdome, both in Europe and Asia, d. oppresseth Orchanes his brother Solymans Sonne, and putteth out his eies, 250, h. taketh the Caramanian King and his sonne prisoners, k. inforceth the Valachian Prince to become his Tributarie, l. dyeth at Hadrianople, 251,f. his death cunningly concealed by the three great Bassa's, 252 g. he worthily accounted the restorer of the Othoman Kingdome, almost quite ouerthrowne by Tamerlane, l.

Mahomet the second, syrnamed the Great, An Atheist, of no Religion, 337, d. murthereth his brethren, 338, g. reformeth the Turks Commonwealth, i. subdueth Mentesia, 339,b. winneth Constantinople, 347, b. solemniseth his feasts in Constantinople with the bloud of the Grecian Nobilitie, 348, k. notably dissembleth his hatred against Caly Bassa, 349,d. first Emperour of the Turks, 350,i. amorous of the faire Greeke Irene, l.

Irene, l. with his owne hand striketh off her head,, 353, d. besiegeth Belgrade, 357, b. wounded and carried away for dead, 358, i. falsifieth his faith with Dauid the Emperour of Trapezond, 360, i. seeketh to intrap Wladus Prince of Valachia, 361, b. in danger to haue been slaine by Wladus Dracula his Ganymede, 363, b. his Letters to Scanderbeg, 384, k. sueth to Scanderbeg to haue the League renewed betwixt them, 390, h. commeth himselfe in person to the siege of Croia, 400, i. forsaketh the siege of Croia, 402, i. breaketh his faith with Paulus Ericus Gouernour of Chalcis, 406, i. he is no lesse troublesome vnto the Mahometane Princes than to the Christians, 408, i. commeth himselfe to the siege of Scodra, 417, c. notably encourageth his Captaines and souldiers to a generall assault, 418, m. melancholy for the repulse of his men, 420, l. blasphemeth, 423, d. curseth Epirus, and so returneth to Constantinople, 425, e. by Mesites Palæologus one of his great Bassaes besiegeth the Rhodes, 429, b. inuadeth Italie, and by Achmetes his great Captaine taketh Otranto, 432, i. going against the Caramanian King, dieth by the way at Giniſen, in Bythinia, not without suspition of poyson, and lyeth buried at Constantinople, 433, a.

Mahometes one of the Visier Bassaes by the mutinous Ianizaries slaine, 437, c.

Mahometes the son of Caytbeius, with foure Sultans moe, one after another slaine by the Mamalukes, 450, l.

Mahometes Solymans son disguised goeth to see his brother Achomates, 477, c. as a sea-faring man commeth disguised to Constantinople, and so into his fathers court, e. by the commandement of his suspitious father poysoned, dieth, 478, i.

Mahometes Gouernour of Belgade ayded by the other Sanzackes, maketh head against Cazzianer Generall of King Ferdinands Army, 677, f. wisely refuseth battell offered by Cazzianer, and by temporizing distresseth the army of the Christians, 680, k. troubleth the Christians in their retreat, 682, g. giueth them a great ouerthrow, 684, l. commeth to the reliefe of Belgrade, 705, e. his vehement Oration vnto Solyman to persuade him to take the Kingdome of Hungary into his owne hands, and so to vnite it vnto his owne Empire, 711, c.

Mahomet the Tartar King with his two sons strangled by Osman Bassa, 975, f.

Mahomet Bassa in despight of Sinan sent Generall of his army for the relief of his garrisons in Chars and Teflis, 957, c. discomfited by the Georgians, and his prouision of money and victuals taken from him, 959, a. with his discomfited army arriueth at Teflis, b. his heauy Oration in the castle of Teflis, c. maketh a purse for the relieſe of the distressed garrison, 960. plotteth the death of Manucchiar the Georgian, m. himselfe in danger to haue been by the Georgian slaine, 961, d.

Mahomet the third saluted Emperor of the Turks, 1056, i. murthereth his brethren, and causeth certaine of his fathers wiues and concubines to be drowned, k. with much ado appeaseth the mutinous Ianizaries, l. sendeth Embassadours vnto the Transylnanian Prince, 1062. carefull of Strigonium besieged by the Christians, 1066, h. perplexed, 1087, c. causeth the continuation of his warres against the Emperor and the Transylnanian to be proclaimed at Constantinople, 1089, a. commeth to Buda with an Army of two hundred thousand men, 1094, b. besiegeth Agria, furiously assaulteth it, 1095, a. hath it yeelded vnto him, 1096, h. with Ibrahim the great Bassa flyeth out of the battell of Karesta, 1097, c. by the Transylnanians and Valachians troubled in his returne to Constantinople, 1098, m. his Embassadour euill intreated by the Persian King, 1134, b.

the Mahometane Princes of the lesser Asia oppressed by Baiazet, disguised flie vnto Tamerlane for reliefe, 210, h

Malta described, 795, b. inuaded by the Turks, 796, k.

Mamalukes, the beginning of their Kingdome in Ægypt, 524, g. their Imperious gouernment in Ægypt, Iudæa, and Syria, 523, c. their Kingdome vtterly subuerted by Selymus, 554, b. the Mamalukes in prison at Alexandria, by the commandement of Selymus murthered, 555, f.

Manto cruelly slain by her iealous husband Ionuses, 557, d.

Man Ogli his Letters to Ibrahim Bassa, 983, f. sendeth him Presents, 985, b.

Manucchiar his speech to Mustapha the Visier Bassa, 931, f. with his Brother Alexander by Mustapha sent to Amurath, 938, b. turneth Turke, and hath his elder Brothers Principalitie giuen him, 941, l. in danger to haue been betrayed by Mahomet Bassa, 960, l. notably reuengeth himselfe of the treacherie by the Bassa intended against him, 961, c. reuolteth from the Turks, and doth them great harme, 967, a.

Marquis S. Crucis taketh one of the Turks gallies in sight of their whole fleet, 1877, d.

the Messagets entertained by Andronicus against the Turks, spoyle his Countries in Asia, 149, e. in their returne homeward, themselues spoiled by the Catalonians and Turcopuli, 152, l.

Masut the Sultan of Iconium diuideth his kingdom among his three Sonnes 36, k.

Matthias the Archduke the Emperours Lieutenant taketh Nouigrade from the Turks, 1030, l. besiegeth Strigonium, 1033, c. raises his siege, 1037 d. shamefully put to flight by the Turks 1043, b.

Matthias Coruinus of a prisoner chosen King of Hungary, 394, k. at the request of the Senat, taketh a great part of the Venetian Territorie into his protection against the Turks, 364, m. relieueth the Vayuod of Transylnania, 426, m. no lesse dreadfull vnto the Turks than was his father Huniades, 404, l.

Maximilian chosen King of the Romanes, and after crowned King of Hungarie, 789, a. he and Solyman both desirous of peace, 829, a. he sendeth Embassadors to Solyman, f. Presents giuen by the Embassadours vnto the Bassa of Buda, 830, k. his Embassadours honorably receiued by the Turks at Constantinople, 831, c. Presents giuen by the Embassadours vnto the great Bassa's, e. Presents sent to Selymus, 832, i. a homely feast giuen to the Embassadors followers in the Turks Court, 833, c. the Embassadours brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of them and their Followers, 834, g. a Peace concluded betwixt Maximilian and Selymus, 835, e.

Maximilian the Archduke by the Emperour his Brother appointed Generall of his Army in Hungarie, 1093, c. marcheth but slowly to the reliefe of Agria, 1095, c. flyeth out of the battell of Karesta, 1098, i.

Maylat treacherously taken prisoner by Peter the Moldauian, 716, i.

Meligalus a notable traitor persuadeth Mahomet to besiege the Rhodes, 427, c.

327,c. his worthy death,e.
Meladin Sultan of Ægypt, and Corradin Sultan of Damasco, send Embassadors for peace to the Christian princes at the siege of Damiata, 90, m. recouereth Damiata, before taken by the Christians, 95, e. ouerthroweth the Christians, and raseth Ierusalem, 101, dieth, 103, c.
Melechsala Sultan of Ægypt ouerthroweth Robert Earle of Arthois the French Kings brother, 104, l. taketh Lewis the French King prisoner and ouerthroweth his Army, 105, e. maketh peace with the French King and is suddenly slain by two Mamalukes, 106,
Melech the Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria, and winneth Damasco from the Tartars, 114.
Melechsares the Ægyptian Sultan determining to root out all the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine, is by sudden death taken away, 122, k.
Melechsala Sultan of Damasco by the treason of his Nobilitie dispossessed of his Kingdome, 58, m.
Mesites Bassa sent by Amurath to inuade Transyluania, 267, f. hee with 20000 Turks moe slain by Huniades, 269, e.
Michael Ducas the Greeke Emperour by Nicephorus Botoniates deposed of his Empire, after he had reigned six yeares and six moneths, 11, c.
Michael Palæologus flieth to the Sultan of Iconium, 109, a. called home again by the Emperor Theodorus, and made Great Constable, f. aspireth, and by common consent made Tutor vnto the young Emperour, 111, e. himselfe proclaimed Emperour and crowned, 112, h. by Alexius Cæsar his Lieutenant surpriseth Constantinople, 115, e. repayreth the decayed City, 116, h. causeth the young Emperors eyes to be put out, 117, a. his Army ouerthrowne by the Turks in Paphlagonia, 118, g. submitteth the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and for what cause, 144, l. perswadeth his Subiects to accept of the alteration of their Religion and Ceremonies, 145, a. raiseth persecution in the Greeke Church, c. hindred by domesticall trouble, hath no leisure to attend vnto the danger arising from the Turks in Asia, d. obscurely buried, e.
Michael Cossi by Othoman taken prisoner, by him againe set at libertie, 136, m. father of the honoroble Familie of the Michael-Oglies among the Turks, 137, a. discouereth vnto Osman the treason intended against him, 140, l. inforced rather than perswaded by Othoman, turneth Turke, 144, h.
Michael the young Emperor ouerthrown by the Catalonians and Turks, in danger to haue been taken, 152, k. again ouerthrowne by the Turks at Chersonesus, 155, e.
Michael Horwat by Amurath created Vaynod of Valachia, 1051, a. perswaded by the Transyluanian Prince, reuolteth from the Turks, and killeth all the Turks and Iewes in his Countrey, 1052, b. killeth one of the Turks proud Emirs with all his followers, 1053, b. doth the Turks great harm, c. suffereth the Turks Embassadours vnto the King of Polonia by his Subiects to be slaine, 1060, k. spoyleth the Turks frontiers, 1061, a. yeeldeth his obeysance againe vnto the Turke, yet refuseth to ayd him against the Christians, 1099, d. weary of the Turke, submitteth himselfe with his people to the Emperours protection, 1100, l. sacketh Nicopolis, 1107, d. with a great army entreth into Transyluania, 1112, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Cardinall Bathor, 1113, c. sendeth his head for a Present to the Emperour, f. hath the gouernment of Transyluania by the Emperour confirmed vnto him, 1120, i. receiueth Presents from the Turke, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sigismund the late Transyluanian Prince, with the Vayuod of Moldauia, 1122, i. tyrranniseth in Transyluania, 1123, a. inforced by the Transyluanians to flie, craueth aid of George Basta the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie, b. by Basta and the Transyluanians in a great battell ouerthrowne at Merislo, 1226, h. reconcileth himselfe to Basta, 1127, a. for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountaines, d. by Zamoschie the great Chancellor driuen out of Valachia, and another Vayuod there placed in his stead, 1128, h. submitteth himselfe vnto the Emperour, 1139, b. returning into Valachia, giueth ayd vnto Basta against Sigismund the Transyluanian, 1140, g. hauing with Basta driuen the Prince out of Transyluania, with great insolencie vseth his victory, k. his presumptuous speech to Basta, l. suddenly slaine in his own tent, 1141, a.
the Misery of the captiue Constantinopolitanes, 348, h.
Mitylene yeelded vnto the Turk, 364, g.
Modon taken by the Turks, 460, g.
Moyses Golemus corrupted, reuolteth vnto the Turke, 372, h. with an army of the Turks by Mahomet sent into Epyrus against Scanderbeg, k. ouercome and put to flight by Scanderbeg, 374, g. contemned of the Turks, flyeth from Constantinople, and againe submitteth himselfe to Scanderbeg, m. he with diuers others of Scanderbegs best Captaines by Balabanus taken prisoners, and by Mahomet slain quicke, 396, i.
Muhamet and Partau two of the Visier Bassaes, by the insolent Ianizaries foulely intreated, 823, f. Muhamet for feare of them for a time refraineth to come into the Diuano, 824, g. dissuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus, 839, b. as a secret friend vnto the Venetians, putteth them in hope of peace, 857, b. cunningly dissuadeth Selymus from the massacring of the Christians, by filling his head with more necessary considerations, 886, h. strangely murthered, 950, l.
Muleasses King of Tunes cruell and vnthankefull, 642, g. for feare of Barbarussa flyeth out of Tunes, 643, e. sumptuous in his fare, 645, d. commeth to Charles the Emperor, 661, d. his speech vnto the Emperour, e. his behauiour, 662, h. his opinion concerning the present war, l. three things by him especially lamented in the spoile made by the Christians in the Castle of Tunes, 668, h. fearing the comming of Barbarussa, departeth from Tunes into Italie, to craue aid of Charles the Emperour, 745, c. shut out of his Kingdome in the meantime by his sonne Amida, e. returneth into Africke to Guletta, 746, g. going to Tunes, is by the way ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and hath his eyes put out by his vnnaturall sonne, 747, d. at the request of Touares is sent to Guletta, 748, l. by Charles the Emperour sent to Sicilie, there to be kept of the common charge, 749, b. refuseth to kisse the Popes foot, c.
Murzufle by the tumultuous people created Emperour, attempteth to burne the Venetian Fleet, 81, b. with his owne hands strangleth the young Prince Alexis, d. encourageth his souldiers, e. being in despaire flyeth, 82, i.
Musa sonne to Baiazet the first, his speech vnto his brother Mahomet, 243, c. marrieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter, e. in the absence of his brother Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as King, f. goeth against his brother Solyman, 244, i. fighteth with

with his brother Mahomet,246,l. his chiefe Captaines reuolt to Mahomet,248,l. taken and strangled,249, b,c.

Muſachius a Christian Captain contendeth with a Turke his priſoner for his ranſome,367,d. is afterward ſlaine, 370,m.

Muſtapha the ſuppoſed ſonne of Baiazet raiſeth rebellion againſt Amurath, 255,c. being in feare, flyeth,256,m. is ſhamefully hanged, 257,c.

Muſtapha the younger ſonne of Mahomet raiſeth new troubles againſt Amurath,258,k. is betrayed and ſtrangled,l.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſent by Amurath againſt Scanderbeg,302,m. being aſſaulted in his Camp, flyeth, 303,d. deſirous to redeeme his former diſgrace, craueth leaue of Amurath to enter into Epirus, and obtaineth it, 311, d. Amuraths letters of aduertiſement to Muſtapha,e. fighteth with Scanderbeg the ſecond time,313,a. is ouerthrown and taken priſoner,b. and afterwards ranſomed,c.

Muſtapha Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to the beſieging of the Rhodes,569,e. vpon the euill ſucceſſe of the ſiege falleth into diſgrace with Solyman, 585,c. in danger with Pyrrhus Baſſa to haue been executed, 588,k. made Gouernor of Caire,589,d. by Solyman ſent as Generall of his Army to Malta,794,l. landeth at the Port Marza-Siroc in the Iſle of Malta,796,k. beſiegeth the Caſtle Saint Elmo, 797,a. aſſaulteth the Caſtle, e. in vaine giueth a ſecond aſſault, 798,g. with loſſe aſſaulteth it the third time, m. in moſt furious manner batereth it by the ſpace of eighteen dayes, and aſſaulteth it the fourth time, 799,c. with great fury giueth the fift and moſt terrible aſſault vnto the Caſtle, 801, a. with all his army giueth the ſixt and laſt aſſault, 802, i. winneth the Caſtle,803,a. exerciſeth moſt barbarous crueltie vpon the bodies of the ſlain Knights,b. in vaine aſſaulteth the Caſtle Saint Michael, 809,e. at one time aſſaulteth the new City and the Caſtle Saint Michael, 810,i. he by meſſengers certifieth Solyman of the ſucceſſe of the ſiege,811 a. leaueth nothing vnattempted,812, i. at once aſſaulteth the townes Saint Angelo and Saint Michael, and in both places notably repulſed, 813,a. giueth a freſh aſſault and entreth the new City,814,g. with a great ſlaughter driuen out againe, i. deſperately aſſaulteth the towne of Saint Michael,815,c. repulſed, raiſeth his ſiege,817,a. put to flight by the Chriſtians,c. hauing loſt about foure and twenty thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege, departed from Malta,d. he with Piall Baſſa impugneth the counſell of Muhamet the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, and perſuadeth Selymus to inuade Cyprus, 839,c. for his hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall of his Army for the inuaſion of Cyprus,846,g. his Letters vnto the Venetians in the Iſle of Cyprus, i. he landeth his Army in Cyprus, m. beſiegeth Nicoſia, 848,c. in vaine perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld, 850,k. he encourageth his ſouldiers, and giueth a moſt terrible aſſault, 851,a. winneth the City, e. beſiegeth Famaguſta, 852, raiſeth his ſiege, b. returneth againe to the ſiege,862, m. after many aſſaults hath the City by compoſition yeelded vnto him,866, m. ſhamefully and contrary to his faith before giuen, murthereth the valiant Gouernor Bragadinus, 867, b. tyranniſeth vpon his dead body, d. by Amurath made Generall of his Army againſt the Perſians, 929,d. commeth to Erzirum, e. muſtereth his Army in number an hundred and ten thouſand ſtrong, 930,g. relieueth his ſouldiers diſtreſſed by the Perſians, 931,c. maketh a bulwarke of the heads of the ſlaine Perſians, d. he ſurueyeth his Army at Archichelecke, and lacketh forty thouſand of his men, 932, k. fortifieth Teflis, 933,a. loſeth ten thouſand of his forragers, 934,b. reuengeth their death, l. his notable anſwer vnto his mutinous ſouldiers, 935,b. loſeth eight thouſand of his men in paſſing the riuer Canac, c. famine in his hoſt, e. he fortifieth Eres,936,g. ſendeth Oſman Baſſa to take in Sumachia and Derbent, h. relieueth his diſtreſſed garriſon at Teflis, m. his Army in great miſerie in paſſing the ſtreits of Georgia,937,c. commeth to Erzirum, and diſchargeth his Army, 938,g. maketh preparation for the next yeares warres,942, k. aſſembleth his army at Erzirum,943,d. in three and twentie daies fortifieth Chars, f. ſendeth ſuccours to Teflis, 944,c. returneth to Erzirum and there diſchargeth his Army, 945,d. diſcharged of his Generalſhip and called home to Conſtantinople, 946, l. maligned by Sinan, 949,a. dealeth warily with the Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to haue ſtrangled him, d. appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath, e. dyeth ſuddenly, 952,k.

Muſtapha Solyman his eldeſt Sonne in great eſtimation with the people, 757,b. ſent Gouernour into Caramania, d. maligned by Roxolana, e. in danger to haue been poyſoned,760, k. ſent for by his father, and warned of his preſent danger, e. conferreth with his Doctor, 762,g. troubled with his melancholy dreame, k. commeth to his fathers tent,763,a. in the ſight of his father moſt cruelly ſtrangled, c. his ſonne Mahomet ſtrangled alſo, d. a prouerbe taken from his death, 765,c.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniſh Captain raiſeth a mutinie in the Chriſtian fleet at Paxo,873,c. Tortona and his Antient hanged,d.

Muzalo by Theodorus the Emperor appointed Gouernor to his yong ſon Iohn, 100,g. ennied by the nobility, is traiterouſly murdred in the church,111,c

N

Naupactum, otherwiſe called Lepanto, in vaine beſieged by the Turks, 413,b. yeelded to Baiazet, 459,c.

Neapolis the firſt Regall ſeat of the Othoman Kings, 143,b.

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed, 856,g.

Neocaſtrum built by Mahomet the Great, 339,d.

Neritos, now called S. Maura, taken by the Venetians, 462,k.

Nice taken by the Turks, 142, k. recouered againe by the Chriſtians,180,g againe ſurpriſed by the Turks,181,f. by Orchanes made the regall ſeat of his Kingdome, 183,e.

Nicholaus Cataluſius Prince of Mytileue turneth Turke and is executed, 364,k.

Nicholas Karetſchen corrupted, betrayeth Giula to the Turks,824,i. the traitor iuſtly rewarded k.

Nicephorus Botoneatus diſplaceth his maſter the Emperor Michael Ducas, and taketh vpon him the empire,11,e.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto the Turks, 183,c.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the Chriſtians, 1030,l.

O

Otheman of greater courage and ſpirit than his other brethren and ſonnes of old Ertogrul, 135,d. amorous of Malhatun a countrey Maid, f. in danger for his loue, 136,k. by generall conſent choſen Gouernour of the Oguzian Turks, 137, d. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Caloe, 138, h. fighteth a battell with the Chriſtians

at Opsicum, k. winneth the Castle of Cara-Chisar, and killeth the Captain, m. setteth in order his little common-wealth, 139, c. killeth the Captain of Cupri-Chisar, e. his death contriued by the Captaine of Bilezuga, 140, i. turneth the trechery deuised against him, vpon the head of the Captaine that deuised it, whom he killeth, and surpriseth his Castle, 141, e. surpriseth the castle of Iar-Chisar, e. taketh the castle of Einegioll, and cruelly executeth the Captaine, 142, g. by his good administration of Iustice strengtheneth his gouernment, h. taketh the City of Nice, k. taketh vpon him the honour of a King or Sultan, 143, a. maketh Neapolis his regall seat, b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Christians, 143, c. besiegeth Prusa, d. whilest the Greekes are at discord among themselues, layeth the foundation of the great Othoman Empire that now is, 162, g. 166, k. dieth, and lyeth buried at Prusa, 177, a. the wealth he left vnto his sonnes Orchanes and Aladin, 179, c.

Orchanes, his father Othoman yet liuing, mannageth the Turks kingdom, 179, c. surpriseth the Castle of Tzupri-Chisar, 180, g. fighteth a doubtfull battell with Andronicus the Greeke Emperour at Phylocrene, m. surpriseth Nice, 181, e. hath Nicomedia yeelded vnto him, 183, c. committeth the gouernment thereof vnto his son Solyman, c. first of the Turks that built Monasteries, e. subdueth the Countrey of Carasina, 148, b. dieth, 187, b.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Baiazet his Nephewes ouerthrowne by Chelife & Techellis the rebels, 471, c.

Osman Bassa by Mustapha made gouernor of Siruan, taketh Sumachia, 936, b. hath Derbent yeelded vnto him, i. by the Persian Prince driuen out of Sumachia, flyeth to Derbent, 940, b. kils Sahamal his wiues father, 941, d. is by Amurath sent for into Siruan, 974, b. laid in wait for by Mahomet the Tartar King, 975, b. ouercommeth the Tartars lying in wait for him, e. by Amurath made chiefe Visier, and General for his wars against the Persians, 976, k. raiseth a great Army, 989, c. wisely appeaseth his mutinous souldiers vnwilling to go for Tauris, 990, g. commeth to Tauris, 991, b. taketh the City, c. in thirty dayes buildeth there a strong Castle, 992, i. giueth the City to be spoyled by his souldiers, k. leaueth Giaffer the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis with a garrison of 12000 souldiers Gouernour of Tauris, 994, i. dieth, 995, c. much lamented for at Constantinople, 996, b.

P

Paleopolis by Sultan Aladin giuen to Othoman, 138, l.

Palotta yeelded to the Turks, 1025, d.

Pantogles with the Turks fleet commeth to the siege of Constantinople, 342, l. displaced, 344, k.

Paphlagonia and Pontus, with a great part of Cappadocia woon by Mahomet the Great, 360, l.

Partan the Visier Bassa sent by Solyman against nhe supposed Mustapha, brought him to Constantinople, 769, e. sent by Solyman to haue brought Baiazet to Amasia, is by him with good words sent backe againe, 773, e. standeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing of battell vnto the Christians at Lepanto, 875, e. encourageth his souldiers, 876, i. flyeth himselfe out of the battell, 879, e.

Paradiser executed for yeelding vp of Canisa vnto the Turks, 1133, e.

Peace concluded betwixt King Uladislaus and Amurath the second, 289, b. by the persuasion of Iulian the Cardinall vnfortunately broken by Uladislaus, 295, d.

Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, 386, i. betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius, 450, i. betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians, 463, a. betwixt the Venetians and Solyman, 694, l. betwixt the Venetians and Selymus the second, 904, k. betwixt Amurath the third and Mahomet the Persian King, 1005, b.

Peloponesus described, 353, e. made tributarie to the Turke, 354, b. subdued by the Turks, 355, e.

Pera yeelded vnto the Turks, 349, c.

Perenus the noble Hungarian, vpon the suspition of aspiring, apprehended, 732, k. matters surmised against him, 733, a. He, Valentinus, and Maylat, three of the chiefe of the Hungarian Nobilitie, vnworthily kept in perpetuall prison, 734, b.

Persecution in the Greeke Church for matters of Religion, 145, e.

Persians better horsmen than the Turks, 517, b.

Pesth taken by Cason Admirall of the Turks fleet vpon the Danubius, 709, a. besieged by the Marquis of Brandenbourg, 729, e. in vaine assaulted, 731, c. the siege giuen ouer, 732, b. taken by the Christians, 1146, e.

Peter a French Hermit going on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, obserueth the miseries of the Christians vnder the Turks and Sarasins, 12, l. in the Councell of Claremont deliuereth his message in the behalfe of the poore distressed Christians, 14, g. he with Gualter Sensauer the first that set forward in the great expedition of the Christians into the Holy Land, 14, k. loseth greatest part of his army, 15, d. discouraged, about to haue stolne home, brought backe, and inforced to take a new oath for his fidelitie and perseuerance in that warre, 18, k.

Peter Damboyse Grand Master of the Rhodes, a cheerfull Gouerner, 427, e. his cheerfull speech vnto the rest of his Knights and souldiers, 22b, b.

Peter Emius for his barbarous cruelty beheaded at Uenice, 978, l.

Petralba yeelded to Scanderbeg, 285, d.

Petrella yeelded, 285, e.

Petrinia taken by the Christians, 1074, k.

Philaretus the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant put to flight by the Turks, 8, l.

Philadelphia taken by Baiazet, 204, b.

Philes a deuout man, but no souldier vndertaketh the defence of the Greeke Empire against the Turks, 156, i. in plaine battell ouerthroweth them, 157, e.

Philip the second of that name, the French King, in going towards the Holy Land, suffereth shipwrecke vpon the coast of Sicilia, 68, i. arriueth at Ptolemais, m. his speech vnto Richard King of England, and the other Christian Princes, in his sickneſſe, 70, i. hee sweareth vnto King Richard, not to inuade his territories in France, and so returneth home, k.

Phocas by killing of Mauritius the Emperor with his children, possesseth himselfe of the Greeke Empire, 22, g. slaine afterwards by them of his owne guard, g.

Piall Bassa Solymans Admirall sent to remoone the Christians out of Zerbi, 784, b. in disgrace with Solyman, shunneth to come to Constantinople, 787, a. by Selymus the second sent against the Venetians, 845, e. in vaine attempteth the Island of Tenos, 846 g,.

Pisaurius the Venetian Admirall doth very great harme vnto the Turks, 460, l.

Plague and famine among the Turks, 1060, m.

Plague in the Venetian fleet, 849, a.

Polinus the French embassador with presents from Francis the French King, mee-

meeteth Solyman comming from Buda, 725, d. his request to Solyman, e. returneth into France, 726, g. sent backe againe to Solyman, by the way solliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes against Charles the Emperor, h. grieued not to finde the Turke so ready to send his fleet in the aid of the King his Master, as he had before hoped, m. is sharply taken vp by Solyman Bassa, 727, c. brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe, 728, i. by him reiected vntill the next Spring, k. setteth forward with Barbarussa and the Turks fleet, 735, a. by his Letters from Ostia comforteth the Popes Legat in Rome, d.

Podolia & Rassia inuaded by the Turks, 457, a.

the Pope and the King of Spaine fearing lest the Venetians should make peace with the Turke, hasten their confederation with that State, long before by them delayed, 859, a. a perpetuall League concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, 860, h. the League proclained, m.

the Popes Letters vnto the King of Polonia, to dissuade him from inuading of Moldauia, to the trouble of the Transylvanian Prince, 1081, b.

Preianes commeth to the Rhodes, 581, c.

Presents of great value sent by the Persian King vnto Selymus, 837, f.

Prince Ciarcan slaine, 219, b.

Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces with K. Ferdinand against the Turke in Hungarie, 728, l.

Prusa yeelded vnto the Turks, 176, l. burnt by Isa, 240, l. repaired by Mahomet, 241, a. againe burnt by the Caramanian King, 249, f.

Q

Queene Isabella with child, 695, e. deliuered of a sonne, 696, i. that son by the name of Stephen crowned king of Hungarie, 697, a. her answer vnto the Embassadour of king Ferdinand, demanding of her the kingdome of Hungarie, 699, d. inuaded by king Ferdinand, craueth ayd of Solyman, 701, b. by the commandement of Solyman departeth with her young sonne out of Buda, 713, e. yeeldeth vp to king Ferdinand all the right shee had in Transyluania and Hungarie, 756, h.

Quinque Ecclesiæ yeelded to the Turks, 736, h.

Quinsay in the Prouince of Mangi, of all the cities of the world the greatest, 753, f.

R

Rab besieged by Sinan Bassa, 1041. b. battered and assaulted, 1044, b. by treason yeelded vnto the Bassa, l. notably againe surprised by the Christians, 1103, b.

Rama forsaken by the Turks, 21, l.

Ramadan Bassa slain by the insolent Ianizaries, 978, m.

Rayschachius for sorrow of his sonne slaine by the Turks, suddenly dieth, 760, k.

Rhodes by the Knights Hospitalers recouered from the Turks in the yeare 1308, 162, h. besieged by Mesites Palæologus, 428, l. for feare of the Turks the Rhodians destroy their Snburbes and places of pleasure without the City, 578, l. the Rhodes described, 581, d. besieged by Solyman, 584, g. in fiue places at once by the Turks assaulted, 587, b. the distressed estate of the Rhodians, and their resolution therein, 592. g. the Rhodes yeelded vnto Solyman, 600, i.

Richard the first, king of England, setteth forward toward the Holy Land, 68, h. reuengeth the iniuries done to him by the Cypriots, and taketh prisoner Isaac Comnenus their king, 69, a. arriueth at Ptolemais, c. causeth all the Turks his prisoners in the sight of Saladins Army to be executed, 71, a. giueth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular kingdome of Ierusalem, f. with great slaughter ouerthroweth Saladin in plaine battell, 72, h. returning homeward, taken prisoner by Leopold Duke of Austria, 73, b.

Rodolph the Emperour prayeth aid of the Germane Princes against the Turke, 1017, e. his Embassadour shut vp in close in his house at Constantinople, 1018, l. his Letters to Amurath, 1019, a. his Letters to Sinan Bassa, d. presented with the spoyle of the Turks ouerthrow at Alba-Regalis, 1029, b. requesteth ayd of the great Duke of Muscouia, the king of Polonia, and of the Prince of Transyluania, 1031, h. holdeth a Diet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turks, 1038, m. receiueth ayd from the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Princes of Italy, 1134, k.

Robert Duke of Normandie by generall consent chosen K. of Ierusalem, which honour he refuseth, 22, f.

Robert Sonn to Peter, fourth Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople, 96, l. goeth to Rome, and in his returne dyeth in Achaia, 97, a.

Rogendorff his name terrible vnto the Turks, 613, e. with king Ferdinands army entreth into Hungarie, and besiegeth Buda, 702, i. threatneth the Queene, k. derided by the Bishop, l. in vaine assaulteth Buda, 703, d. in raising of his siege by night, receiueth a great ouerthrow, 708, k. conueyed vp the Riuer to Comara, there dieth, 709, b.

Ronzerius, sometime a notable Pyrat, entertained by Andronicus the Emperour against the Turks, 150, k. relieueth Philadelphia, l. for lacke of pay spoyleth the Emperours territories in Asia, 151, a. suddenly slaine, c.

Roscetes riseth against his brother Muleasses king of Tunes, 642, l. flyeth to Barbarussa, and by him caried to Constantinople, 643, a.

Rouerius robbeth Dantius, Baiazet the Great Turks Embassador to Pope Alexander, 451, c.

Roxolana conspireth with Rustan Bassa against the noble Mustapha, and faineth her selfe religious, 758. g sent for by Solyman, refuseth to come, i. plotteth the confusion of Mustapha, 759, f. bringeth him into suspition with his father, 760, g. she with Rustan put Solyman in feare of his life and Empire by his Sonne Mustapha, 761, a. loueth her younger Sonne Baiazet better than her eldest Son Selymus, 768, g. intreateth Solyman for Baiazet, and obtaineth his pardon, 770, i. comforteth him, going in feare vnto his father, 771, a.

Rustan Bassa a man of a mischieuous nature, 757, e. furthereth the deuices of Roxolana for the destruction of the noble Mustapha, 760, g. sent by Solyman with an Army into Asia, to haue taken or slaine Mustapha, 761, c. returneth in haste, and with false suggestions stirreth vp Solyman himselfe against his sonne, d. his exceeding treacherie at the comming of Mustapha to his fathers Camp, 762, i. disgraced by Solyman flyeth to Roxolana at Constantinople, 765, a. by her meanes restored againe vnto his former honours, dyeth afterwards of a dropsey, 765, e.

S

Sahib after the death of Sultan Saladin his Master, taking vpon him the gouernment, is by the Nobilitie thrust out, and the Turks kingdome in Asia rent in sunder amongst them, 127, c.

Sahamal the Georgian cutteth off the head of Aider, 922, i. submitteth himself to Mustapha the great Bassa, 936, k. slaine by Osman Bassa his son in law, 941, d.
Saladin the Turke chosen Sultan of Ægypt, killeth the Calyph and all his posteritie, 57, e. inuadeth the kingdome of Ierusalem, and by Baldwin suddenly sallying out of Ascalon, ouerthrowne, 59, d. besiegeth Berythus both by sea and land, taketh Edessa and Carras, 60, l. spoyleth the Holy Land, 61, c. in vaine besiegeth Ptolemais, 63, b. besiegeth Tiberias, and by the treason of the County of Tripolis ouerthroweth Guy the King, comming to the reliefe thereof, and taketh him prisoner, 63, e. winneth Ierusalem, with all the other Cities and Townes in the Holy land, except Tripolis, Tyre, and Antioch, 64, g. besiegeth Tyre, and with the losse of his best soldiers and of his Tents retyreth, l. taketh Antioch with all the prouinces and townes thereunto belonging, 65, a. putteth to death the Christian captiues, 71, a. dieth, and forbiddeth any funerall pomp to be vsed at his buriall, 73, c.
Saluagus a worthy Knight, 797, c.
Salazar a Spanish Captaine, goeth as a spie into the Turks campe at the siege of Malta, 811, d.
Sanguin the Turke ouerthroweth King Fulke, comming to the reliefe of the castle of Mont-ferand, and hath the castle yeelded vnto him, 30, b. taketh Edessa, and there vseth all manner of crueltie against the Christians, 31, a. besieging Cologenbar, is there stabbed by one of his owne friends, and slaine, b.
Sarmentus slaine, 691, d.
Sarugatin, Osmans Brother, slaine, and accounted of the Turks for a Saint, 138, k.
Scanderbeg with his brethren by their father Iohn Castriot giuen in hostage to Amurath, 260, l. wisely dissembleth his desire for the deliuerie of himselfe and his countrey, 283, d. by great policie recouereth the City of Croia out of the hands of the Turks, 284, i. hath the strong cities of Epirus yeelded vnto him, 285, c. spoyleth Macedonia, 287, c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Alis Bassa with two and twenty thousand of his Turks, 288, l. going to the ayd of King Vladislaus is by the faithlesse Despot denied passage through Seruia, 295, b. spoyleth the Despots countrey, and so returneth into Epirus, 299, c. his resolute answer vnto Amurath his melancholie Letters, 301, d. putteth Ferisesco flight, 302, l. ouerthroweth Mustapha the second time, and taketh him prisoner, 313, b. carefully setteth all things in order against the comming of Amurath, 314, g. his effectuall speech vnto the soldiers and Citisens of Sfetigrade, to encourage them against the comming of the Turks, 315, b. cunningly entrappeth some of the forerunners of Amuraths Army, 316, l. troubleth his great Army, 319, a. with his owne hand killeth Feri Bassa, 320, g. troubles Amurath his great Army at the siege of Croia, 324, l. in danger to haue been slaine or taken, m. deceiueth Mahomet the young Prince in his own deuice, 326, h. flieth by night into Epirus, 371, c. his answer by letters vnto the letters of Mahomet, 385, c. his answer vnto Mahomets letters concerning the renuing of the league, 391 a. in danger, 398, h. Scanderbeg dieth, 402, m. buried at Lissa, 403, a. his bones digged vp by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured, 404, h.
Scodra besieged by Solyman Bassa, 411, e. relieued by Mathias King of Hungarie, 412, h. a yearely fee appointed by Mahomet to one to put him dayly in mind of the siege of Scodra, i. Scodra the second time besieged by Mahomet the Great, 415, e. sore battered, 418, i. the fourth time assaulted, 419, e. twelue thousand Turks slain in this last assault, 420, m. most furiously the fifth time assaulted by the Turks, 421 by composition yeelded vnto the Turks, 426, k.
the Scriuano rebelleth against the Turke in Caramania, and giueth Mehemet Bassa a notable ouerthrow, 1134, g. in a great battell ouerthroweth him againe the next yeare with an Army of fifty thousand Turks, 1142, h. hauing ouer-run a great part of the Turks dominions in Asia, dieth, 1150 g. his younger brother steppeth vp in his stead, and in a great battell ouerthroweth Hassan Bassa and killeth him, 1150, h.
Selymus ambitious, and of a turbulent spirit, and therefore of the Ianizaries and men of warre better beloued than his other brother, 488, l. ayded by Mahometes the Tartar King, riseth against his aged father, 479, b. coloureth his rebellious purpose with the inuasion of Hungarie, 480, g. marcheth with his Army towards Hadrianople, 482, e. in a great battell ouerthrowne and put to flight by his father Baiazet at Tzurulum, 486, h. by the persuasion of the Bassaes, by his father sent for home, 491, c. chosen Generall by his father, to goe against his rebellious brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Ianizaries saluted Emperour, 494, g. causeth his father to be poysoned, 495 d. putteth three of his fathers pages to death for mourning for their Master, 496, h. bountifully rewardeth the souldiers of the Court, 499, c. murthereth fiue of his brothers sons, 500, g. causeth Corcutus his brother to be strangled, 502, h. treason intended against him, discouered, 503, a. craueth ayd of Aladeules and the other mountaine Princes against the Persians, 507, c. Selymus perplexed, 508, i. receiueth great losse in passing the riuer Euphrates, 513, c. he and Hysmael compared together, 515, d. Selymus with a great Army entreth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamassum a City of the Persian Kings, 518, k. vanquisheth Aladeules the mountaine King, putteth him to death, and conuerteth his kingdome into the forme of a Prouince, 520, l. inuadeth Hungarie, 521, b. sendeth his Embassadours with Presents to Campson the Ægyptian Sultan, 525, f. encourageth his souldiers to go against the Mamalukes, 526, h. passeth the mountaine Amanus, and commeth into Comagena, l. in the battell of Singa ouerthroweth the Mamalukes, 530, g. in doubt lest Sinan Bassa had been lost, becommeth exceeding melancholie, 536, k. meeteth with Sinan Bassa at Gaza, 537, c. passeth the sandy Desarts, and meeteth with Tomombeius at Rhodanus, 538, e. giueth him battell, and putteth him to flight, 540, m. encourageth his souldiers to the winning of Caire, 544, l. fighteth a great and mortall battell with the Mamalukes in the City of Caire, 445, b. causeth the City to be set on fire, e. putteth Tomombeius and the Mamalukes to flight, and so taketh the City, 546, i. his Embassadors sent to Tomombeius slain by the Mamalukes, 548, k. ouerthroweth Tomombeius againe at the riuer Nilus, 550, h. causeth him being taken, to be tortured and put to death, l. cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience, 553, b. purposing to turne his forces vpon the Christians, is drucke in the backe with a canker, 561, a. his death concealed by Ferat Bassa, 567, c.
Selymus the second by the Ianizaries saluted Emperour, 827, c. appeaseth the tumultuous Ianizaries, 828, g. sendeth Cubates his Embassadour to Venice

Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senat, 841, c. rageth to haue it denied him, 842, m. he inuadeth the Venetians, 843, e. in his rage about to haue put to death all the Christians in his dominions, 885, f. sendeth out Vluzales his Admirall with 200 gallies against the Christians, 888, l. desirous of peace, concludeth the same with the Venetians, 904, k. by his Bassaes taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the City of Tunes, 915, d. dieth, e.

Serinus Gouernour of Sigeth, 821, e. his comfortable and resolute speech vnto his souldiers, 822, g. burneth the new towne, not now to be longer defended, and retyreth into the old, i. his last speech vnto his souldiers, 823, d. slaine, and his head sent to County Salma, f.

the Seruians in mutinie amongst themselues, are with a great slaughter ouerthrowne by the Turks, 192, i.

Sernia becommeth tributarie vnto the Turks, 192. wholly yeelded vnto the Turks, 356.

Sfetigrade besieged by Amurath, 316, l. in vaine diuers times by the Turks assaulted, 319, b. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath had the strong City yeelded vp vnto him, 321, f.

Sigismund King of Hungarie, with the Christian princes his confederats, with a great army inuadeth the Turks dominions, 205, b. his proud speech vpon the greatnesse of his army, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis, 206, h. hardly escapeth himselfe by flight, i.

Sigismund Prince of Transyluania in danger by his owne subiects to haue bin betrayed vnto the Tartars, 1046, l. the conspirators apprehended and executed, 1047, d. giueth his subiects leaue to spoyle the Turks, e. entreth into a confederation with the Emperour, 1048, k. persuadeth Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldauia, to reuolt from the Turke, 1049, e. sendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and sonne prisoners to Prague, 1062, l. marrieth Maria Christiana the late Archduke Charls his daughter, 1072, k. ouerthroweth thirty thousand Turks comming as vnbidden guests to his marriage, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turks, 1073, e. receiueth the Zaculians into his protection, and hath from them great ayd, 1074, m. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight, 1075, d. by force taketh Tergouista from the Turks, f. taketh also Bucaresta, 1076, i. goeth vnto the Emperour at Prague, 1088, g. besiegeth Temeswar, 1092, g. with 18000 men commeth to the ayd of Maximilian the Archduke going to haue relieued Agria, 1096, l. doubting the power of the Turke, resigneth his principalitie of Transyluania vnto the Emperour, 1100, k. repenting himselfe, returneth againe into Transyluania, and taketh vpon him the gouernment, 1106, g. by his Embassadors offereth againe his principalitie vnto the Emperour, 1109, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne, together with the Moldauian, by Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, 1122, h. by the fauor of the Nobilitie recouereth his state againe in Transyluania, 1139, d. in battell ouerthrowne by Basta and Michael the Vayuod, flyeth out of Transyluania, 1140, i. by the fauour of his subiects, and countenance of the Polonians, recouereth again his state, 1142 g. doubting him to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yeeldeth it by composition vnto Basta the Emperors Lieutenant, and goeth himselfe vnto the Emperor, 1143, c.

Sigismund King of Polonia his Letters vnto Amurath, 1003, e.

Simon County of Montford sent by Philip the French King into the Holy land, represseth the iury of the Turks, and so concludeth a peace with them for ten yeares, 74, k.

Sinan Bassa the Eunuch ouerthrowne by Achomates, 503, c. restoreth Selymus his battell against Campson, before almost lost, 530, g. by Selymus sent before into Iudea, 533, c. hath Gaza yeelded vnto him, 534. g. discomfiteth Gazelles, comming to haue oppressed him at Gaza, 535, c. slaine in the battell at Rhodania, 540. g.

Sinan the Iew his short answer to Barbarussa, 661, b.

Sinan Bassa by Amurath chosen Generall for the Persian wars, 951, b. relieueth Teflis, 954, l. loseth seuen thō sand of his soldiers, 955. b. derided of his owne souldiers, 956, g. his proud answer to Amurath, 962, h. displaced and cast into exile, l. againe receiued into fauour, 1003, d. ouerthrowne in the vpper Hungary, 1006, h. his Letters vnto the Emperor, 1020 g. sent Generall of the Turks Army against the Emperour, 1023, f. taketh Vesprinium, 1025, c. hath Palotta yeelded vnto him, d. with an Army of 150000 men commeth againe into Hungarie, 1040, i. taketh Dotis and S. Martins, l. besiegeth Rab, 1041, b. in assaulting thereof loseth 12000 of his men, 1044, h. by corrupting of the Gouernor, hath the City yeelded vnto him, l. besiegeth Comara, 1045, b. raiseth his siege, and breaketh vp his army, d. craftily seeketh to trie the Emperors mind concerning peace, 1058, l. sent for home to the Court, 1060, l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed Generall of the warres against the Emperour, 1073, b. inuadeth Valachia, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by the Prince of Transyluania, e. in flying in danger to haue bin drowned, f. with a great Army commeth againe into Valachia, 1075, b. seeing the generall feare of his Army vpon the comming of the Transyluanians, flyeth, d. for feare delayeth his comming to Constantinople, vntil his peace were made, and there shortly after dieth, 1087, d.

Siseg by the Turks besieged, 1022, g. notably relieued, 1023, a. againe besieged and taken by the Turks, 1024, l.

Solyman, Orchanes his sonne, by his father made Gouernour of Nicomedia, 183, c. taketh the Castle of Rembenie in Europe, 185, b. he the first that brought the Turks ouer into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit, d. taketh the castle of Maditus, e. winneth Calypolis, 186, g. dyeth, 187, a.

Solyman the Vnfortunate, Baiazet his eldest sonne, by the great Bassa's set vp in his fathers stead at Hadrianople, 221, b. goeth ouer with a great army against his brother Mahomet, 241, e. by policie taketh the castle of Prusa, 242, i. besiegeth his brother in Amasia, i. returneth into Europe, to appease the stirres there raised by his brother Musa, and recouereth Hadrianople, 244, h. in his excesse regardeth not the approach of his brother Musa, k. forsaken of his souldiers, flyeth, l. taken prisoner, is by the commandment of his brother Musa strangled, 245, a.

Solyman the Eunuch Bassa dealeth treacherously with the Kings of Arabia, 670, m.

Solyman hardly persuaded that his father was dead, 567, d. saluted Emperour by the Ianizaries, f. his Letters to Villerius Great Master of the Rhodes, 571, b. his Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpose for the besieging of the Rhodes, e. he maketh great preparation for the siege, 573, a. his threatning Letters vnto them of the Rhodes, 578, h. commeth himselfe in person to the siege, 783, b. his cholericke Oration to his souldiers, d. displaceth his Admirall,

and puniſheth him like a ſlaue, 589, a. about to haue forſaken the ſiege, b. comforteth his diſcouraged ſouldiers, perſuading them with patience to continue the ſiege, f. his Letters to the Great Maſter and the Rhodians, ſent by their owne Embaſſadours, 593, d. his ſpeech vnto the great Maſter, at his comming to yeeld vp the City, 598, l. hee entreth into the Rhodes vpon Chriſtmaſſe day, in the yeare 1522, 600, i. Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and diſordered State of Hungarie, taketh occaſion to inuade that Kingdome, 601, b. commeth into Hungarie againſt King Lewis with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, c. ouerthroweth him in battell at Mohatz, 602, k. commeth to Buda, 603, a. Solyman in the quarrel of King Iohn, againſt King Ferdinand commeth into Hungarie with an Army of 150000 men, 609, a. without reſiſtance entreth into Buda, and beſiegeth the Caſtle, 609, d. layeth ſiege to Vienna, 610, k. without ranſome releaſeth certaine Chriſtian priſoners, 612, g. loſeth his great ordnance vpon the Danubius, k. burieth 8000 of his Turks in the Mines, l. hauing loſt 80000 of his Turks, raiſeth his ſiege, and returneth to Buda, 614, i. he reſtoreth the Kingdome of Hungarie vnto King Iohn, k. returneth himſelf to Conſtantinople, 615, a. maketh great preparation for the ſubduing of the territories belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria, as alſo for the conqueſt of Germanie, with the ſhort time he prefined vnto himſelfe for the performance thereof, 615, c. Solyman with a mighty army commeth againe into Hungarie, 618, e. beſiegeth Gunza, i. his proud letters to Charles the Emperor, m. ſhunneth to meet him at Vienna, and ſo turneth out of the way into Corinthia, 621, a. the cauſes mouing him ſo to do. b. returneth towards Conſtantinople, 623, d. Solyman perſuaded by Abraham Baſſa, reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians, 649, a. commeth with his army to Tauris, f. followeth Tamas the Perſian King into Sultania, 650, g. his army ſtrangely diſtreſſed by tempeſt, k. hath Babylon with the Countries of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria yeelded vnto him, 651. a. he ranſacketh Tauris, f. diſcouraged by the harme done him by Delymenthes, giueth ouer his warres in Perſia, and returneth to Conſtantinople, 653, c. hee with a wonderfull charge prepareth a great Fleet at Cuetia againſt the Portugals in the East-Indies, 670, h. Solyman by the French Embaſſador incited to inuade Italy with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, commeth to Aulona, 671, c. ſendeth Luizis Baſſa & Barbaruſſa with his Fleet before him into Italy, d. conuerteth his forces prepared for Italy, againſt the Venetians, 673, b. in danger to haue been ſlaine in his tent in the middeſt of his army, 673, b. inuadeth Corcyra, e. carryeth away aboue ſixteene hundred priſoners, and doth good Iuſtice vpon ſuch Turks as had violated their faith at Caſtrum, 674, k. Solyman angry with the ſecret Confederation betweene King Ferdinand and King Iohn, 695, c. promiſeth to protect the Queene and her ſonne, 701, c. with a great army commeth to Buda, 709, b. ſendeth for the young King into his Camp, c. courteouſly receiueth him, 710, h. craftily ſurpriſeth the City of Buda, i. detaineth the Nobilitie of Hungarie, l. diuerſly perſuaded by his Baſſaes for the diſpoſing of that Kingdome, 711, b. hee ſacrificeth after the Mahometane manner in Buda, 712, m. pronounceth the doome of Hungarie, and conuerteth it from a Kingdome, into a Prouince of his Empire, 713, a. his proud anſwer vnto King Ferdinand his Embaſſadors, 714, k. he returneth to Conſtantinople, 715, b. ſendeth his Fleet to Barbaruſſa his Admirall, to ayd the French King againſt the Emperour, 734, k. Solyman with a great Army commeth againe into Hungarie, 736, g. taketh Strigonium. 738. entereth into the City, and there ſetteth vp the Mahometane Superſtition, m. winneth Alba-Regalis, 742, h. returneth to Conſtantinople, k. by the inſtigation of Dragut the Pyrat, ſendeth out Sinan Baſſa with a great Fleet, to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Auria, 752, l. Solyman amorous of Roxolana, 757, c. manumiſeth her, 758, h. marrieth her, l. by her perſuaded, reſolueth to put to death his eldeſt Sonne the noble Muſtapha, 761, d. goeth himſelfe with a great Army into Aſia to kill his ſonne, e. ſendeth for Muſtapha, who comming, is cruelly ſtrangled in his ſight, 763, c. his ſtout ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries vp in armes for the vnworthy death of Muſtapha, 764, k. hee glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries, m. Solyman deſirous with as little ſtirre as might be, to appeaſe the grudges betwixt his two ſonnes Selymus and Baiazet, ſendeth Partau and Mahomet two of his Viſier Baſſaes to bring them to the Prouinces by him appointed for them, 773, d. maketh preparation againſt Baiazet, and ſendeth ayd to Selymus, e. for countenancing of Selymus, goeth himſelfe in perſon with his Army ouer into Aſia, 776, l. diſſembleth with Baiazet, 778, g. ſeeketh to ſtop his flight into Perſia, deceiued of his purpoſe, procureth to haue him and his foure ſonnes ſtrangled in priſon, in Perſia, 791, d. Solyman by his Embaſſadour Abraham Strotza confirmeth his league with Ferdinand the Emperour for eight yeares, 789, b. his proud Letters vnto the Emperour Ferdinand, c. his Preſents ſent vnto the Emperour, 791, d. he maketh preparation againſt the Knights of Malta, 793, a. his Oration vnto his Captaines for the inuaſion of Malta, b. his fleet arriueth at Malta, 795, a. with ſhame returneth, 817, c. Solyman purpoſing now the ſeuenth time himſelfe in perſon to inuade Hungarie, cauſeth a bridge of a mile long with incredible labour to be made ouer the great Riner Sauus and the deepe fennes toward Sigeth, 821. beſiegeth Sigeth, e. commeth himſelfe with a great power into the Camp, 822, b. winneth the old Towne, l. falleth ſicke and dieth of the bloudy flx at Quinque Eccleſiæ, 882, m. his death by Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa concealed, and the ſiege continued, 813, a. his body with great ſolemnity by his ſon Selymus buried at Conſtantinople, 828, b. the Spaniards reioycing at the ouerthrow of the Italians by Salec, are themſelues foyled by Tabacces, 658, m.

Stelloſa with Deſdrot the gouernor thereof deliuered to Scanderbeg, 285, f.

Stephen Rozwan in ſtead of Aaron by the Tranſyluanian prince placed Vayuod of Moldauia, 1062, l. thruſt out by Zamoſchie Chancellor of Polonia, 1080, g. taken priſoner and put to death, 1081, a.

Stephen Vayuod of Tranſyluania vpon the commendation of Amurath choſen king of Polonia, 921, a.

Styria forraged by the Turks, 1132.

Strigonium in vaine beſieged by king Iohn, 616, k. beſieged by Solyman, 736, a. diuers times by the Turks in vaine aſſaulted, c. the ſtrength thereof by a fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouered, d. yeelded vnto the Turke, 738, h. beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1033, c. fiue times in vaine aſſaulted with the loſſe of fiue thouſand men, 1034, l. the ſiege by Matthias the Archduke giuen ouer, 1037, d. beſieged by County Manſ-

Mansfelt, 1065, *b.* twice in vaine assaulted, *c.* the lower towne taken, 1070 *g.* yeelded vnto the Archduke Matthias, 1072, *h.*

Sugusta by Sultan Aladin giuen to Ertogrul, 134, *k.*

Sumachia taken by Osman Bassa, 936, *h.* recouered by the Persian Prince, 940, *i.*

Swartzenbourg by two Italian prisoners flying out of Rab, informed of the state of the towne, 1102, *g.* consulteth with the Lord Palsi, *h.* surpriseth that strong towne, 1103, *b.* in vain attempteth to haue surprised Buda, 1110, *h.* commeth to Pappa to appease the French and Wallons there in mutinie, 1117, *a.* besiegeth the towne, 1118. slaine, *i.*

Syrgiannes appointed by Andronicus the Emperor, to obserue the doings of yong Andronicus his Nephew, trecherously discouereth the same vnto him, 159, *c.* cunningly coloureth his treason, 160, *h.* contemned of the younger Andronicus, reuolteth again vnto his Grandfather, 162, *l.* apprehended, imprisoned, and his house raced, 164, *l.*

T

TAmas the Persian King hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris flyeth into Hircania, 651, *d.* in feare of Baiazet, killeth his followers, and imprisoneth him with his sonnes, 780, *l.* sendeth Embassadours with Presents to Solyman, 781, *a.* the cause why he would not by any means let Baiazet go out of his hands, *d.* his answer vnto the Venetian Embassador, persuading him to take vp armes against the Turks, 862, *k.*

Tamerlane his reasonable and modest answer vnto the other Mahometane Princes craning aid against Baiazet, 210, *k.* in their behalfe sendeth Embassadours with Presents to Baiazet, *l.* prouoked by the proud answer of Baiazet, the solicitation of the oppressed Princes, and the persuasion of *Axalla*, resolueth to make warre vpon him, 211, *b.* his honourable Parentage and Auncestors, 212, *i.* the causes why some report him to haue been a Sheepheard or Heardsman, *k.* he himselfe not delighted in bloud, *m.* marrieth the daughter and heire of the Great Cham of Tartarie, the ground of his greatnesse, 213, *a.* setteth forward against Baiazet, 214, *k.* his great Camp still like vnto a well gouerned City, 215, *b.* the number of his great Army, *c.* he taketh Sebastia, and burieth all the people quicke 216, *h.* stayeth the comming of Baiazet, 217, *a.* disposeth of the order of his battell, 218, *k.* fighteth a great and mortall battell with Baiazet, 219 *b.* taking him prisoner, causeth him like a wild beast to bee shut vp in an yron cage, 220, *m.* refuseth the Empire of Constantinople, offered him by Emanuel the Emperours Embassadours, 221, *e.* goeth priuatly himselfe to Constantinople, 222, *i.* much delighted with the scituation and pleasures of that City, *k.* spoyleth the Turks dominions in Asia, *l.* restoreth vnto the poore Mahometane Princes oppressed by Baiazet, all their antient inheritãces, 223, *b.* in a great battell ouerthroweth the Sultan of Ægypt neere vnto Aleppo, *c.* winneth Damasco, *d.* commeth to Ierusalem, *f.* taketh Damiata, 224, *h.* assaulteth Caire, 225, *a,* driueth the Sultan out of Caire, *d.* pursueth him to Alexandria, 226, *g.* chaseth him into Lybia, *h.* leaueth Calibes to gouern the countries of Ægypt and Syria, *l.* conquereth Mesopotamia and Babylon with the kingdome of Persia, 227, *a.* returneth to Samarcand, *b.* the great power he continually kept, 235, *c.* his death, *e.*

Tangrolipix the Turke sent to aid the Persian Sultan, 4, *g.* by consent of the souldiers chosen Sultan of Persia, *l.* first Sultan of the Turks, *m.* hauing slaine Pisasiris Calyph of Babylon, in battell, toyneth his dominions vnto his owne, 5, *b.* inuadeth the Greek Emperours dominions, *f.* putteth to death his brother Habramie, 6, *i.*

Tancred created Prince of Galliley, winneth Apamea and Laodicea, 25, *c.* after the death of yong Bohemund created King of Antioch, 26, *i.*

Tarsus in Cilicia yeelded vnto Baiazet, 446, *m.*

Tartar Han his letters vnto the King of Polonia, 1083, *c.*

Tauris yeelded to Selymus, 512, *c.* who contrarie to his promise, exacteth a great summe of money from the Taurisians, and so departeth, 513, *a.* sacked by Solyman, 651, *f.* taken by the Turks, 991, *d.* hath a new castle therein built by the Turks in six and thirty daies, 992, *i.* miserably spoyled, *l.*

Taurica Chersonesus with the Tartars Præsopenses and Desienses subdued by the Turks, 412, *m.*

Techellis inuadeth the Turks Dominions, 469, *e.* ouerthroweth Orchanes and Mahometes, Baiazet his Nephewes, 471. discomfiteth Caragoses the Viceroy of Natolia, 472, *i.* killeth Alis Bassa, 474, *l.* flyeth into Armenia, 475, *c.* robbeth a Caruan of Merchants, and therefore burnt at Tauris, 476, *b.*

Temeswar taken by the Turks, 756, *g.*

Temurtases Baiazet his Lieutenant in Asia, taken prisoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania, 208, *k.* againe set at liberty, hangeth the Caramanian King, *m.*

Teuffenbach taketh Sabatska, 1026, *k.* winneth Filecke, 1027, *c.* besiegeth Hatwan, 1032, *g.* ouerthroweth the Bassa of Buda, *h.* giueth the same Bassa a second ouerthrow, 1037, *f.*

Theobald King of Nauarre maketh an vnfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, 99, *f.* with Lewis the French King goeth against the Moores, 118, *k.* in his return dieth of the plague in Sicilia, *l.*

Theodorus Lascaris flyeth into Bythinia, and possessing himselfe of many countries, taketh vpon him the name of the Greeke Emperour at Nice, 84, *l.* he killeth Iathatines the Turkish Sultan 87, *c.*

Theodorus Lascaris sonne to Iohn Batases, chosen Emperour, 108, *m.* aideth the Sultan of Iconium, 109, *e.* falleth sicke and dieth, 110, *g.*

Theupulus Earle of Paphos vnworthily hanged by the faithlesse Bassa Mustapha, 867, *d.*

Thracia spoyled by the Turks, 256, *g.*

Tomombeius by the generall consent of the Mamalukes chosen Sultan of Ægypt, 533, *d* maketh great preparation against the Turks, and seeketh to entrap them, 538, *g.* his deuices discouered, *i.* he fighteth a great battell with Selymus, and is put to the worse, 540, *m.* raiseth new forces at Caire, 541, *c.* fortifieth Caire, 542, *k.* fighteth a great battell in the City, 545, *b.* ouercome, flyeth, 546, *h.* driuen out of Cayre, raiseth new forces in Segesta, 547, *d.* distresseth the Turks in passing the bridge made ouer Nilus, 549, *b.* giueth a notable attempt to haue gained the bridge, *f.* repulsed and put to flight, 550, *i.* taken and brought to Selymus, *l.* tortured and shamefully put to death, *m.*

Trapezond yeelded to Mahomet the Great, 360, *k.*

Transyluania giuen by Solyman to the childe King Iohn his sonne, 716, *k.*

Tripolis in Barbarie besieged by Sinan Bassa, 753, *a.* battered, *b.* the weakest places thereof, and fittest to be battered, by a fugitiue Christian discouered to the Turks, *d.* vpon hard conditions yeelded to the proud and faithlesse Bassa, 755, *d.*

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Fortgatsie, *Lieutenant to King Matthias entreth Transyluania with an army*, 1304 *i.* *expelled by Battori*, *l.* *his miserable retreit*, *ibid.*
the Fort of Cochina yeelded to Prince Alexander, 1344 *l.*
a French Embassador feasted by the Turks, 1303 *d.*
the French embassadors men tortured by the Turks, 1374 *k.* *he himselfe imprisoned*, *m.* *set at liberty*, 1375 *b.*
Funerall of the Lady Glouer the English Embassadors wife, 1313.

G

GAbor *and the Turke oppresse Battori*, 1318 *i.* *Gabor made Prince of Transyluania by the Turke*, 1318 *m.* *his design vpon diuers places*, 1338 *k.* *receiueth aid from the Turke, and besiegeth Lippa*, *l.* *vndertakes to succour the Bohemian Protestants*, 1382, *g.* *taketh many townes*

in Hungary, k. makes a league with the Bohemians and Hungarians, 1383 *i. proclaimed King of Hungary,* 1384 *g. summoneth the towne of Tyrnavia,* 1431 *c. his wife elected to succeed him in the principalitie,* 1468 *m. defeateth the army of the Imperials* 1471 *b.*

the Gallions of Malta defeated by the Turks, 1298 *i. they set vpon the Turks Caravan, l. go to surprise them of Biserta,* 1299 *a. sinke a Gallion of Tunes, b.*

the Gallies of Florence take a Turkish ship, 1299 *b. winne the towne of Bisquerre, c. take diuers Turkish Vessels, d. make a second voyage against the Turkes,* 1305 *e. meet with the Turkes fleet,* 1306 *h. assailed by the Turkes, i. sink fiue Turkish gallies, k. put their fleet to flight, and take a rich ship from them, m. make an enterprise vpon the towne and castle of Agliman,* 1328. *after a bloudy fight take the place and raze it,* 1330 *l.*

the Gallies of Malta and Naples their exploits, 1307 *a. take a Venetian ship, b. force the Island of Langa, c.*

the Gallies of Sicily saile into the Leuant, 1331 *a. assail the Turks gallies, b.*

certain Gallies of the Turks taken by them of Florence 1391 *c*

the Turks Gallies surprise Manfredonia a Towne in Naples, 1386 *i.*

Georgians, their maner of salutation 1340 *h.*

the Germans of Tyrna forced to weare Hungarian garments 1246 *g.*

Gokara surprised by the Haiducks 1237 *e.*

Grashoppers spoil the country about Constantinople 1308 *k*

H

the Haiducks *surprise the Turks,* 1221 *a. what maner of soldiers they are, b. take the Castle of Reovin,* 1222 *g. and diuers other places,* 1235 *b, slay Copel and Pettinger two of the Emperours Captaines, and spoyle their Companies,* 1235 *e. ransacke the Isle of Strigonium,* 1250 *e do great harme in the vpper Hungary,* 1262 *l. insenced against the Turkes and Tartars, trust neither of them,* 1264 *l. raise new stirs in Hungary,* 1269 *d. conspire against the Germanes,* 1274 *m. six hundred intercepted by Humanoius* 1275 *b. refuse to allow of the Pacification made at Vienna* 1280 *l.*

Halil Bassa *riseth from the siege of Arzirum,* 1483 *f.*

Hassan Bassa *honourably receiued at Constantinople after the winning of Alba Regalis* 1160 *h. in great danger of his life, k. persuadeth the grand Signior to humour the mutined souldiers,* 1161 *a. his excuse to the mutiniers,* 1162 *g. appointed Generall of the Turks wars in Hungary,* 1218 *i. sent for to Constantinople, l. continued Generall, and commeth into Hungary,* 1224 *m.*

Hatwan taken and dismantled by Maximilian the Archduke, 1189 *e. again fortified by the Turks* 1190 *g. besieged by the Christians, h. yeelded vnto them, m. abandoned by the Christian Garrison* 1226 *b.*

Hungary. *the Hungarians misery,* 1211 *c. vpper Hungary by the Turkes and Tartars spoyled and burnt,* 1230 *i. great towns taken and rifled by the Rebels* 1246 *g.*

Husseruph Bassa *declared great Vizier* 1484 *i.*

the Hussars most traiterously spoyle their friends, 1234 *i.*

Huzein Bassa *strangled in the Court* 1448 *h.*

I

Iacaia *supposed brother to Sultan Achmat,* 1341 *a. becommeth a Christian, f. ioyns with the Rebels of Asia,* 1342 *h. is defeated and wounded i. sendeth to Constantinople and corrupteth the Vizier,* ibidem. *his life in danger at Cracouia, k. retyreth to Prague to the Emperor, l. comes to Florence, and is honorably entertained,* 1343 *a. goeth to Naples and Millaine, b. commeth to Rome, d.*

Iagenrenter *his cowardise* 1224 *g.*

Ianet Ogli *comes in a rebellious maner to Smyrna,* 1452 *m. taken and slain* 1465 *e.*

Ianizaries. they murther Mahomet Bassa, 1163 *a. mutine against the Vizier, and the cause why* 1228 *i. again in mutiny,* 1258 *h. mutine against the Bassa of Buda,* 1271 *e. against the Grand Seignior, and the great Vizier slaine by them,* 1407, *a. b. they demaund Mustapha, d. assault the houses of the Christians,* 1416 *k. mutine against the Bostangi Bassa,* 1455 *f. petition the grand Signior against their fellow mutiniers* 1458, *&c.*

Ierome *Vayuod of Valachia dies* 1280 *i.*

Iesuits, *certain of them go to Mengrelia,* 1339 *c. shipwreckt, f. entertained by a prince in Asia,* 1340 *h. Iesuits accused at Constantinople,* 1352 *h. imprisoned, i. set at liberty* 1353 *c.*

Illishaschius *abused by the Hungarians,* 1264 *i. chosen Palatine of Hungary,* 1288 *k. dyeth,* 1291 *d.*

K

the King *of Spaines Edict for the banishment of the Morisques or new Christians*, 1300. *the King of Fez besiegeth Moroco, and is defeated*, 1323, *b.*

L

League *betwixt the Turkes and Hollanders*, 1327, *a.*

Leopold *the Archduke his proceedings in Bohemia*, 1298, *g.*

Letters *of Achmet Bassa to Collonitz concerning a Peace*, 1178, *l. of the Bassa of Buda to Colonell Althem*, 1198, *m. another*, 1215, *d. of Hassan the Vizier, and of Begedes Bassa, to the German souldiers besieged in the Castle of Vicegrade*, 1238, *h. of Collonitz to a certaine Nobleman, concerning the troubles in Hungary*, 1242, *b. of Botscay to the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie*, 1243. *from a Citizen of Vienna, declaring the miseries of Hungary*, 1247. *of the Germane Emperor to the Persian King*, 1260. *from the Persian to the Spaniard*, 1273, *b. of confederation betwixt the States of Austria and Hungary*, 1279, *e. of the Emperour to the Reformed States of Bohemia, for freee exercise of their Religion*, 1293, *l. from Sultan Achmat to the Emperour, and his answer thereunto*, 1337. *from Sultan Osman to the French King*, 1377, *&c. to the King of Great Britaine*, 1380. *from Halil Bassa to the English Embassador*, 1381. *from the King of Great Britaine to Sultan Osman*, 1401. *from the Grand Signior to the king of Great Britain*, 1404, *from the Grand Signior to the Christian princes united for defence of the libertie of Germanie*, 1459, *&c. from the King of Great Britaine to the Grand Signior*, 1461, *&c. the Grand Signiors answer*, 1462, *from the English Embassadour to his Maiesties Subiects trading in the Red Sea*, 1472. *another to the same effect*, 1477. *from the Emperor to the Grand Signior*, 1480. *from Constantinople to a Senatour of Venice, declaring the troubles raised in the Greeke Church by the Iesuites and See of Rome, with all their practises to subuert the same*, 1486, *&c.*

Losses of the Turkish and Polish armies in Sultan Osmans expedition against them, 1397, *f.*

Lugaze a strong place deliuered vnto Basta, 1188, *k.*

M

Mahomet *the Grand Signior sheweth himself to the mutinous soldiers*, 1161, *c. with milde words seekes to appease them. f. his cruelty*, 1162, *k, l. in danger of being deposed*, 1164, *i. causeth his eldest son with diuers others to be strangled*, 1167, *a. seeketh to pacifie the Rebels in Asia, but cannot*, 1177, *f. and therefore offers peace to the Christians*, 1178, *i. troubled in his affairs*, 1183, *e. dieth*, 1198, *h. reasons why hee was not regarded of his men of warre*, 1199, *e. his issue, f. the maner of his monument at Constantinople*, 1200, *h.*

Mariage rites with great pompe solemnised by the Turks, 1312, *&c.*

Mathias *the Archduke comes to Presburg*, 1278, *l. prepareth for an expedition into Morouia*, 1281, *e. commeth to Zname*, 1282, *h. hath the Crown of Hungary deliuered vnto him*, 1285, *d. departeth with his Army out of Bohemia, e. royally receiued at Vienna*, 1286, *g. crowned at Presburg*, 1288, *k. sends an Embassador to Constantinople*, 1321, *c.*

Maximilian *the Archduke sent to the Pope to craue aid against the Turks*, 1219, *e.*

Meysbergs *Regiment in mutinie*, 1212, *g.*

Michna's souldiers defeated by Prince Alexanders troupes, 1355, *b. flieth, c. sends an Embassadour to Prince Alexander, f. proclaimed Prince of Moldauia*, 1357, *e.*

the Mingrelians manner of feasting, 1340,

Moldauia inuaded by the Turkes and Tartars, 1314, *m.*

Monsieur Laual slaine, 1252, *b.*

Morat, *who now reigneth, by the Vizier attempted to be made Sultan, and Mustapha againe deposed*, 1413. *seated in the royall Throne*, 1427, *&c. his disposition*, 1430, *i. sends to the rebell Abassa Bassa a Vest, a Sword, and a Letter*, 1435, *i. his Army besieged before Babylon*, 1456, *i. and distressed*, 1459, *c. flieth*, 1469, *d.*

Morauia spoyled by the rebellious Haiduckes, 1244, *m.*

the Morisques chase the Iewes out of Pera, 1327, *b. practise against the Christians c.*

Moyses the Transyluanian Rebell ouerthrowne by Basta, flies with his wife and all his Family to the Turks, 1170, *h. entreth Transyluania with an army*, 1171, *f. besiegeth the towne of Wisceburg, and taketh it*, 1172, *h. winneth Claudinople*, 1174, *g. deceiued by the Turks, h. putteth to flight the Valachians, l. by them ouerthrowne and slaine*, 1175, *a.*

N

Lord NAdasti *his great vertues,* 1197 *b. his death, d.*

Nassuf *(great Vizier) his fall foreshewed,* 1334 *m. the whole course of his life and fortune described,* 1335. *his throat cut,* 1336 *h. his great treasure, i. another discourse of the maner of his death, k.*

Neuhuse hardly assaulted, and valiantly defended, 1248 *l. distressed,* 1249 *a. yeelded to the rebels* 1259 *e. restored to the Emperor,* 1271 *d.*

Neusol surprised by & recouered from the Haiduks 1241 *c. by them again taken,* 1244 *k.*

O

O*Denburg besieged by the Rebels, and by Basta relieued* 1247 *f.*

Osman *proclaimed Sultan,* 1377 *c. his Oath vnto Bethlem Gabor,* 1383. *greatly enraged at the Emperor,* 1400 *g. taketh a wife contrarie to the will of his Councell,* 1401 *a. desirous of peace with the Polacks,* 1406 *h. strangled by Daout Bassa,* 1408 *k. discourse of his life and actions,* 1409, *&c.*

P

PAllas Lippa *beheaded by Botscay his Master,* 1140 *b.*

the Patriarch of Greece fleyed aliue 1308 *h.*

Peace *concluded betwixt the Emperor and his discontented subiects in the vpper Hungary,* 1265. *betwixt him and the Turks,* 1268. *betwixt the Georgians and Turks,* 1340 *g. betweene the Persians and Turks* 1378 *l.*

the Persian Kings successe, 1217 *a. hee enters into the prouince of Babylon,* 1297 *b. offers the Turk faire conditions of peace, and a tribute g. his cruelitie against the Armenians,* 1334 *i. he inuades the prouince of Babylon,* 1434 *i. part of his forces ouerthrown by the Georgians,* 1454 *m. besiegeth Achisca* 1478 *g.*

Pesth distressed for want of victuals, 1156 *g. victualled,* 1176 *l. againe victualled,* 1177 *b. shamefully abandoned by the Christians,* 1224 *g. taken by the Turks, i.*

Petrinia in danger to haue bin betrayed to the Turks 1222 *b.*

great Plague in Constantinople 1302 *l.*

the Pirats of Tunes and Algier rebell against the grand Signior 1446 *i.*

a Practise to murther the brethren of Sultan Osman 1412 *i.*

Predictions of a great insuing plague at Constantinople 1464 *h*

Presents giuen by the Turks to the Emperors Commissioners, 1196 *m. sent to the grand Signiour by King Mathias,* 1287 *a. from the Persian to the Emperor,* 1297 *d. from the Persian to the Turk,* 1320. *from the vnited States to the Turks* 1326 *l.*

Processions of the Turks 1325 *a.*

the Protestant States of Austria take Armes in defence of their religion, 1589 *d. swear obedience vnto King Matthias* 1291 *a.*

the Protestant states of Bohemia assemble in the new court at Prague, 1291 *f. raise their forces in defence of their Religion* 1293 *d.*

R

R*Ab attempted by the Turks* 1263 *d.*

Radul *the Valachian aideth Basta against the Turks* 1173 *c.*

the Rebels of Asia appeased by the Vizier, 1272 *k. new Rebels in Asia* 1282 *l.*

Lord Russworm *beheaded* 1250 *l.*

the Rassians and Tartars make incursions vpon the Turks 1314 *h.*

S

S*Acmar yeelded to the Haiducks* 1240 *l.*

Sigismund Ragotsie *chosen Prince of Transylvania, and resigneth it to the Emperor* 1271 *b*

Silistra spoiled by the Valachians 1157 *a*

Skinder Bassa *inuades prince Alexander,* 1350 *l. his kinsman taken prisoner* 1351 *b.*

Soldiers insolencie iustly punished 1191 *d.*

the Spahies and Ianizaries mutine, 1160 *h. their proud speech to Sultan Mahomet,* 1161 *d. their insolencie iustly punished,* 1263 *c. cause the Chimacham to be strangled* 1456

the States of Bohemia their request to the Emperor, 1283

Strigonium besieged by the Turks, 1225 *b. shamefull treason of the Haiduckes there in garrison,* 1229 *a. the siege giuen ouer, e. again attempted to be surprised,* 1238 *i. again besieged,* 1251 *c. the insolent soldiers inforce the gouernor to yeeld the town* 1256 *i.*

Stephen *made Vayuod of Moldauia,* 1315 *f. his tyrannie and troublesome gouernment,* 1343, *&c. turneth Turk* 1357 *a*

Styria and Austria spoiled 1246 *l.*

T

TArtar Cham, *why so ready to serue the Turk in his wars*, 1219 *d. dieth*, 1282 *k.*
the Tartars spoile many places in Hungary, 1165 *f. represſed by Count Serine*, 1166 *i. defeated by the Huſſars*, 1167 *c. defeated by the Coſſackes*, 1344 *m. defeated by Troianosky*, 1356 *h. ouerthrow the Turks army*, 1449 *b. make an incurſion into Poland*, 1451 *b.*
Tauris taken from the Turk by the Perſian, 1184 *k.*
Tockay taken by the Rebels, 1263 *f.*
Totiſa yeelded to the Turks, 1248 *k.*
Tranſyluania miſerably diſtreſſed, 1209 *d. the troubles ſecretly maintained by the nobles*, 1210 *h. new troubles*, 1214 *k. the Rebels ſurpriſed and ſlaine*, *l. the miſerable ſtate of that Prouince*, *m. new troubles raiſed*, 1304 *g.*
Treachery of the Polonian Generall, 1357 *e.*
Troubles in Moldauia, 1305 *a. new troubles*, 1314 *i. in Tranſyluania*, 1316. *in Tartary*, 1445 *b.*
Truce betwixt the Emperor and Gabor, 1433 *e.*
Tumult at Pera, 1353 *b.*

Turks.

They raiſe an army, 1153 *b. cowardly retyre for feare of the Chriſtians*, *d. carrying a conuoy of victuals to Buda, ouerthrown by the Chriſtians*, 1154 *k. the conuoy recouered by the Turks*, 1155 *a. againe taken from them by the Chriſtians*, *c. ouerthrow the garriſon of Peſth*, *d. bathing themſelues at Buda, by them of Peſth ſurpriſed and ſlaine*, *e. ſeeking to ſurpriſe Palotta, are ouerthrowne*, 1156 *i. three of their ſpies taken*, 1157 *c. ouerthrowne by Collonitz*, *f. together by the eares among themſelues*, 1163 *d. defeated by Colonell Sultze*, 1182 *h. againe ouerthrowne*, 1185 *b. their army ſtealeth by night out of Hungary*, 1189 *c. ouerthrowne by the Vayuod of Valachia*, 1198 *g. the maner of their burials*, 1200 *l. trecherouſly ſeeke to ſurpriſe Peſth*, 1206 *l. ſeeke in vaine to ſurpriſe Lippa*, 1213 *a. ouerthrowne by them of Peſth*, 1214 *h. their vnreaſonable demands for peace*, 1222 *l. troubled with ciuill wars.* 1236 *k. betrayed by the Haiducks*, 1248 *i. thinking to ſurpriſe others, are themſelues ſurpriſed*, 1266 *l. repaire to Buda in multitudes*, 1274 *g. their army for Tranſyluania*, 1327 *c. threaten war in Hungary*, 1331 *e. their courſes there*, 1337. *defeated at Vaſſalley*, 1350 *m. the greatneſſe of their Empire, and their beginning*, 1386, *&c.*

V

VAcia *ſhamefully betraied by the Haiduckes*, 2238 *g.*
Valachia ſpoiled by the Tartars, 1220 *l. the Vayuod expelled his country by Battori*, 1304 *h.*
Veſprinium yeelded to the Rebels, 1246 *k.*
Vicegrade yeelded to the Turks by the Haiduckes. 1238 *l.*
at Vienna a ſtrange action of two Citiſens, 1212 *l.*
Viſnouisky *a valiant Prince poyſoned by a Prieſt*, 1350 *k.*
a Viſion in the aire at Medina Talnabi, 1384, *&c.*
the Vſcoques what manner of people they be, 1367.
the Viſier ſends to borrow mony of the foure Chriſtian Embaſſadors at the Port, 1429 *b.*

W

the WAllons *auerthrow the Turks and Haiducks at Presburg*, 1246 *i.*
War betwixt the Grand Signior and the King of Poland, and the cauſe why, 1397 *c.*
War in Barbary, 1301 *c.*
the Wife of Prince Coresky being priſoner in Tartary, ſendeth a meſſenger to ſeeke her husband, 1364. *who brings her tidings of him*, 1365 *f. and ranſomes her*, 1366 *i.*
Wiglaſe in vain attempted by the Haiducks, 1242 *l.*

X

XErif *troubleth the kingdoms of Fez and Moroco*, 1322 *i. his beginning*, *k. his children grow potent*, *l. they kill the King of Moroco*, *m. feared by the King of Fez*, 1323 *a. diſſention betwene the brethren, and the eldeſt taken priſoner by the younger*, *b.*
Xerif Mahomet *aſſaults the king of Fez*, 1323 *c.*

Z

ZEffer Baſſa *recouereth the gouernment of Boſna from Zellaly, and ſhortly after dieth*, 1211 *a.*
Zellali, *formerly a Rebell in Aſia, reconciled to the Grand Signior, commeth into Boſna*, 1194 *i. defeateth Zeffer Baſſa the Gouernor of that prouince, and ſeateth himſelfe therein*, *l. by the Grand Signior ſent for to the Port*, 1195 *b. refuſeth to come*, *c. made gouernour of Temeſwar*, 1211 *b.*

FINIS.

T

TArtar Champions ready to oppose the Turk
in Hungary, 1219 &c. death, 1282 &c.
the Tartars Posterity plant in Hungary, 1164 &c.
tyrannized by Count Segin, 1166. defeated by
the Huns, 1167 &c. defeated by the Cadeli,
1244 &c. defeated by Tamerlan, 1365. overthrow the Turks army, 1444 &c. marches into Hungary, 1451 &c.
Turin taken from the Turk by the French, 1184 &c.
Turky taken by the Rebels, 1632.
Turks prevailed to the Turks, 1484.
Tranquillania miserably distressed, 1209 &c. the
trouble severely maintained by Jeremiah, 1210
&c. more troubles, 1214 &c. the Rebels suppressed
and slain, &c. the miserable State of that Province, more troubles raised, 1304 &c.
Treachery of the Polonian General, 1372.
Troubles in Catalonia, 1395 &c. new troubles,
1414 &c. in Tranquillania, 1516. in Tartary,
1447 &c.
Treaty between the Emperor and Gabor, 1433 &c.
Tumult at Prag, 1353 &c.

TURKS.

Their prosperity, 1153 &c. conquer Syria,
Persia, the Christians, &c. carrying a country of
victories to Rome overthrown by the Christians,
1154 &c. the country recover'd by the Turks,
1172 &c. Egypt taken from them by the Christians,
&c. overthrown the garrison of Prolemaïs, &c.
taking the Castles at Paula by them of Pegna pos-
sessed and slain &c. seeking to surprise Pisaura,
&c. overthrown, 1156 &c. driven out of Pisaura,
1172 &c. encounter with Christians, 1183 &c. de-
fended by the city among themselves, 1183 &c. de-
stroyed by Colopeli Sultan, 1183 &c. receive over-
throws, 1185 &c. their army destroyed by plague
out of Hungary, 1189 &c. overthrown by the
Tartars of Malacca, 1198 &c. their power, slavish
bondage, 1200 &c. treacherously stole to Europe &
Pisaura, 1200 &c. destroyed by the Christians,
1211 &c. overthrown by them of Pisaura, 1214 &c.
their wars and cruelties, 1232 &c. destroyed by
treachery with civil wars, 1236 &c. destroyed by
the Hungarians, 1248. planting to surprise Ca-
thay, overthrown, 1268 &c. returns to Europe,
to Buda in Hungaria, 1274 &c. their army for
Vienna, 1276 &c. their power in Hungary,
1277 &c. their power destroyed, 1320 &c. the
Emperor, 1338 &c.

V

Valia flourishly governed by the Nobility,
1388 &c.
Valachia spoiled by the Tartars, 1220 &c. wasted,
1284 &c.
subdued his country by Bathori, 1304 &c.
Velisimius wedded to Isabella, 1246 &c.
Vespasian subdued the Jews by the Romans,
1381 &c.
Vienna a strong garrison of true Christians 1214 &c.
Vladuskyan Prince poisoned by a Friar,
1350 &c.
Volgan invaded &c. Medina Talandis, 1384 &c.
the Villagers with many cruelties practised by the,
1387 &c.
Vlan Emperor of the Turks, 1249 &c.

W

William murthered his Uncle and Mother,
1284 &c.
Winchester Bishop, 1284 &c.
Wolves numerous in Poland, 1297 &c.
Warra Duke, 1301 &c.
the Wife of Peter Cruel being prisoner in Tar-
tary, sends a Letter to take her husband,
1365 &c. make him by persuading of them
and slaughters her, 1366 &c.
Wife in vain attempted by Nicholas, 1421.

X

XEnil troubleth the Kingdoms of Fez and Mo-
rocco, 1232 &c. his dividing
from Peter, they kill the King of Morocco &c.
Xenil slain by the King of Fez, 1232 &c. deflection
from the Christian, and the cruelty taken by pro-
per the province.
Xenil dismounted all Castles the King of Fez, 1232 &c.

Z

ZEbir Bey procureth the government of
Peloponnesus, and liberty after death,
1311 &c.
Zelah formerly a Rebel in Asia, reconciled to
the Grand Signior comes into Persia, 1104 &c.
declared Zelah Bey the Governor of Ephesus,
mirs, and favoreth himself &c. by the
Grand Signior favor for the Port, 1105 &c.
to the Grand Signior &c. made Governor of Thes-
saly, 1106 &c.

FINIS.